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COINAGE AND EPIGRAPHY OF THE ŚAKAS AND PAHLAVAS:
A RECONSTRUCTION OF THE POLITICAL CHRONOLOGY
AND GEOGRAPHY OF THE INDO-IRANIAN BORDERLANDS,
130 B.C. - A.D. 70

by

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This thesis is submitted for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
in the Australian National University
June, 1972.

K Walton Dobbins
5 June, 1972

PREFACE

This project was originally conceived as a comprehensive history of the Śaka-Pahlava period covering cultural as well as political history. But in order to place cultural information and materials in chronological perspective it was necessary to establish basic facts about the political history of the time and region, and it soon became apparent that this effort would constitute a study in itself. So the reader will understand that this thesis is a means to an end. I am therefore attempting to reconstruct the political history of the period from the primary sources available, namely coins and inscriptions, as thoroughly as the evidence allows. Some points are pursued in greater detail than would ever be required for the elucidation of most cultural materials, but I hope that this analysis, particularly of the coins, will be of use to archaeologists in dating stratified excavations. I expect that my analysis of the imitation Hermaios coinage might prove to be especially useful in this regard.

The study is presented in six chapters after the introduction, Chapter I. All of the relevant primary evidence is given in three appendices. This presentation of material is necessitated by the fact that its source is scattered through a large number of publications, some of which are difficult to obtain. In addition to this material I have found some new types or variations of coin types in private collections which have not been published. Each appendix has its own introduction which should be referred to before the appendix is consulted. Appendix I lists data about the coins which are not intrinsic to the coins themselves. The coin hoards of Section A are referred to in the text by Hoard and number. The provenance of coins is arranged according to kings in Section B and is referred to in the text by Location and number. Section C lists overstruck coins which are referred to by Overstrike and number. Section D presents some observations on the economic system of the region from the evidence of hoards and provenance of coins. Appendix II is a list of coin types arranged by mint series. Where there are conflicts between alternative arrangements one explanation has been accepted and the alternatives discussed in the text. Appendix III presents information from the inscriptions. Instead of giving texts of the inscriptions in Section A, I have catagorized the material according

to its geographical and chronological relevance and personal and place names mentioned in it. This information is referred to by Inscription and number in the text. A composite list of names and forms of names is given at the end of the section. A few problems about the interpretation of some inscriptions are discussed in Section B. The chronological evidence of dated inscriptions is discussed in Section C.

The general arrangement of the coins in their chronological and geographical context is discussed in Chapter II. The first phase of Scythian invasions into Indo-Greek kingdoms south of the Hindu Kush is discussed in Chapter III. This discussion covers the first series of imitation Hermaios coinage and the career of Maues. One group of Śakas and the Pahlavas first come to light in Sakastān and Arachosia. This circumstance of their history has influenced our scheme for Chapters IV - VII and the coinage series in Appendix II; the material is presented in a roughly west to east arrangement. The origins of Śakas and Pahlavas in Sakastān and Arachosia are discussed, respectively, in Chapters IV and VI. The invasions of these peoples into the region of the Indus River and beyond are covered in Chapters V and VII. In each case attention is concentrated on the transition between the invading people and their predecessors.

I have tried to provide illustrations of examples of every coin type, but the quality of some of my photographs is not good enough for reproducing. Where it has been possible I have used photographs of coins which have not been illustrated in publications. All the illustrated material is collected in a loose-leaf folio to facilitate the comparison of different photographs. The seventeen overlays can be used on Maps I-III and on each other. The numbers on the plates conform to those in the text and appendices, and references to the plates are underlined.

Some of the ideas presented in this thesis have been published. My chronology of the dated inscriptions is published in 'Eras of Gandhāra', Journal of the Oriental Society of Australia, VII (1970), 23-36. An analysis of the early imitation Hermaios coins is presented in 'The Question of the Imitation Hermaios Coinage', East and West, XX (1970), 307-326, and my dating of Sanabares is discussed in 'Sanabares and the Gondophares Dynasty', Numismatic Chronicle, ser. 7; XI (1971), 135-142.

Diacritic marks are normally not put on transliterated Greek words, but in the absence of Greek type-face I have used diacritics in some instances when the word is taken from a coin legend or should otherwise be italicized (SŌTĒR, sōtēr). When a Greek word is used as a label for a class of coins it is not given diacritics ('soter'), nor when it is used as part of a name (Menander Soter). Some special conventions representing palaeographic features in Greek legends are described in the introduction to Appendix II (p.180). Greek transliteration is used for names taken from Greek sources except in the cases of 'Bactria' where the more common spelling is followed, the Anglicized spelling of 'Scythian', and the names of Greek writers. The spelling 'Areia' is used in preference to Strabo's 'Aria'. This form of the name, which is closer to the original Iranian name of the region, is becoming the more common usage (e.g. Frye, Heritage of Persia, p.257). The name Gandhāra is here usually applied to the region west of the Indus River, including the lower Kābul Valley and the Kurrām Valley. Gandhāra proper, the region between Swāt and the lower Kābul River, is designated on Map I.

Differences in lettering styles on the political maps do not necessarily have any significance to their interpretation. The lettering was acquired from various sources, and it was not possible to obtain a sufficient quantity of some styles.

Acknowledgements

This project was undertaken while I was in residence for a year, 1968-69, at the Banaras Hindu University in Varanasi on a Fulbright grant from the U.S. Government, and during two and a half years at the Australian National University. Professor A.K. Narain kindly served as my supervisor in India, and Professor A.L. Basham has supervised my work in Australia. While in India I received assistance from several individuals and institution. Mr Binod Ray Chowdhury, Mr Thomas C. Burke, Dr B.N. Mukherjee and Professor S.K. Saraswati were helpful in gaining access for me to private collections of coins and sources of material. I am especially indebted to Messrs Anjan and Ranjan Singh Singhi of Calcutta and Mr H.P. Poddar, also of Calcutta, who permitted me to photograph coins in their collections. Thanks are also due to the staffs and keepers of coins and medals at several institutions: Mrs

Mookerjee at the Indian Museum, Calcutta; the Bharat Kala Bhavan, Varanasi; the Department of Archaeology, Sanskrit University, Varanasi; the State Museum, Lucknow; Miss R. Vanaja at the National Museum, New Delhi; and Acharya Bhagwandeve at the Haryana State Archaeological Museum, Jhajjar. In addition to examining and photographing these collections I received information about or photographs of coins from the Bhuri Singh Museum, Chamb, Himachal Pradesh; the Government Museum and National Art Gallery, Madras; and the Archaeological Museum, Mathura. In Pakistan I received assistance from Dr Ahmad Nabi of the Government Department of Archaeology, Lahore Circle. I am especially in debt to Mrs Beg, Keeper of the Coins at the Central Museum, Lahore, for her help to me in photographing coins, and to Professor A.H. Dani and the staff of the Department of Archaeology, Peshawar University, for permission and assistance in examining unpublished coins recovered in recent excavations. In Afghanistan I was kindly permitted to consult the library of the *Délégation Archéologique Française en Afghanistan* in Kabul, and in Kandahar Messrs M. Khalia and S. Salimi kindly permitted me to photograph coins in their collections. In Australia the Department of Asian Civilizations at the Australian National University acquired photographs of coins in the British Museum. I have received valuable assistance from the staffs of the libraries at this university, and a particularly valuable service was provided by the Visual Aids section in photographing my tables, maps and plates. And finally I am especially grateful to Professor Sir Harold Bailey who has spent much time in discussing linguistic problems relating to my study.

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Coins reproduced by courtesy of the Bharat Kala Bhavan,
Banaras Hindu University, Varanasi: plates III.59, IV.PTY 6,
VII.17, IX.58, 60, X.86, XVII.PA 6.

Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum, London:
plates I.7, II.44-46, 49, 50, III.51-53, 56, 58, 61-63,
IV.MA 7-9, 11-14, PTY 4, V.PK 2, VI.10, 12-20, 23-25,
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PA 26, o/s 9, 10, 15.

Courtesy of the Central Museum, Lahore: plates I.1, 8, 10, 13,
17-19, II.28, 29, 33, 34, 41, V.NH 8, PK 8, VII.1, 13, 18,
20, 23, VIII.24, 27-30, 33, 34, IX.48, 53, 55, 61, X.67,
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79, 81, XVI.5, 10-13, 19, 21, XVII.PA 3, 7, 12, 15.

Courtesy of the Haryana State Archaeological Museum,
Jhajjar: plate I.21.

Courtesy of the Indian Museum, Calcutta: plates III.54,
VI.11, XV.82.

Courtesy of the National Museum, New Delhi: plate I.11.

Courtesy of Mr H.P. Poddar, Calcutta: plate IX.47.

Courtesy of Messrs Anjan and Ranjan Singh Singhi, Calcutta:
plates IX.52, X.82, XI.111, XIII.8, XIV.32, XV.73,
XVII.PA 2.

Reproduced from illustrations in:

R. Curiel and G. Fussman, Le Trésor monétaire de
Qunduz - plate V.NH 4, PK 1.

East and West, 1957 - plates II.47, 48, XVII. o/s 19.

Journal of the Numismatic Society of India, 1955 -
plates I.23, XI.96, XIII.24, XVII. o/s. 7.

John H. Marshall, A Guide to Taxila - plate XIII.12.

Museum Notes, 1948 - plate IX.42.

Numismatic Chronicle, 1890 - plate VIII.31.

Numismatic Chronicle, 1923 - plates I.12, V.NH 3, 6,
VII.6, IX.41, XIII.21, 25, XIV.56.

Numismatic Chronicle, 1965 - plates XI.115, XII.117.

D. Schlumberger and R. Curiel, Trésors monétaires
d'Afghanistan - plates IV.PTY 3, XIII.18.

Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum: The Royal Collection of
Coins and Medals, Danish National Museum, India-Parthia
- plates IV.PTY 5, V.PK 3, VII.5, VIII.35, X.65, XIII.16,
XIV.47, XVII.PA 8, 11.

W. Wroth, A Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British
Museum: The Coins of Parthia - plate IV.MA 2, 5 (2 coins),
6, 10.

Author's collection: plate XIV.38.

INSCRIPTIONS

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- 35. Taxila Silver Scroll of Khushana, year 136.

Inscription reproduced by courtesy of the Central Museum, Lahore:
plate XXIV.30.

Reproduced from illustrations in:

East and West, 1959 - plate XXII.15.

Epigraphia Indica, 1931 - plate XXV.34.

Epigraphia Indica, 1937-38 - plate XVIII.

Indo-Iranian Journal, 1969 - plate XXIV.27.

S. Konow, Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum - plates
XIX.2-4, XX.5, 7-9, XXI.12, 13, XXII.19, XXIII.23-25,
XXV.31-33, 35.

ABBREVIATIONS

General

AE	bronze coin
AR	silver coin
AU	gold coin
AZ	Azes Era
Bi	billon coin
Br.	Brāhmī script
c/m	countermark(ed)
CU	Cukhsa-Uraśā mint type
ex.	exergue
GDH	Gandhāra mint type
Gk.	Greek
Kh.	Kharoshthī script
Khot.	Khotanese Saka
KMS	King mounted with spear coin device
KMW	King mounted with whip coin device
l.	left
lf.	left field
MA	Margiana-Areia mint type
mon.	monogram
MT	Mathurā mint type
NH	Nagarahāra mint type
Obv.	obverse
o/s	overstrike or overstruck on
PA	Panjāb mint type
Phl.	Pahlavi script
PK	Paropamisadai-Kapisene mint type
PTY	Paktyika mint type
r.	right
Rev.	reverse
rf.	right field
SA	Sakastān-Arachosia mint type
Sel.	Seleukid Era
SI	Sind mint type

Sk.	Sanskrit
SK	Sirkap
TX	Taxila mint type
var.	variation
YE	Yavana Era
ZN	Zeus Nikephoros coin device

Bibliographical

<u>Agrippan Source</u>	B. N. Mukherjee, <u>An Agrippan Source -- A Study in Indo-Parthian History.</u>
AHR	<u>American Historical Review</u>
AION	<u>Annali Instituto Orientale di Napoli</u>
ANS, MN	<u>American Numismatic Society, Museum Notes</u>
AP	<u>Ancient Pakistan</u>
ArAnt	H. H. Wilson, <u>Ariana Antiqua</u> .
ASIAR	<u>Archaeological Survey of India Annual Report</u>
<u>Bégram</u>	R. Ghirshman, <u>Bégram: Recherches Archéologiques et Historiques sur les Kouchans.</u>
BKB	Coin collection of the Bharat Kala Bhavan
BM	British Museum
BMC	P. Gardner, <u>The Coins of the Greek and Scythic Kings of Bactria and India in the British Museum.</u>
BMCAI	J. Allan, <u>A Catalogue of Indian coins in the British Museum: Coins of Ancient India.</u>
BMC Parthia	W. Wroth, <u>A Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum: The Coins of Parthia.</u>
BSOAS	<u>Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies</u>
CASE	A. Cunningham, <u>Coins of Alexander's Successors in the East.</u>
C, ASI	A. Cunningham, <u>Archaeological Survey of India, Reports.</u>
CCS	A. Cunningham, <u>Coins of the Sakas.</u>
CHI	E. J. Rapson, ed., <u>The Cambridge History of India: Ancient India, I.</u>
CIGC	A. N. Lahiri, <u>Corpus of Indo-Greek Coins.</u>
CII	S. Konow, <u>Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum: Kharoshthi Inscriptions, with the exception of those of Asoka, II, pt. 1.</u>

CML	Central Museum, Lahore
<u>Comp. Hist. Ind.</u>	K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, ed., <u>A Comprehensive History of India, II -- The Mauryas and the Satavahanas, 325 B.C.-A.D. 300.</u>
EI	<u>Epigraphia Indica</u>
EW	<u>East and West</u>
HPP	Coin collection of Mr H. P. Poddar
IA	<u>Indian Antiquary</u>
IG	A. K. Narain, <u>The Indo-Greeks.</u>
IGN	R. B. Whitehead, <u>Indo-Greek Numismatics.</u>
IHQ	<u>Indian Historical Quarterly</u>
IM	Indian Museum, Calcutta
IMC	V. A. Smith, <u>A Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, including the Cabinet of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, I.</u>
IMCsup	B. B. Bidyabinod, <u>Supplementary Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta: Non-Muhammadan Series, I.</u>
JA	<u>Journal Asiatique</u>
JAOS	<u>Journal of the American Oriental Society</u>
JASB	<u>Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal</u>
JBORS	<u>Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society</u>
JEN	Plates in G. K. Jenkins, JNSI 1955
JHA	Coin Collection of the Haryana State Archaeological Museum, Jhajjar
JIH	<u>Journal of Indian History</u>
JNSI	<u>Journal of the Numismatic Society of India</u>
JOSA	<u>Journal of the Oriental Society of Australia</u>
JRAS	<u>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society</u>
KHALIA	Coin collection of Mr M. Khalia
KWD	Author's coin collection
Lüders <u>List</u>	H. Lüders, <u>A List of Brāhmī Inscriptions From the Earliest Times to about A.D. 400 with the exception of those of Aśoka.</u>
MDAFA	<u>Mémoires de la Délégation Archéologique Française en Afghanistan</u>
NC	<u>Numismatic Chronicle</u>
NMND	<u>National Museum, New Delhi</u>

NS	<u>Numismatic Supplement to the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal</u>
NSS	N. Singh Singhi coin collection
PDK	A. L. Basham, ed., <u>Papers on the Date of Kanishka submitted to the conference on the date of Kanishka, London, 20-22 April, 1960.</u>
PHAI	H. C. Raychaudhuri, <u>Political History of Ancient India.</u>
PMC	R. B. Whitehead, <u>Catalogue of Coins in the Panjab Museum, Lahore: Indo-Greek Coins, I.</u>
Proc. ASB	Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal
SHORTT	-Coin collection of H. de S. Shortt
SKGC	B. N. Mukherjee, <u>Studies in Kushana Genealogy and Chronology, I.</u>
SML	State Museum, Lucknow
SNG	<u>Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum: The Royal Collection of Coins and Medals, Danish National Museum -- Parthia-India.</u>
TAX	Plates in <u>Taxila, III.</u>
<u>Taxila</u>	J. H. Marshall, <u>Taxila: An illustrated account of archaeological excavations carried out at Taxila under the order of the Government of India between the years 1913 and 1934, I-III.</u>
TMA	D. Schlumberger and R. Curiel, <u>Trésors monétaires d'Afghanistan.</u>
TMQ	R. Curiel and G. Fussman, <u>Le trésor monétaire de Qunduz.</u>
ZDMG	<u>Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft</u>

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The Śaka and Pahlava dynasties in the Indo-Iranian borderlands occupy the period between the Indo-Greeks and the Kushāṇas. Much has been written about these latter peoples but only with the result that there is still confusion about their chronology and geographical setting. The Śakas and Pahlavas have often been discussed in the hope that information about them can throw some light on their successors in the region. There is however a diversity of data regarding this period which needs to be collected and systematized. The diversity of features on the coins of the Śakas and Pahlavas, which allows the grouping of the coins into various cohesive combinations, holds greater promise of providing answers to problems of the chronology and geography of the age than does the relatively uniform appearance of the Indo-Greek coins. And inscriptions of the Śaka-Pahlava period are a source of information almost totally lacking from the history of the Indo-Greeks. Similarly the coins of the later Kushāṇas are not easily divided into groups belonging to various regions, and, while there is a large body of dated inscriptions which establishes their internal chronology, there is still much controversy over the dating of the Kushāṇa kings in absolute terms.

The Śaka-Pahlava period deserves to be studied in its own right as an important phase in Central and South Asian history as well as a source of clues for the solution of problems in the histories of other peoples in the region. The first objective in any study of this period is to establish the outline of its political history. This involves determining the sequence of changes in individual regions and correlating each change to the situation in neighbouring territories. A detailed analysis of primary evidence for this purpose has not been attempted before.

Historiography of the Śaka-Pahlavas

The history of the Śakas and Pahlavas, as well as that of the Indo-Greek and Kushāṇa periods, is a relatively young field of study. Western scholars became acquainted with the subject after European commercial agents and military personnel began travelling in the

Panjab and the North-west Frontier province in the early decades of the nineteenth century. The first source of information was coins, collected mainly by French officers serving the Sikh kingdom in Lāhore and Peshāwar. Descriptions and drawings of many of these coins along with commentaries on them were published in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal in Calcutta by James Prinsep, its editor.¹

The first investigations of archaeological sites were made in Afghanistan. Charles Masson sought out ancient mounds and monuments north of Kābul and collected coins at Begrām and Kābul from 1833 to 1835. During the same period he and other explorers open a few stūpas in the vicinity of Jalālābād.² These early investigators thought that these Buddhist stūpas were tombs of kings, and they propounded theories about their being at the site of an ancient capital of the kings whose coins were found in them. In 1841 a book by H.H. Wilson, entitled Ariana Antiqua, about the archaeology of the Jalālābād stūpas was published in London, and this was the first major work dealing primarily with material from the Śaka-Pahlava period. The next major contribution is a collection of essays by James Prinsep published in 1858, which includes a compilation of information about Śaka-Pahlava coins.³ Neither of these scholars travelled in the regions which had once been dominions of the Śakas and Pahlavas. Their studies were based on material and information collected by less experienced observers.

The first significant attempt to reconstruct the history of the Śakas and Pahlavas was made by Alexander Cunningham, in a study based primarily on coins which was published in 1890.⁴ A major feature of this work is an attempt to identify mints and to reconstruct place-

¹ JASB 1833, pp.405-16; 1834, pp.313-21 and 436-56; 1835, pp.327-48; 1836, pp.548-54 and 720-24.

² JASB 1834, pp.153-75; 1836, pp.1-28 and 537-47.

³ Essays on Indian Antiquities, Historic, Numismatic and Palaeographic, II, 198-217.

⁴ NC 1890, pp.103-72.

names from monograms on coins. While many of Cunningham's ideas regarding the chronology and geography of this period are clearly out of date, some of his suggestions are still worthy of consideration.

During the first half of this century a considerable amount of data was added to that inherited from the pioneer works of the nineteenth century. This material was the result of explorations and excavations of the Archaeological Survey of India, and the efforts of individuals such as R.B. Whitehead and M.F.C. Martin who collected and studied coins while serving in the Indian Civil Service. But little progress was made in interpreting this body of material and arriving at a convincing solution of the Śaka-Pahlava problem. Much of the literature of this period which seeks to solve problems in the culture of the region is led into untenable theories regarding chronology.⁵ Other works which try to provide a firm chronological anchor stretch credibility in other areas,⁶ and some attempts to explain the chronology by finding clues in Classical sources or by connecting certain Arsakid personages with the Pahlavas are not supported by any evidence from the Śaka-Pahlavas.⁷

On reading this literature one sometimes gets the impression that few efforts have been made to formulate a solution to the problem by analysing all of the primary sources relating directly to the Śakas and Pahlavas. The material remains of these peoples' culture have usually been treated as supplementary evidence towards clarifying problems concerning the Indo-Greeks or the Kushāṇas. Attention was given to the Śaka-Pahlava period by E.J. Rapson in the history of ancient India edited by him and first published in 1922.⁸ But on the

⁵ E.g. van Lohuizen-de Leeuw 1949, pp.334-46, argued that Rājuvula and Śoḍāsa should be dated before Maues and that Azes I, Azilises and Azes II were the same person.

⁶ Pai 1935, p.334, argued that Mogasa of the Taxila Copper Plate inscription should be read as Magasa, the month Māgah, instead of as the name of Maues.

⁷ Herzfeld, Sakastān, pp.73-80, and Tarn 1951, pp.306, 495, 500, identified the Pahlavas with the Surens of the Parthian Empire, and van Lohuizen-de Leeuw 1949, p.358, concluded that the Pahlava Abdagases and the Suren Abdagaeses were the same person.

⁸ Cambridge History of India, I (1962 ed.), 508ff..

whole the problem in question has been only a peripheral subject of interest.

This attitude has recently changed. Scholars in the last twenty years have recognized that the key to the solutions of several problems relating to other fields of study lies in a detailed analysis of material from the Śaka-Pahlava period, and that these peoples made important contributions of their own to the development of Indian culture. A study of coins by G.K. Jenkins establishes the general arrangement of Śaka-Pahlava coins and solves some problems of chronology in the late Indo-Greek and early Śaka period.⁹ And Jenkins and A.K. Narain compiled a list of basic Śaka-Pahlava coin types.¹⁰ D.W. MacDowall has clarified some points in the period of transition between the Śaka-Pahlavas and the Kushāṇas.¹¹ A recent study by B.N. Mukherjee¹² is a detailed examination of geographical information in Classical sources of the last quarter of the first century B.C.. Statements about the eastern frontier of the Parthian Empire in these sources are compared with evidence about the political situation in the Indo-Iranian borderlands taken from Chinese sources. In this way chronological brackets are placed around the period of Śaka-Pahlava rule in various areas. These three writers do not provide the only valuable information about this subject. But they have established some firm facts in particulars of chronology and geography. These achievements make the present work possible.

Methods and Objectives

Except for a few references in Classical sources the only direct information about the Śaka and Pahlava kings comes from their coins and inscriptions. The approach taken in analysing the coins is to divide them into recognizable large groups according to dynasties.

⁹ JNSI 1955, pp.1-26.

¹⁰ The Coin-types of the Śaka-Pahlava Kings of India. Numismatic Notes and Monographs, no.4 (Varanasi, 1957).

¹¹ JNSI 1968, pp.24-48; Bhāratī 1966-68, pp.201-9.

¹² An Agrippan Source - A Study in Indo-Parthian History (Calcutta, 1969).

These groups are then progressively subdivided by the criteria of style, fabric, palaeography and epigraphy, names of individual kings and finally monograms. Each small group is compared with other groups within a larger sub-group with the view to filling as many gaps as possible in regard to time and space. Each feature on a coin has significance for either the coin's age or its place of origin, that is to say the feature belongs on a vertical scale representing chronology or a horizontal one representing relative geographical locations. Theoretically the various features, if each has been assigned to the proper scale, will converge at the point where the scales intersect. The sub-groups are then correlated with each other in such a way that none of the points on the imagined scales overlap. This then provides the relative sequence of all the major coin types. To reduce the number of points on the horizontal scale, each representing a location or mint, two or more vertical scales or series are combined to give a continuous series of coins at one place.

Groups of locations within the larger sub-groups of related style and typology are assigned to areas on the evidence of provenance data or the relationship of a series to a coinage of known provenance. Within groups the relative locations of various series, which normally have an identifiable sequence of monograms, are plotted from the pattern of joint issues and other links between the series. Seventeen maps showing the probable extent of kingdoms resulting from the geographical attributions of groups and series have been prepared as a control device to insure that no impossible configurations of political units have resulted. Political boundaries on the maps are based on natural features such as rivers or mountains, but all of them are theoretical and should be regarded as divisions between spheres of influence. The periodization of the maps is arbitrary in most cases. The absolute chronology conforms with known limits for some dates and with our suggested epochs for some dated inscriptions which belong to an unknown era. The geographical divisions shown on any one map are not necessarily intended to account for the full period of that map. For example Political Map 1 is dated from 130 to 115 B.C., the period of the Scythian invasions of Bactria. But it is likely that both Hermaios and Archebios began to reign a few years after 130 B.C., and the overlapped shadings which denote their

territories indicates that one succeeded the other in the double-shaded area sometime before the end of the period of the map.

In the following chapters the coins and their history are discussed in the light of the results gained from the method of analysis used, and the more salient points which make the attributions of coins intelligible are explained. Problems such as the origins of the tribal groups are discussed in the context of the political history of these peoples, but our intention is to concentrate attention on the coins and inscriptions and what can be learned from them with as few references as possible to indirect evidence.

The purpose of this study is to provide a structure of basic knowledge which can be relied upon by students of the culture of this region - its art, linguistic development, and religion. Some of this cultural material can be derived from the coins themselves. That the early evolution of Hindu and Buddhist iconography can be partly traced on these coins has been recognized by several writers.¹³ But the identification of some deities on these coins as being Hindu rather than Greek or Iranian belongs to a separate study after the coins have been properly arranged. The iconography of some coins is discussed as being important to the identification of mint groups and relationships between mints.

¹³ See Banerjea, *IHQ* 1938, pp.293-308; and N.C. Ghosh in India's Contribution to World Thought and Culture, pp.135 ff..

CHAPTER II

GENERAL ANALYSIS OF DATA

As all the studies of Indo-Greek, Śaka and Pahlava coinage are in short, self-contained articles in journals and books, the reader of this material can become easily confused by the views of different writers on the general significance of a group of coins and the history of specific mints. A writer's ideas on the political relationship between two kings are necessarily dependent on his location of their (or their dynasties') respective mints in the same, neighbouring or widely separated provinces. It will therefore be useful to clarify the chronological and geographical distribution of groups of coins and mint series in general terms before analysing the historical evidence of the coins and inscriptions in detail.

Chronology

The most obvious generalization to make about the chronology of the coins is to divide the coinage in good silver from that in mixed and plated fabric. As virtually all higher denomination Indo-Greek coins are found in good metal and early Kushāṇa coins are heavily debased, and as the chronological sequence of these two peoples is beyond dispute, it is tempting to place all silver Śaka-Pahlava coins before all those of debased metal. There is no evidence for a revaluation of coinage after the initial debasement, until Vima reformed the currency of the region on a gold standard. But debasement was not carried out in all provinces. This is an unavoidable conclusion, because coins of most of the Pahlava kings are known in both good silver (SA 43-50) and base metal, probably plated (SA 51-61), and thus good and debased coins were being minted simultaneously.

The first debased coinage of the Śaka series was struck with the name Azes. It has long been recognized that the coins of 'Azes' belong to two kings of that name,¹ although this view has been

¹ Majumdar, ASIAR 1928-29, pp.169 ff..

disputed.² The attribution of these coins to Azes I and Azes II has been further refined by G.K. Jenkins.³

It has often been argued that the chronology of the four principal members of the Azes dynasty can be proved by joint issues of coins. On these coins, it is maintained, the name of the senior monarch appears in Greek on the obverse while the junior monarch is named in the Kharoshthī legend on the reverse.⁴ Joint issues between Spalirises and Azes I (SA 14, 19), Azes I and Azilises (SA 34, 40), and Azilises and Azes II (GDH 26, 127 and 127 a and b) would thus establish their sequence. This usage on joint issues cannot be corroborated in itself, but the analysis of style and mintage supports the sequence suggested by it (Chapters IV, V and VII). Similarly, there is little doubt that the transition from the Śakas to the Pahlavas in Gandhāra is reflected in the joint issues of Aśpavarman first with Azes II (GDH 142) and then with Gondophares (GDH 146).⁵

Geographical Distribution of Mint Groups

But a more controversial aspect of Śaka-Pahlava history is the geographical context of the kings and their coins. The problems of whether the Maues group of Śakas originated in Sakastān and whether the Azes dynasty ruled in Kābul and Kāpiśa are crucial to any reconstruction of the political and economic history of the region. The means to a solution of such questions lies in identifying coherent groups of coins according to style and typology, finding links between the groups and thereby recognizing their relative geographical settings, and then assigning each to a general region mainly on the evidence of coin finds. This presumes a relationship between the area of currency and the place of minting of each group.

² Van Lohuizen-de Leeuw 1949, pp.348-50.

³ Jenkins, JNSI 1955, pp.1 ff..

⁴ Majumdar, ASIAR 1928-29, pp.169 ff.; Marshall, Taxila, I. 49f.; and see Jenkins, JNSI 1955, p.3.

⁵ Whitehead, NC 1944, pp.99-104.

Jenkins identifies three groups in the coins of Azes I and Azilises.⁶ The first group has the obverse device of King mounted with spear (KMS) in a distinctive style. These coins are found with two reverse devices: either Zeus standing or Goddess with lamp (I.21, II.28, 29, 33, 34, 41). This group includes the coins of Vonones with Špalahora or Špalagadama and of Spalirises, and is generally attributed to the province of Arachosia.⁷

Jenkins' second group is distinguished by Pallas (actually Athena Alkidemos)⁸ on the reverse. The obverse KMS is of uniform style (VII.20 and VIII.24), and one might say it is of superior execution to that of the first group. This series is linked to coins of Hippostratos and Azes II by monogram 56 (VII.13 and VIII.27-31) and has corresponding bronze issues (VII.23 and VIII.25). After arguing that these coins could not have been minted in Taxila or the region further east, Jenkins tentatively assigns their mint to Pushkalāvati.

More convincing, however, is Jenkins' location of a class of coins of Azes II in Taxila. The bronze King seated/Hermes issues and corresponding billon types, King mounted with whip (KMW)/Zeus Nikephoros (ZN) (e.g. XIV.33 and 34), were found in such large numbers at Taxila in proportion to other types (see Appendix I, Location 84) that it seems inescapable that they were struck there or nearby. The billon coins have been found in large proportions in other finds (Locations 81 and 85) but not with their companion bronze issues. This 'Zeus' class of coins links with a group including issues of Maues, Apollodotos II, Hippostratos, Azes I and Azilises, associated by style, types and monograms (e.g. XI.96, 97, XIII.12, 14, 21, 26, 27, 30, XIV.31, XV.63, 64, 66, 67, XVI.5, 10, 11, 12). In this group various forms of the Zeus type are as characteristic as the Athena type is in the second group. Jenkins notes that the group does not have the immediate and obvious

⁶ Jenkins, JNSI 1955, pp.1-20.

⁷ Cunningham, NC 1888, pp.214 f.; Marshall, Taxila, I, 49 f..

⁸ Brett, ANS, MN 1950, pp.55 ff..

uniformity of his 'Pallas mint' group, but concludes that there seems a high degree of probability that it belongs, as a whole, with the Azes II coins, to the Taxila mint.

Jenkins' scheme is flawed by his assumption that each group belongs to one mint or may be traced back to one central mint for each issue. In the following pages it will be demonstrated that each group contains not one but several mint series. The Gandhāra mint group (Jenkins' Pallas group) is not restricted to Pushkalāvātī or Gandhāra proper but is spread over a large area extending south of the lower Kābul River. Similarly, the Taxila mint group includes an area greater than the immediate vicinity of the city and is closely related to the issues of Cukhsa and Uraśā - Zeionises' satrapy - to the north. But there is considerable evidence in support of Jenkins' general attributions of these three groups.

Azes I struck a coin with the Zeus device of the Sakastān-Arachosia group but with the style and monogram of his Gandhāra Athena group (GDH 16). Since the device was used in the SA group before the reign of Azes I, it must have been taken to the newly conquered area from the provinces to the west. This provides a link between the SA and GDH mint groups and argues for their physical proximity. A similar link between the Gandhāra and Taxila groups is provided by an issue with the same obverse device but a different Zeus type (XV.66) taken from the obverse of coins of Maues (XIII.12). Further east Azes' coinage diverged more from its SA prototype when he struck coins (XIII.27) completely patterned on the Maues issue, from which the reverse in the previous innovation was borrowed.

These links between the groups affirm that they were contiguous with the second one, GDH, occupying the central position. Paktyika's coinage at this time was an extension of the SA Śāka group and so does not interrupt the linkage. The provenance data cited by Jenkins prove that our SA and TX groups were on the west and east sides, respectively, and not the reverse. A northerly orientation for the links substituting Kāpiśa for Kābul for the Taxila group is ruled out by, among other reasons, the occupation of Kapisene by the Pseudo-Hermaios Scythians (Chapter III).

Another class of coins which form a geographically cohesive group are the drachms with King's bust/Athena Alkidemos (XVII.PA 3, 6, 7, 11, 12, 15) belonging to a line of kings each with the epithet sōtēr. The coins are usually assigned to the region of East Panjāb and the Siālkoṭ district.⁹ This attribution is supported by the fact that as Apollodotos II struck coins in this group and the Taxila group (see above), the mints of this series should belong to a province contiguous with that of the Taxila mints. The only region unaccounted for which could with any likelihood have supported several mints is the territory south-east of Taxila. This identification is surely proved by the fact that 99 per cent of the coins found there are of this group (Table 2). About 58 per cent of this class of coins are from Amarkoṭ (Hoard 19) on the southern trade route or from the Panjāb itself (Hoards 18, 20-23, 25), and another 26 per cent are from Mathurā (Hoard 28) still further to the south-east from Taxila.

Provenance data have bearing on the mint attribution of another group of coins. If the large number, 2341, of Azes II's coins of types KMW/ZN and King seated/Hermes found at Taxila (Location 84) determine their mint to be in that vicinity, the same argument might apply to the 2106 coins of Kujūla with Bust of Hermaios/Herakles which were found in the same excavations (Location 109). In comparison 746 coins of this type have been found west of the Indus River (Locations 103-108) as opposed to at least 2783 TX types of Azes II (Locations 74-80, 82, 83). This distribution tends to argue that the mint of these Hermaios-Kujūla coins belongs to the vicinity of Taxila, east of the Indus. This attribution finds some support in the Kharoshthī aksharas dhra and ra or ura and bu on type TX 91 which are also found on some related issues of Azes II (TX 42, 43, 45, 46, 78, 81), Zeionises (CU 23) and other coins of Kujūla (TX 80, CU 23) which are known to belong to this general vicinity from Zeionises/Jihonika being called kshatrapa of Cukhsa in Inscription 18. Another argument is that Kujūla's coins

⁹ Whitehead, NC 1923, p.309 = IGN, p.17; Marshall, Taxila, I, 54; Jenkins, JNSI 1955, p.19 and 22 f..

with the legend of Hermaios Sterossy on the obverse (TX 90) should be associated geographically with other Hermaios Sterossy coins (TX 47, GDH 65, 66), one type of which (TX 47) has monogram 138 as do some Taxila coins of Azes II (TX 45, 46).¹⁰ These points add up to slightly more than a prima facie case for placing types 90 and 91 in a Taxila mint. But a caution must be noted: as these coins do not have Greek monograms (perhaps mint marks), and as there is a variety of styles and degrees in quality of execution in them, there may have been a time in Kujūla's career of conquest when this type was carried from one mint to another. There was a similar transference of types in the coinage of Azes I and Azes II where the monograms and styles were changed. But the contention here remains that the majority of these coins of Kujūla represent issues from the mint(s) of Taxila and/or its kohistān.

The provenance data given in Table 2, part A, provide some insights into the general pattern of mint attributions. The coins of Sakastān-Arachosia, Taxila and the Panjāb make up the majority of coins found in their own province. But the coins of Taxila, Cukhsa and Uraśā (TX-CU) make up the majority not only of coins found in the home region (86.8 per cent), but also of finds in three other provinces which are not contiguous to Taxila: Paktyika (Mīr Zakāh, Hoard 77), Nagarahāra (Hoards 51-53), Kapisene (Begrām, Hoard 78). However these finds for the most part are composed of coins struck after the general debasement of currency, and none of these areas seem to have continued striking their own coinage after this change. This would be after the Arsakid conquest of about half of the Śaka Empire disrupted the pattern of trade (see Political Maps 8 and 9, and Appendix I, Section D). From then on the coinage of Taxila was generally more heavily debased than that of Gandhāra and tended to circulate over a wider area in accordance with Gresham's law.¹¹

¹⁰ These issues of Azes II, Zeionises, Hermaios Sterossy and Kujūla are discussed in detail in Chapter VII, but the general location of these coins with related styles, markings and legends proceeds from Jenkins' arguments regarding Azes II's KMW/ZN coins and the identification of Zeionises' satrapy.

¹¹ Jenkins, JNSI 1955, p.8.

The pre-debasement period coins of the Taxila mint found at Taxila itself account for 57 per cent of all the non-debased coins found there. The proportion of locally made coinage of all periods found in the remains is much larger. However, 94 per cent of the pre-debasement Taxila coins and 61 per cent of all its coins with known provenance are from that area (Table 2, part B).

Gandhāra does not seem to have held nearly as strong a claim on its own coinage. While more than 87 per cent of coins found in Gandhāra proper are of the GDH group, both pre-debasement coins and coins of the group as a whole with known provenance are about evenly divided between Chaman, Mīr Zakāh and Begrām to the west on one hand and Gandhāra proper and Taxila on the other. The mean location, or theoretical central point of distribution, falls somewhere in Gandhāra between Mīr Zakāh and Taxila.

There are few debased coins of the Sakastān-Arachosia variety (SA 51-64) with known, detailed provenance (see Locations 110 and 126). But the absence of such coins from large finds of debased coins at Mīr Zakāh, Begrām and Taxila, and to a lesser extent at Chārsadda (Shaikhān Dherī), indicates that these coins did not tend to travel from their province to the large trade centres. And as they are reported as having been found in Seistān, Girishk and Kandahār,¹² they do in fact belong to those provinces. The majority of pre-debasement SA coins form the majority of undebased coins found at Mīr Zakāh. These coins probably circulated freely in Paktyika since that province had a sparse coinage of its own. The second most important find of SA coins is from Chaman on the southern trade route, while the third most numerous find is at Taxila. There is little information on coin finds in Sakastān and Arachosia, but, to reinforce the point, the pattern of concentration of finds in these three places suggests the provinces west of, if not including, Mīr Zakāh and Chaman for the mints of undebased coins in our SA group.

¹² Hackin, JA 1935, p.291; and see MacDowall, NC 1965, p.138. Coins of this class, with Bust l., struck by Gondophares and Abdagases are not distinguished from the similar coins of the Gandhāra class with Bust r. (GDH 36-39).

The Mints

The majority of coins relevant to this study have already been divided into four groups based on style, typology and dynasties. The relative geography of these four mint groups has been predicated on the basis of various links between them, and the mint groups have been assigned to provinces on the evidence of the provenance of more than 12,000 coins. This evidence is by no means conclusive in all cases, but given the complementary nature of the provenance data with the arguments about relative geography taken from the coins themselves, and considering the limited number of provinces in this region which could have supported or certainly did support large urban communities, these conclusions on the general distribution of mint groups are convincing enough for us to proceed to a more detailed identification of the more important Śaka mints.

Monograms constitute the best means of sub-dividing coins within groups. The meaning of these monograms is a question still under debate. Cunningham¹³ proposed that they stand for names of mints or mint-cities, and occasionally for the name of the king. Tarn¹⁴ argued that they represent names of magistrates. But regardless of their meaning, whether or not they identify mints or local officials, monograms must hold some significance for the time and place of their use. Following Bivar, our method is to assume a relationship between monograms and locality,¹⁵ and in the course of our mint analysis in this and the following chapters suggestions will be made about the interpretation of monograms and identification of mint-cities from them.

Monograms on the Śaka coins of the Sakastān-Arachosia class can be divided into four groups: mons. 1-10 (SA 1-14), 11-15 (SA 15-32), 16 and 17 (SA 33-38), and 18 (SA 39-41). The least complex monograms are 1, 4 and 5, and these unmistakably intend bēta as the dominant letter. Mon. 3 is simply BA and indicates the priority of

¹³ CASE, pp.60-77; NC 1888, pp.204-16.

¹⁴ Tarn 1951, pp.437-41.

¹⁵ NC 1965, pp.88 f..

bēta. Mon. 4 is the same as mon. 1 with an additional stroke to add alpha to the component letters, which are bēta, alpha, delta and perhaps rho. Mon. 2 includes mon. 1 and apparently thēta arranged in a rectangle. Mons. 6 and 7 suggest components of omikron, alpha, rho and thēta - the same as in 2 except omikron is substituted for bēta. Mon. 8 omits the rho and 9 and 10 are variations, perhaps blunders, on the previous form.

The only known name of an ancient site in this region which might be represented by these monograms is Barda.¹⁶ This spelling is suggested by mons. 1-5, and especially 3, in which the order of the two initial component letters appears as bēta and alpha. Mons. 6-8 could spell Oartha, Oatha or Oada. In conversation with the writer, Professor Sir Harold Bailey has confirmed that Barda, Barthā, Oartha, etc. in Greek script could be forms of the same non-Greek word, but he would have expected the Oartha forms to have been earlier from a linguistic point of view.¹⁷ The development of this word would depend on its origin and the language of the speakers who changed its spelling. Our purpose is to make only a tentative suggestion about the interpretation of the monograms.

The second group, mons. 11-15, gives no clues about which of the component letters should be first. But mon. 15 is invariably accompanied by Kharoshthī si. This close link suggests a relationship between the two, so that si (sigma, ēta or sigma, iota) may be taken as the initial sound of the word meant by mon. 15. This offers little help in deciphering the remainder of the components, but the only town listed by ancient geographers with this initial sound is Sigal or Sigara.¹⁸

¹⁶ Isidore of Charax, Stathmoi Parthikoi, 18 (Müller 1855, pp.253 f.). Isidore lists the cities of Barda, Min, Palakenti, Sigal and Alexandria or Alexandropolis in Sakastān, kingdom of the Śaka Scythians; and Biyt, Pharsana, Chorochoad, Demetrias, and Alexandropolis the metropolis of Arachosia, in Arachosia. And see Ptolemy, Cosmographia, Bologna, 1477, and Rome, 1478.

¹⁷ In conversation, January 1971.

¹⁸ Isidore and Ptolemy, respectively.

Mons. 16 and 17 are always accompanied by Kh. mi, and the monograms have my and iota as components. Rho is also an unmistakable component of these monograms, so that the spelling of the word intended probably began with my, iota, rho. No ancient name from this region beginning with the syllable mir is known. Mon. 18 is composed of delta, rho and iota, but again no name spelled dri... or dir... is recorded.

Isidore locates Barda and Sigal in Sakastān. If these places were the sites of two Śaka mints, it would probably be correct to assign the other two to Arachosia. The early coinage of the Pahlavas falls into three groups: drachms of good silver (SA 43-50) and two groups of debased tetradrachms (SA 51-54 and 55-61). The coinage in good silver is patterned after Arsakid types (II.44-50) and is usually assigned to Sakastān.¹⁹ If the Śakas had two mints in this province, the one used later may also have been a mint of the Pahlavas. The two mints suggested for Arachosia may have been used for the two series of debased Pahlava coinage.

A tetradrachm with the devices and style of the Sakastān-Arachosia coinage of the Śakas has mon. 27 (IV.PTY 4), suggesting that the mint of the coin, if not in this region, should be nearby or bordering one of these two provinces. This monogram seems to be a variation on mons. 25 and 26. Bivar has had opportunity to examine several coins found at Mīr Zakāh near Gardez in ancient Paktyika and reports that these monograms predominate in the monogram count.²⁰ Paktyika satisfies the requirement that the province of these coins be contiguous with the sphere of SA coinage. Some coins with mon. 28 (IV.PTY 6) are also of the SA style, and this monogram may be from a later period in Paktyika. The mint was probably at or near modern Gardez.

The Gandhāra group of coins contain three monogram series with continuous histories from the Indo-Greek through the Pahlava periods. One of them has mon. 45-60. A constant component is alpha, and mon. 49 is simply that letter. Mons. 56-58 are almost invariably

¹⁹ See Mukherjee, Agrippan Source, p.235.

²⁰ NC 1965, p.96.

accompanied by Kh. a, which probably indicates the first letter of the word which the monograms represent. Hence this group is called the Alpha series or mint. The second group has mons. 62-77, and from mon. 62 it is designated the Sigma series. The third major series has mons. 96-107. Bivar is of the opinion that mon. 96 belongs to Pushkalāvatī.²¹ A unique gold coin (XI.115) with the devices of a bull and the image and name of the goddess of Pushkalāvatī has been compared with a copper coin of Azes II with type Goddess/Bull and mons. 103 and 104 (XII.117).²² The location of a mint at Pushkalāvatī is confirmed by the gold piece, and the similarity of the copper coins to the gold one suggests that they were struck at the same mint. Therefore its monograms and the other, obviously related ones in this series should probably be assigned to Pushkalāvatī. The correctness of this attribution will become more apparent when the coins of Azilises and Azes II (Chapters V and VII) are discussed in detail. But for the moment it may be accepted as a working hypothesis.

Table 3 illustrates all the known instances of the use of double monograms, which, if our hypothesis is correct, indicates joint issues between mints. Joint issues of the Paktyika and Pushkalāvatī mints with the Alpha and Sigma mints of Gandhāra demonstrate the relative locations of the latter two. These four mints form a chain of joint issues in the order Paktyika-Alpha-Sigma-Pushkalāvatī. One joint issue between Alpha and Pushkalāvatī (GDH 105-107), as opposed to four each between Alpha and Sigma, and Sigma and Pushkalāvatī, was probably struck at a time during Azes I's reign when the Sigma mint was not functioning or when the Alpha mint was the central mint of the region providing administrative facilities for reorganizing the other two. These linkages suggest that the Alpha and Sigma mints should be placed in an approximate west to east alignment in the territory between Paktyika and Pushkalāvatī. Another chain of joint issues links Paktyika with

²¹ Ibid., pp.92-5.

²² Mukherjee, NC 1965, pp.109-12.

with the Alpha mint and Alpha with the mint of mon. 29. Bivar prefers, tentatively, to place mon. 29 at Alexandria ad Caucasum or Kāpiśa.²³ But it is reasonably certain that imitation Hermaios coins with mon. 41 and their genuine prototypes with mons. 38 and 39 were struck at mints in the vicinity of Kāpiśa and Alexandria. Therefore Hermaios' coins with mon. 29, which are of different design and style, cannot belong there (see Chapter III). It therefore seems more likely that mon. 29 belongs to Nagarahāra, and the Alpha mint should be placed to the east in a position to communicate with both Paktyika and Nagarahāra.

Some hint as to the meaning of the monograms of the Alpha mint can be derived from arranging them in the order of the complexity. Each change in form adds a letter to the components of the less complex monogram. Thus 50 and 58 add rho to the single alpha of mon. 49. Mons. 56 and 57 add tau to alpha, rho. A round omikron in 51 and a square one in 52, 54, 55, etc. complete the sequence and account for all the letters which must be intended, although others are possible. This method of analysing these monograms implies the order of the first four letters of the word as being ARTO from A, A+R, A+R+T, A+R+T+O.

If a known name can be matched with these monograms one should seek a name beginning with the letter A and possibly the cluster ART. West of the Indus River in the provinces under scrutiny Ptolemy lists only four cities whose names begin with a vowel. Each of these is located by him in the region immediately south of the Kabul River: Artoarta, Andrapana, Asigrāma and Embolima. The only one of these whose dominant consonantal sounds can be matched with the above arrangement of the monograms' component letters is Artoarta.²⁴ Indeed all of the letters which must be contained in the monograms account for all the letters in this name as handed down by Ptolemy. If this city is located without assuming too great an error on the

²³ NC 1965, pp.98-102.

²⁴ Cunningham also suggested that monogram 56 might be read as Artoarta. CASE, p.75.

part of Ptolemy it should be in the district south of Peshāwar and the Kābul River, possibly in the hills between Thāl and Kohāt.

The Sigma mint perhaps should be in the same general area as Artoarta, and the only such location according to Ptolemy whose name begins with a sibilant is Sabana, which, on his maps, is in the spot west of the confluence of the Swāt and Kābul rivers occupied by modern Peshāwar and its environs. One of the words which can be made up from some of the Sigma mint monograms is Sapana, which would closely follow Ptolemy's form of the name. The monograms of this mint do not lend themselves to a convincing analysis: however Kharoshthī monograms offer some assistance. The earliest Kharoshthī monogram is so with mons. 66 and 62 on coins of Azes I and Azilises (GDH 47, 48). Mon. 74, śpila, on a Pushkalāvātī issue (GDH 108) probably refers to the Sigma mint, because the next innovation is mon. 75, sapila or spila, with mon. 67 on coins of Azes II (GDH 52, 54, 55). Then Kh. si accompanies mon. 69 (GDH 60-62), and 76, sagila, accompanies 69 (GDH 63). The chronological order of these marks is so, śpila, sapila or spila, si, sagila. There seems to have been some confusion about the initial sound, but the final -ila remains constant. The word is probably a non-Prākṛit name which was difficult to render in the Kharoshthī script. What it is, and whether it could have been corrupted into Sabana by western Classical writers is purely a matter of conjecture.

No ancient name can be suggested for the Zeta mint monograms, 80-86. But the Beta mint, mons. 87-89, might be Ptolemy's Banagara, which is probably modern Bannū.²⁵ Both of these mints, it seems, functioned only under Azes II; their coins and relative locations will be discussed in Chapter VII. The Epsilon mint is tentatively identified with Embolima and the site of Amb.²⁶ Mons. 92 and 94 suggest a vowel as the initial letter. The Azes I coin (XI.96) has no Greek monogram, but the two Kharoshthī letters, if taken together, read imba. Some of these coins with Zeus devices (GDH 95-99) should properly belong to the Taxila group. But this can be taken as an

²⁵ Cunningham, The Ancient Geography of India, p.72.

²⁶ See Stein, On Alexander's Track to the Indus, pp.125 f..

argument for Amb which is on the west bank of the Indus north of the Kābul River and geographically within our definition of the Gandhāra coin group (Map I). During the reign of Azilises the coinage of Taxila exerted a strong influence on that of Pushkalāvātī (Chapter V), and so our conjectured mint at Embolima-Amb could have been in the Taxila currency sphere.

The pre-debasement coinage of Taxila has two distinct mint groups. Mons. 129-136 are found on the coins of the largest and most complete group, and they are assigned to the central mint at Taxila. However the monograms can not readily be deciphered into that name. Mons. 132-134 are probably combinations of mons. 129-131 with 135, and mon. 136 is a variation of 135. These combinations might mean that there were two mints close together with could easily be amalgamated.

Mons. 142-145 are found on coins of the other mint group. Because Azes I seems to have struck coins with mon. 143 before his capture of Taxila and his issue of coinage with mon. 135 (p. 72), this mint is located west of Taxila on the route from the GDH Alpha mint. The most likely place west of Taxila should be a crossing point on the Indus River.²⁷ Therefore it is designated the Indus mint, with a suggested location in the vicinity of modern Attock at the confluence of the Kābul and Indus rivers. No ancient name can be deciphered from the monograms. These two mint series were being issued simultaneously. This differs from the view of Jenkins that mons. 133, 135 and 143 were used sequentially on coins of Hippostratos and Azes I at the same mint. These monograms do not prove that Taxila was repeatedly won and lost to each other by these kings as he suggests,²⁸ but such repeated changing of control before Taxila was finally taken by Azes I is of course possible.

Monograms of the Panjāb group indicate five series or mints: 160 and 161, 162, 163, 164, 165. Little can be said about their

²⁷ Cunningham, NC 1890, p.105, suggested that the prostrate figure trampled by Poseidon on a bronze type is a river-god (GDH 8, TX 60, 62), and that the device signifies a successful passage of the Indus.

²⁸ Jenkins, JNSI 1955, p.16.

locations. But the absence of mon. 162 on coins of the later kings who used 165 could indicate that the mint of 162 was already lost to the Śakas; therefore it was probably further west than the mint of mon. 165.

The locations of all the major coin series of the Śakas and Pahlavas are proposed on the basis of the relative situation of mints taken from styles and monograms of the coins themselves. Suggestions about the meaning of monograms and names of mints are of secondary importance, and the probable locations of the mints do not depend on attempts to identify mint-cities with sites known only from ancient geographers. But the relative locations of some mints in an east-west or north-south alignment is of extreme importance to the reconstruction of invasions in the following chapters.

CHAPTER III

PSEUDO-HERMAIOS AND MAUES
(Political Maps 1-6)

The date and activities of the Indo-Greek king Hermaios have been the source of much confusion in the study of the Śakas, Pahlavas and Kushāṇas. A widely held view is that Hermaios formed an alliance with Kujūla and struck a joint coinage with him (TX 90, 91).¹ Another view is that the heavily debased, silver plated coins of Hermaios were not struck by him but rather were issued by Scythian invaders who occupied his kingdom and debased the coinage, or that the base coins may have been issued by private moneyers after the collapse of the Indo-Greek rule.² Another approach to the problem allows that the transition from genuine to imitation coins may have been during the period of coinage in good silver, perhaps at the time when the Greek legend began showing square omikrons instead of the normal round ones.³ None of these views offer a satisfactorily convincing solution, nor do they discuss the Hermaios coinage in detail. But the answer to this problem can be found, and moreover the resulting evidence of the imitation coinage provides an important control point in reconstructing the chronology and geography of the early Śakas.

Hermaios and His Successors

The undoubtedly genuine issues of Hermaios include his joint issues with Kalliope. There are only two types, NH 3 and GDH 103, of similar style, and we should not expect a non-Greek to originate a conjugate device with Greek names. The monograms of these coins,

¹ Van Lohuizen-de Leeuw 1949, pp.362-4; Sircar 1969, p.53 n.; Konow, CII, p.lxiii; Ghirshman, Begram, pp.120 f.; Simonetta, EW 1957, p.64; Raychaudhuri, PHAI, p.461; and see Bachhofer, JOAS 1941, pp.239 f..

² Rapson, CHI [1962], I, 506 f.; Marshall, Taxila, II, 764; and see Narain 1957, pp.159-62, and Tarn 1951, pp.326 and 498.

³ Mukherjee, SKGC, pp.93 f.; and see Jenkins, JNSI 1955, pp.21 f..

29 and 96, should indicate genuine issues or prototypes when they occur on coins of Hermaios alone (NH 1, 2, GDH 102). This line of reasoning is supported by other considerations, such as style and type. Both these monograms are also found on coins of Strato Soter Dikaïos and Philoxenos Aniketos, and number 29 on coins of Diomedes Soter. Of all the remaining monograms on coins of Hermaios only two, 38 and 39, were used on coins of these three Indo-Greeks.⁴

As monograms on known genuine coins were used in common with, among others, these kings, it is more than likely that these latter two monograms also indicate genuine issues (PK 9, 11). However, unlike the other genuine silver issues of Hermaios, these issues are known to have a corresponding bronze denomination - square coins with Radiate bust of Zeus/Horse (PK 10, 12) - which is another indication that these coins are probably genuine. One other monogram, 30, can be regarded as identifying genuine coins because it is found on the only silver Hermaios coin of Attic weight (PK 1). The same monogram reversed, number 31, is found on bilingual coins (PK 2), and these also may be taken as genuine. None of the criteria for assigning these five monograms (29, 31, 38, 39, 96) to bilingual genuine issues can be applied to any of the other monograms on the coins of Hermaios. The other monograms indicate discontinuity between their coins and those of the earlier Greek kings either in time or place. This is the problem to be investigated, and the genuineness of all remaining silver coins is suspect. These coins are all of the same type, Bust (without helm)/Zeus enthroned.

All of the silver coins of doubtful genuineness can be divided into two groups according to style. Class A shows the enthroned Zeus with knees and feet wide apart and the end of the long sceptre resting on the ground between the feet (I.7, 11; V.PK 3, 8). The other style, class B, shows the deity's knees and feet close together, and the sceptre end, when traceable, rests next to the right foot

⁴ For coins of Philoxenos and Diomedes with these four monograms see BMC, pp.31.56 f., 40-41.1, 2, 5, 11, 57.16, XIII.5; PMC, IV.213, 220; Bivar, NC 1965, pp.96, 99, VII.5; NSS (Strato AE mon. 38).

(VI.13, 16, 19, 23; VII.9, 11; IX.44, 45; XIII.18). These coins also have a distinctive style, particularly in the treatment of the diadem ribbon on the portrait.

Genuine coins of type Bust/Zeus enthroned have three styles. Mon. 31 coins are as class A (V.2), and mons. 38 and 39 issues are as class B (VI.11). The third style shows Zeus' feet resting on a footstool but is otherwise similar to the class A style (XI.102). Coins of this variety have mons. 29 and 96 (NH 1 and GDH 102) and are all genuine.

The known genuine coin in class B (PK 11) is strikingly similar to PK 13, especially in the treatment of the looped diadem ribbon. If PK 13 is not a genuine issue, these two coins should be placed in chronological sequence, with the former, genuine coin providing the prototype of the latter, imitation coin. The clue to the genuineness of PK 13 lies in related bronze coins. Mons. 38 and 39 are found on bronze coins of Hermaios, so PK 11 has a corresponding bronze denomination, PK 12. Mon. 40 of PK 13 does not occur on bronze Hermaios coins, but it is found on bronze coins with the name and types of Eukratides Megas. One type is round and in Bactrian/Attic style with only a Greek legend (VI.14). The other is square with bilingual legends (VI.15). It must be noted that mon. 40 does not occur on any silver coins of Eukratides, nor on any bronze coins of Hermaios. If these coins are to be placed in sequence and referred to different kings, mon. 40 should appear on issues of both metals for both kings as with PK 9-12, instead of on one metal of each. It seems, then, that the Eukratides coins are the bronze denomination struck with the Hermaios silver, and if this is so they must all be imitations. Then PK 11 and 13 demarcate the transition from genuine to imitation coins in class B.

Tracing the monograms of the remaining silver coins reveals that PK 16, 19 and 23 each have corresponding round bronze issues of Eukratides. Monograms of types PK 16 (mon. 32) and PK 23 (mon. 42) occur on square bronze coins of Apollodotos instead of Eukratides, while mon. 41 of PK 19 is found on two square types of Eukratides, one being the Goddess of Kāpiśa coin (PK 22); and the goddess is seated in precisely the same posture as the Zeus in the class B style. By the same reasoning as that followed with the coins of

mon. 40, all of these coins are imitations, and, assuming that the monogram issues should be arranged sequentially, they all date later than PK 13, which certainly stands in line next to its prototype, PK 11. The order of the mons. 32 and 41 issues is proved by the well known overstrike of the Kāpiśa goddess coin on the Apollodotos coin with mon. 32 (Overstrike 6). The style of PK 23 (note the position of Zeus' knees and feet, VI.23) places the mon. 42 issue after all the others. Drachms of type PK 26 with double monograms, 43 and 44, do not have a corresponding bronze denomination, their Kharoshthī legend does not have the dots under the ma and ha aksharas in maharajasa, and the style is similar to PK 23. All of these features suggest that this type is the latest of the coins in this series.

The imitation Eukratides coins with the goddess of Kāpiśa locates the mint of the mon. 41 series in the vicinity of that city. Mons. 38 and 39 suggest that there were two mints for the genuine coins of class B. While the style of the mon. 39 coin provided the pattern for the mon. 40 imitation coin, mon. 38 with a definite M (my) component seems more likely to have been the original design for mon. 41. In any case the obvious similarity of the Hermaios silver coins with mons. 38-41 and the city goddess coin argues for a mint or mints in or near the city of Kāpiśa, and certainly within the province of Kapisene, as the origin of these coins. Given this knowledge it is tempting to accept Cunningham's suggestion that mon. 41 might stand for MITRA or some form of MITRAIAS or MITRANAS, and that this is the ancient name of Merwān or Milwān, the modern name of the ruins of a city eight miles north-west of Begram or ancient Kāpiśa.⁵ This might also be the interpretation of mons. 38 and 40. And since mon. 39 must belong to the same area it could stand for OPHIANĒS which is the Alexandria ad Caucasum or Alexandria in Opiane of Classical sources.⁶ Cunningham took this to be the Niphanda (from Ophianda) of Ptolemy and identified this city with the modern Opiān, which is eight miles west of Begram and is

⁵ CASE, pp.72 and 76.

⁶ Pliny, vi.92; Stephanus of Byzantium (Tarn 1951, p.96).

distinguished by ancient mounds.⁷ These two mints would then have been about five miles apart and both eight miles from the capital city, Kāpiśa.

The remaining coins in class B have mons. 51-55, 64, 65 and 133. The last monogram is characteristic of the Taxila group of coins, and, as will be explained below, the Hermaios and Eukratides coins with mons. 133 and 134 are imitations from that mint. The imitation Hermaios and Eukratides coins with the other monograms are found in greater varieties and would be expected to belong to mints in Gandhāra - between the place of origin of the imitation coins in Kapisene and Taxila. This region would have been occupied longer than Taxila during the advance and retreat of an invasion by Pseudo-Hermaios in which he briefly occupied the latter (p. 46).

The first imitation issue in class A is a tetradrachm (V.PK 3) with mon. 32 which was also used on drachms in class B. The style of this tetradrachm is quite similar to that of the bilingual genuine coin with mon. 31. And mon. 32 may be a variation on mon. 31. The use of mon. 32 on coins of both classes suggests that their geographical identities and times of mintage were rather close. It may be that the class A mint issued only tetradrachms at about the time the class B mint was issuing both tetradrachms and drachms of type PK 13. Then when the dies of this type were exhausted the two mints collaborated on a new complete silver and bronze series, with the class A mint supplying the tetradrachms. Two other tetradrachms of this class (I.7 and 11) were almost certainly patterned on PK 3, but their monograms are quite different and belong in Sakastān-Arachosia (p. 58). It appears then that in the early history of the imitation coinage class B provided the prototype for coins struck by invaders from Kapisene eastward, and class A mint sent its pattern with invaders to the south. The mint of the PK 3 coin cannot be located with the certainty of the PK 19-22 issue, but if it was not in the province of Kapisene but still in a position to cooperate with the Kapisene mint and on the route to Sakastān, it must certainly have been in the Paropamisadai, and probably at Kābul.

⁷ CASE, p.25; and Ancient Geography of India, pp.15-21. And see Tarn 1951, p.97.

The remaining coins of class A are of inferior execution and should be dated later than PK 3. Drachms with mon. 33 (PK 4) have maharajasa and are probably earlier than types PK 6, 7 and 8 which do not have the dots. A bronze Apollodotos coin (PK 5) has mon. 34, or 33 reversed. This coin may be the companion denomination to type PK 4, in which case it would be the only known imitation bronze associated exclusively with class A. Mon. 36 is similar to mon. 42 on class B coins. There may be a relationship between these issues, as mon. 32 was used on both classes. They differ in their usages of dots in the Kharoshthī legend, but again the mon. 32 tetradrachm in class A lacks the dots while the drachms in class B have them. The difference is probably due to their being from different mints.

It is not certain that any or all of these later class A coins were struck in Kābul, i.e. the mint of PK 2 and 3. Mons. 35 and 37 are virtually identical with mons. 106 and 105, respectively, on the Pushkalāvati coinage of Azes II. These coins may have been struck at Pushkalāvati, but their style is quite different from that used on the other silver imitation coins struck in Gandhāra. However none of the latter can be placed at this mint, and mons. 35 and 37 and class A style may have been used during an invasion and occupation unconnected with an invasion or mints which used the class B pattern. Mons. 33 and 36 issues, which may belong to Kābul, would be the PK prototypes for the two invasion strikings with mons. 35 and 37.

The strikers of the imitation Hermaios coinage were probably also responsible for a group of Arsakid drachms which were countermarked, or imitated and then countermarked (MA 1-5). It has been demonstrated that the nature of these counterstriking was benign, in that they did not destroy the face of the king's effigy, and thus they were probably countermarked during the reign of the issuer of the counterstruck coins because they seem to profess allegiance to him.⁸

⁸ Mukherjee, Agrippan Source, p.80.

Simonetta tentatively locates the counterstriking mint in Areia province.⁹ However, as both genuine and imitation specimens were counterstruck, it seems that the authority involved countermarked the coins of its overlord when such coins entered its dominions, and when the supply of these coins was short imitations of them were minted and then counterstruck. This reasoning has a corollary: if genuine coins were imitated for the purpose of counterstriking, it is obvious that the imitations were not struck at the same mint as were the genuine issues. Otherwise there would have been no need to make imitations. We must keep in mind that the counterstriking was intended as a friendly act, so that the imitation coins would not have been a continuation of the issue of a captured mint - which is precisely the meaning of the imitation Hermaios coinage. A coin of Phraates IV with mon. 23 was both countermarked and imitated (IV.MA 5, two coins). Mon. 23 is found on a later Pahlava series which belongs to the region of Margiana-Areia (see Chapter VI), and the earlier Arsakid coins should also belong to that area. Counterstriking and imitating would not have been carried out there while genuine Arsakid drachms were being minted. The origin of this coinage must be further east, and the Paropamisadai-Kapisene region supported the nearest known mints. Indeed, some of the counterstruck coins were found in excavations at Begram (Kāpiśa).¹⁰ We have already seen that the moneyers in that region at this time had a penchant for imitating coins. Thus, there is no serious objection to placing the countermarked imitation Arsakid coins there also.¹¹

* * *

The preceding analysis identifies the vast majority of the coins of Hermaios and a large portion of the bronze coins of

⁹ EW 1958, p.166.

¹⁰ Begram, pp.88-93, 95-97, XII.1-5 and 7; Simonetta, EW 1958, pp.165 f.; and see Mukherjee, Agrippan Source, pp.80 f..

¹¹ These coins are grouped with the Margiana-Areia coinage because their chronology is best explained in relationship with that class.

Eukratides and Apollodotos (I) as imitations. Several of these coins have been the centre of considerable controversy, and this new light on their mintage inevitably forces the reconsideration of assumptions which have been accepted as facts for several decades. It is therefore desirable to explain further the significance of these coins, even though some of the points have no direct bearing on this thesis.

1) The overstrike of Eukratides on Apollodotos (Overstrike 6) gives no evidence on the historical sequence of those kings,¹² because both coin-types are imitations designed long after the two kings were dead. Narain was quite correct in distrusting this evidence and arguing that the style of the Eukratides coin dates it much later than the period of Eukratides,¹³ and Gardiner doubted that it was struck during the lifetime of that king.¹⁴

2) There were two Indo-Greek kings named Apollodotos. Narain has argued that there was only one Apollodotos, and that all of his coins should be dated in the late Indo-Greek period.¹⁵ Advocates of the existence of two kings argue that the Apollodotos coins fall into two consistent groups on the bases of metrology, style, epigraphy and provenance.¹⁶ An important point of evidence in support of Narain's view is the 'typical tripod and bow and ... cruder workmanship' of the Apollodotos (I) coins listed in BMC, p.36.31-38, which are similar to certain Apollodotos (II) coins. These coins are precisely the ones that our own analysis identifies as imitations (PK 5, 18, 25). However, as will be shown below, Narain's judgement that these coins are about the same age as those of the later king is correct. But they do not affect the age of other coins of Apollodotos I.

¹² See Rapson, CHI [1962], p.I, 500; Whitehead, NC 1923, pp.318 f. = IGN, pp.26 f.. An overstrike of Eukratides on Antialkidas has been reported but not illustrated and so cannot be verified. Narain, IG, p.123; BMC, p.xxxv; and von Sallet 1879, pp.100 and 293.

¹³ Narain, IG, p.123.

¹⁴ BMC, p.xxv and 19n.

¹⁵ Narain, IG, p.125; and JNSI 1957, pp.121 ff..

¹⁶ MacDowall and Wilson, NC 1960, pp.221-8; and Jenkins, JNSI 1959, pp.20-33.

3) Eukratides did not use the title rājādhirāja. The Eukratides coin with this title (rajatiraja), GDH 10 (VII.10), is an imitation struck later than the coins of Maues that have it. The only other coins of Indo-Greek design with this title, Kh. rajaraja on debased Hermaios coins (GDH 65, 66), are doubtlessly imitations.¹⁷ There is no evidence that the imperial title 'king of kings' was used by an Indo-Greek monarch.

4) These coins provide information about the activities of at least one of the Scythian tribes after their invasion and conquest of Bactria. For the power which put an end to Hermaios' rule can only have been this invasion.¹⁸ Strabo names these tribes as the Asioi, Pasianoi, Tocharoi and Sakarauoi,¹⁹ and Justin (from Trogus) gives them as Saraucae (and Sacaraucae), Asiani and Thocari.²⁰ Two Parthian kings, Phraates II (ca. 138/7 - 128/7 B.C.) and Artabanos II (ca. 128/7 - 124/3), were killed resisting these invaders,²¹ and these events date the overrunning of Bactria in about 130-125 B.C.²² It is now generally agreed that the Tocharoi/Thocari are the Yüeh-chih of Chinese writers, called Kushānas and Tukhāras in Indian sources.²³ Recently the scene of the Tocharian invasion and location of Ta-hsia/Tocharistān have been convincingly placed in East Bactria: Badakhshān, Wakhān, Chitrāl and Nūristān.²⁴ At least one of the other tribes operated further west and had contacts with the Partians, for Lucian gives the information that Sinatrukes (ca. 77-70 B.C.)

¹⁷ As also believed by Lahiri, CIGC, pp.45 f..

¹⁸ Mukherjee, Agrippan Source, p.78.

¹⁹ Strabo, II.8.2.

²⁰ Justin, xli-xlii.

²¹ Justin, xlii.1-2.

²² Corroborative evidence comes from the account of Chang Ch'ien's visit to the Yüeh-chih in Ta-hsia in about 130-129 B.C., given in Han-shu, 61.1a and Shih-chi, 123.1a (Zürcher's translation in PDK, p.359).

²³ Mukherjee, SKGC, I, 23-28; Bailey, BSOAS 1935-37, pp.885 f..

²⁴ Mukherjee, EW 1969, pp.395 ff..

assumed the Parthian throne after being restored to his country by the Sakaurokoi Scythians.²⁵ Trogus' Prologues alludes to the 'Asiani kings of the Thocari, and the annihilation of the Sacaraucae'.²⁶

It is not certain which of these tribes defeated Hermaios and imitated his coins. It does not seem likely that it was the Tocharoi-Kushānas, although one of their kings, Kujūla, did at a later date strike coins with a Hermaios obverse device (TX 90, 91). The tribe and its rulers will be referred to as Pseudo-Hermaios.

The rule of the Pseudo-Hermaios Scythians in Bactria as shown on our political maps is uncertain, but it is predicated on the assumption that as the tribe must have passed through the region to reach Kapisene it may have retained control of Bactria for some time after conquering the provinces south of the Hindu Kush. With this reasoning it might be possible to link Pseudo-Hermaios with some imitation Eukratides silver coins in crude style and Bactrian weight and design.^{26a}

* * *

Hermaios and Archebios were the first Greek kings south of the Hindu Kush to be succeeded by non-Greeks in parts of their dominions, and the chronology of these events, which must be dated later than 130 B.C., suggests that these kings were approximately contemporary. Hermaios' kingdom included the Paropamisadaï, Kapisene, Nagarahāra and Pushkalāvati or Gandhāra proper. He struck a joint issue (GDH 41) between the Pushkalāvati and GDH Sigma mints, which indicates that he controlled the latter, probably located in a district south of Pushkalāvati across the Kābul River, for at least a short time. His conjugate issues with Kalliope all come from the Nagarahāra and Pushkalāvati mints, and these and other coins of Hermaios from these mints (NH 1-3, GDH 41, 102, 103) are of a uniform style, the 'footstool' variety described above, distinct from those of coins from the Kābul

²⁵ Makrobioi, 15.

²⁶ Justin, xlii.

^{26a} Cunningham, NC 1889, I.7.

and Kāpiśa districts (PK 1, 2, 9, 11). This suggests that these mints were in two contiguous or in the same district, and lends support to our attributions to Nagarahāra and Pushkalāvātī.

Archebios struck coins in Paktyika (PTY 1-3), the GDH Alpha mint (GDH 1-3), Nagarahāra (NH 4-7) and Taxila (TX 1-4). Both kings controlled trade routes between India and Parthia (Political Map 1). The only mint used in common by these kings is Nagarahāra. As Archebios' joint issue between this and the GDH Alpha mint (NH 6) was continued without break by Peukolaos (NH 8), it seems that Hermaios used the mint before Archebios and was probably succeeded by him. This is made more likely by the reasoning that Hermaios was probably succeeded (and killed ?) by Pseudo-Hermaios in Kapisene before Archebios was succeeded by Vonones and Spalahora in Paktyika (Chapter IV), because the sequence of invasions was generally from north to south. Archebios' silver coinage displays a general uniformity of style and design. One of the most notable variations is in the design of the coins of Alpha mint (GDH 1, VII.1) which have Zeus holding an aegis instead of the usual transverse sceptre. The joint monogram issues (NH 6, V.6) have the sceptre as on the non-joint issue (NH 5). This probably means that at least the reverse dies for the joint striking were engraved at that mint. Another variation in the coinage of Archebios is the poorer quality of portraiture on some Paktyika coins with mon. 26. These coins follow those with mon. 25 and good style and those of the joint issue with Alpha mint (PTY 2). Archebios' mint activity at Nagarahāra, Alpha and Paktyika can be hypothetically reconstructed:

Phase 1 - independent issues from each mint;

Phase 2 - Alpha mint dormant, its coinage struck in Paktyika;

Phase 3 - Alpha coinage issued from Nagarahāra, mon. 26 issues in Paktyika.

No bronze coins can be traced for Archebios at the Paktyika mint, but one type, Bust of Zeus/Palms and piloi, was struck in each of the other mints (NH 7, GDH 3, TX 3). The other bronze types were struck only at Taxila (TX 2, 4).

The similarity and undoubted association between the coins of Archebios and Peukolaos have been noticed by Whitehead, who thought

that Peukolaos was closely allied to the other king.²⁷ As far as the evidence of coins NH 8 and GDH 4 permits, it seems that Peukolaos succeeded Archebios only in Nagarahāra and the Alpha mint. It has been noted that Peukolaos' name is similar to the Greek name of Pushkalāvati - Peukelaotis.²⁸ However this does not prove that Peukolaos ruled over that city. Rapson took the Artemis device on the obverse of GDH 4 (VII.4) to mean that the Greeks identified the city-goddess on the reverse with Artemis.²⁹ But this does not necessarily follow; two representations of the same deity on one coin would be unusual. The two devices should be distinct deities. Peukolaos was a contemporary of Artemidoros, who succeeded Hermaios in the eastern part of his kingdom (see below) and used the device of Artemis. If the two kings were rivals Peukolaos might have celebrated a victory over the other by using his canting type. Similar use of an adversary's device was made by Hippostratos (TX 25) and Spalirises (SA 25), in both cases it being the Zeus enthroned of Pseudo-Hermaios. The Tyche may indicate the assertion of Peukolaos' rule over the city in question, or the city's support of Peukolaos in a test of his authority there or elsewhere. If the flower held by the Tyche is a lotus it might be a reference to Pushkalāvati, from pushkarāvati, 'having lotuses'. A flower, probably the lotus, was an attribute of the goddess of Pushkalāvati about a hundred years later, during the time of Azes II (GDH 115),^{29a} but there is no evidence that that flower was exclusively the prerogative of this goddess. Its symbolism during the Greek period may have had no localized association. Furthermore, if the original name of the city was spelled Pushkalāvati, it would be from the adjective pushkala, 'abundant, rich, excellent', and would mean 'having an excellent (nature)'. In this case it would not be necessary to associate the lotus with the name of the city. Consequently our

²⁷ NC 1923, p.325 = IGN, p.33.

²⁸ Rapson, CHI [1962], I, 503; Mukherjee, Agrippan Source, p.206.

²⁹ CHI [1962], I, 503.

^{29a} See Mukherjee, Agrippan Source, pp.168, 259.

view is that there is no proof that Peukolaos struck coins at or ruled in Pushkalāvati.

Hermaios was succeeded by Archebios in Nagarahāra, as seen above. Besides Archebios and Peukolaos two other Greek kings must be dated after Hermaios and before Maues. Artemidoros struck coins (GDH 6) with mon. 48 which is best explained as a cursive modification of mon. 46, with the rho element placed under rather than above the horizontal headline. This monogram is also found on a bronze coin of Eukratides (GDH 5). The style of this coin (VII.5) is similar to imitation Eukratides coins struck in Kapisene with mon. 40 (PK 15). Mons. 40 and 41 are also cursive adaptations of Greek monograms, and it is safe to assume that there is a relationship between these two and mon. 48. Pseudo-Hermaios used cursive designs first in Kapisene, and the Eukratides coin with mon. 48 must have been earlier than the use of the monogram by Artemidoros and the precedent for it. The looped diadem ribbon on Artemidoros' GDH 6 (VII.6) coins was also probably taken from Pseudo-Hermaios' mon. 40 coins (compare with VI.13) or from a hitherto unknown imitation silver issue with mon. 48. These issues should be dated after the last use of mon. 46 on coins of Peukolaos. The use of a square Eukratides type instead of the Apollodotos one of the mon. 32 issue suggests that Pseudo-Hermaios occupied the Alpha mint some time before the square imitation Apollodotos coins were adopted. Therefore it may be said that the mon. 40 issue in Kapisene was partly contemporary with the coinage of Peukolaos and provided the model for an issue struck at the Alpha mint after him. The sequence of kings at the Alpha mint is: Archebios, Peukolaos, Pseudo-Hermaios, Artemidoros (Political Maps 1-3). There is no evidence of activity at the Nagarahāra mint after the coinage of Peukolaos.

As Artemidoros is dated later than one issue of Pseudo-Hermaios coins, he must also follow the genuine Hermaios coinage. Both kings struck coins with mon. 63 (GDH 41, 42), and this form of the Sigma mint monogram was used only by these two kings and Philoxenos, a predecessor of Hermaios. This indicates that Artemidoros was the immediate successor of Hermaios at this mint. The same chronology will apply at the Pushkalāvati mint where Artemidoros used mon. 97 (GDH 104) on a bronze issue. The only other mint that can be

assigned to Artemidoros is the Epsilon mint with mon. 91 (GDH 94). He struck some silver coins of type Bust helmed/Artemis l. shooting arrow³⁰ and the same except with diademed bust.³¹ These coins do not have the usual type of monogram but rather a symbol.³² They cannot be assigned to a mint with confidence, but probably they do not belong to the Alpha or Sigma mints which struck silver coins of the Nike type for Artemidoros (GDH 6, 42; VII.6, IX.42). Two bronze coins with Artemis on the obverse and rampant lion³³ or bull³⁴ on the reverse both have a monogram similar to 18. This monogram does not link up with any other in this time and region. But as the Artemis device may have been copied from the reverse of a Demetrios coin with the same monogram,³⁵ the monogram may have been inadvertently copied as well. In any case these coins cannot be assigned to a mint, but probably belong to either GDH Epsilon or Pushkalāvatī, which did strike bronze coins of the bull type (GDH 94, 104).

Artemidoros struck coins in at least four mints. In two mints (Alpha and Sigma) which were near each other he struck silver coins of the same type, Nike, and two other mints relatively close to each other produced bronze coins of the same type. If Artemidoros succeeded Hermaios at Pushkalāvatī and perhaps GDH Sigma, as seems likely, the bronze coinage would have to be earlier than the Alpha silver, which must come after Peukolaos and Pseudo-Hermaios. The Artemis type silver coins mentioned above should precede the Nike type, and should be placed in the Epsilon mint or Pushkalāvatī, or both, since there are two varieties of reverse design - Artemis with and without helmet. The Nike type used at both Alpha and Sigma

³⁰ NC 1947, II.4 = Shortt, NC 1963, IV.22G; BMC, XXXII.4 = CIGC. X.9.

³¹ PMC, 69.551, 552 (VII.551 = CIGC, X.7).

³² CIGC, mon. 124; PMC, mon. 74.

³³ NC 1923, XVII.3 = CIGC, XI.5.

³⁴ BMC, XIII.2 = CIGC, XI.3.

³⁵ PMC, I.22.

was probably designed only after and perhaps to commemorate Artemidoros' victory over Pseudo-Hermaios and capture of the GDH Alpha mint.

The other Greek king who must be later than Hermaios is Telephos. The coins and reign of this king are connected with those of Maues who, from the sequence of invasions, cannot with any probability be placed in Taxila before the collapse of Hermaios and Archebios' kingdoms. And as Apollodotos II directly succeeded Maues (see below), Telephos must have been his predecessor. Telephos struck coins with mons. 142 (TX 56) and 153 (CU 1, 2). He provided the prototype for Maues' coins with Zeus (or Zeus-Indra) enthroned (TX 57, CU 3). The coins of mon. 153 are tentatively grouped with those of Cukhsa-Uraśā. The mural crowned goddess with Zeus (or Helios) may be the same as the similar deity paired with Zeus on a coin of Maues (CU 5) with Kh. da and mi. The so-called dami coins of Maues (CU 5-9) connect with the mon. 154 series (CU 7-9). Mon. 142 is similar to 143 without its circle and is assigned to the Indus mint. One curious circumstance surrounding Telephos' coinage is that he struck coins only in mints that cannot be traced in any earlier issues. He apparently did not strike coins in Taxila, and his territory in the Taxila region may not have been as great as shown on Political Map 2.

The serpent-legged figure on one coin type (CU 1) of this king is believed to be an allusion to the mythical Telephos, the slayer of such monsters.³⁶ But it is interesting that Cunningham linked the monster to Skythes, the eponymous hero of the Scythians, whose mother, Echidna, is described as having serpent-like legs, and suggested a connection, perhaps familial, between Telephos and the Scythians.³⁷ Figures of this type have been found at Tsymbalka

³⁶ Whitehead in Taxila, II, 836. Telephos is the mythical founder of Pergamon, and the battle between the gods and snake-legged giants is depicted in the great frieze of the Pergamon altar built in the first quarter of the second century B.C.. See Lullies, Greek Sculpture, pls. 251-259. N.C. Ghosh in India's Contribution, p.138, and Marshall, Taxila, II, 836, identify the figure as a lotus Yaksha.

³⁷ CASE, pp.296 ff.; and see Graves, The Greek Myths: 2, sec. 132v.

and Kerch, Scythian settlements north of the Black Sea.³⁸ There is no connection between Echidna or Skythes and the enemies of Telephos in the myths, but their similar description could have led to their being confused, perhaps deliberately, in Gandhāra. An Indo-Greek prince in conflict with Śakas - Scythians in the Greek literature - might have propagandized himself as the slayer of serpent-legged monsters similar to the monster of Scythian legend and art. This does not mean that there is a connection between Maues and the Scythians of South Russia; Telephos' propaganda would have been for the benefit of his Greek and Graecophile subjects. But as these connections between a coin type from the Greek myths and a Śaka/Scythian adversary may not be accidental, 'Telephos' might be an epithet rather than the actual name of a king. Admittedly this is a hazardous line of reasoning, but with this in mind it may be useful to carry the speculation further. If 'Telephos' is an epithet, its user might have been Archebios, and the Telephos coins would belong to the period of Political Map 1. This could resolve the problem of Maues' coins linking with those of Archebios in Taxila after a time-gap.

On the other hand as Telephos did not put his portrait on his drachms he might have been a sub-king, or junior co-monarch.³⁹ If he were such a king, his coins could still be dated to the time of Archebios. That both used Zeus devices may indicate dynastic kinship between them.⁴⁰ Telephos' installation as co-monarch might have been necessary before putting him in command of forces resisting Maues' invasion. The new mints striking Telephos coins were in any case probably set up during the war against Maues. The warrior device on one Telephos coin (CU 2) might identify it as part of a war-time coinage.

³⁸ Minns, Scythians and Greeks, figs. 54 and 276.

³⁹ Three Indo-Greek kings, Apollodotos I, Antimachos Nikephoros and Telephos did not use royal portraits on drachms. Tetradrachms in their names have yet to be discovered.

⁴⁰ This interpretation of devices has been taken by Rapson, CHI [1962], I, 492-507; Narain, IG, p.102, Allouche-le Page 1956, pp.91-128.

Telephos is the only Indo-Greek who used the title euergetēs, 'beneficent'. Kalanakrama in the Kharoshthī legend is the Prākṛit equivalent of euergetēs,⁴¹ and it is equivalent to Sanskrit kalyāṇakarma, 'one whose works are beneficial'. The earliest known occurrence of the title euergetēs on Arsakid coins is the last issue of Mithradates II struck about 90 B.C.⁴² If it is correct to date Telephos before Maues, and unless our chronology can be scaled down ten or twenty years, Arsakid coins cannot be the source of this usage. Telephos might have been original in his use of the title, or he copied the idea from Ptolemaic or Seleukid kings who used euergetēs much earlier.⁴³

Maues

The antecedents of the Maues group of Śakas are obscure. One theory is that they came into the Gandhāra-Taxila region from Chinese Turkeṣṭān through the Hanging Pass or the Karakorum Pass⁴⁴ as shown on Political Map 1. Another reconstruction of their movements identifies them with one of the Scythian invaders of Bactria. However, they cannot be identified with the Pseudo-Hermaios Scythians who occupied Kapisene. Their distinctive and contemporary coinages

⁴¹ Lahiri, CIGC, p.41. Whitehead in Taxila, II, 836, translated kalanakrama as Sk. kalyāṇakrama, 'of beautiful gait', 'of good conduct', but noted that one would expect kalanakarma (from Sk. kalyāṇakarma, 'having beneficial works') as the exact equivalent of euergetēs, 'benefactor'. The latter interpretation is correct: Prākṛit krama is equivalent to Sk. karma as dharmika is to Sk. dhārmika (see SA 1, etc.).

⁴² Sellwood, NC 1962, p.77. This coin added the titles dikaioi, euergetēs and philellēn to those already being used by Mithradates II. Orodes I Theopator might have struck his first 'euergetes' coins slightly earlier than those of his rival, Mithradates.

⁴³ Antiochos VII (138-129 B.C.), Ptolemy VIII (170-130) and others.

⁴⁴ See Rapson 1898, p.8; Narain, IG, pp.135-8; and Mukherjee, Agrippan Source, pp.202-4 and 208 f.. Mukherjee, Nanā on Lion, pp.51, 90, puts their origin in Central Asia. The theory that Maues came from Sakastān into Gandhāra (Cunningham, NC 1890, p.104) has no direct evidence to support it, and the chronology seems impossible. The first Śaka invasions from this direction were those of the Vonones and Azes groups.

preclude their being the same people. But the Maues group may have reached Taxila by a route from the Oxus region through Badakhshān, Wakhān and Chitrāl (Map I).⁴⁵ In either case the coins suggest that Maues approached Taxila from the north, because he struck a series of coins in the Cukhsa-Uraśā region (CU 3, 4) which provided prototypes for some of his issues in Gandhāra (see below). These coins represent the introduction of his tribe into the commerce of the Gandhāra-Taxila country, and this southward migration apparently put the Śakas in conflict with Telephos, whose mints Maues took over.

Maues struck a large and varied currency in Taxila. The first phase of his coinage is characterized by mon. 131. One type of this group (TX 9) was copied from the Elephant head/Caduceus bronze coins in Bactrian design of Demetrios.⁴⁶ The only bronze coins of Bactrian design struck south of the Hindu Kush are this coin of Maues and the round imitation bronze coins of Eukratides struck by Pseudo-Hermaios (PK 14, 17, 20, 24). These coins should belong to the same period and probably have a connection. Since the Pseudo-Hermaios coinage is the more systematic, Maues' mint probably borrowed the idea of this bronze denomination from the Kapisene mint. But it should be noted that the uni-lingual, short legend on this type of Maues does not necessarily prove that the coins precede his coins with the longer Greek legend and same monogram (e.g. TX 6) as thought by some scholars.⁴⁷ This monogram issue links with that of Archebios with mon. 131, and Maues' mon. 132 issue (TX 12, 13) links with that of Apollodotos II (TX 14, 16), thus establishing the sequence of these monograms in Taxila. The similar mons. 130 and 129, on TX 11 and 17 respectively, are another mintage link between Maues and Apollodotos II.

⁴⁵ This route would mean that Maues was not one of the Sai mentioned by the Han-shu, 96A, as having migrated southward across Hsien-tu into Chi-pin. See Mukherjee, Agrippan Source, pp.203 f..

⁴⁶ CIGC, p.108.5 and XII.9.

⁴⁷ Pai, JIH 1935, p.328; and Marshall, Taxila, II, 771; Altekar, JNSI 1947, pp.11 ff..

A unique square bronze coin of the Apollo/Tripod type (TX 8) was undoubtedly copied from Pseudo-Hermaios' imitation Apollodotos issue with mon. 32 (compare VI.18 and XIII.8). This is evidence for the relative chronology of Pseudo-Hermaios and Maues. One coin type and perhaps all of the first monogram issue of the latter in Taxila must be dated later than the initiation of the second monogram issue of the former in Kapisene. (Again chronological priority is given to Pseudo-Hermaios' coinage, which seems to be more systematic than that of Maues.)

Devices on the silver coins with mons. 131 and 132 (TX 5 and 12, XIII.12) were copied from coins of Peukolaos (Zeus, V.8) and Artemidoros (Nike, VII.6, IX.42). These devices were also used on square bronze coins at the Indus mint (TX 58, 59) but probably after the silver type had been introduced. There is no difficulty in dating Maues after Peukolaos, but he must also have begun his Taxila coinage after Artemidoros struck his first Nike type in the Sigma or Alpha mint.

Maues copied the devices of TX 10, Horse/Bow in case, from one or both of two Arsakid issues. One has the legend ARSAKOU BASILEŌS THEOU and a monogram similar to mon. 50,⁴⁸ and the other has BASILEŌS ADELPHOU PHIL..., but no visible monogram.⁴⁹ Mukherjee argues that the square shape of these coins places them in or near the regions where such coins were struck by Indo-Greeks and Śakas. He notes that both devices were used on bronze coins of some Arsakid kings of dates earlier than or contemporary with Maues.⁵⁰ These kings, who it seems must be earlier than Maues' mon. 131 issue, are Mithradates I (ca. 171-138/7 B.C.),⁵¹ Mithradates II (123-87 B.C.),⁵²

⁴⁸ Bartlett, NC 1963, XXII.1 = Whitehead, NC 1940, VIII.7 = Mukherjee, Agrippan Source, III.7; KWD.

⁴⁹ Bartlett, NC 1963, XXII.2 = PMC, XVII.v.

⁵⁰ Mukherjee, Agrippan Source, pp.81-3.

⁵¹ BMC Parthia, II.13, III.6.

⁵² Ibid., VI.11, VII.1, 4, 5, 10, 13.

and perhaps Arsakes (?) Autokrator Philopator (ca. 85-75 B.C.).⁵³ The coins most like the devices of the square specimens in style are those of Mithradates II. If this king was responsible for making these coins, Maues would again have copied devices in his first Taxila issue from coins of a contemporary. These coins are discussed further in Chapter IV.

The large bronze type with Herakles/Lion (TX 6) does not have an exact prototype for its obverse design. The rampant lion may have been copied from the small bronze coin of Artemidoros mentioned above. But the significance of the Herakles coin is that it provided the technique of execution for the Artemis/Bull coins (GDH 7) struck at the Alpha mint.⁵⁴ The positions and sizes of figures, legends and monograms are the same. The bull faces left like the lion, whereas on all earlier coins⁵⁵ and on another issue of Maues (TX 13) it faces right. And finally, two specimens of the Artemis type have mon. 131,⁵⁶ perhaps from dies engraved at Taxila. The only other coin of Maues from the Alpha mint (GDH 8) was copied from the Poseidon type struck at the Indus (TX 60) and Cukhsa-Uraśā (CU 4) mints. The paucity of all coins and absence of silver issues of Maues in Gandhāra as opposed to his prolific coinage in the Taxila region suggest that his coinage in the former region was later and of shorter duration than that at the latter mints.

Coin type GDH 43 with mons. 49 (alpha) and 62 (sigma) represents a joint mintage between the Alpha and Sigma mints. These coins were probably produced at the latter because, unlike the Alpha mint, it is not known to have struck coins in its own right during the occupation of Maues, and the joint issue may indicate that it was being administered from the other. The devices on this type are

⁵³ Ibid. X.5, 7, XII.12. See Appendix III, Section C for the dating of Maues, and note 8 for our arrangement and dating of this Arsakid king.

⁵⁴ These coins can be compared at BMC, XVI.4 and 5.

⁵⁵ Apollodotos I, Artemidoros, Diomedes, Epander, Heliokles, Philoxenos. CIGC, VII.1-5, XI.3, 4, XIV.7, XV.1, XX.13, XXVIII.8.

⁵⁶ BMC, 69.7; PMC, 99.11.

identical with those on another Indus mint issue (TX 59). The close connection between the Indus mint and Maues' GDH coinage suggests that the site of that mint might have been a major staging point for the Śaka's invasion of Artemidoros' kingdom. In any case, it provides an argument for locating this mint of the Taxila class between Taxila and the Gandhāra mints.

The only other mint used by Maues is GDH Epsilon. He struck one type here, square drachms with Helios in tetrazygon/Zeus enthroned (GDH 95) and mon. 92 (epsilon), which gives the mint our designation for it. As Maues struck coins in five mints previously used by Indo-Greeks, it is unlikely that this issue belongs to a new mint. Two monograms, 91 and 97, of Artemidoros (disregarding the one of doubtful attribution discussed above) were not used by Maues. Epsilon cannot be an element of mon. 97, but it could be a component of mon. 91. Maues' tendency to reduce complex monograms to simpler forms can be seen in mons. 49 and 50 (from 48) and 62 (from 63). This identification means that Maues used a type adapted in a mint of Telephos (see CU 3 with mon. 153) in a mint of Artemidoros. This should indicate that these mints of these two Indo-Greeks were relatively close to each other. The boundaries between kingdoms in this region would probably have followed either mountain ranges or rivers. In this case Artemidoros' Gandhāra province and Telephos' district in the Taxila or Cukhsa-Uraśā provinces were probably separated by the Indus River. Amb (Amb-Balima) on the west bank of the Indus is known to be an ancient site, and it has been identified with the Greek city Embolima.⁵⁷ Opposite Amb in the district north of Mānsehrā are several sites which yield antiquities of the Greek-Śaka-Pahlava period: Dūdiāl, Shīnkiārī, Baffa, Bedādī, Shāhdaur (Maps II and III). This concentration of ancient sites identifies this area, Uraśā (modern Hazāra), during this period as an important

⁵⁷ See M.A. Stein, On Alexander's Track to the Indus, pp.125 f.; McCrindle's Ancient India as described by Ptolemy, S.N. Majumdar Sastri, ed., pp.142f.. Cunningham, Ancient Geography, p.48, incorrectly identified the Greek city with Ambar, near Ohind.

centre of culture, which could have supported a mint.⁵⁸ Alternatively a mint might have been in the adjoining province of Agror, and mons. 153 and 154 could refer to different locations in the same area used sequentially for mints. A joint issue between the Sigma and Epsilon mints in the coinage of Philoxenos (mons. 62 and 91),⁵⁹ and the typological connection between the Epsilon and mon. 153 mints suggest their relative locations as being Sigma-Epsilon-mon. 153 from west to east.⁶⁰ Amb and Uraśā satisfy all the requirements in locating these mints but, of course, do not supply the only possibilities.

Maues succeeded Artemidoros in at least three mints and, although there is no known issue of Maues in Pushkalāvati, he probably occupied that city as well unless Pseudo-Hermaios did so. After the reign of Artemidoros there was no Greek kingdom separating the territories of Maues and Pseudo-Hermaios (Political Maps 3 and 4). That both Scythian powers had relations, which were probably of a hostile nature, with the Greek king is evidenced by their both striking coins successively with him in respective mints, and in the case of Alpha in the same mint. This does not prove that the two Scythian tribes were related or that they collaborated against the Greeks. But the fact that Pseudo-Hermaios struck coins in at least one mint immediately following Maues suggests that either the Maues group was related to the other Scythians, joined them in a confederation and then adopted or deferred to the other's system of coinage (the politically 'neutral' imitation coinage which might be expected from a confederation of rival chieftains); or on eliminating the

⁵⁸ Note the comment of Rawlins about, except for Peshāwar district, 'no country being so full of ancient remains as the Hazāra district', quoted by Whitehead, NC 1923, p.343 = IGN, p.51.

⁵⁹ Bivar, NC 1965, p.78, no.9, and VI.9. Philoxenos struck square drachms with mon. 91 as Maues did with mon. 92 - another link between these monograms.

⁶⁰ Note that a similar chain of relations locates the Sigma-Indus-Taxila mints. As Sigma is a terminus for both three-mint chains, and the eastern terminus of one and the middle member of another were both mints of Telephos, there are limits to their possible locations - with a known site, Taxila, forming the other eastern terminus.

major Greek enemy they came into conflict themselves, with Maues the eventual loser. In any case Maues was succeeded by Pseudo-Hermaios west of the Indus (Political Map 5).

Pseudo-Hermaios struck silver (GDH 9) and bronze (GDH 10) coins with mon. 51. This monogram is the same as Maues' mon. 50, with a slight alteration in shape and the addition of a round omikron. This means that after striking coins at GDH Alpha before Artemidoros, after the reign of Maues, Pseudo-Hermaios again occupied that mint. The style of his tetradrachms, with straight diadem ribbons on the portrait (VII.9), is like that of the mon. 32 and 41 issues of class B in Kapisene (VI.16, 19). This indicates the origin of the type as being from the north-west and the time of its design as being later than the beginning of the second or third monogram issue in Kapisene (PK 16-22). Hence the reigns of Artemidoros and Maues were contemporary with the first and probably all of the second monogram issues of Pseudo-Hermaios in Kapisene. The corresponding bronze issue with mon. 51 is an imitation Eukratides coin of type Bust helmed/Nike (VII.10) and with rajatirajasa in the reverse legend. This title was used on almost all of Maues' coins, and its use by Pseudo-Hermaios is another link between the two Scythians. The Nike device taken with the title suggests a victory over Maues but might instead refer to the war with Apollodotos II. The next issue at the Alpha mint has mon. 52. The coins have square omikron in the Greek legends, so naturally the omikron of the monogram was made a square one. Mon. 53 on some coins (GDH 11a) of the same design is probably a blundered mon. 52. The silver coins (VII.11) are of a different style from the previous issue. The diadem ribbon-ends on the portrait are given a distinctive loop, the enthroned Zeus figure lacks the usual rayed halo, and the monogram is moved to the left field and replaced by a Kharoshthī letter in the right. These changes suggest that after the mint had been organized by officials from Kapisene, who designed the mon. 51 issue, the mint employed local die cutters who varied the original design. The bronze issue used henceforward is the usual Dioskouroi type of imitation Eukratides coins (VII.12).

As in the coinage of Maues the Sigma mint issued imitation coins in conjunction with the Alpha mint. Mon. 54, a variation of

52, was used with mon. 64 on GDH 44 (IX.44), and mon. 57 with 65 on GDH 45 (IX.45). The attribution of mons. 54 and 55 to the Alpha group is undoubted - the latter is perhaps a revival of the basic design of mon. 46. Mons. 64 and 65 may contain sigma, but their attribution to the Sigma group becomes convincing when these joint issues are considered in the light of the earlier Alpha-Sigma joint type of Maues (GDH 43). The administrative organization of the mints apparently continued under his successor. The style of the portrait on GDH 45 is virtually identical with that of GDH 11 (compare VII.11 and IX.45). The presence of Kharoshthī letters in the reverse right field of the Sigma mint is another connection with the Alpha mint issue. They were probably contemporary, and the obverse dies of both may have been engraved at the same mint. The absence of Kharoshthī initials on GDH 44 (drachms only) suggests that it may have been the earlier issue. In that case the square omikron in the legend and monograms of this type would be the first such usage on Hermaios type coins.

That Maues was contemporary with or earlier than Apollodotos II is known from Overstrike 7 (XVII.o/s 7). The coins of these kings form a direct series in the Taxila mon. 132 group. They are the only kings who used this monogram, and it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that Apollodotos II succeeded Maues in at least Taxila and perhaps elsewhere.⁶¹ The Apollodotos bronze type used for the overstriking is found on rare corroded specimens (GDH 46), and its monogram cannot be clearly identified. But it seems to be similar to mons. 65 and 66. This would place its mintage at GDH Sigma. The coins' date, however, need not be after all the imitation coins there; they might have been struck between the issues of Maues and Pseudo-Hermaios.

But Apollodotos' contemporaneity with Pseudo-Hermaios coinage in the Gandhāra mints is proved by type TX 18 with mon. 133. The reverse of this imitation Hermaios coin is similar to that of the Alpha mint with mon. 51 in that Zeus is radiate. However the obverse has diadem ribbon-ends similar to those on the first Sigma

⁶¹ This point has been well established by Jenkins, JNSI 1955, p.14.

mint issue (compare IX.44 and XIII.18). The drachms have round omikron while the tetradrachm has the square form. These features suggest that the Taxila issue was patterned on the Alpha mint imitation which provided the prototype for later imitations in Gandhāra, but that it also has some links with the Sigma mint. We may be correct in dating these three issues in accordance with their relative west to east locations - Alpha mon. 52, Sigma mons. 54 and 64, and then the Taxila issue.

The monogram on the Taxila coin, 133, is a minor variation of 132 of Maues and Apollodotos II, and the same as that on a unique tetradrachm of Apollodotos (TX 21) and a group of Hippostratos coins. This change in the monogram design gives a clue to the relative dates of these coins. More than one such change in minor details is not to be expected, so that mon. 132 always precedes 133. Therefore Apollodotos' type TX 14 is older than his TX 21. A comparison of their styles (XIII.14 and 21) reveals several differences, plus the addition of a Kharoshthī monogram on the latter. The portrait on the latter, in fact, is more like that on the Hermaios tetradrachm (XIII.18), especially in the treatment of hair and diadem ends. The obvious conclusion is that the changes in style of Apollodotos' coins were occasioned by the imitation Hermaios coins. The latter interrupted the Greek king's coinage at the Taxila mint. Such an occurrence cannot be explained except by two changes in ownership of the mint and attendant warfare. These coins are unmistakable evidence that Apollodotos was at war with Pseudo-Hermaios (Political Map 5).

Further corroboration of this chronology is found in the absence of imitation Apollodotos I coins in Pseudo-Hermaios' mon. 41 issue and his Gandhāra coinage, and the overstrike of this monogram issue on an Apollodotos coin with mon. 32 at about the time when Apollodotos was ruling in Taxila and was in conflict with Pseudo-Hermaios. The latter could not allow his own coinage to be confused with that of a contemporary and adversary. So the Apollodotos type had to be discontinued and taken out of circulation. The reintroduction of the type in the mon. 42 issue (PK 25) should be dated after the end of Apollodotos II's reign.

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The antecedents of Apollodotos are unknown. Whether he was related to the dynasties of Hermaios and Archebios is conjectural. It is, however, reasonably certain that he began his career in the Panjāb not long after Maues conquered Taxila. He and other Greeks may have migrated to the Panjāb from Gandhāra-Taxila at the time of the Scythian invasion. He struck several monogram issues of the Panjāb class, each with its own distinctive style. Some coins have only the title sōtēr and others the additional one of philopatōr which may have been copied from certain Arsakid coins.⁶² The coins with sōtēr probably precede those with both titles⁶³ in each mint, and the silver coins with the single title all belong to the Panjāb class, none to Taxila. Hence it seems that Taxila was occupied after or at the time of the adoption of the second title. Two types of Maues (PA 1, 2) are tentatively located in the Panjāb region strictly on the similarity of their monogram, 160, to 161 of Apollodotos' PA coins with short and long legends (PA 3, 4). If Apollodotos succeeded Maues in a PA mint before, and in Taxila after the adoption of the long legend, the succession could not have been abrupt, and Maues apparently lost Panjāb territory to the Greek before the latter took Taxila. It does not seem likely that this could have happened under amicable circumstances. At different times Pseudo-Hermaios and Maues both fought with Apollodotos just as they both had done earlier with Artemidoros.

Apollodotos struck tetradrachms and drachms with the title philopatōr and with mon. 167 and Kh. di⁶⁴ which cannot be assigned to a mint with any confidence. The PA silver coinage is in drachm denomination only, and the portrait of Apollodotos always has straight diadem ribbons. These coins have looped ribbons, and their style is similar to that of the TX Hermaios and later Apollodotos issues. It is not impossible that these coins were

⁶² The possible significance of this title to the date of these coins is discussed in Appendix III, Section C.

⁶³ The principle 'short titles are earlier than long ones' has been applied to other situations. See Bivar, NC 1965, pp.82 f..

⁶⁴ SML; PMC, IV.276.

struck at a temporary mint outside Taxila during Pseudo-Hermaios' occupation of the city.

Dionysios is placed in eastern Panjāb during the later part of Apollodotos' reign (Political Map 5). His only known silver coinage (PA 10) was struck at a mint used by Apollodotos for his 'soter' coins but not his 'philopator' variety. The Dionysios portrait style is rather like that of Apollodotos than that of Zoilos. So it seems correct to place Dionysios between these two kings during the time when Apollodotos was striking 'philopator' coins at other mints in Taxila and presumably western Panjāb. Hippostratos succeeded Apollodotos in Taxila and perhaps part of western Panjāb, but he did not use any mints in the latter region, as mons. 163 and 164 were used only by Apollodotos. The latter may have adopted the title philopatōr when he installed Dionysios as junior co-monarch and gave him the title sōtēr. Zoilos succeeded Dionysios in the mon. 162 mint (PA 11) and Apollodotos in mon. 161 mint (PA 6), and he established another mint which used mon. 165 (PA 16, 17). He seems to have controlled more territory than Dionysios (Political Maps 5 and 6). His date relative to Apollodotos is proved by Overstrike 8. Zoilos therefore succeeded both Apollodotos and Dionysios and was a contemporary of Hippostratos. These eastern kings, Dionysios and Zoilos, held the East Panjāb while the other kings were busy with the wars in Taxila and Gandhāra.

CHAPTER IV

THE ŚAKAS IN SAKASTĀN AND ARACHOSIA

(Political Maps 1-8)

There are two groups of Śakas who struck coins in the Sakastān-Arachosia series. The earlier is represented by the satrap Spalyris/Śpalahora and his son the satrap Śpalagadama who issued coins under the suzerainty of a certain Vonones. The later group consists of the kings Spalirises, Azes I and Azilises, and is normally referred to as the Azes group. As Spalirises also struck a satrapal issue it is probable that these two groups of rulers belong to the same family or dynasty, with Spalirises marking the transition to independence. There is however no direct evidence to link the Maues group discussed in the preceding chapter to either the Vonones or the Azes group in Sakastān-Arachosia.

Origin of the Śakas in Sakastān

In past years there has been some confusion about whether the Vonones and Azes groups should be called Parthian (or Indo-Parthian) or Saka (Śaka).¹ 'Vonones' is a Parthian name, but, as has been shown by Bailey, his satraps and successors have Saka names. 'Spalyris/Śpalahora' is from Iranian spāda, 'troop', and Khotanese Saka haura, 'commander'. Hence the name means 'commander of a troop', and is equivalent to the title spādapati (Persian sp'hpt, Greek spapitou, Pahlavi spāhpat, Parthian sp'dpty). 'Spalirises/Śpalariśa' is from the same spāda and either Iranian raiz, 'to please', or *razi from raz (Khot. rrās, rris, rrus, rrus, rräys, rriys), 'to direct'. This gives the possible meanings of śpala-riśa as 'acceptable to the troop' (or 'taking pleasure in the troop'), or 'directing the troop'. In 'Śpalagadama' occurs the same śpala meaning 'troop'. The component gadama is equivalent to kātama from kā,

¹ V.A. Smith, ZDMG 1906, pp.49-72, sought to identify all the peoples in question, the Vonones, Azes, Maues and Gondophares groups, as Parthians. Rapson, CHI [1962], p.512, labelled the Maues group as Śakas and the Vonones and Azes groups as Pahlavas, but believed that Śakas and Pahlavas were closely associated and cannot always be distinguished.

'desire', and the superlative tama.² This name then means 'the most desired (favourite ?) of the troop', or 'the most desirable of (desired from among) the troop', i.e. 'the best soldier'. 'Azes/Aya' is from Khotanese Saka az, 'to lead, drive', and aza, ajá, 'driver', and thus can mean 'commander'.³ 'Azilises/Ayilisha' (for 'Ayiliśa') is composed of az and riśa and means 'acceptable to (as) the commander', or 'directing the command'.

All of these names are elucidated with the evidence of Khotanese Saka. It then appears that these people spoke a Saka dialect, not Parthian, and should be referred to as Sakas or Śakas.

* * *

The earliest reference to Śakas in Sakastān (Drangiana) is from Isidore of Charax's reference to the Sakastanē of the Sakai Skythai.⁴ Isidore wrote his work between 26 and 1 B.C..⁵ F.W. Thomas argued that Darius I (522-486 B.C.) settled a group of Śakas in Drangiana.⁶ But Daffinà has shown that this theory has no real foundation.⁷ Tarn's theory that Mithradates I (ca. 171 - 138/7 B.C.) settled Śakas in Drangiana⁸ is also shown by Daffinà to have no evidence in its support.⁹ So we are left with the fact that the earliest literary notice of Śakas in Drangiana/Sakastān can be no earlier than about 26 B.C.. The Vonones and Azes groups mentioned above either partially or wholly date from before Isidore's reference,

² Bailey, AION 1959, pp.130-2.

³ Bailey, in conversation, January 1971.

⁴ Isidore, 18 (Müller 1855, p.253); and see Daffinà 1967, p.3.

⁵ See the discussion of Isidore's date in Mukherjee, Agrippan Source, pp.211-5. Daffinà 1967, pp.5-15, argues that Isidore's work should be dated shortly before A.D. 77.

⁶ F.W. Thomas, JRAS 1906, pp.181-203.

⁷ Daffinà 1967, pp.83-6.

⁸ Tarn 1951, pp.222-4, 500.

⁹ Daffinà 1967, pp.39 f..

since they are probably the Śakas (Sakai) noticed by him. Isidore identifies Sakastān-Arachosia as part of the Parthian Empire at the time of his writing, and this particular Arsakid occupation is necessarily later than all or part of the Śaka rule there. It is reasonable to date this Arsakid interlude after Azilises lost the region and before Sanabares and the Pahlavas began their independent coinage (see below and Chapter VI). Since there is no evidence of any permanent Śaka incursions south of the Oxus River via Bactria before ca. 130 B.C., the coins of the earliest known Śaka in this region, Spalyris/Śpalahora, can be dated no earlier than a reasonable period after this invasion, representing the time it took to migrate and settle in Drangiana/Sakastān. The first coins might have been struck as early as 115 B.C..

Another argument in favour of dating the Śaka migration after the invasion comes from the Zeus device on the satrapal coins. This type ultimately derives from the coins of Heliokles.¹⁰ The Bactrian variety of this king's coins was imitated, perhaps immediately after his reign, by the Scythian invaders. These imitations¹¹ were probably the first such copies made in this region. If these coins, and not the genuine coins of Heliokles, were the precedent for the use of the Zeus type in Sakastān, the latter would have to be dated after the initial invasion of Bactria. The Bactrian imitations have the same devices, Bust/Zeus, as the genuine coins and could not have been copied from the Vonones coins. However the style of the Vonones coins compared with the poor design and execution of the imitations indicates that, whatever the role of the imitations, the design of the Śaka coins was taken from genuine Heliokles coins. But as the device was probably not copied before Heliokles' death, and as he seems to have been the last Greek king in Bactria before the invasion, the Vonones Zeus type must be dated after Heliokles and the invasion.

It is, in fact, quite possible that the Śakas of the Vonones group were related to or identical with these Scythians, as both of them imitated a device of Heliokles' coins. We have already seen

¹⁰ CIGC, XIX.8, XX.5-10.

¹¹ CIGC, pp.135.1 var. a, XIX.12.

that the Pseudo-Hermaios group of Scythians took the imitation Hermaios and Eukratides types to newly conquered areas. The abandonment of the Heliokles bust and legends by the 'Pseudo-Heliokles' group can be explained by the intervention of Vonones in their affairs. It is not certain whether the Scythians who copied Heliokles' coins have any connection with those who copied Hermaios'.

The alternative dates for the migration into Sakastān introduce a problem of great importance to the study of these Śakas - the identification of the Great King of Kings Vonones. As mentioned above the name 'Vonones' is doubtlessly Parthian, and with this knowledge there are two approaches to take to discover its bearer's identity. Either Vonones was an independent Parthian nobleman, perhaps a rebellious former viceroy, who set up his own kingdom among the Scythian invaders, or 'Vonones' is an epithet or second reign name of one of the Arsakid rulers between ca. 120 and 70 B.C..

There are some chronological limitations on the first alternative. Mithradates II, as will be noticed below, is known to have had success in defeating Scythian tribes and annexing their territories, and, perhaps partly as a result of this success, he took the imperial title 'great king of kings'. Since he was powerful in this part of his empire, it seems unlikely that he would have needed to tolerate an upstart countryman who called himself 'king of kings' on his borders. And a loyal lieutenant certainly would not have used such a title. So an independent Vonones can be dated only after about 91 B.C. when Mithradates II's rule was challenged by a rival, Gotarzes I. Another objection is that it is unlikely that a Parthian could have maintained his rule over the Śakas without the backing of a predominantly Parthian army. If he were being honoured, or humoured, by the Śaka chieftain for political purposes one would expect the latter to have had a higher title than 'the just (legal) brother of the great king'. If Vonones were physically present in Sakastān-Arachosia there would have been no need to put the names of his satraps on his coins. They were almost certainly representing an absent overlord. The only alternative to these objections seems to be that Vonones and Śpalahora might have been in alliance, the former being the more powerful partner. But again the glaring discrepancy between the titles makes this

unlikely: a 'king's brother' holds his office at the pleasure of the king, not as a voluntary ally.

An effort to explain 'Vonones' as an epithet or second reign name of an Arsakid monarch requires an explanation of its meaning. The etymology of Vonōnēs/Onōnēs has not been fully elucidated. It is certainly a Hellenization of a Pahlavi word. Frye suggests that the original is Whwnm.¹² It might in fact be taken from the name of the god Wanand who is described by the Wanand Yast and Nīrang ī Xrafstr Zadan as 'the destroyer of evil creatures'.¹³ Wanand (wnnd) in turn may derive from or be cognate with the Old Persian for 'victorious', *vanayant(a).¹⁴ Therefore the name can be explained as meaning 'the destroyer of evil creatures' or 'the victorious'.

Either of these meanings for 'Vonones' would have been an appropriate epithet or adopted name for a Parthian king who defeated and settled the Scythian invaders. There are several points in favour of identifying 'Vonones' as such a title or reign name of Mithradates II (123 - 87 B.C.). Strabo gives the information that the Arsakids took a part of Bactriana, having forced the Scythians to yield to them.¹⁵ Justin, on the authority of Trogus, states that Mithradates II conquered the Scythians and added many people to the Parthian Empire.¹⁶ Strabo's information about the Arsakid successes is thus probably an allusion to Mithradates' victories and perhaps others as well. It is possible, but not certain, that Sakastān-Arachosia was among the territories annexed by Mithradates II. This king was the first Arsakid to use the imperial title 'great king of kings', which was not used again by an Arsakid until Mithradates III (58/7 - 55 B.C.) and Orodes II (57 - 37/6). This title was also used by Vonones. That Mithradates conquered tribes in the vicinity of Vonones' kingdom and

¹² Frye 1962, p.294.

¹³ Kotwal 1969, p.177.942.

¹⁴ Compare the Bactrian Oanindo, 'victorious', from vanaintī (Maricq, JA 1958, p.355), or from van from *vanayant(a) (Humbach 1960, p.18).

¹⁵ Strabo, XI.9.2.

¹⁶ Justin, XLII.2; and see Mukherjee, Agrippan Source, pp.72 f..

that both used the imperial title are strong indications that they are one and the same person. It must be noted that all Arsakid kings of the second and first century B.C. used the eponymous 'Arsakes' for their reign names and never their personal names. The absence of 'Arsakes' on the satrapal series might be explained by the non-Attic weight and non-Arsakid design of the coins. An epithet or reign title of 'Vonones' among Scythians and Scythian vassals would have been effective propaganda, because its meaning would have served as a constant reminder to them of Mithradates' martial talents. But 'Vonones' should be regarded as an adopted name, similarly to 'Arsakes', rather than an epithet or title, for titles are given in Greek on both the Arsakid coinage and the obverse of Vonones' coins. If only an epithet or title were required Greek nikatōr, 'the victorious', would suffice.

In the preceding chapter (p.41) it was observed that the square bronze coins of Arsakes Theos and Adelphos Phil... are in style most like types of Mithradates II, and that one of these coins must be dated earlier than the end of the first monogram issue of Maues in Taxila. Mukherjee links the title adelphos with its occurrence on coins of Spalyris and Spalirises in the vicinity of Arachosia and suggests that the Adelphos Phil... coin belongs to the same region.¹⁷ The Arsakes Theos coin belongs or refers to an Arsakid king. The title theos was used by Phraates III (ca. 70 - 58/7 B.C.) and Mithradates III (58/7 - 55 B.C.) before the middle of the first century B.C..¹⁸ If this use of the title has to be referred to one of these kings the square coin cannot be the prototype for Maues' coin (TX 10). This would leave the Adelphos Phil... issue to be dated earlier than Maues' copy. The probable date of Maues and the similarity of the Horse/Bow-in-case coins to those types of Mithradates II argue for dating the Adelphos Phil... coin in the reign of that Arsakid king, and this tends to date the use of the title adelphos and Vonones in Sakastān to the same general period.

¹⁷ Mukherjee, Agrippan Source, pp.81-4.

¹⁸ Sellwood, NC 1965, p.134.

Another Arsakid who had success on the eastern frontier of the empire, and possibly against the Scythians, is one of the rivals and successors of Mithradates, Orodes I Theopator (ca. 90 - 85 B.C.) who struck the campaign issues with katastrateia, 'army camp', on one and names of the provinces Margianē, Traxianē and Areia on three others.¹⁹ If this king held suzerainty over Sakastān-Arachosia by military force he may have taken the reign name 'Vonones' under the same conditions as described for Mithradates. But Orodes Theopator did not use the imperial title on his Arsakid coins.

A third Arsakid to be considered is Wroth's unknown king,²⁰ Arsakes (?) Autokrator Philopator (ca. 85 - 75 B.C.). In this case it might be argued that in 'Vonones' we have a personal rather than a reign name, since the name of this king is unknown. The satrapal series would probably have begun before Vonones established himself in Parthia; the title autokratōr, 'ones' own master, absolute', can imply that his claim to the Arsakid name and throne was of doubtful legitimacy. But this explanation would require Vonones to give up the imperial title when he had become the king of Parthia and more powerful than before.

Sinatrakes Theopator Nikator did not use the imperial title either, but his title nikatōr is the Greek equivalent of one of our meanings for 'Vonones'. Lucian recorded that Sinatrakes was restored to his country by the Sakaurakai Scythians in his eightieth year and ruled for seven years.²¹ How long he was with the Scythians and what his position was among them is not known. But if he is Vonones, that series of coins could have been struck before and during his reign as an Arsakid king. It is perhaps more likely however that he took the title nikatōr to commemorate his restoration or in emulation of

¹⁹ BMC Parthia, p.40. This king appears to have usurped the throne during the last years of Mithradates II from Gotarzes I, another usurper, so these coins may record successes against one of his Arsakid rivals and not Scythians. See Sellwood, NC 1962, p.77; and Simonetta, NC 1966, pp.19 f..

²⁰ BMC Parthia, pp.56 ff.. Wroth assigned some 'theopator' and some 'philopator' coins to the unknown king and the 'autokrator philopator' coins to Sinatrakes (pp.42 f.).

²¹ Lucian, Makrobiōi, 15.

a predecessor famous among the Scythians, who had the epithet or reign name with the same meaning. The epithet theopatōr could have been copied from Orodes Theopator, who had military successes in or near Scythian dominions. Both titles then would have been recognized by the Scythians. That he wanted to impress his Scythian hosts or was sympathetic towards them is indicated by the adjuncts to the tiara of his coin portrait, which have been described as horn and stag ornaments, the stag being a regular feature of Scythian art.²² But, as there are no known tetradrachms for him, Sinatrukes does not appear to have controlled Seleukia-on-the-Tigris,²³ at least during most of his reign. It is not likely that he could have enforced his rule over the Scythians, and there is no evidence that he had been their ruler during his exile.

So we are left with the conclusion that Vonones is not likely to have been an independent Parthian nobleman, and that the most likely Arsakid monarch who might be identical with Vonones is Mithradates II. If this hypothesis should be correct all the Vonones coins will be dated within the period ca. 120 - 90 B.C.. Spalirises' coins would begin after 90 B.C. (perhaps during the period of Political Map 4) when Parthia was in confusion with rival kings and could not defend or control the Śaka satrapy. One of Spalirises' types with the designation 'king's brother' in both legends (SA 18) indicates that he was not far removed from the Vonones coinage, and it may have been struck while Vonones was still alive and his authority was still being given nominal recognition in Sakastān. But the absence of the king's name on this silver satrapal issue indicates that he was no longer in direct control of his satrap's policies.

The Coinage

Śpalahora struck coins with Vonones in three mints, two of which were probably in Sakastān (SA 1-4, 15) and one in Paktyika (PTY 4). The latter mint is identified by mon. 27 which has an unmistakable resemblance to mon. 26 on the coins of Archebios. The monogram is

²² Sellwood, NC 1962, p.81.

²³ Arsakid tetradrachms were struck only at Seleukia. See R.H. McDowell 1935, p.154; and Selwood, NC 1962, pp.76, 82.

in the reverse right field, and the only SA issue of Vonones with the monogram in this position is the first one with mon. 1. This may date the PTY issue in the same relative period. Špalagadama struck coins with the Parthian overlord in only the two Sakastān mints (SA 9, 10, 17). The title dhramika on the Špalahora coins is in compound with maḥarajabhrata. It should therefore qualify the condition of brotherhood with the great king rather than allude directly to Špalahora. Dhramika is the equivalent of Sk. dhārmika and can be an adjective or noun meaning 'righteous, just' or 'judge', but in this case it is probably a translation of Greek dikaioi, 'just'. The compound implies that the brotherhood was either a legal arrangement or an honorific, the king and the satrap being brothers in government and the dispensing of justice. There is no reason to believe that the two were congenital brothers.²⁴ Špalagadama identifies himself as only 'the just, the son of Špalahora', but here dhramia (= dhramika) is not in compound with Špalahoraputra. It is doubtless that in this case the relationship is a familial one.

Špalahora and Špalagadama struck a joint bronze type in both mints (SA 8, 16). The obverse legend is the Greek equivalent of Špalahora's legend on the silver coinage with Vonones. The reverse has Špalagadama's regular Kharoshṭhī legend. This type shows that Špalagadama was associated into the government during the lifetime of his father. At what point in the coin series Špalahora died is not made clear, because his son's coinage with Vonones has the same reverse legend as on the Spalyris/Špalagadama bronze coins and does not give him any title other than dhramia, 'the just', or 'the legal authority'. If Špalahora was no longer on the scene when his son began his silver coinage, which is not at all certain (p.59), Špalagadama cannot have been granted the title of king's brother by Vonones. This may mean that Vonones was not in the province at the time, which, as suggested above, was probably the case throughout most of the period of satrapal coinage. The title reappears on a type of Spalirises (SA 18) in both the Greek (but without dikaioi)

²⁴ The view that the relationship was familial has been held among others by Cunningham, NC 1890, pp.106 ff., Rapson, CHI [1962], p.518, and van Lohuizen-de Leeuw 1949, p.347.

and Kharoshthī legends. On this type Spalirises, like Špalahora and Špalagadama before him, did not use royal titles for himself. This coin offers an argument for linking Spalirises to the other two satraps, perhaps as a (younger ?) brother or an uncle of Špalagadama. His name has the same first component as the other two, and the second component can be interpreted similarly to either of the other names. This similarity in names is a strong indication of familial relationships between their bearers. The theory that Spalyris/Špalahora and Spalirises/Špaliriša are the same name of a single person²⁵ is disproved by Overstrike 9 of the latter on the former,²⁶ and by the fact that, though they may have similar meanings, the names have different etymologies.

The introduction of Špalagadama's name on coins coincides with a change of monogram form in the Beta series. That mons. 1, 2 and 6-8 may represent various forms of the same word is shown in Chapter II. The attribution to the same mint is made probable by the continuity of the coins and the lack of an overlapping in the use of the two basic designs.

Imitation Hermaios coins twice intruded into the Sakastān Beta series during the satrapal period. The first intrusion is represented by coins with mons. 3-5 (SA 5-7) and in a style like that of PK 3 (compare I.7 and V.3). The similarity between mons. 1 and 4, and possibly between 2 and 3, is the main argument for attributing these coins to Sakastān. The second intrusion has coins with mon. 8 (SA 11) which makes its attribution to the same mint as satrapal coins with the same monogram (SA 8-10) virtually certain. The design of this type is the same as that of the previous imitation group, but with a slightly evolved style (compare I.7 and 11) and increases the likelihood that the coins with mons. 3-5 are correctly assigned to this mint series. The dating of the first intrusion relative to the satrapal coins is not certain. Mons. 4 and 5 are perhaps contiguous in time with mon. 1 on Špalahora's coins, but it is

²⁵ Van Lohuizen-de Leeuw 1949, p.347.

²⁶ See Mukherjee, Agrippan Source, p.128. However it is not unknown for a king to overstrike his own coins. See Overstrikes 6 and 16.

impossible to show in which direction the influence on monogram design moved. There are several possible arrangements of the monogram sequence: e.g. 1, 2, 4, 5, 3; 1, 4, 5, 3, 2; or even 3, 4, 5, 1, 2. However it is likely that mon. 1 precedes all the other monograms on the satrapal silver coins, because it is the only one which is found in the reverse right field. There may be a connection between the position of this monogram and the occurrence of monograms in the same position on the imitation Hermaios coins.

Mon. 8 should be dated after the more complex designs of 6 and 7. It is used on each type of Špalagadama. The occurrence of both 7 and 8 on his coins with Spalyris (SA 8) and his silver coinage with Vonones (SA 9) suggests that the Spalyris type with mon. 8 was struck after the Vonones and Špalagadama type with mon. 7. This would mean that Špalagadama was striking satrapal issues with Vonones in the major series before the death of his father and explains the absence of the title 'king's brother' in the son's legend. But one would not expect Špalahora's silver coinage to stop at the point when Špalagadama's begin, as suggested by the development of the monograms, if Špalahora was still in power. The only feasible explanation seems to be that the senior satrap abandoned the coinage with Vonones to his son and instituted his own bronze issue with his name in the more prestigious position in the obverse legend (SA 8, 16). No mention is made of Vonones on this type, but Spalyris still calls himself 'the just brother of the king'. The association of Špalagadama in the government and coinage might have been necessary before he could be given command of an army. The intrusion of the imitation Hermaios coins almost certainly was not a peaceful arrangement, and the Pseudo-Hermaios Scythians seem to have attempted the conquest of Sakastān. The dates of these invasions possibly coincide with Pseudo-Hermaios' invasions of Gandhāra during the times of Artemidoros and Apollodotos II (Political Maps 3 and 5).

The second invasion apparently resulted in the elimination of Špalahora and Špalagadama. Spalirises succeeded to the satrapal title, as is shown by type SA 18. This title was used by him only on one issue in the SA Sigma mint series. All of his SA Beta coins give him royal titles. The conclusion is unavoidable that Spalirises struck his Sigma series coins before his Beta issues.

The Sigma mint had been used previously only for Vonones silver coins (SA 15, 17) and Spalyris' bronze type (SA 16). These coins are rare, there being only one each of the silver and three bronze specimens known to this writer. It seems that this mint was rarely used and did not issue a full series of coin types, since the Vonones bronze types are lacking. It is therefore curious to find Spalirises issuing his satrapal coins, his first coinage, from here and not from the Beta mint. The likely explanation is that at that time he did not control the Beta mint, because Pseudo-Hermaios was issuing his type SA 11 from it. If this is the case, that Spalirises used the Sigma mint at first only because he did not control the main mint, the issues of Špalahora and Špalagadama from the former may be dated to a time during the period of the first intrusion of imitation coins, when they did not control the Beta mint. This further implies that the SA Sigma mint was first organized when the SA Beta mint was in enemy hands, and that it was at this time that Špalagadama was given authority to mint coins and that Špalahora designed his own type. These events would date from the time of the first invasion. When the Beta mint was recovered the new types were transferred to it (SA 8-10), its monogram was changed, and the Sigma mint was abandoned until it was again needed by Spalirises. After Spalirises had struck his satrapal type he recovered the Beta mint and adopted royal titles (SA 12, 13).

Spalirises' success over Pseudo-Hermaios is shown in his bronze type that used the invader's device of Zeus enthroned to commemorate the victory (SA 13, I.13). The design of this device is like that on the imitations struck in the same mint (that is, the PK class A variety). These coins are the first after the Vonones series to use the title 'great king of kings'. This means that either Vonones was dead, or, more likely, that on expelling Pseudo-Hermaios Spalirises felt himself strong enough to throw off what had probably become only a nominal allegiance to the Parthian throne. Vonones is not heard of again, and there is no hint of Arsakid hegemony in Sakastān-Arachosia until Phraates IV conquered the area (p.64n). Spalirises' use of the imperial title, whatever the identification of Vonones, can have occurred only after Mithradates II's power in the region had waned, and perhaps should be dated after the campaign issues of Orodes I

Theopator in neighbouring Areia as well.²⁷ However Spalirises did not flaunt his imperial pretensions, since he did not use the title on his silver issues (SA 12, 19). Mint activity in Sakastān can be summarized as follows:

- Phase 1 - Spalahora's mons. 1 and 2 issues in the Beta series;
- Phase 2 - Pseudo-Hermaios' mons. 3-5 at the Beta mint, Spaliris and Špalagadama's mon. 11 issues at the Sigma mint;
- Phase 3 - the satraps' mons. 6-8 issues at the Beta mint;
- Phase 4 - Pseudo-Hermaios' mon. 8 at the Beta mint, Spalirises' mon. 11 at Sigma;
- Phase 5 - Spalirises' royal title and mon. 9 at the Beta mint.

Spalirises and Azes I struck a series of bronze coins, each with a design of king holding axe on the obverse. Spalirises showed the king walking with an axe on his issue celebrating his victory over Pseudo-Hermaios (SA 13). On a joint issue with Azes, the king, presumably Spalirises himself, is mounted with axe (SA 14). These types have mons. 9 or 10 and represent, along with the unique drachm with mon. 9, the last issues from the Beta mint. Azes used the device of the king with axe mounted on a two-humped camel at the SA Sigma mint (SA 23).²⁸ The reverse device on this coin has been described as a yak because of the curious treatment of the hair on the animal's legs and tail (I.23).²⁹ But the hump definitely identifies the device as a representation of a bull, bos indica. The odd style of the device is perhaps due to the fact that it is the first bull type to be designed in the Sakastān-Arachosia coinage. The later bull types are of different design as well as style (compare the bulls on I.23 and XVII.o/s 15), but the distinctive hump is similar to that on the coin in question.

²⁷ This line of argument does not apply to Maues' use of the title. Sakastān was contiguous to the Arsakid empire, while Maues' kingdom was separated from the Arsakids by the powerful Pseudo-Hermaios Scythians.

²⁸ There has been some doubt that a two-humped, 'Bactrian' camel could be represented on coins in Sakastān-Arachosia. However the present writer has been informed by colleagues in Afghanistan and delegates from Afghanistan to the 1969 UNESCO Conference on Central Asia in New Delhi that such camels are found today in the provinces of Chakhānsūr and Farāh.

²⁹ PMC, p.129.305. Gardner, BMC, p.88.178, identified the device as 'humped bull r.'.

The independent coinage of Azes I marks the abandonment of the Beta mint and the conversion of Sigma into the major mint issuing both silver and bronze coins. This change was probably the result of shifting the capital of the kingdom to another city.³⁰ Azes' first silver series of coins at the Sigma mint continued the Zeus device inherited from Spalirises and the satrapal issues. These coins have mons. 13 and 14 (SA 20-22). There is no known corresponding bronze issue with the former, but the latter's companion bronze is the King on camel/Bull type. The next series in Azes' coinage has a new reverse device, Goddess with lamp and palm-branch (SA 24), and two types of bronze. One bronze revives the coin used by Spalyris and Špalagadama - KMS/Herakles. The other has KMS/Bull.

At about the time these new types were adopted Azes organized two new mints in which he struck only silver coins of the Goddess with lamp type. One of these mints used mon. 16 (SA 33) and the other mon. 18 (SA 39). If it is correct to locate the Sigma mint in Sakastān, these mints may be placed in Arachosia. That these mints were not used by the satraps of Vonones does not mean that they did not control Arachosia. The Paktyika coin of Špalahora (PTY 4) requires us to put the territory intervening between Sakastān and Paktyika in Špalahora's satrapy for at least a short time. Azes probably licensed his new mints after his conquest of Gandhāra and Taxila (Chapter V), which certainly resulted in an increase in trade between Sakastān and Gandhāra and a consequent demand for more coinage - especially silver coinage needed by the merchants. Since the first silver type struck by Azes in Gandhāra was patterned after the SA Zeus type (GDH 16), the conquest of that region probably occurred before the adoption of the Goddess with lamp type. The new type may have been designed when the new mints were established and later adopted by the Sigma mint. The sequence of types in Azes I's coinage would then be: SA Sigma Zeus type, GDH Alpha Zeus, SA My-Rho and Delta Lamp Goddess, SA Sigma Goddess with lamp.

³⁰ Isidore, 18, identifies Sigal as the basileia, 'royal palace, residence', of the Śakas, i.e. their capital. The identification of the Sigma mint-city as the capital supports our suggestion in Chapter II that the Sigma mint is Sigal.

Both the new mints struck joint issues in silver for Azes I and Azilises (SA 34, 40). The latter king increased the production of the My-Rho mint to include a bronze denomination. Two distinct issues can be identified: one with mon. 16 (SA 35, 36) and with bull to left on the bronze (SA 36), and the other with mon. 17 (SA 37, 38) and bull to right (SA 38). The sequence of these monogram issues is known from the use of mon. 16 by Azes I. Azilises struck only silver at the Delta mint (SA 41). A unique tetradrachm without a Greek monogram but instead with a large Kh. dhra (SA 42) is tentatively placed at this mint. There are three varieties of silver coins in Azilises' Sigma mint issue. One variety has one of three Kharoshthī aksharas on the obverse and only Kh. si with mon. 15 on the reverse (SA 27). Another has no obverse Kharoshthī and a large assortment of aksharas in the reverse left field (SA 28). The third variety has one of four pairs of aksharas on the obverse of each coin and only si on the reverse (SA 29). The first stands in line after Azes' issue (SA 24) with two of the same aksharas occurring singly on the obverse. The third, the most complex, is probably the latest variation. The meaning of these Kharoshthī aksharas cannot be discovered, except that the invariable si seems to refer to mon. 15 (p. 15). The others may refer to names of die-cutters or moneyers, or they may be codes for dates when the dies were made. They do not occur on tetradrachms and drachms in such a pattern as to allow their being indications of denominations.

Azilises struck a few coins of SA style but, instead of a lamp, the goddess holds a wreath, a victory sign (IV.PTY 6). These coins have mon. 28, which is also found on a square Eukratides bronze (PTY 5), the style of which marks it as an imitation (IV.PTY 5). These coins must be placed in a province within the sphere of SA coinage and within the reach of Pseudo-Hermaios in Paropamisadai-Kapisene. Paktyika is known to have previously supported a mint striking SA type coins, and this province borders on the Paropamisadai. Furthermore seven of these rare coins of Azilises were found at Mīr Zakāh (Location 65). Paktyika has the best claim for this mint. Azilises was the last Śaka to strike coins in Sakastān-Arachosia

before the region was taken by the Arsakid Phraates IV (37/6 - 2 B.C.).³¹ The conjunction of Azilises' coins with one of Pseudo-Hermaios at a mint in Paktyika and Azilises' use of the 'victory' type suggest hostilities between the two. The sequence of the coins is open to question, but in any case it seems that Azilises had two adversaries in his struggle to keep his empire united. As will be seen in Chapter VII, it is not unlikely that the Arsakids and Pseudo-Hermaios Scythians were united against the Śaka king.

³¹ Mukherjee, Agrippan Source, pp.16-20, argues that the eastern boundary of the Parthian Empire reached up to and beyond the Indus River in 26 or 25 B.C.. These dates fall within the reign of Phraates IV. Azilises may well have lost Sakastān-Arachosia before 10 B.C. (see Political Map 8); Agrippa's information about the eastern Arsakid border must be dated earlier than ca. 12 B.C.. Isidore, 18, identified Sakastān and Arachosia as part of the Parthian Empire sometime between 26 and 1 B.C. See above.

CHAPTER V

THE ŚAKA CONQUEST OF GANDHĀRA AND TAXILA

(Political Maps 6-8)

After Maues had ruled Gandhāra-Taxila two Indo-Greeks reigned there before the Azes group of Śakas conquered the region. There is no conclusive evidence of a connection between the Maues and Azes groups, and this lacuna of time between their rule in this area supports the contention that there is no relationship.¹

If it were possible to reconstruct a migration of the Maues-group Śakas through Taxila, Gandhāra and Paktyika or by a more southerly route into Arachosia and Sakastān a connection between the groups could be postulated. Such a reconstruction is not impossible on the basis of the little known chronology of the regions, and nomadic migrations are not necessarily reflected in the coinage and other material remains in the area through which they passed. But as Vonones was a Parthian he could have had little or nothing to do with this hypothetical migration, and the previous chapter's discussion of the Vonones and Azes groups would still be valid. And the possible connection between the Sakastān-Arachosia Śakas and the 'Pseudo-Heliokles' coins would put the route of invasion through Bactria. An unknown element in the history of this period, which could hold the answer to the problem, is whether there was a confederation of tribes, including the Pseudo-Hermaios and Maues Scythians, which cooperated in the destruction of the Greek kingdoms. In such a case it is not unlikely that when various groups had carved out their own kingdoms in Sakastān, Kapisene and Taxila they later went to war with each other. Whether or not there is a connection between the Maues and Azes groups, one does not need to assume that the latter invaded Gandhāra out of sentiment for kinsmen who had ruled the area before the Greeks reconquered it. Economic motives are enough to explain Azes I's conquests.

¹ Theories connecting the Maues with Azes groups generally depend on the view that Maues originated from or ruled over Arachosia. See Marshall, Taxila, I, 47-52; and van Lohuizen-de Leeuw 1949, pp.340-5.

Hippostratos and Azes I

Hippostratos Soter was the last Indo-Greek king in Gandhāra-Taxila. His chronology is proved by his monogram 133 issues in Taxila (TX 23-26) which link with an issue of Apollodotos II (TX 21, 22) and overstrikes of Azes I on coins of both Greeks (Overstrikes 11-13). Azes overstruck an imitation Apollodotos I coin (Overstrike 10) at the Alpha mint, and his conquest of Gandhāra should be dated later than the first issue of imitation Apollodotos coins in Kapisene (PK 18). The sequence of monograms linking Apollodotos II with Maues has been described in Chapter III. The only time to put Hippostratos in is between Apollodotos II and Azes I.

Apollodotos II's progress in recovering territory from the Scythians has already been plotted. There is no evidence that he regained the Alpha mint, but Hippostratos did possess it, for he struck coins with its monogram, 56 (GDH 13-15). Apollodotos II may have reached as far as the GDH Sigma mint (GDH 46) before the struggle was taken up by Hippostratos. But the latter is not known to have struck coins there, and it is not possible to identify either a lacuna or a direct link between their reigns there. And as no coins of Apollodotos II are known from the Indus mint, it cannot be said to how much of the territory between GDH Alpha and Taxila Hippostratos succeeded. If Apollodotos was killed in battle Pseudo-Hermaios may have recovered the Sigma mint and districts eastwards of it.

Hippostratos struck two types of silver coins in Taxila: one with only the titles SŌTĒR/tratarā and jayaṃta (TX 23) the other with SŌTĒR MEGAS/tratarā mahata and jayaṃta (TX 26). The rule 'short legends before long ones' should apply to the coins of a king from one mint. But whether it should apply between mints in this case is uncertain, because Hippostratos struck only coins of the short legend variety but without jayaṃta in GDH Alpha. His coins with jayaṃta, 'victorious', should belong to his wartime issue and so be earlier than his Alpha mint issue since the objective was to regain territory west of Taxila. Alternatively Hippostratos struck coins at the Alpha mint at the beginning of his reign and then lost it to Pseudo-Hermaios. There is the point that the Alpha issue (GDH 13) is thoroughly unique in having the shortest legends on Hippostratos silver coins and a goddess device instead of a variety of his horsemen devices (TX 23,

26, 63, 64). However mon. 56 with Kh. a is not like the Alpha mint monograms, 51-55, of Pseudo-Hermaios and links with the same monogram with Kh. a on coins of Azes I. So on balance our sequence of types from GDH 9 to 16 seems to be the best reconstruction. Hippostratos must have recovered GDH Alpha and his moneyer used the same 'soter' legend as appears on the preceding Hermaios coins - hence the short legend. The new Hippostratos type may simply mean that the mint was organized for the Greek's coinage by local city officials rather than by his own men from Taxila.

That Hippostratos was at war with Pseudo-Hermaios and possibly had successes against him is indicated by his use of the latter's device and style of Zeus enthroned on a bronze issue (TX 25) which suggests a victory over the Scythians. Compare Spalirises' SA 13 type which is interpreted in the same way (p. 60). The horse on the reverse may be a reference to or copied from the Arsakid heraldic symbol. But horses are an important feature of nomadic warfare, and this use of the type may be a further allusion to the victory over the Pseudo-Hermaios Scythians.²

Two silver types of the long legend variety were struck at the Indus mint: King mounted on a standing or on a prancing horse. The ruffled diadem ribbons on the obverse portrait of the latter type are unique in the coinage of Hippostratos and so are probably later than the straight ribbon-ends motif at the same mint. The horseman devices on these coins are an appropriate canting type for Hippostratos, whose name means 'the horse soldier'. This monogram issue is placed in the same mint as the monogram 142 issues of Telephos and Maues because of the similarity of monograms 142 and 143, the latter being the former placed in a circle.³ And, as will be seen below, the mon. 143 coins

² See the horse device on Scythian imitations of Heliokles coins (CIGC, XX.3, 4) and issues of Hyrkodes (BMC, XXIV.12, 13).

³ An objection to this identification is found in the Kh. maṃ on the Hippostratos and Azes I coins. On the analogy with coins from mints SA Sigma, GDH Alpha and GDH Sigma this invariable akshara would indicate the first letter of mon. 143 as being my, yet there seems to be no possibility of M in mon. 142.

of Azes I, like the mon. 142 coins, belong in a mint between the GDH Alpha and Sigma mints in the west and Taxila in the east.

There are five inscriptions which may be dated to the period of Apollodotos II and Hippostratos for reasons other than dates. They are from Taxila, Swāt and Bājaur. One of them, Inscription 3, is dated in the same general period as Maues' Inscription 2 because of the use of the form Takhaśila (for Sanskrit Takshaśilā) in both. About a century later the forms used were Takshila (Inscription 13) and Takshaśila (17 and 35). There are also some similar features in their palaeography.⁴

Three inscriptions, 6, 8 and 9, name three people with Greek names: Theüdama (from Theodamas or Theodēmos), Theüdora and Thaïdora (both from Theodōros). The two latter may refer to the same person as both inscriptions, 8 and 9, are from Swāt. Inscriptions 7 and 8 both have the title merida(r)kha from Greek meridarchēs, 'first official of a division', or 'governor of a province', and both may refer to the same official. The former is from Taxila and not Swāt, but it was not unusual for an official to make a pilgrimage to a religious site, and deposit an offering at a shrine. The Greek names and title should refer the records to a period of Greek rule. It is not impossible that the same person was responsible for each of these three inscriptions. That they belong to a period about the time of or preceding the conquest of Gandhāra-Taxila by Azes I is further indicated by the date of Inscription 9, year 113, which we assign to the summer of 57 B.C., a mean year between alternative limits for this date calculated in the Yavana era (see Appendix III, Section C). It is not unlikely that the use of the title meridarkha was discontinued at about the time of the Śaka conquest, since it is not found in any records from a later period.

Azes I struck two types of silver coins with mon. 56: Zeus with sceptre 1. (GDH 16) and Athena Alkidemos (GDH 20, 22). The design of the former type, as established above, is taken from the SA Zeus type, and this transference of type and design marks GDH 16 as Azes' first coinage in Gandhāra. Another Zeus type has the king's name in the

⁴ CII, p.87. See XIX.2, 3.

exergue set apart from the rest of the legend and monogram 57. The Zeus is facing with the sceptre held transverse (GDH 18, VIII.18). The corresponding bronze issue with the same monogram is an extra large round coin. These features set this monogram issue apart from the normal coinage. It seems to have been some sort of a special or commemorative coinage and should follow the initial Zeus type. The next development at the Alpha mint is the introduction of the Athena type.

It appears to be certain that Azes struck his first coinage here immediately after Hippostratos struck his GDH 13-15 issues. From a historical point of view it is not impossible for Azes to have taken the mint from Pseudo-Hermaios, to have struck types GDH 16 and 17 (and perhaps 18 and 19) before being temporarily expelled by Hippostratos, and then to have retrieved it and introduced the Athena coinage. But the titulature on Hippostratos' Alpha coinage argues against his having struck coins there after Azes had used the imperial title with megas. As the Greek used megas in Taxila he should also have used it at Alpha if there had been a recent precedent for it. The only reason he did not use megas there is that his coins directly followed the imitation Hermaios coins which do not have it.

The earlier of the two Athena varieties of Azes' coins (GDH 20, VII.20), is identified by certain similarities with the preceding Zeus types: a Kharoshthī akshara in the obverse exergue and the form mahatasa in most reverse legends. The corresponding bronze issue (GDH 21) is round like that of the special Zeus issue and has the date in the reverse legend. The later variety omits the dot in mahatasa in both the silver (GDH 22) and square bronze (GDH 23, VII.23) denominations and the aksharas on the obverse of the silver are moved to the right field. The only other use of the Athena type by Azes I has mons. 56 and 98 (GDH 105). The similarity of the latter monogram to mons. 99-103 and 105-107 associates this issue with Pushkalāvātī. This is the first evidence of a coinage connected with that city since the bronze coins of Artemidoros with mon. 97. Azes therefore re-established a mint there under the administration of the Alpha mint. The reverse dies were designed at Alpha but perhaps cut at Pushkalāvātī. The round bronze type, Elephant/Bull, is unknown at the Alpha mint and probably belongs entirely to the other. The aksharas in the obverse right

field, both legends arranged on four sides on the bronze type, and the absence of the dot under Kh. ha in mahatasa date this issue contemporary with the last issue of Azes I at Alpha mint.

Another Gandhāra mint which was reopened by Azes is the Sigma mint, which had not been used (as far as is known) by Hippostratos. The attribution of GDH 47 (IX.47) to this mint is made certain by the Kh. so in the reverse right field. This akshara occurs in the same place on coins of Azilises with sigma in the left field (GDH 48). Mon. 66 must then be a variation of mon. 64 or 65 of this mint (Chapter III). The akshara in the obverse exergue probably should place this issue earlier than the last issue of Azes at Alpha, as the latter mint probably provided the pattern for the obverse type at Sigma (compare VII.20 and IX.47), but the absence of the dot in the reverse legend dates it with the third Alpha mint issue, which does not always have this feature (GDH 20).

Azes also took over the TX Indus mint at about this time. The obverse devices of his coins with mon. 143 have Kh. da, pri or sa in the exergue. The rare Sigma issue has pri, and the third issue at Alpha (GDH 20) has da, pri or so. Of these four aksharas sa was used on some of the coins of the first and second Alpha issues and pri on some of the fourth. The Pushkalāvati Athena issue used all four aksharas. This concentration of da, pri and sa, whether in the obverse exergue or right field, in the later part of Azes I's coinage argues for dating his Indus coins in the same period, even though the significance of these aksharas is not known. The Zeus on the reverse is copied from a type of Maues (TX 5, 12), with the addition of an exergue line under the figure, as is found on the Alpha mint coins. The sceptre is knobbed, as are those held by the Zeus figures in the Alpha issues, a feature not found on the SA or Maues Zeus types.

The only remaining Azes I type with a KMS obverse device is GDH 96 (XI.96). Unlike the other GDH and the Indus mint coins of Azes this type has round omikrons and lacks the exergue line under the reverse figures. But these features are also found on Azes' Taxila issue (TX 27, XIII.27). Zeus types have already been identified as common to the Taxila group. Therefore GDH 96 with Zeus Nikephoros should be linked with the Taxila region. This coin does not have a Greek monogram so it must be attributed to a location on other grounds.

Except for this type all of Azes I's coins have the form rajaraja in the reverse legend. This type has rajatiraja, which was previously used only by Maues and Pseudo-Hermaios (GDH 10). This unique usage by Azes is probably due to this mint not having been used by any other king after rajatiraja coins had been struck. From our evidence the only series which satisfy this condition are GDH Epsilon and CU series A. In the other mints Azes followed a king (Hippostratos, Apollodotos or Pseudo-Hermaios) who did not use the imperial title, so Azes used the form of the word which he brought from Sakastān. But in this case the most recent coinage of the mint had been that of Maues, and apparently the mint master or die-cutter remembered the form either from his own experience or from the mint's tradition. That this coin might belong to the Epsilon series and the latter to Embolima-Amb and that the Kharoshthī aksharas on this coin can be read as im̐ba have been noted in Chapter II. The Zeus Nikephoros (ZN) device in similar style recurs on a coin of Azilises with mon. 93 (GDH 97, XI.97). Another feature on both these types is the dotted exergue line under the KMS on the obverse of Azes' and under the Dioskouroi on the reverse of Azilises' coins.

This Zeus Nikephoros type is in the same design as that on a Maues coin (CU 5) which may have determined the design of Azes' coin. If so this could be taken as another connection between the Epsilon and CU mints (Chapter III). But this coin brings together themes from two other Azes coins. GDH Sigma struck a type with Nike (IX.47), a victory device, and the Indus mint struck coins with Zeus holding callipers and transverse sceptre (XV.66). The coin in question has the same Zeus holding Nike. Thus it is certain that Azes' Epsilon coinage was initiated after his GDH Sigma and Indus mint coinage had begun. This chronological sequence probably corresponds with Azes' invasion route: after occupying the districts west of the Indus he secured a crossing and took control of the river at least up to Amb, before moving against Taxila.

Azes' Taxila coinage introduces radical changes in the design and typology of his coins. The previously ubiquitous KMS device was removed from the silver denomination which, with Zeus/Nike (TX 27, XIII.27), again combines the themes which produced the Epsilon ZN type. But this type was copied from Maues' coins (TX 12, XIII.12)

and is not original with Azes. While the Zeus device copied at the Indus mint had an exergue line added to it, these Azes coins omit it. But Zeus' sceptre is of the knobbed variety (at least on the tetradrachms) as on Azes' other GDH and TX Zeus types. The bronze denominations were also copied from Maues' coins. The Poseidon type (TX 28) is from TX 60 or CU 4, and the male deity/Goddess is from CU 9. The monogram, 135, used on Azes' Taxila coinage is a new one, but it is probably only a variation or simplification of 132-134. It may have some link with mon. 159 used by Apollodotos II (PA 9a).

Azes I's Taxila coinage did not provide prototypes for any of his other coins and was probably the last mintage initiated by him. Azes' mint activity in Gandhāra-Taxila can be summarized thus:

- Phase 1 - two Zeus issues at Alpha;
- Phase 2 - first Athena issue at Alpha and Nike and Zeus issues at Sigma and Indus mints;
- Phase 3 - ZN issue at Epsilon;
- Phase 4 - second Athena issue at Alpha, Athena issue at Pushkālavatī, Zeus/Nike issue at Taxila.

The GDH Sigma, Indus and Epsilon mints did not strike bronze coins for Azes I and probably stand in the same relationship to the Alpha and Taxila mints as the two Arachosian mints stand to SA Sigma (Chapter IV) during Azes I's reign.

Azes' invasion of Gandhāra must be dated after, but probably not long after, 58 B.C., which year, being the beginning of the Azes Era, probably marks his accession (Appendix III, Section C). His use of the imperial title is perhaps connected with this invasion, and by the end of his reign Azes ruled an empire from Sakastān to Taxila (Political Map 7). It is also of interest that at about this time the imperial title was revived by the Arsakid Orodes II (ca. 57 - 37/6 B.C.). It cannot be known how soon after his accession Azes' first issue was struck, so it is possible that he borrowed the imperial title from his contemporary. However, as the accession dates are so close, we should not exclude the possibility that the borrowing was in the reverse direction or that there was no borrowing but rather a coincidence of timing in the title's adoption by the two rulers.

Azilises

The reign of Azilises marks the high point of the Azes dynasty. This king ruled over more territory than any other Śaka and struck

the most superb pieces of Śaka coinage. But it seems that he outlived his success, because he lost Sakastān-Arachosia, about half his empire, before he was succeeded by Azes II.

Azilises was associated with Azes I in the government of the kingdom before the death of the latter. This is known from the joint issues of the two kings (probably father and son) in Arachosia (SA 34, 40). These are the only known joint issues between these two kings. Given this fact and the knowledge that Azes spent most of his reign conquering Gandhāra and Taxila, the only conclusion to draw is that Azilises was given command of Arachosia, and perhaps Sakastān as well, in Azes' absence. This might help explain why the My-Rho mint was upgraded to issuing both silver and bronze coins by Azilises (SA 35-38): it may have been the base of his operations as a junior monarch and have continued as an administrative centre during his kingship. Another consideration along this line is that while Azes was occupied in Gandhāra he needed a loyal and strong force as a rear-guard. After the new territories were secured Arachosia became even more important as the geographic centre and central economic link of the empire. This situation could only have arisen if Sakastān, during the reign of Azes and early years of Azilises, had been considered secure against attack from the Arsakids and Pseudo-Hermaios.

In his SA coinage Azilises faithfully followed the designs inherited from Azes. But in his Gandhāra-Taxila coinage this was done only in the Alpha mint where he continued the same silver and bronze types (GDH 24, 25). The usual bronze type was introduced at the Sigma mint (GDH 49) plus minor variations on it (GDH 50, 50a). But at this mint the reverse device of the silver type was changed from Nike to a Goddess with lamp (GDH 48, IX.48). This device was obviously copied from the SA Goddess with lamp coinage (II.28, 29, 33, 34, 41), but several features insure against confusing the two types: the different monograms and styles are consistently paired, the Sigma reverse has an exergue line while the SA device does not (and this is the first GDH Sigma type to have this feature), the Sigma coins sometimes have Kh. pri under the exergue line on the obverse while the SA coins never do, and the SA coins have C* (square sigma) in the king's name where the Sigma type has the normal Greek sigma. This latter feature in the SA coins is probably an attempt to express a different, non-Greek sound

(the Greek words on these coins have the regular sigma), but it was abandoned on Azilises GDH-TX-CU coinage. The Sigma type has the same Kh. so in the reverse right field as on the Azes type (GDH 47), but the Greek monogram in the left field is changed from 66 to 62, a simple sigma. Both kings' coins have, if any akshara, Kh. pri in the obverse exergue. It was argued above that this positioning of the obverse aksharas date Azes' Sigma type before his last Alpha type, which has the aksharas in the right field. This change was not made at the Sigma mint. When it was revived it did not follow the Alpha mint's innovations. Azilises' Alpha mint silver coins (GDH 24) do not have Kharoshthī aksharas on the obverse (with the possible exception of VIII.24 which has an uncertain mark in the right field), but his joint issue with Azes II (GDH 26) has Kh. ga in the right field as on the last Azes I issue.

The Alpha and Sigma mints issued the only two silver types in this region which have KMS as Azilises' horseman device and rajaraja in the reverse legend. Four other mints used the designs of King mounted with whip (KMW) and the form rajatiraja instead. Two of these are the Pushkalāvātī and TX Indus mints, which during Azes I's invasion had been administered or re-established from the GDH Alpha mint. But at this time there is no longer any link between these mints and Alpha. The central authority for these mints was probably one of the TX mints with KMW obverse. One of these was at Taxila and this city was doubtless the economic centre of this part of the kingdom (see Appendix I, Section D) and the logical place for Azilises' eastern capital as the SA Sigma mint-city in Sakastān was the western capital (Chapter IV). Azilises struck only the two silver types (TX 30, 31) here, and no corresponding bronze denomination is known to us. But the attribution of these coins is reasonably certain, because mon. 136 is the same as mon. 135 of Azes I, with the rho shifted to the centre and a headline added for symmetry. A further development in this direction is Azes II's use of a monogram virtually the same as 134 (originally a simplification of 133) which adds a line to 136 to make it more symmetrical. The Zeus figure on TX 30 (XIII.30) is the same as the Zeus of Azes I's issue (TX 27, XIII.27), without exergue line, except that it faces to right instead of left. However the small number of types argues against Taxila being the central minting authority.

Two mints in this region did strike more than one bronze type: the Indus mint (TX 67-72) and a Cukhsa-Uraśā mint, series A (CU 10-16). The latter group has mon. 154 and Kh. dami (CU 10-14). Both of these features link the series with Maues' so-called dami series in Cukhsa-Uraśā (CU 5-9). Most of these coins of the two kings are also related by typology. Azilises' city goddess with diadem (CU 11, XVI.11) is similar in posture and style to Maues' goddess with lamp (CU 7), but the attributes of the goddesses are different. Azilises' goddess r. (Pallas ?) with spear transverse (CU 13, XVI.13) is similar to a possibly identical deity on coins of Maues (CU 8), with Maues' (CU 9) and Azilises' (CU 13) goddesses r. with diadem are similar. Maues' male deity with large knobbed sceptre or club and trident (CU 9) is probably the same as the deity holding Nike and the same club or sceptre on two of Azilises' coins (CU 14, 15). The identification of this figure is uncertain: its attributes suggest Herakles and Śiva and perhaps Poseidon. The enthroned city goddess on a bronze coin of Azilises (CU 15) is certainly intended to be the same goddess as on Maues' silver issue (CU 5, XVI.5). Both have a mural and callipers, and both face left. And the enthroned Zeus Nikephoros (CU 12, XVI.12) is seated in the same posture.

These close links between the CU coins of Maues and Azilises are an argument that neither Azes I nor any other king struck coins there between their reigns. No other king is known to have struck coins with mon. 154 and Kh. dami. The variety (three silver types) and number of types in Azilises' coinage at this mint suggests that it was the largest and the central mint for the KMW rajatiraja coins. If the first coinage in Azilises' name in the Taxila region was struck in its hinterland, Cukhsa and Uraśā, and at a mint which had not been used for some time, this would be the origin and explanation of the new design. Maues struck two bronze types here, which show the king mounted without a spear but with his hand raised. It is not certain whether he holds a whip. Monogram 154, when used, always occurs on the obverse of Maues' coins (CU 7-9), and on one of these coins (CU 7) it is found in the right field in front of the horseman. Maues' use of a monogram on the obverse is obviously the precedent for Azilises' usage. None of Azilises' silver CU coins have Kharoshthī letters or monograms while

all of the coins of this class from other mints have aksharas or a Kharoshthī monogram on the reverse.

Taking this mint as the origin of the KMW class two of its silver devices, besides the obverse, were transferred to other mints. The mounted Dioskouroi device on CU 12 (XVI.12) was used on Azilises' Epsilon coin (GDH 97). Both coins have a Zeus Nikephoros obverse device. The CU coin has him enthroned in the posture of the enthroned city goddesses from its mint (CU 5, 15). The Epsilon coin shows him standing in the same posture as on Azes I's coin from the same mint (GDH 96, compare XI.96 and 97). The standing Dioskouroi device (CU 10) was also used at the Indus mint (TX 71).

There are two distinct monogram issues from the Indus mint, one with mon. 144 and the other with 145, both resembling mon. 143 without the circle. The earlier series, mon. 144, also has the additional monogram 147 (TX 67-70). The chronological priority of the mon. 144 issue is suggested by the similarity of the bronze devices to those on certain coins of Maues. The mural crowned goddess on TX 68 might be a variation of devices on TX 57 or CU 6 and 7, or of Azilises' CU 14 reverse device. The lamp and palm branch recall Azilises' GDH Sigma mint Goddess with lamp. The Lion r. on TX 69 and Herakles of TX 70 might be from the Herakles/Lion l. of TX 6. None of these coins copy the style of Maues' types, but this should be expected since most of them are from a different mint. The mon. 145 issue has only one basic type, Elephant/Bull, with variations of design (TX 72, a, b). These bronze coins are probably contemporary with the coin of the same type, which we tentatively place in Cukhsa-Uraśā (CU 16), that links with a coin of Zeionises (CU 17) - that is in the later part of Azilises' reign. The monogram of this series was continued on Azes II's coins (TX 73, etc.), and the obverse of the silver type has a nandipada under the body of the horse as does one type of Azes II (TX 73, XV.73). The reverse device of the first silver type struck here (TX 67, XV.67) was not copied from the CU coins but is original. It is not unlikely then that the standing Dioskouroi and Elephant/Bull types were introduced at the two mints simultaneously.

The remaining mint which used the KMW design is the Pushkālavatī mint. One type (GDH 108) was struck for Azilises and has two figures

on the reverse: a city goddess and Zeus. As this coin is attributed to Pushkalāvati, on the basis of the similarity of the Greek mon. 99 to mon. 103 (Chapter II), the city goddess might well be the Goddess of Pushkalāvati and the Kh. pa next to her the abbreviation for that city.⁵ Then the Zeus figure would be associated with mon. 74, śpila, which we assign to the Sigma mint. The goddess of Pushkalāvati is identified as Āmpae (Umā, Āmbā), the consort of Śiva, by the gold coin GDH 115.⁶ The bull on this coin is another emblem of Śaivism. If the Azilises coin represents a joint issue between the mints of Pushkalāvati and Sigma it might also be intended to unite two deities representing the two cities. In this case the god, regardless of the iconography, was intended to represent Śiva, and the figures in similar posture on two later issues from the Sigma mint (GDH 61, 68) may be identified as Śiva. If the god on GDH 108 is supposed to be Śiva its resemblance to Zeus may have been due to a conscious attempt to identify the two gods, or, in the absence of artistic conventions regarding his attributes, the most convenient design for a male deity on coins, probably the Zeus on TX 30 (compare XI.108 and XIII.30), may have been appropriated. Similarly Āmbā was given a diadem, a common attribute of other city goddesses (see CU 11).

The occurrence of a KMW class coin at Pushkalāvati indicates a change in the administrative division of Gandhāra-Taxila. During the rule of Azes I Pushkalāvati's coinage, probably together with other governmental matters, was administered from the Alpha mint-city and was clearly within the sphere of the Athena class of coins. But at least during the later part of Azilises' reign the city was included in the Taxila sphere of coinage and administration. The explanation for this development is obscure, but if Azilises' government was housed in Uraśā, as may be suggested by the important role of the mint there, it was probably convenient to put Taxila and the territory north of the Kābul River, Gandhāra proper, under the same administration. And the Indus mint-city, which produced an important body of coins, is centrally located between Pushkalāvati

⁵ Rapson, JRAS 1905, p.788, suggested this connection.

⁶ Mukherjee, NC 1965, pp.109 ff., and Nanā on Lion, p.72.

and Taxila. It can be suggested that the Indus and Uraśā mints were in the respective winter and summer capitals of this administrative unit.

The last of the Greek dynasts holding out in the Panjāb was eliminated before the end of Azilises' reign. Zoilos was succeeded by a Greek in only one of his three mints (PA 6, 11, 16). There is no evidence of any further coinage in the other two, PA series A and B, which presumably were on the west side of the kingdom and were lost to the Śakas before the territory further east. The next coinage in series E, mon. 165, on the basis of style is the rare coins of Apollophanes (PA 18). Strato II is the last Greek king in the region (PA 19). With his son, Strato III, he struck a type which has only a Kharoshthī akshara and no Greek monogram on the reverse (PA 22). It is not certain whether the type belongs to a different mint, but it is grouped in series F with other coins without a monogram. The next type in series E after Strato II is a certain Bhadrayaśa who, although he had an Indian name, struck coins with the same design and titulature as his Greek predecessor (PA 20). The last type at this mint is an issue of Rājuvula (PA 21). A curious feature of this coinage is that Rājuvula gives himself the imperial title, king of kings, in the Greek legend but calls himself satrap (chatrapa, kshatrapa) in the reverse legend. But if he were king, or king of kings, he would not be called satrap in the legend in the native language, so the latter title must be the correct one.^{6a} This anomaly can be found on three types distinguished by monograms and the formula for the reverse legend (compare PA 21, 23 and 24). A fourth type that has an illegible Greek legend increases his title to mahachatrapa (PA 25) and contracts apratihatacakra, 'one who has (or turns) the irresistible wheel of dominion', to apratihatacakra which has the same meaning. This type is obviously the latest in Rājuvula's PA coinage.

The fact that Rājuvula's coins are of debased metal suggests that his rule in the Panjāb began after or at the time of the debasement of currency in regions to the west. But this depends on how the Panjāb was linked to economic systems around it and on its

^{6a} See Mukherjee, Agrippan Source, p.179.

own economic strength. The Greek silver coinage there is in drachms only and consistently of poor execution, and debasement was begun in varying degrees before the end of Greek rule. This and the pattern of coin finds indicate that the Panjāb was economically weak (see Appendix I, Section D). As the situation deteriorated the next development in coinage would be greater debasement. Furthermore the Panjāb was probably closely linked economically to the Mathurā region, where no silver coinage but only coins of base metal (MT 1-6) were struck during the time of Rājuvula. A commercial relationship is proved by Hoard 28 from Mathurā of PA coins of Strato II and Rājuvula. This connection and the Panjāb's weak commercial position could have forced a debasement of coinage there without any regard for the situation in Gandhāra-Taxila. So it is possible to date Rājuvula's installation as satrap before the end of Azilises' reign.

It was noticed by Cunningham that the device of Gaja-Lakshmī on some coins of Rājuvula and Śoḍāsa from Mathurā (MT 4-7) is also found on a silver type of Azilises (TX 31).⁷ The first occurrence of this device in Mathurā is on Rājuvula's first coins (MT 4) with Brāhmī legend instead of Kharoshthī. This is the last issue struck in Rājuvula's name only. Two satrapal issues of his son, Śoḍāsa, are of the same design (MT 5, 6) and are contemporary with MT 4. This Gaja-Lakshmī device might attest to a link between Azilises and Rājuvula. Another indication of a possible connection between them is the Lion/Herakles type of Rājuvula's earlier Mathurā coins (MT 1-3). The exact prototype for this and its devices cannot be traced, but Azilises used a lion device (TX 69) and a Herakles device (TX 70) on different coins, and a Herakles/Lion type was struck by Maues (TX 6). The conclusion seems to be unavoidable that the type and the Kharoshthī script used on it (MT 1, 2) were taken to Mathurā by the Śaka invaders led by Rājuvula. This satrap must then have his antecedents among the Śakas to the west, and the best explanation is that he was the vanguard of the Śaka invasion east of Taxila. A possible date for this advance is during the reign of Azilises, between Azes I's capture of Taxila and Rājuvula's issue of a satrapal coin with Pushkalāvati's monogram,

⁷ CASI, III, 39f.; Mukherjee, Agrippan Source, p.172.

105, and the KMW/ZN design (GDH 139) used by Azes II (Chapter VII). Alternatively the latter coin is Rājuvula's first issue and precedes his conquest of the Panjāb and Mathurā. This would date his PA and MT coinage after the end of Azilises' reign. The probable dates of either view would place Rājuvula well before the end of A.D. 14, by which time his son had become mahākshatrapa in Mathurā (Inscription 14).

Whatever the date of Rājuvula in the Panjāb, Azilises does not seem to have extended his personal rule east of the Jhelum River. He or Azes II established his reign over the Panjāb and Mathurā through satraps. But as the king's name does not appear on any of these satraps' coins he was never physically present in the satrapy for any appreciable time, and a satrap's loyalty to him was probably limited by its convenience.

One inscription may belong to the time of Azilises or perhaps slightly earlier. Inscription 10 of Vijayamitra is a later engraving on the Shīnkoṭ casket of Menander (Inscription 1). Vijayamitra is otherwise known from satrapal coins of his son, Indravarman,⁸ who struck issues with Azes II (GDH 140). Since all the known coins of Indravarman belong to the time of Azes II, his father's inscription and term as satrap should be slightly earlier. Vijayamitra and his son used the title apracaraja which is translated as 'king without a rival'.⁹ This is a high-sounding title for a satrap, but it can be understood if rāja is taken as a lesser title than the rājādhirāja, 'king of kings', of Azilises and Azes II and if Vijayamitra and his son were the first satraps to be granted a degree of autonomy.

There is no sign of Vijayamitra's having struck his own coinage as did his son. In fact there is no conclusive evidence that any satrap struck personal issues during the reign of Azilises. This practice may not have been introduced in Gandhāra-Taxila before the accession of Azes II.

⁸ Whitehead, NC 1944, p.102. That Azes II is the king referred to in the obverse legend of this satrapal issue is surmised from the style and type of the coins, which closely match the satrapal issue (GDH 143) of Aśpavarman, Indravarman's son, with Azes II.

⁹ Whitehead, NC 1944, pp.102 f..

CHAPTER VI

THE PAHLAVAS IN SAKASTĀN AND ARACHOSIA

(Political Maps 1-17)

After the Arsakid conquest of Sakastān and Arachosia from Azilises and the Śakas, a Pahlava, or Indo-Parthian, dynasty there asserted its independence from the imperial government. This dynasty is normally named for Gondophares, who expanded its power and territories into the Indus region. But he had two predecessors who consolidated the Pahlavas' position in Sakastān and Arachosia.

Sanabares and the Arsakid Type Coins

Sanabares occupies an ambiguous position in the coinage of the Indo-Iranian borderlands, with his coins conforming entirely to neither the Arsakid nor the Indian types and weights of the period, and the styles and designs of his coins do not seem to fit neatly into the Pahlava series. The date of Sanabares and the question of whether there are two kings of that name are of crucial importance to the study of the Śakas and Pahlavas.

The coins of Sanabares are of three principal types: the Arsakid seated archer type in both silver of good style (SA 43-45) and bronze of crude workmanship (MA 7), and standing Nike in bronze (SA 51). A unique coin in the British Museum shows Apollo on the reverse and is more like the Nike group in style than the Arsakid types. The geographical distribution or mintage of these coins can be plotted with reasonable certainty. The Nike type probably belongs to Arachosia where the Nike coinage of the Gondophares dynasty is found abundantly.¹ The silver archer type may belong to Sakastān (Seistān) where also the Arsakid type coins of the Gondophares dynasty are found.² The bronze archer type is found extensively at Marv.³ The attribution of the two

¹ Hackin, JA 1935, pp.288, 291; Cunningham, NC 1890, pp.122 f..

² Rapson, JRAS 1904, p.677.

³ Frye 1962, pp.186, 277. Dr Frye kindly informed me in conversation, January 1971, that the Sanabares coins he saw at Marv are of the bronze king-archer variety.

bronze types to these respective regions of provenance is further explained by the argument that the Arsakid type should be placed in an area near to or contiguous with Parthian territory and that the Nike type with Kharoshthī legends on issues of the Gondophares dynasty belong to an area east of the provinces of the Arsakid types.

Gardner dated the silver king-archer type coins to the beginning of the first century A.D.,⁴ but this opinion never gained favour, and the current view accepts a date in the second half of the first century.⁵ There are two explanations for the bronze archer type coins. Simonetta sees in them a Sanabares II and dates them immediately after the Sanabares (I) of the silver coins. Similarly he assigns the bronze archer type with the name Vindaphar in Pahlavi (MA 12) to Gondophares II and dates him after his Sanabares II.⁶ Mukherjee denies that there is more than one king named Sanabares but admits that the 'Vindaphar' coins belong to a Gondophares II.⁷ This would be unavoidable if all the Sanabares coins are dated after the coins of Pakores, a successor of Gondophares (I), and if the bronze king-archer type of Gondophares must be dated, by reason of their style, after the bronze coins of Sanabares. But there are some problems connected with this view.

The reason for dating the archer type of Sanabares later than A.D. 50 are (1) its style and (2) the assumption that the use of Pahlavi letters and legend on the obverse was copied from the Arsakid coinage of Volagases I (A.D. 51 - 77/8), or at least must be dated after the practice was introduced by that king. To accept this dating it has been necessary to deny the existence of a date (310 or 313) on the Sanabares coins because it is sometimes blundered,⁸ or to assign the date to an era later than the Seleukid era.^{8a}

⁴ Gardner 1877, pp.11, 46; BMC, p.xlvi.

⁵ See Simonetta, EW 1957, pp.50 f., and EW 1958, p.183.

⁶ EW 1957, pp.50 f..

⁷ Agrippan Source, p.143.

⁸ BMC, p.xlvi.

^{8a} Mukherjee, JNSI 1970, pp.199 f., and R.H. McDowell, AHR 1939, p.796n, assign the dates to the Arsakid era.

The style of the silver coins has been described as contemporary with that of Arsakid coins of about the year A.D. 80.⁹ However there are notable differences between the coins of Sanabares and all of the Arsakid drachms minted in the first century A.D..¹⁰ The back of the throne on the reverse (II.44, 45) does not have the cross-bars as do the Arsakid examples. Yet this feature is found on the archer types of Abdagases and Pakores (II.49, 50) which are believed to precede those of Sanabares.

On the other hand if the Sanabares coins have dates they should not be compared with the Arsakid drachms, none of which are dated. Sanabares may have intended his drachms to circulate in his domain in lieu of tetradrachms which, according to Arsakid practice, were minted only in Seleukia-on-the-Tigris.¹¹ If this were the case the drachms of Sanabares may be expected to be patterned after Arsakid tetradrachms. None of the latter of the first century portray the king alone enthroned to right with bow. The last such tetradrachm known belongs to the early issues of Phraatakes and is dated Sel. 311 (= 1 B.C./A.D. 1).¹² The likely prototype for the style of the drachms of Sanabares is a tetradrachm of Orodes II.¹³ This is the last tetradrachm issue with king-archer r. before that of Phraatakes.¹⁴

This line of reasoning becomes clearer when the coins of Sanabares are compared with the silver coins of the Gondophares group (II.46-50). Here also there are no known tetradrachms, but the reverse of the Orthagnes and Gondophares coins (II.46, 47) is not the usual drachm device. Both of these issues show the king enthroned right being

⁹ Gardner, BMC p.xlvi, citing von Sallet.

¹⁰ See BMC Parthia, XXVIII.16, XXIX.1, and XXXII.11, 12.

¹¹ R.H. McDowell 1935, p.154; and Sellwood, NC 1962, pp.76 f..

¹² BMC Parthia, XXIII.11.

¹³ BMC Parthia, XIV.1.

¹⁴ Phraates IV (37/6 - 2 B.C.) and Orodes III (A.D. 4-6) both used king-archer enthroned l. with sceptre to differentiate their coins from those of their respective predecessors with archer r.. See BMC Parthia, XX.2 and XXIV.5.

crowned by Nike from behind. This device recalls the Arsakid tetradrachms, but these coins show the Tyche or Nike presenting a wreath or palm branch while facing the king.¹⁵ The difference may indicate a conscious attempt by the Pahlavas to proclaim an independent minting authority while claiming the same pretensions of divine investiture. The design of the throne on these coins is similar to that of Sanabares, and the diadem bow on the portraits of Sanabares and Orthagnes (II.45, 46) is another point of comparison.

The use of Pahlavi letters and legends on coins of Sanabares is not an irrefutable argument for their being dated after the first coins of Volagases I. This usage may have a geographical significance rather than a chronological one. A local dynasty in Sakastān might be expected to emphasize the native language alongside the cosmopolitan Greek. Not all of the coins of Volagases have the Pahlavi letters VL on the obverse.¹⁶ Those relatively few which do bear these letters may have been issued for circulation in or near Sakastān. The silver coins of Abdagases and Pakores are patterned after the usual Arsakid drachm design and have the cross-bars on the throne. Unlike the similar coins of Sanabares, there seems to have been no intention to attach the official function and prestige of tetradrachms to these coins. This change might have been due to the intrusion of Arsakid drachms, such as those of Volagases with the Pahlavi letters VL, in the Sakastān mint between the issues of Gondophares (SA 47) and Abdagases (SA 49). The two specimens of type SA 48 have the devices and style of the Gondophares coin, but the Gondophares symbol, mon. 20, on the obverse perhaps indicates that they are satrapal or sub-king issues. Their legends are blundered and illegible. The unique coin of Abdagases has Pahlavi AV on the obverse and that of Pakores has remnants of Pahlavi, but this is not necessarily a reason for dating the Abdagases

¹⁵ An exception is an issue of Phraates III which has king enthroned 1. crowned by goddess from behind. BMC Parthia, XI.1.

¹⁶ See BMC Parthia, pp.178-87.

coin after Vologases I, as has been assumed.¹⁷ The drachm of Pakores is of particularly crude workmanship and has nothing in common with the style of the Sanabares coins - which are supposed to have followed it. The use of mons. 19 and 21 on coins of Sanabares, Abdagases and Pakores but not on the intervening coins SA 46-48 is due to the different devices, as that on the latter coins occupies the entire field leaving no room for the monogram.

Therefore the evidence of style and epigraphy of the silver coins of Sanabares tends to date them some time after the first issue of Orodes II and before Abdagases, if not before Orthagnes.

The series of bronze coins from the Margiana-Areia region gives some additional evidence. The coins are characterized by mon. 23 or Greek pi on the reverse. The earliest traceable specimens of this monogram group are certain counterstruck silver drachms of Phraates IV (IV.5). The next Arsakid example is a bronze coin, a debased drachm, of Phraatakes (IV.6). These coins indicate that the debasement of coinage in the Margiana-Areia area occurred between the beginning of the reign of Phraates IV and the end of Phraatakes' rule. Another coin of this type, MA 10 (IV.10) is tentatively attributed to Artabanos III.¹⁸ The style of the reverse and treatment of the legend are poorer than on the Phraatakes coin. The coins of Sanabares, MA 7 (IV.7), and especially the one illustrated by Gardner,¹⁹ can be placed between these two Arsakid issues. The legend is legible and more carefully engraved than that of the coins ascribed to Artabanos, but it is arranged in a circle rather than in the normal rectangle as on the Phraatakes coin. Other coins which belong to this interval are MA 8 and 9 (IV.8, 9). They may belong to Sanabares or, more likely, to his immediate successor. Another coin belonging to the same general

¹⁷ See D.W. MacDowall in PDK, pp.145 f.. But two small points of comparison which may be mentioned in support of such a sequence are the double bow in the diadem ribbon of Abdagases' coin, which is similar to that on tetradrachms of Volagases I (see BMC Parthia, XXVIII.12), and the four cross-bars (instead of three) on the throne as on some of the drachms of Volagases (Ibid., XXIX.1).

¹⁸ Wroth (BMC Parthia, p.167.56) assigned it to Gotarzes II.

¹⁹ BMC, XXIII.11.

period (MA 11, IV.11) is probably an Arsakid issue, perhaps of Vardanes I or Gotarzes II.²⁰

At least two coins assigned to Sanabares II by Simonetta²¹ actually belong to Volagases I (MA 14). The symbol on them, mon. 24, is the one used by this king²² and not that of Gondophares, mon. 20. The obverse shows the diadem pulled low over the king's forehead similarly to other coins of Volagases.²³ The legend, if there was one, is entirely lost on these coins, and it is not known whether it was Greek or Pahlavi. It is especially risky to rely on the evidence of style when analysing coins as poorly executed as these are. But a trend of rather steady deterioration of style is seen in the coins which can be safely attributed to Arsakid kings (IV.6, 10, 11, 14), and as the coins of Sanabares should not contradict the trend it is difficult to date them after the coins of Volagases (compare IV.7 and 14).

Other coins of this class, the type of MA 12 (IV.12) with Pahlavi inscription reading Vindaphar (VINDF'R), have been attributed to a Gondophares II. The use of Pahlavi on this class of coins probably should be dated after the coins with Greek legends, including those of Sanabares. But if the coins of Sanabares of both the silver and bronze varieties belong shortly after the coinage of Phraatakes and before Volagases there is no reason why the coins of Vindaphar should not belong to the Gondophares known from other coins. And there is no need to assume the existence of more than one king named Gondophares.

Type MA 13 (IV.13) has fragments of a Pahlavi legend, but the style of the bust is different from that of MA 12, and the symbol, mon. 20, is in the reverse left field as on coins of Volagases, rather than the right as on coins of Gondophares/Vindaphar. As with the

²⁰ Compare the obverse with BMC Parthia, XXVI.10, 11 and XXVII.22, etc..

²¹ EW 1957, p.50.

²² See BMC Parthia, p.188 n. The attribution of a bronze coin with this symbol to Phraates IV, ibid., XXIII.5, is doubtful. See Simonetta, NC 1949, p.237, for a drachm of Volagases with the symbol on the obverse.

²³ Compare BMC Parthia, XXVIII.15 and XXIX.2, 3.

coinage of the Gondophares dynasty elsewhere, the symbol should indicate a successor of Gondophares, probably Abdagases. The position of the symbol may indicate a date between Gondophares and Volagases I or after the latter. Types MA 8 and 9 (IV.8, 9) with fragments of Greek legends belong between MA 7 of Sanabares and MA 12 of Gondophares which has a Pahlavi legend. The silver types indicated that Orthagnes, the predecessor of Gondophares, ruled after Sanabares. It is possible that one or both of the bronze coins belong to Orthagnes.

These arguments point to the conclusion that Sanabares ruled much earlier than A.D. 80. His bronze coins follow those of Phraatakes (2 B.C. - A.D. 4) and precede those of Gondophares. The date of the latter is known from Inscription 30 dated in the 26th regnal year of Gondophares and year 103 of an era which is identified by most students of the subject with that of 58/7 B.C..²⁴

His known years are thus A.D. 20/1 to 46. As Gondophares was a junior monarch under Orthagnes and was preceded by him, Sanabares' silver coins must also be dated earlier than the latter. So Sanabares belongs to a period between 2 B.C. and a year before A.D. 20 representing Orthagnes' unknown accession date. This reopens the question of a date on the drachms of Sanabares. There can be little doubt that a date is intended on most of these coins, but it is often hopelessly blundered. But one of the coins of type SA 44²⁵ clearly shows the letters iota, tau = 310. Two other coins²⁶ have markings which could be blunders for gamma, iota, tau = 313. As these dates fall between 2 B.C. and A.D. 20 they should be referred to the Seleukid era, and Sel. 310 corresponds with 2/1 B.C.. This makes Sanabares a contemporary and rival of Phraatakes. Both kings independently and virtually simultaneously adopted the king-archer seated right device as their principal type to differentiate their

²⁴ See Appendix III, Section C, and Mukherjee, Agrippan Source, pp.183 ff..

²⁵ EW 1957, IV.15 = BMC, XXIII.10, etc.

²⁶ EW 1957, IV.11, 12.

coins from the tetradrachms of Phraates IV, which have the archer seated left.²⁷

Sanabares established his independent coinage and introduced Pahlavi legends in Sakastān as soon as the death of Phraates IV removed the strong Arsakid presence there. He moved against Phraatakes' authority in Margiana-Areia and struck coins with Greek legend only in the already established mint there (Political Maps 9 and 10). He was succeeded by Orthagnes in both regions and in Arachosia (p.90). The latter king suspended the use of Pahlavi and introduced a more ambitious device on his silver coins. But either he or his successor was turned out of the northern provinces by the Arsakids (Political Maps 11 and 12), probably by Artabanos III (A.D. 11/2 - 40). The Arsakids held the area until Gondophares retook the mint (Political Maps 12-14) and introduced Pahlavi in its legends. To undertake this campaign it was perhaps necessary to leave satraps or junior monarchs in control of Sakastān (see SA 48) and other parts of the empire (Political Map 14). Abdagases was challenged by a renewed threat from the Arsakids, who eventually, under Volagases I, secured control of Margiana and probably Areia (Political Maps 15 and 16). Pakores is not known to have ruled the area north of Sakastān, and in the latter region he is the last known independent Pahlava.

The Nike Coinage of Arachosia

The usual explanation for the Sanabares bronze Nike type with only a Greek legend (SA 51, III.51) is that it was struck in Arachosia at a time when Kharoshthī was no longer popularly used there.²⁸ But other evidence indicates that the trend in language usage was different. Mukherjee has read the reverse legend on some bronze coins of this type as containing the name Prahata in Kharoshthī.²⁹ Simonetta³⁰ identifies

²⁷ The first issue of Phraatakes (Sel. 310) has king receiving diadem from Tyche, representing his accession and divine investiture. The archer seated r. device was used the following year (Sel. 311). See BMC Parthia, pp.136 ff..

²⁸ See Simonetta, EW 1957, p.50.

²⁹ JNSI 1968, pp.188 ff..

³⁰ EW 1957, p.49.

the fragmentary legend on the obverse as also Kharoshthī, but in fact it is Pahlavi, and our own reading of the legend, pieced together from various specimens, reads it as PR'T MLK'N MLK'.³¹ Therefore, as Pahlavi and Kharoshthī were used on the same coin and as it has been seen that Pahlavi supplanted Greek on the MA king-archer type coins, the trend was away from the use of Greek rather than from Kharoshthī. There is no good reason for dating the coin of Sanabares with Greek only at or after a time when Pahlavi and Kharoshthī were being used. A better solution is to date it before the Arachosian coins with Greek and Kharoshthī and explain the absence of the latter by a campaign issue of an invading army unfamiliar with the script and language. Orthagnes, the first Pahlava king to use the script, retained Sanabares' type and added Kharoshthī when he established his regular coinage in the region (SA 52, 55-57).

Orthagnes struck two varieties of his Nike coinage. In both cases the reverse legend records the names of one or two junior monarchs. One variety has the Greek legend in the genitive case (SA 52). But the Orthagnes coins and those of his successors in the same group omit basileōs in the imperial title basileōs basileōn, 'of the king of kings'. The other variety has the legend in the nominative case, and the imperial title is given as basileus basileōn, 'the king of kings' (SA 55-57). The Sanabares coin seems to be a combination of these two varieties. The first word in the imperial title appears to be basileus while his name is definitely given in the genitive case, Sanabarou (III.51). This might be due to the fact that the legend is divided between the obverse and reverse, the obverse reading 'the king of kings' and the reverse as 'of the great Sanabares'. When Orthagnes introduced his coins with a Kharoshthī legend on the reverse the entire Greek legend had to be accommodated on the obverse. This would be a problem if his first coinage with legend in genitive case was designed at the same mint as had struck Sanabares coin. Instead of reducing the size of the letters it was more convenient to shorten the legend. Basileōn megalou might have been understood as either an abbreviated formula for 'of the great king of kings' or as 'of the

³¹ See Mukherjee's reading from one specimen, JNSI 1968, p.188.

great among kings'. This variety of Orthagnes coins also has the shorter reverse legend, which names only one co-monarch, Gudana. The 'nominative' variety has the full titulature in the Greek legend and names Gondophares as well as Gudana in the reverse.

These two varieties, so consistently distinct from each other from the time of Orthagnes, certainly belong to two mints. It seems inconceivable that the grammar of the Greek legend could have been changed from one form to another and back again repeatedly. The mint of the 'genitive' variety was, on the above argument, inherited from Sanabares by Orthagnes and was probably the first Arachosian mint used by the latter. The mint of the 'nominative' variety was established later and, not being tied to a local prototype for its design, struck coins with the full form of the Greek titles. The use of the nominative case might have been inspired by the obverse part of Sanabares' legend.

The occurrence of names of co-monarchs rather than the name of Orthagnes on the reverse of his Arachosian coins probably means that he was not resident in the province while the coins were being struck. A similar argument was proposed in Chapter IV with regard to Vonones and his satraps. Orthagnes probably sent his kinsmen, perhaps both sons, to hold and extend the Pahlava possessions in the east while he was occupied in the territories from Sakastān to Margiana. And if Sanabares did not use the mint of the 'nominative' variety of coins, as seems to be the case, it probably belongs further east than the 'genitive' variety's mint, that is further from the Pahlavas' place of origin in Sakastān.

A joint issue between Gondophares and Gudana identifies the former as the senior monarch (SA 58) of the two, and his seniority should have applied during their joint reign with Orthagnes as well. But this creates a problem of how to explain the joint issue of Orthagnes and Gudana which does not mention Gondophares, the senior of the two sub-kings. However, if the 'nominative' variety's mint was on the then eastern frontier of the Pahlava dominions it would be the natural place for the heir to the throne. He would lead the forces in any campaign which was not commanded by Orthagnes himself. This role of the sub-king as a commander of forces is seen in the meaning of the reverse legend on the Gondophares and Gudana joint

issue (SA 58). This legend is from older Iranian Mahārājasya Gadana-Nizātasya hināza-vanantasya jatāri-durēhasya.³² After mahārājasya the legend consists of three compounds, each of a noun and adjective. Gadana is called 'the (well) born' (nizāta). The 'troop-commander' (hināza) is identified as 'the victorious' (vananta), and 'the striker' (jatāri) is qualified by 'archer' (durēha from dur-āhya). Thus the well born great king Gadana is called an archer combatant and a victorious commander.

There is no known coinage for Gondophares in the 'genitive' variety. The only other coins of this class are two unique specimens of Sorpedonos (SA 53) and Abdagases (SA 54). This mint did not produce a large or varied body of coins, and it might have been used only intermittently. If Gondophares did not use it, which is not certain considering the small sample of extant coins, it may have been used by one of his satraps or sub-kings. As among the coins attributed to Sind that which probably belongs to Sorpedonos (SI 2) seems to precede the coins of Sasan (SI 3), Sorpedonos may have ruled as a sub-king under Gondophares (Chapter VII). The word tratarasa, the only legible part of the reverse legend, on his Arachosian coin is unique in the coinage of that region. This title was used in the Sind coinage of the Pahlavas, and if SI 2 does belong to Sorpedonos he may have taken the title to Arachosia from Sind. These considerations lead us to suggest that at one time Sorpedonos was Gondophares' viceroy in Sind and that he extended his governorship to Arachosia, perhaps in succession to Gudana. If the silver archer type coins (SA 48) could be assigned to Sorpedonos he would at one time have been responsible for the whole southwestern flank of the Pahlava empire.

A unique coin of the 'nominative' variety may belong to either Gondophares or Abdagases (SA 59). The reverse legend has the former's name in it, but the fragment Guduvha... perhaps should be completed as Guduvharabhrataputrasa, in which case it would refer to Abdagases.

The only remaining coins of the Arachosian Nike type with Greek legends are the numerous coinage of Pakores (SA 60, 61). This king

³² Professor Sir Harold Bailey kindly reconstructed this legend from the author's reading of the Kharoshthī script, in conversation, January 1971.

overstruck a coin of Soter Megas (Overstrike 19, XVII.19) which indicates that he should be dated late in the period, probably after the Kushāṇas conquered Gandhāra and Taxila.

The obverse legend of one coin (SA 62) has been tentatively identified as cursive Greek and read as ...COTO....³³ This reading however, which would identify the coin as belonging to Satavastra, is extremely doubtful, and the fragment may be remnants of a Pahlavi legend. A king named Satavastra is known from the Sind coinage (SI 7).

A coin which definitely has a Pahlavi legend on the obverse is that of Prahata mentioned above (SA 63). Philostratos in his Life of Apollonios³⁴ identifies the king of Taxila as a certain Phraotes, and Mukherjee dates the encounter between Apollonios and Phraotes in June/July, A.D. 46.³⁵ The coins in question cannot possibly be placed in a Gandhāra or Taxila mint. The Pahlavi legend alone is sufficient argument against such an attribution. The types and style of the Nike, though slightly evolved (III.63), are certain indications that the Prahata coin belongs in the Arachosian Nike series, perhaps the latest known issue. Gondophares is known to have been still ruling in April A.D. 46 (Inscription 30) and it is not possible to date the Prahata coins immediately after those of Gondophares in the same class. At least the coins of Abdagases and Pakores with Greek legends should intervene between them. Therefore the Prahata of the coins is separated from the literary Phraotes by both place and time. However, if they are the same person, the reference might be regarded as preserving the knowledge that a Phraates/Phraotes was a Pahlava king and that the Pahlavas once ruled in Taxila. And it might be considered that the

³³ Mukherjee, Agrippan Source, pp.141-3; Simonetta, EW 1957, p.52.

³⁴ Ta Es Ton Tyanea Apollonion, II, 26; and see Mukherjee, Agrippan Source, pp.187, 248 f..

³⁵ Agrippan Source, pp.186 f..

text has confused the names of the Pahlava kings Gondophares and Phraates.³⁶

Another literary reference which can be mentioned here is that in the Apocryphal Acts of Judas Thomas the Apostle to a Goudaphoros and his brother Gad, which names might be allusions to Gondophares and Gudana³⁷ (also spelled Guda, Gada, Gadana, etc. on coins). It has been suggested that 'Labdanes', the name of the sister's son of a king visited by St Thomas in the apocryphal work Evangelium Ioannis de obitu Mariae, is a corruption of the name 'Abdagases'. But Abdagases was Gondophares' nephew by the king's brother, Guduvharabhrataputra, not his sister.³⁸ These three works were written as examples of religious and philosophical instruction, and their historical facts are subordinated to the moral lessons extracted from them. They may preserve genuine historical fragments or names, but they are of little value as a source of Indo-Iranian history.

A small kingdom might have survived in Arachosia for some time after Phraates. Bronze coins with the name Ardamitra and an altar device linking them to early Sassanian coins have a bust to left and are similar in size and fabric to the Pahlava Nike coinage from Arachosia. There seems to be a continuity of coinage in this region from the Pahlava to the Sassanian periods.^{38a}

* * *

The evidence of each of the three coin series argues for dating Sanabares at the beginning rather than in the late period of the Pahlava dynasty. The drachm dated to 2/1 B.C. gives his earliest known date, and the coincidence of this date with Phraatakes' first year may identify the drachm as Sanabares' first issue. There can be no doubt

³⁶ Herzfeld, Sakastān, p.101n.; and Tarn 1951, p.341, suggested the identification of Phraotes with the title Apratihata on a coin of Gondophares (GDH 126).

³⁷ See Rapson, CHI [1962], pp.522 f.; and van Lohuizen-de Leeuw 1949, pp.352-6.

³⁸ Rapson, CHI [1962], p.523; Philipps, IA 1903, p.153.

^{38a} See MacDowall, NC 1965, pp.145 ff. and pl. XII.11.

that Sanabares was a rebel against the imperial Arsakid authority, and later Parthian history shows that the time of his secession was well chosen. The death of Phraates IV³⁹ in 2 B.C., removed his restraining influence over the discontent in the empire. Phraatakes was at first involved in a Roman war in the west, and his marriage to his mother in A.D. 2 was not popular with his subjects. His first two successors, Orodes III (A.D. 4-6) and Vonones I (A.D. 6-12), were both unpopular. The government of the empire was not restored to stability until the reign of Artabanos III (A.D. 12-ca.38).⁴⁰

If our tentative attribution of types MA 10 and 11 to Arsakid kings is correct the chronology of Arsakid and Pahlava coinage in Margiana-Areia would reflect the fortunes of the Arsakid central power at this time. During the rivalry between the brothers Vardanes (ca. A.D. 39-47/8) and Gotarzes II (ca. 38-51) the latter was supported by the Dahai and may have controlled eastern parts of the empire. But after A.D. 45 Gotarzes was occupied with the final struggle to gain the Arsakid throne.⁴¹ During this time Arsakid control over Margiana-Areia was doubtlessly weakened, and it is not unlikely that the Pahlavas again took over the region and struck coins there (MA 12, 13). From about A.D. 58 to 61 Volagases I was involved in putting down a revolt in Hyrkania,⁴² and his recovery of and coinage in Margiana-Areia (MA 14) might be connected with this campaign.

That Sanabares rebelled against the Arsakid authority is indicated by his coins of Arsakid design. When the Śakas under Azilises were expelled from Sakastān and Arachosia by Phraates IV the former province was integrated into the Parthian economic system, and these ties were maintained under the Pahlavas. The Śakas had kept the region in the commercial sphere they inherited from the Indo-Greeks, and this relationship, or at least the local economy, was maintained in Arachosia by the Pahlavas with their Nike coins struck on the old standard of

³⁹ He was poisoned by Mousa, the mother of Phraatakes. Debevoise 1938, p.147.

⁴⁰ See Debevoise 1938, pp.143-52.

⁴¹ See Debevoise 1938, pp.167, 170-4.

⁴² See Debevoise 1938, pp.182, 186.

size and weight. The change in coinage systems in Sakastān reflects a slight alteration in the boundary between the Iranian and Indian economic systems.

The Pahlavas used at least three mints in their Sakastān-Arachosia coinage. These mints are probably the same as the three used by Azilises. His Sakastān mint, SA Sigma, might have struck the Pahlava silver king-archer coinage. One of the two Arachosian mints of Azilises, Delta, struck a limited coinage in silver only, while the My-Rho mint struck a full series in both silver and bronze. Under the Pahlavas the mint of the 'genitive' class struck, as far as is known, a small and intermittent coinage, and the 'nominative' class mint struck a more varied and numerous series. The coinage with Pahlavi legends should probably be assigned to one of these mint-series. The new legends should indicate a date later than the Greek legends rather than a different geographical region. Azilises and the Pahlavas both had a minor and a major mint in Arachosia, and as the size and importance of cities in the region were probably relatively the same in both periods, it is reasonable to identify the respective mints: the Delta mint of Azilises was used by the Pahlavas for the 'genitive' class coins, and the My-Rho mint later issued the 'nominative' class. However there seems to be no link of a minting tradition between the periods in either of the three SA mints. The Pahlava coinage has completely new designs and borrows nothing from the Śaka coins. These differences are due to the Arsakid occupation of the region, where they either reorganized the mints to produce Arsakid coins or closed them. Also the Pahlavas had traditional links with the Parthians and probably none with the Śakas, so when they opened new mints or reopened mints which had not been used for a time they used their own designs for the coinage. Only in Gandhāra and Taxila, where they took over functioning mints, were they required by custom to produce coins with designs like the Śaka coins already in circulation. A similar necessity for the conquering invader to continue issuing coins of the same design as his predecessor has been seen in the imitation Greek coins issued by Pseudo-Hermaios. Too radical and abrupt a change would risk a loss of confidence. But this problem did not apply in Arachosia, where it seems that the Pahlavas were restoring and reordering the disrupted local economy.

CHAPTER VII
AZES II AND
THE PAHLAVAS IN THE INDUS REGION
(Political Maps 9-17)

It is not certain how long Azilises continued to rule in the Gandhāra-Taxila region after he lost Sakastān and Arachosia to the Arsakids. But that these latter provinces were lost before the accession of Azes II is made apparent by the fact that there are no coins of SA design and style which can be assigned to this king. The significance of the rare 'victory' type of Azilises in SA style, which we place in Paktyika, (PTY 6) might be that these coins represent the coinage from the last outpost in the struggle to defend or recover Arachosia.

As Azes I had left his heir in Arachosia as junior monarch or regent while he was engaged in the conquest of Gandhāra and Taxila, Azilises left his heir in Gandhāra while he was occupied with the defence of Sakastān and Arachosia. This is surmised from two joint issues between Azilises and Azes II. One is a silver tetradrachm from the Alpha mint (GDH 26), and the other is a group of square bronze coins which we identify as the first issue of a series of joint issues between the Pushkalāvātī and TX Indus mints (GDH 127, a, b).¹

Azes II's coins are the first of the debased currency in this region, and they are linked to the Pahlava coins of similar style and typology and generally poorer fabric. The coins of this Śāka king give some clues to the routes of invasion, sequence of events and relative dating of the Pahlava and Kushāṇa conquests, and his reign is one of the most complex problems in the study of the Śāka-Pahlava coinage.

Azes II, the last Śāka king

It has been recognized by Jenkins that the most convenient features by which the coins of Azes II can be distinguished from those

¹ We agree with Jenkins, JNSI 1955, p.9, in rejecting the coin of BMC, p.92.1 (XX.3) of type TX 76 as a joint issue between Azilises and Azes.

of Azes I are the obverse devices on their silver-denomination issues. All of the silver coins of Azes I have King mounted with spear (KMS), whereas Azes II used King mounted with whip (KMW).² This change in device on Azes II's coins may have been a conscious effort to make his coins distinguishable from those of his predecessor with the same name. Whether or not this was the reason, the idea for Azes II's device was taken from the KMW used on Azilises' coinage in the Taxila region. However there is cause to doubt that Azilises' device was the prototype copied by Azes' die-cutters. A consistent difference between the KMS and KMW on the coins of Azilises is that the king with spear has long diadem ribbon-ends flowing behind him (see VIII.24 and IX.48), while the king with whip has short ribbon-ends (XI.108, XIII.30, XIV.31, XV.67, XVI.10, 11). But Azes' KMW device always has the long-flowing ribbons (see VIII.27, 29, 30, IX.52, 53, 61, X.76, etc., XIV.32, 48). On the same coins Azilises used a dotted exergue line on the obverse, while Azes has a solid segmented line similar to the single segment, solid line on the KMS coins. An exception to this rule is found on two coins from the same dies at the Indus mint, which have a dotted line (TX 73, XV.73). This feature and the unconventional style of this type probably identify it as a transitional issue between the coins of Azilises and the use of Azes' standardized design at this mint. Another difference is that Azilises' KMW group of coins all have the Greek monogram on the obverse, but Azes' coins only have a Greek monogram on the obverse in joint issues between mints (e.g. TX 38) and this rarely. The conclusion that the original pattern for all of Azes' KMW dies was designed at a formerly 'KMS' mint seems to be reasonable. The only known joint issue of Azes II with Azilises in silver is from the Alpha mint and has the KMS device (GDH 26). This coin may indicate that Azes' headquarters as co-monarch were in the Alpha mint-city. Pushkalāvati and the TX Indus mint-city, which collaborated on a joint issue of Azilises and Azes II in bronze (GDH 127, a, b), may also have been under Azes' administration. Both these mints struck KMW types for Azilises, but according to our interpretation

² JNSI 1955, pp.1 f.. A possible exception to this rule, the square bronze KMS coins from our Zeta mint, is discussed below.

of the style neither of these mints could have designed Azes' KMW device. Our premise behind this suggestion is that it was easier for a mint to change and copy a motif, as from spear to whip, than to originate changes in style. Therefore the mints of Azilises' KMW group were copying a pattern when they engraved dies for Azes II's coins. The origin of this pattern might have been the GDH Alpha mint, and this is made more probable by the fact that the city was already under Azes' administration as co-monarch, so that its mint is more likely to have been the first to be reorganized to issue silver coins for Azes II after his accession.

Azes changed the reverse device at the Alpha mint from Athena Alkidemos to the same goddess in her guise as armed Pallas. There are three varieties of this device at the Alpha mint (GDH 27, 29, 33) and two at the Sigma mint (GDH 52, 58). Jenkins has demonstrated their relative chronology as being Pallas l., facing and crowning herself, and facing to right.³ The Pallas l. (GDH 27, VIII.27) follows the Athena Alkidemos l. of Azilises, and the Pallas r. was copied by Gondophares (GDH 67, X.67). One of the corresponding bronze types (GDH 55) of the Pallas facing silver issue at the Sigma mint is often found overstruck on the bronze type (GDH 31) of one of the Pallas l. issues at the Alpha mint (Overstrike 16). This gives the sequence for these two monogram issues. The sequence of the bronze types at these mints is first Elephant/Bull (GDH 28, 31, 54), which is replaced by Demeter/Hermes (GDH 55), and last Bull/Lion (GDH 34, 56, 59, 61).

Some drachms of the Pallas facing variety (GDH 53, 53a) were struck as joint issues between the Alpha and Sigma mints, with mons. 56 and 75 or 57 and 75. The Alpha mint's issue of this variety is also known only in the drachm denomination (GDH 29). Neither of these drachm issues have a corresponding bronze type. The Sigma mint has no coins of the Pallas l. variety, so its reorganization under Azes II was probably administered from the Alpha mint, and it first struck the joint issues, but no bronze. While these coins were being struck at the Sigma mint a monogram issue with both silver and bronze was

³ JNSI 1955, p.3.

probably issued from the Alpha mint. The mon. 58 issue (GDH 30, 31) might belong to this time, and the variation in the monogram form would be due to the fact that the usual design, mon. 56, was being used on the joint coinage at GDH Sigma. The Pallas facing drachms at the Alpha mint, GDH 29, would then be a temporary issue struck simply for the purpose of designing a type to be transferred to the Sigma mint and to initiate the latter's silver coinage. The joint mintage was stopped when the Sigma mint began issuing a full monogram set with tetradrachms (GDH 52) and a bronze type (GDH 55). At this time bronze coins from the Alpha mint (GDH 31) with the unusual monogram, 58, were restruck at the Sigma mint and in the process of restriking some of the Sigma mint's bronzes were inadvertently restruck with their own dies (Overstrike 17). The next development is the introduction of a new bronze type, Bull/Lion. There appears to be a lacuna in the Alpha mint's coinage after the initiation of the full set of denominations and restriking of Alpha mint bronzes at the Sigma mint. This might mean that the Sigma mint had been upgraded to being the major mint of the two and could indicate a shift of Azes' headquarters or the provincial capital from the Alpha to the Sigma mint-city. The Demeter, goddess of prosperity, on the first Sigma mint bronze could commemorate such an event in that mint-city. The Pallas crowning herself device on the silver coins may refer to a military victory, and as this device seems to have been designed especially to open the Sigma mint's coinage for Azes II, the victory could be the recapture of that city from an invader. As will be argued below (p. 111) the Sigma mint may have been occupied by Pseudo-Hermaios at the beginning of Azes' reign.

The first issues of coins of the Pallas r. with lotus variety at the Alpha and Sigma mints both have two Greek monograms on the reverse (GDH 33, 58), and the corresponding bronzes have the monograms on opposite sides (GDH 34, 59). The new monograms, 61 and 78, cannot be linked to any previously known mints. But if they represent mints they were used apparently only temporarily, and might have been set up by the authorities from the Alpha and Sigma mints while the latter were occupied by the enemy. The only remaining type of Azes II which can be linked to the Alpha mint is a joint issue with the Beta mint (GDH 91). But the Sigma mint struck two more monogram

issues. Mon. 69, which may be a combination of mon. 67 and 78, is found on two silver types, Pallas r. (GDH 60) and Poseidon-Śiva r. (GDH 61), and the regular Bull/Lion bronze (GDH 62). Two coins from the same dies (GDH 63) are placed last in the coinage of Azes II at the Sigma mint because they do not have a corresponding bronze type with mon. 76. As will be seen in regard to other mints, the bronze denominations were discontinued as the silver coins became more and more debased. Also this is the only silver type at this mint which has rajatirajasa in the reverse legend instead of rajarajasa. The irregularity in the legend, which reverses the positions of maharajasa and mahatasa, may not have occurred on other dies of this issue and may have no chronological significance. Mon. 76 has been read as sangala (sic) and given as evidence for placing these coins in a mint at Sāngala Euthydemia in the Panjāb.⁴ But this monogram should be read as sagila, not saṃgala, and there is no reason for assigning the coins to a mint in the Panjāb.⁵

Azes II opened at least two new mints of the Pallas group. All except one of the Pallas types have the goddess facing to right, and, because these are new mints, the source of their coin designs should be sought in an established mint. Therefore the introduction of Pallas r. coins at the new mints should be dated at the time of or later than the Alpha and Sigma mint issues with double Greek monograms. If, as suggested above, the coins were struck at temporary mints during an enemy occupation of the major mints, we should have the explanation behind the introduction of silver denominations at the new mints.

The Zeta mint gets our designation for it from mon. 80 and 81. This mint might actually be a group of sub-mints, because its monograms are often found together with two other pairs, 83 and 84, and 85 and 86. Mon. 80 is found on a series of square bronze coins of type KMS/Bull r. (GDH 72-74). These coins are in three groups, differentiated by the forms rajarajasa and rajatirajasa in the reverse legend and Kh. sa or dhra or the lack of any Kharoshthī markings. The obverse KMS device tends to identify these coins as belonging to Azes I. But there are

⁴ Zygman, ANS, MN 1957, pp.51 ff..

⁵ See Simonetta, EW 1958, p.168.

no known coins of Azilises with mon. 80, and one specimen of GDH 72 in the Bharat Kala Bhavan has the king's name blundered as AZIO*U. This kind of blunder is not found on any other Azes KMS coins, but can be seen on some Azes KMW specimens.⁶ We suggest then that this mint was opened early in Azes II's reign and was intended to strike bronze coins only. The type of the coins was copied from the KMS/Bull r. coins of Azes I and Azilises (e.g. VII.17, 23, VIII.25) then in circulation in the region of 'Pallas' mints. A unique small bronze coin of type Elephant/Lion with mon. 83 (GDH 75) is tentatively assigned to this time and place, as its monogram is closely connected with the Zeta mint (see GDH 84 and 86).

The other new mint is called the Beta mint from mons. 87-89. The 'pre-Pallas r.' coinage here includes a unique drachm (GDH 89) with Pallas l.. The corresponding bronze type is Bull/Lion (GDH 90), but at the Sigma mints this bronze type was introduced after the completion of the Pallas l. issues at the Alpha mint. The Beta mint Pallas l. might be a preliminary pattern used until a Pallas r. device could be designed. Mon. 98 on these coins might refer to Pushkalāvati. A bronze issue with mons. 89 and 90 (GDH 88) has no corresponding silver denomination and is tentatively placed in the early period of the Beta mint's coinage.

There are two basic styles used for the Pallas r. device in the Zeta and Beta mints. One, variation A, has only a single fold of drapery falling behind the goddess's figure. This design is found on, and may be derived from, the Sigma mint's double-monogram coin (compare IX.58 and X.76, 79, 91). Variation B has two folds of drapery, one on either side of the goddess. This design may be from the Alpha mint's first double-monogram Pallas r. coin (compare VIII.33 and X.82, 84, 86). One monogram issue in the Zeta group has silver coins in both styles (GDH 76, 82, X.76, 82), but the variation B coin shows the goddess without the lotus and has the king's name separate in the exergue of the legend. These coins have a companion bronze type (GDH 77, X.77).

⁶ E.g. a drachm KMW/ZN (GDH 119a) in the Bharat Kala Bhavan and drachms of type TX 74.

The interpretation of types 78, 79 and 81 with variation A style is problematical. Monograms 87 (bēta) and 88 are probably variations on no.89 and signify joint issues with the Beta mint. GDH 81's mon. 106 should refer to the Pushkalāvati mint. Mon. 82 is the same as mon. 72 used at the Sigma mint (GDH 67, 68) and 139 used on a group of Azes' KMW/ZN coins in the Taxila region (TX 48). The question cannot be answered with certainty whether there is any connection between these virtually identical monograms or whether they evolved independently. In the latter case mon. 82 might be a combination of mons. 81 and 84 with an additional diagonal line to give it symmetry. The variation B style coin and its bronze type (GDH 84, 85) are to be dated immediately before GDH 86 (X.86), which has the same style and monograms plus mon. 86 (Greek phi). The bronze is almost certainly contemporary with an issue at the Beta mint with one of the same monograms, no.83 (GDH 92). This bronze's companion variation B style silver type is not known. The Beta mint's GDH 93 tetradrachm is contemporary with GDH 86 at the Zeta mint. It is the same except for having mons. 89 and 80, and mon. 86 is altered to no.85. These monogram issues have no bronze types.

The locations of the Beta and Zeta mints should be within the Pallas coinage sphere and relatively near the Alpha and Sigma mints. If it is correct to locate the Alpha mint in the upper Kurrām Valley on the route between Paktyika and Gandhāra proper (see Chapter II, The Mints), one of the new mints might be found in the lower Kurrām Valley on a possible line of retreat from an invader in the Alpha mint district. The Akra mound near Bannū is known to yield coins of some Indo-Greeks, Maues and Azes and was certainly an important settlement of the Śaka-Pahlava period.⁷ Bannū has been identified as the Banagara of Ptolemy by Cunningham,⁸ and this is perhaps correct. We can tentatively suggest that the Beta mint was located there. The Zeta mint, whose later coinage is closely related to that of the Beta mint, should probably be placed nearby. A site on a trade route along

⁷ Imperial Gazetteer of India, VI, 395, and Stein 1905, pp.8 and 10. No indication is given as to which Azes the coins belong.

⁸ Cunningham, Ancient Geography of India, p.72.

the Indus River between Kālābāgh and the confluence of the Kurrām and Indus would be appropriate in view of our evidence.

Azes II's coinage in five other series, which include all of Azilises' KMW mints except Cukhsa-Uraśā, is predominantly of the Zeus Nikephoros type. This device was adopted from the ZN figures on coins of Azes I and Azilises at the GDH Epsilon mint (compare XI.96, 97 with XI.111, 113, etc.). Its design was standardized in the early period of Azes II's coinage and did not evolve through variations, as did the Pallas type. The corresponding bronze type in the ZN class is King seated/Hermes.⁹

Pushkalāvātī remained in the same mint-group with Taxila and the Indus mint, as it had been organized by Azilises. Azes struck ZN coins with a variety of monograms with a basic design. Mons. 98 and 99 on Azes I's and Azilises' coins evolved into mons. 100-103 and 105-107. The sequence of these changes is not clear, but GDH 109 (XI.109) is a joint issue between Pushkalāvātī and the Sigma mint. The monograms for the latter are 62 (sigma) and Kh. so which link it with Azilises' Sigma coinage (GDH 48, IX.48). This issue should be dated before the change of monogram at the Sigma mint to mon. 67. Since Pushkalāvātī was in the 'Zeus sphere' of coinage and GDH Sigma was not, this joint issue was probably struck at the former. A Pallas type (GDH 120), which is associated with the Pushkalāvātī royal series by mon. 106, is possibly another joint issue with the Sigma mint because of the large Kh. so in the reverse right field (compare GDH 47 and 48 of Azes I and Azilises). This coin has the same style and epigraphy as GDH 81, which has mons. 106 and 82, and is probably connected with it. The latter type is tentatively grouped with the Zeta mint series. The remaining ZN coins at Pushkalāvātī have been arranged in Appendix II (GDH 110-114, 118, 119, 121) according to various considerations of style and monogram design. GDH 111 is placed in the early part of the series because of its companion bronze issue (GDH 112). As the silver becomes more debased bronze issues become rare (p.108). But generally no cohesive system can be found in any of the ZN series and the coins give few clues to their sequence.

⁹ See Jenkins, JNSI 1955, pp.5 and 8.

The attribution of mons. 98-103 and 105-107, which form a unified group by their similar designs, to this mint was postulated in Chapter II on the basis of the goddess of Pushkalāvātī gold coin (GDH 115, XI.115) and a similar figure on a bronze type (GDH 117, XII.117) with mon. 103. This attribution is strengthened by another gold coin with mon. 105 (GDH 116, XII.116). This coin has often been assigned to a certain Aṭhama because of four aksharas arranged on the points of a square around the monogram on the reverse.¹⁰ The usual reading is aṭhamasa. However, as Kharoshthī reads from right to left and from top to bottom in compounds and order of lines of writing, the first akshara should be the upper right one, sa. The other three aksharas make no sense except when read as aṭhama, 'the eighth' or 'one-eighth'. So the inscription reads clockwise from the upper right and should be transcribed as sa-aṭhama. Sa is known in at least three other instances where it precedes a number. These are in three inscriptions which give the values of silver vessels on which they are inscribed (Inscriptions 20, 21 and 26). In each case sa or s(y)a is the abbreviation for satera or 'stater'. This leaves no doubt that the four aksharas on the gold coin give its weight as one-eighth of a stater.

The date of this coin is determined from the obverse device, which is like the KMW on coins of Azes II (compare XII.116 and 135). That it belongs to this king's reign and not to that of his predecessor is indicated by the monogram, 105, which is found on billon coins of Azes II (GDH 118, 119, a, b). The place of mintage of this tiny coin is indicated by the large gold coin, for, these being the only known gold coins which belong to this period, there was probably only one mint striking gold currency. These three coins, GDH 115, 116 and 117, form a close group. The tiny gold coin and the bronze type date them to the reign of Azes II, and the goddess on the bronze and large gold coins locates their mint in Pushkalāvātī. The components of Kharoshthī mon. 104 on the bronze coin can be read to form Pakalavada = Pushkalāvātī.

¹⁰ Rapson, JRAS 1905, pp.796 f.; Whitehead, PMC, p.145n; Raychaudhuri, PHAI, p.442; Banerjea in Comp. Hist. Ind., II, 22n; Simonetta, EW 1958, p.182.

The denomination of the small gold coin, which weighs .22 grammes (3.4 grains), is stated to be one-eighth of a stater. The large medal weighs 4.32 grammes (66.7 grains). The small coin is badly worn and must be considerably underweight. If the large coin is also underweight but by a smaller percentage, we can suggest that its full weight is 4.665 grammes (72 grains) which equals 40 rattis, the weight of two drachms in the Indian standard.¹¹ The heavily worn small coin could originally have weighed .307 grammes (4.5 grains) or 2.5 rattis - one-eighth of the weight of a silver drachm, 20 rattis. Therefore the weight of an Indian gold stater is equal to the weight of an Indian drachm, and the large gold coin is a distater.

The coins of the Indus mint (TX 73-77) are characterized by mon. 145 and Kh. saṃ. The nandipada under the horseman on TX 73 (XV.73) recalls that on the silver issue of Azilises at this mint, which has the same monogram (TX 71). This feature reinforces the statement above that the dotted exergue line and irregular style of the Azes coin mark it as a transitional issue between Azilises and the standardized type of Azes II's KMW/ZN. The style of TX 76 is superior to that on most KMW/ZN coins and is similar to that of coins in the Pallas group (compare IX.52 and XV.76 and these with XI.111, 113, XIV.32). The use of the form rajaraja instead of rajatiraja on this coin is a possible link with the early coins of the Alpha and Sigma mints. This aberration in the Indus mint series also identifies the companion bronze type of TX 76 as being TX 77. The explanation for this intrusion of a superior style at this mint might be found in one of the invasions of Pseudo-Hermaios that occupied one or two 'Pallas' mints and perhaps resulted in the temporary shifting of some die-cutters from the Alpha and Sigma mints to the Indus mint. TX 78 is a joint issue between the Indus mint (mon. 145) and another mint represented by mon. 139, or 82.

A series of coins (GDH 127-135) is interpreted by us as a joint mintage between Pushkalāvati and Indus mint, because mon. 111, which

¹¹ See Lahiri, JNSI 1969, pp.113 ff., for the Indian weight measurement for Indo-Greek and later silver coinage. Mukherjee, JNSI 1970, pp.144 ff., argues for a weight of 40 grains per drachm (160 grains for a tetradrachm) as the Indian standard for silver coinage.

is new to the coinage, seems to be a combination of mon. 145 of the Indus mint and monograms such as 98, 100 or 105 of Pushkalāvātī. Mon. 110, which may be a variation of either 111 or 145, is used on a joint issue of drachms with the Sigma mint (GDH 128). The monograms of the latter are 62 (sigma) and Kh. so just as on Pushkalāvātī's joint issue with the same mint (GDH 109). These coins are probably contemporary and from mints in the same or neighbouring districts. These two joint issues linking the Sigma, the Pushkalāvātī and probably the Indus mints give an argument for placing the Azilises and Azes II joint bronze coinage in this or a similar series of joint mintage. The devices of type GDH 127, a, b, were most likely adopted from type TX 70 of Azilises at the Indus mint. GDH 127 has mon. 74, which we interpret as śpila and assign to the Sigma mint. It also occurs on the silver Pushkalāvātī coinage of Azilises (GDH 108). GDH 127a has a Kharoshthī monogram which seems to be 104, Pakalavada = Pushkalāvātī. Mon. 114, however, seems to connect the bronze coins to a series other than those of the Sigma and Pushkalāvātī mints. It may be related to mon. 115, which occurs on a Pushkalāvātī coin with mon. 98 (GDH 113), and to mon. 116, which occurs with mon. 111 on GDH 135.

The latter coin, GDH 135, has the same superior style as the Indus mint coin discussed above (compare XII.135 and XV.76), and they are probably close in their ages. The unusual mon. 120 on the obverse of GDH 135 is also found on a Pallas r. type (TX 88), which has mon. 111. This coin is grouped with four other coins (TX 85-89, XVI.88, 89) which are characterized by a prominently engraved alpha. Other monograms link this group to Taxila (no. 134), the Beta mint (no. 90 on GDH 88), and the Sigma mint (no. 78 on GDH 58, 59), as well as to the joint series under discussion. The alpha on these coins may indicate a sub-mint, or joint issues with the Alpha mint, or it may have no significance of locality at all. But mon. 120 probably connects TX 88 with GDH 135 in time if not in place. These two coins, then, and perhaps TX 76 of the Indus mint as well, should not be dated before the introduction of the Pallas r. coinage in the Alpha and Sigma series.

Type GDH 99 of Azes is placed at the Epsilon mint because of mon. 94, which is alpha over my and could stand for Amb, from Embolima. The triratna symbol surmounting mon. 95 on this coin recalls the similar symbols on coins of satraps from regions north of Pushkalāvātī

and Taxila (GDH 140-143, 146, CU 17-20, 24, 28). The change in the monogram and the form of rajaraja from the usages on Azilises' coins might mean that the mint may have been closed for a while before Azes struck his standardized KMW/ZN type there.

Azes' Taxila mint struck the numerous coinage with mon. 134. This monogram is the same as mon. 136 of Azilises with the short diagonal line completed to the upper right corner of the square to give symmetry to the overall design. There was probably no conscious intention to reintroduce the monogram from some of Apollodotos II's (TX 15) and imitation Eukratides (TX 19, 20) bronze issues, where it was used as a simplification of mons. 132 and 133.

This series has four joint issues with mints already discussed. TX 32 (XIV.32) has mon. 80 and Kh. jham and is a joint issue with the Zeta mint. This type is evidence that communication between Taxila and the Zeta mint was relatively easy. TX 38-40 have the monograms of the collaborating mints on the obverse. TX 38 (XIV.38) has mon. 67 and is therefore later than the introduction of that monogram at the Sigma mint and probably later than the Pushkalāvātī (GDH 109) and the GDH 128 joint issues with that mint. TX 39 has mon. 111, and TX 40 has mon. 145 of the Indus mint. The first two both have mon. 116 over Kh. vsā in the reverse right field and are almost certainly contemporary. TX 40 has mon. 116 over Kh. sam and should belong to the same period. These latter three issues were probably struck at a time when the Sigma and Indus mints were in enemy hands and when the provincial treasuries of those mints had been transferred to Taxila.

The sequence of coins in this class is predicated on the hypothesis that coins without mon. 116 (TX 32-34) are earlier than those with that monogram (TX 35, 36, 38-43). The crudely executed drachms of types TX 43-45 are placed near the end of the series. These coins do not have corresponding bronze types. Bronze issues apparently became redundant when the billon denomination had deteriorated to the level of these coins. Mon. 138 on TX 45 and 46 appears to be a corruption of the usual 134. However these coins perhaps link with satrapal coins because of the Kh. ura, which also occurs on coins of Zeionises (CU 19, 21), and mon. 122, which occurs on coins of Azes (GDH 141) with Pallas r. and in a style like the coins of Indravarman

(GDH 140). The type of irregular weight (TX 46) is probably related to that from the Indus mint (TX 78). Both have a Demeter type.

The KMW/ZN coins with mon. 139 or 140 are related to the mon. 134 series. Most specimens have mon. 116 over Kh. bu on the reverse (TX 48), as does an issue of mon. 134 (TX 41). Mon. 139 is mentioned above in connection with the identical mon. 82 on two monogram issues (GDH 78-80). The origin of these monograms is a question crucial to the interpretation of the mon. 139 and 140 Taxila coins, for it is too simplistic to take them as variations on and successors of mon. 134. They are found on billon coins of fairly good style (XIV.48) and a companion bronze type (TX 49), and are therefore to be dated earlier than the crude drachms with mon. 134 and no bronze type (TX 43, 44). It is indeed probable that the TX 48 and 49 coins are contemporary with the TX 41 and 42 coins with mon. 134 that have the same additional markings in the reverse right field. It seems then that the mon. 139 and 140 issues were struck for some purpose other than to represent the central mint. If mon. 139 has any connection with mon. 82 at the Zeta mint its coins might be a joint issue with that mint. Mon. 82/139 is also linked to mon. 106 of the Pushkalāvātī mint (GDH 81), mons. 87 and 88 of the Beta mint (GDH 78-80), mon. 83, which is commonly found with Zeta mint monograms (GDH 78), and mon. 145 of the Indus mint. So, whatever the origin of mon. 82/139, it was used at different mints, but the series of the Taxila types should be located at that mint and linked to later Pahlava coins there which have mons. 139 and 141 (TX 50-55).

* * *

Pushkalāvātī was the mint or the administering parent of a sub-mint which issued a series of satrapal coins. The usual type of the series is KMW/Pallas r. in its own distinctive style. But one satrap, Rājuvula, struck a KMW/ZN type with mon. 105 and 108 (GDH 139) which should perhaps be regarded as an interruption of Azes' royal coinage at Pushkalāvātī. Mon. 108 is found on type GDH 114 with mon. 102, and these coins of Azes and Rājuvula are probably either contemporary or consecutive.

The location of the satrapy of Indravarman and his son in Bājaur and perhaps neighbouring Swāt is indicated by the Shīnkoṭ inscription of Vijayamitra, Indravarman's father, from Bājaur. This inscription is possibly dated in Vijayamitra's regnal year 5 (Inscription 10).

The satrapal coins of Indravarma and Aspavarman have Pallas r. and similar markings (GDH 140 and 142). Aspavarman is given satrapal titles, stratega jayata, 'victorious general', while his father and grandfather had a more aristocratic title, apracaraja (p. 80). Azes struck two issues in this series completely in his own name. The style of GDH 141 is similar to Indravarma's coins and might precede the satrap's coins or belong to almost any time later. But GDH 143 is in a notably crude style and should probably follow all of the satrapal issues. This argument, good style before bad, is often used in assessing the relative chronology of Azes II's coinage. But the deteriorating monetary situation after the debasement of the silver currency and the deteriorating political situation because of invaders make it a fair assumption that the quality of coinage suffered from the necessity to produce massive numbers of coins to finance the wars and keep up with economic inflation.

The only known square bronze coin of Zeionises (CU 17) is similar to a coin of Azilises (CU 16) and almost surely provides a link between these two rulers. Another link is in the style of the obverse devices on their KMW silver coins, and it is reasonably certain that Zeionises succeeded Azilises in one of the latter's mints. It is known that Azes struck coins in some of Azilises' 'KMW' mints, and we suspect that he did so in all except one, the mint of mon. 154 which we place in Urasā. Inscription 19 identifies Zeionises as the satrap of Cukhsa. A Kharoshthī monogram on his coins (CU 19-21) can be read as ura or perhaps urasā (see rf. rev. XVI.19, 21 and on Kujūla's coins XVI.23), and this could stand for the province of Urasā. We have mentioned that ancient features of the region north of Mānsehrā and argued that the area could have supported a mint (Chapter III). And the Sirān Valley connects the Cukhsa and Urasā regions. It is not unlikely then that these provinces were under the same satrapal administration and that the satrapal mint was formerly used by Azilises and by Maues before him. One bronze type of Zeionises (CU 24) has a mark resembling Kh. cu instead of ura. We may suggest that, on analogy with the interpretation of ura to mean Urasā, this akshara might stand for Cukhsa and assign it to that district.

Zeionises gave no homage to an overlord on his coins. His coin legends identify him as the son of satrap Manigula. There are no known

coins of this satrap. Inscription 18 of Zeionises has Manigula's name in compound with maharajabhrata. The practice of calling a satrap the king's brother has been discussed in Chapter IV with regard to the satraps of Vonones. It is not necessary to regard Manigula as a familial relation of a king.

The deity crowning a figure on Zeionises' silver coins (CU 18-20, XVI.18, 19) probably refers to his investiture as ruler, and the city-goddess on one type (CU 18, 19) might be a reference to his relationship with a particular city. The inference is clear that Zeionises did not owe his office to the king, Azes II, and that he was virtually independent. One issue gives him the title of mahachatrapa - a parallel between his and Rājuvula's usages. Mukherjee argues that certain coins of Zeionises which are of good silver were struck before Azes II debased the silver currency and therefore during the reign of Azilises.¹² This is a possible reconstruction of events, but as it is not known how long it would take the debased currency to have an effect on the economy of Uraśā, it is not necessary to assume that the currencies of Taxila and Uraśā were debased at the same time. It is, however, quite likely that Zeionises began asserting his independence soon after Azilises became occupied with the war in Sakastān and Arachosia. If so, his example might have influenced other satraps to demand more autonomy from the king after Azes II's accession, a condition evidenced by the right of satraps to mint a personal coinage.

Another satrap who appears to have been virtually independent of an overlord is Kharahostes. This person is mentioned in the Mathurā Lion Capital record (Inscription 13) as yuvarāja or associate king and heir to the throne. His coins call him satrap (chatrapa) and son of Arṭa (TX 83). It is uncertain whether these two titles should be given a chronological sequence or dated to the same period. The title yuvarāja suggests his association with a kingdom and a senior monarch. The only kingdom in the Śaka country at this time was that of Azes II, and Kharahostes' coins are linked to a unique coin of Azes (TX 82) by mons. 149 and 152. Zeionises used mon. 149 on an issue of his bronze type (TX 79), and so we can identify a separate series in these coins.

¹² Agrippan Source, p.262. See also MacDowall, Bhāratī 1966-68, pp.201-9.

Another issue of Azes (TX 81) is linked to this series by mon. 151, which is also found on his TX 82 issue. The Demeter device and dhramika in the reverse legend of this type are unusual in his coinage and probably should not be located in one of his regular mints. Hence we place this series in a sub-mint in a satrapal district north of Taxila in the vicinity of Zeionises' satrapy, and we prefer to date the adoption of the additional title to the later part of Azes' reign.

* * *

Earlier in this chapter allusions were made to mints of Azes II being temporarily held by an enemy force. An invasion of Gandhāra and Taxila by Pseudo-Hermaios at the time of Apollodotos II is well documented by coins (Chapter III), and there is nothing intrinsically improbable in postulating incursions at a later time. The remaining imitation Hermaios coins include the plated bronze type (GDH 35, 64, VIII.35, IX.64) which must be dated in the period of the debasement of currency and later than coins of better fabric. The curled hair on these coins is a stylistic feature on two issues of silver (GDH 32, 57, IX.57) which may be slightly debased. These coins in turn are later than silver issues without this feature, such as GDH 51 (IX.51) with mon. 67 and the coins of the Paropamisadai-Kapisene class A style with mons. 35-37 (PK 6-8).

Type GDH 32 has mon. 52, which was also used on a Pseudo-Hermaios issue at the Alpha mint (GDH 11, VII.11). The style of the GDH 32 coin with curled hair on the portrait evolved from the GDH 11 type, which omits the rayed halo on the Zeus image, and is definitely later. The reverse of the bronze issues has the sceptre between Zeus' feet like the PK class A style, but the overall style of the device is evolved from the GDH silver issues. The evolution of this Zeus-without-halo device in Gandhāra can be seen on plate IX, coins 45, 51, 57 and 64. These later issues are divided into two groups by two sets of monograms: 52 and 59 on one group and 67, 68 and 70 on the other. As mon. 52 was previously used at the Alpha mint its attribution there in the later period should be correct. The invaders may have made a conscious effort to copy the style and markings previously used at the mint. The monograms of the other group are similar to mons. 64 and 65 of the earlier issues of the Sigma mint and are to be placed there. An

intimate relationship between these mints has been noticed several times, and it is reasonable to link the styles of these two groups so that GDH 32 and 57 are contemporary and GDH 35 and 64 belong to the same later period.

Type GDH 51 has no corresponding issue in the Alpha mint, but it was noted above that Azes' first coinage at Alpha mint has no corresponding Pallas 1. type at the Sigma mint. If specimens with all the variant styles are known to us it can be argued that in the first coinage phase Azes II held the Alpha mint and Pseudo-Hermaios the Sigma mint, but in two later invasions the latter captured both mints. Azes adopted mon. 67 from the imitation coins at the Sigma mint when he first struck coins there. The basic design of Pseudo-Hermaios' Alpha mint monograms, the square on mons. 52 and 59, probably influenced the design of Azes' mon. 60 on GDH 91, but his use of mon. 56 on his first coins probably has a direct chronological link with its use by Azilises.

If PK 6 and 8 with mons. 35/106 and 37/105 should be placed in Pushkalāvātī instead of Kābul they may represent two invasions of the region which resulted in the striking of silver imitation coins as suggested in Chapter III (p. 27). Their prototypes would be PK 5 and 7 instead of a previous GDH imitation coinage. These two invasions would in this case be contemporary with the silver imitations struck at Sigma mint, GDH 51 and 57. Another coin which should be contemporary with one of these first two intrusions is GDH 130, an imitation Eukratides coin with mon. 111 of our Pushkalāvātī-Indus mint series.

These issues of imitations give the picture of an invasion from Pseudo-Hermaios' base in the Paropamisadae and Kapisene into Gandhāra towards Taxila by way of the lower Kābul Valley. If this invasion was successful we would expect to find some imitation Hermaios coins from the Taxila mint. But there are none, and the only coins which can be taken as evidence of non-Śaka rule in Taxila in the early period of Azes II's reign are a rare type of Arsakes Dikaioi (TX 37) with mon. 134. The style and fabric of these coins date them after the accession of Azes II, and the style and mon. 134 place them before the beginning of the Pahlava series (compare XIV.37 with 51-54). It seems that we must inquire into the possibility of linking the

Arsakids with one of these invasions of Pseudo-Hermaios. We have suggested that the latter was responsible for a series of counterstruck genuine and imitation Arsakid drachms (Chapter III), and that Pseudo-Hermaios was attacking Azilises at the time when the latter was losing or had recently lost Sakastān and Arachosia to the Arsakids (Chapter V). Neither of these circumstances nor both together would argue for Arsakid participation in an invasion of Taxila. But it is possible if not probable that Pseudo-Hermaios and the Arsakids collaborated in extending their respective dominions. On the other hand the Arsakes Dikaioi coins might be imitations struck by Pseudo-Hermaios and need not require us to identify an Arsakid army in the invasion.

* * *

Three inscriptions which give the name Śivarakshita can be dated to the period of Azes II's reign. Inscription 23 mentions Azes (Ayasa). Though the royal titles are lost the inscription has space for them and it was therefore probably engraved during the reign of a king named Azes. The date is uncertain but the present writer's reading of it makes it to be at least 40 (XXIII.23). The era of this date is undoubtedly that of Azes I (see Appendix III, Section C), and, as it is unlikely that Azes I ruled for more than 40 years, the Azes mentioned in the inscription should be identified as Azes II. Therefore the Śivarakshita mentioned in the record is connected with Uraśā or the Agror Valley sometime during the reign of Azes II. Inscription 24, which mentions a Śivarakshita, occurs on a steatite vase (XXIII.24) from Bīmarān which contained a gold reliquary and four coins of Azes II of type TX 81 (Hoard 51). In the above pages these coins, with a Demeter device and the title dhramika, have been associated with a series of coins which include types of Zeionises (TX 79) and Kharahostes (TX 83) and which probably belong to a district in the Taxila kohistān. The Śivarakshita of this inscription is therefore linked to evidence from the region north of Taxila and to the time of Azes II. The name Śivarakshita is found in both Brāhmī and Kharoshthī scripts on a seal from Taxila (Inscription 25, XXIII.25). This seal also has mon. 125, a triratna or nandipada symbol, which is commonly found on coins of Zeionises (TX 79, CU 17-21, 24) and others (CU 25-30) from districts north of Taxila. Again a Śivarakshita is associated with the region

north of Taxila, or at least with Taxila itself where Inscription 25 was found, and possibly with the time of Azes II. It is therefore more than likely that these inscriptions refer to the same person, who was a contemporary of Azes II.

Items of silverware with Inscriptions 19-22 were found at Taxila in a hoard with Inscription 18 of Zeionises/Jihonika dated in the year 191 (Appendix III, Section C) and should be assigned to the period of this satrap. Inscription 26 of Aspavarman can be dated to that satrap's term as strategos under Azes II or Gondophares.

The Pahlavas

No coins of Azes II can be traced at the GDH Alpha mint after the last intrusion of Pseudo-Hermaios' coinage there (GDH 35). But a series of coins which can be assigned to that mint is the Pahlava group with Bust/Nike and the title SÖTĒR/tratara in the legends (GDH 36-39). The titulature of the legends is precisely the same as that of the Hermaios coins and lacks the imperial title 'king of kings'. Gondophares and Abdagases are the only kings who struck coins of this group, and both used imperial titles on coins of the Bust l./Nike variety in Arachosia (SA 54, 58, 59). Consequently their 'soter' coins cannot be placed in either of the two Arachosian mints.¹³ It is generally recognized that Gondophares was the first Pahlava to strike coins in Gandhāra and Taxila and that he conquered that region.¹⁴ Therefore as his 'soter' coins must be located outside the Sakastān-Arachosia region where his predecessors ruled, they should probably be placed at a mint in the newly conquered territories. Since we need a coinage at the Alpha mint during the later part of Azes II's reign and after the last Pseudo-Hermaios incursion, the similarity between Gondophares' coins with bust r. and the simple legend with sōtēr to the imitation Hermaios coins with bust r. and the same titles is a convincing argument for

¹³ D.W. MacDowall, NC 1965, pp.135 ff., argues for the existence of two kings named Gondophares on the evidence of the SA Nike coins and these 'soter' coins. The differences between these coins are of geographical not chronological significance.

¹⁴ Raychaudhuri, PHAI, p.453; Banerjea in Comp. Hist. Ind., II, 210; Mukherjee, Agrippan Source, pp.102 f..

attributing these coins to that mint. It is uncertain how long Pseudo-Hermaios held this mint before Gondophares seized control there. But it is reasonably certain that the Alpha mint was the first major mint in Gandhāra to be captured by Gondophares, since we have already seen that the Alpha mint was the first mint used by Azes I when he invaded Gandhāra. The only significant change Gondophares made in the imitation Hermaios design he inherited there was in the reverse device. He used the Nike r. device which was familiar to the Pahlavas from their Arachosian coinage.

The square lower case omega ($\bar{\Omega}^*$) on type GDH 37 is linked with that in the legends of Abdagases. This latter king struck two varieties of these 'soter' coins. GDH 38 (VIII.38) has both devices, the bust and Nike, facing to left and the symbol of Gondophares, mon. 20, in the reverse left field. This simple change in the design and the symbol was perhaps intended to differentiate the GDH 38 coins from the coins of Gondophares. That GDH 39 (VIII.39) has the devices facing to right and omits the symbol indicates that these distinguishing features were not required at all times during Abdagases' use of this mint. Therefore we may suggest that the GDH 38 coinage was a viceregal issue struck during the lifetime of Gondophares and was perhaps partially contemporary with the latter's GDH 37 coins with square omega. When Abdagases became sole king the design of the senior king was adopted and the symbol, a reference to his loyalty to Gondophares, was abandoned.

If it is correct to assume that the Alpha mint was the first mint in the Gandhāra-Taxila region used by Gondophares and that he adopted the title $\bar{S}\bar{O}\bar{T}\bar{E}\bar{R}/\bar{t}r\bar{a}t\bar{a}r\bar{a}$ from the example of the imitation Hermaios coins at that mint, we may work on the hypothesis that all other coins of this king with this title should be dated after his first Alpha mint issue. This condition would apply to Gondophares' tiny silver coins (SI 1) which have been attributed to the Sind region by Mukherjee,¹⁵ and which were perhaps struck to facilitate trade through the entrepôt

¹⁵ Agrippan Source, pp.218-26. Mukherjee recognized that some of these coins belong to Gondophares (p.220).

at Barbarikon.¹⁶ It is possible that Gondophares took control of the lower Indus region after having secured a base in Gandhāra on his northern flank.

The coins of the Sind group have the Nike device which is characteristic of the earlier Pahlava coinage, except here the image on the first issues is facing to left instead of right. The style of the Nike on Gondophares' issue (SI 1) is similar to that on SI 2, which, from a reading of its fragmentary legends, has been attributed to a certain Sapedanes,¹⁷ who is probably identifiable with the Sorpedonos of type SA 53. We suggested in the previous chapter that Sorpedonos was a contemporary of Gondophares and that the title tratara on his Arachosian issue was taken from his Sind coinage. If this is correct it would mean that Gondophares left a viceroy in Sind while he himself continued his war of conquest. Type SI 2 is badly worn, but it appears that, unlike all other coins of this class, the bust on the obverse does not have a tiara.¹⁸ This feature might indicate that the issuer of this type was not the senior monarch. But it must be noted that there is no indication from the other series of Pahlava coins that the absence of a tiara in the king's portrait has any such significance.

The device of King enthroned of Gondophares' GDH 87 (X.87) might have been inspired by the Zeus enthroned type of Pseudo-Hermaios; it is not like the King-archer enthroned on Sakastān coins. If so it may be regarded as combining motifs from two types from the Alpha mint, the enthroned figure from the imitation Hermaios coins and the Nike of Gondophares' issue. This tends to locate the type in the Gandhāra region, and, because its mon. 86 (Greek phi) is found on the last issue of Azes II in the Zeta series (GDH 86), we may tentatively associate the Gondophares issue with the same group.

¹⁶ Periplous Tes Erythras Thalasses, sec.38, refers to the emporium of Barbarikon at the mouth of the Indus (Sinthos). Inland from it the town of Minnagar, the capital of Skythia, was ruled by Parthian princes. See Mukherjee, Agrippan Source, p.218.

¹⁷ See Whitehead in Taxila, II, 840; and Mukherjee, Agrippan Source, pp.219-21.

¹⁸ But two coins from Saīdpur (Location 122) might have the tiara. See ASIAR, 1914-15, pp.94 f.. The description of the coins and their attribution to Sorpedonos has not been confirmed.

Another King enthroned device which may owe its use to the imitation coinage or GDH 87 is the unique coin of type TX 50 (XIV.50). The symbol, mon. 20, identifies the coin as a Pahlava issue of either Gondophares or a later king. Like the GDH 87 coins it is of irregular weight and size. This coin might be a transitional issue between the coinage of Azes II and Sasan in the Taxila series of mons. 139-141, or it might represent an intrusion of the Pahlavas in this mint before the end of Azes II's reign. The change of obverse from King mounted to King enthroned would have been made to differentiate the Pahlava issue from that of the Śaka king.

This explanation probably applies to changes in the obverse design, from KM r. to KM l., on two transition pieces or issues intruded into the middle of Azes II's coinage at Pushkalāvātī (GDH 122)¹⁹ and in the Pushkalāvātī-Indus joint series (GDH 136). Both of these coins have Pallas r. on the reverse and two Kharoshthī aksharas in the reverse left field. It is more than likely that these coins are contemporary and designed from the same pattern. The origin of the Pallas device, instead of the ZN of Azes' royal coinage in these series, is probably the satrapal coinage issued under the authority of the Pushkalāvātī mint and perhaps struck there as well. GDH 136 with mon. 111 may be earlier than the Pseudo-Hermaios coin (GDH 137) with mon. 112. This sequence is suggested by the form of mon. 113 on the last issue assigned to this joint series (GDH 138). This monogram's design may have been influenced by that of mon. 112. But it is not certain that these monograms belong to the joint series rather than the Pushkalāvātī mint; they may as easily be adaptations of mons. 105 and 106 as of 111. Another objection to the sequence is that the imitation coin, GDH 137, is similar in style and fabric to the last Pseudo-Hermaios coins at the Alpha and Sigma mints. It is difficult to place a coin of Gondophares in the joint series before Pseudo-Hermaios if he struck coins at the Alpha mint only after the imitations were struck, since this seems to have been the first mint captured along his route of invasion.

¹⁹ The writer is indebted to Professor A.H. Dani and the staff of the Department of Archaeology, Peshawar University, for an opportunity to examine this coin.

Jenkins has noticed that the GDH 67 and 68 coins of Gondophares with mon. 72 were patterned on the Pallas r. (GDH 58, 60, 63) and Poseidon-Śiva r. (GDH 61) issues of Azes II with mon. 69.²⁰ The only difference in the monograms is that mon. 72 has the short diagonal line in mon. 69 completed to give the design symmetry. These coins of Gondophares therefore belong to the Sigma mint. The design of the Poseidon-Śiva figure on GDH 68 is quite different from that of the Śiva figures on GDH 123, 124 and 138 (XII.123, 124, 138). The last type is associated with the Pushkalāvati mint or its joint series with the Indus mint by mon. 113. The Śiva figures on the other two issues, GDH 123 and 124, which do not have a Greek monogram of a familiar design, probably belong to the same general area, and are grouped in the Pushkalāvati series. The Śiva types are probably later than the first issues of Gondophares' Poseidon-Śiva type at the Sigma mint and certainly later than the transitional Pallas issues (GDH 122, 136) in their own series. Whether mons. 112 and 113 belong to Pushkalāvati or the Pushkalāvati-Indus mint joint series, it would probably be correct to suggest the following sequence for the types in both groups:

- Phase 1 - GDH 122 with mon. 98 at Pushkalāvati and
GDH 136 with mon. 111 in the joint series;
- Phase 2 - GDH 138 with mon. 113 and Śiva;
- Phase 3 - GDH 123 and 124 without a Greek monogram.

It is not certain where the imitation Hermaios type (GDH 137) with mon. 112 should be inserted.

Mukherjee has noticed that the obverse device of the square bronze coins (GDH 125, 126) which are companion denominations to the GDH 123 and 124 Śiva types, is similar to the reverse of a tetradrachm of Artabanos III²¹ dated Sel. 338 = A.D. 27/28, and suggests that the Gondophares coins, GDH 123-126, must be dated later than the Artabanos issue, i.e. after A.D. 27.²² These coins are the only bronze denomination, as distinct from the virtually all-bronze debased coins, struck by Gondophares. The minting of the bronze denomination was

²⁰ JNSI 1955, p.1.

²¹ Compare XII.125, 126 with BMC Parthia, XXV.5, 6.

²² Mukherjee, Agrippan Source, pp.183 f., and IHQ 1962, pp.239 ff.. And see Appendix III, Section C.

generally abandoned in Gandhāra-Taxila before Gondophares' conquest of the region.

The only other coinage issued in Gondophares' name alone is his Panjāb type (PA 26) which follows the coins of Rājuvula there and has the same devices. A sealing (Inscription 29) with the figure of Athena and epigraphy similar to the reverse of this type of Gondophares has been found in East Panjāb. Mukherjee has suggested that mon. 170 on some coins of Śivadatta (MT 8), Hagāmasha (MT 9) and Hagāmasha and Hagāna (MT 10) of the Mathurā type is actually a representation of mon. 20, the symbol of Gondophares. He notes that the names Hagāmasha and Hagāna are unusual in the context of this period and may be Pahlava names.²³ If this is correct, as seems reasonable, Gondophares would have installed a satrap in Mathurā. This would be a repetition of the activities of the Śakas and would mean that Gondophares, through satraps, extended Pahlava rule as far east as had the Śaka satraps before him.

The coins of Gondophares discussed so far in this chapter have only his name in the legends. Four types, GDH 146, 147, TX 51 and CU 28, link him with a satrap or co-monarch. It is generally accepted that Āspavarman became a satrap under Gondophares after having served Azes II.²⁴ His coinage with Gondophares, although the obverse legend which should name Gondophares is hopelessly blundered or lost on all our specimens, is identified by Gondophares' symbol on the obverse (GDH 146). These coins are further differentiated from his coinage with Azes II. The obverse horseman device is changed to facing left, an alteration we have already seen on two types of Gondophares (GDH 122, 136). The reverse device is changed from Pallas r. to Zeus r. with vertical sceptre. These coins also add the title tratarā, which is common to Gondophares' reverse legends in this region, to the titles used on Āspavarman's coinage with Azes II (compare GDH 146 and 142). And furthermore these coins have Kh. ura, which may mean that Āspavarman's territorial authority was extended to include part or all of Uraśa, which was previously ruled by Zeionises (see above and CU 19 and 21).

²³ Agrippan Source, pp.253 f..

²⁴ Whitehead, NC 1944, p.100.

Gondophares struck three types with Sasan. Each type raises the status of Sasan above that of Āspavarman. GDH 147 gives him the titles apratihatacakra, which was previously used by Rājuvula (PA 21, 23, MT 2), and devavrada, which was used by Gondophares on some of his Gandhāra coins (GDH 67, 68, 122-126, 136). Unlike the coins of Āspavarman this issue has royal titles, maharaja rajaraja, but, as part of the legend is indistinct, we cannot say with certainty that these titles refer to Sasan. CU 28 (XVI.28) names both Gondophares and Sasan in the reverse legend. The titles preceding the names are in singular number and not dual, but, as no satrapal titles are given to Sasan, the names should be taken as having equal status, with both sharing the titles. The probability of this interpretation is increased by the legends on TX 51 (XIV.51) which names only Sasan, as king of kings, in the obverse legend and both Gondophares and Sasan on the reverse. The obverse legend makes it clear that this type was intended to identify Sasan as an equal co-monarch if not as senior king, and on the reverse of both CU 28 and TX 51 the name of Sasan occupies the exergue, the normal position of the king's name, while Gondophares is named in the line usually used for titles only. These coins indicate that Gondophares' relationship with Sasan was not one of overlord and satrap. Sasan held office partly by his own right.

* * *

The elucidation of Gondophares' conquest of Gandhāra-Taxila is involved with Pseudo-Hermaios, Azes II and the satraps. In different mints Gondophares followed different predecessors. His conquest was not simply a matter of displacing Azes II from his kingdom. A fourth factor he had to contend with was the Kushāṇas under Kujūla. D.W. MacDowall has shown that the evidence of coin finds at Taxila and considerations of style argue for dating Kujūla's rule in Taxila before the Gondophares group.²⁵ There were 2542 coins of Kujūla found at Taxila (Hoard 80), which is only a hundred fewer than the 2639 coins of Azes II. There should be no doubt that Kujūla occupied Taxila. In addition to MacDowall's argument, in twenty instances Kujūla's coins are associated with coins of Azes II at Sirkap (Hoards 36, 39-50,

²⁵ JNSI 1968, p.44.

56, 58, 59, 63, 65, 66, 70). In six cases coins of Gondophares are also present (Hoards 56, 59, 63, 65, 66, 70). In ten hoards (54, 57, 61, 62, 64, 67-69, 71, 73) only Azes and Gondophares are associated, but in only one instances are coins of Kujūla and Gondophares found together without any coins of Azes II (Hoard 72). Kujūla is never associated with Abdagases in coin finds. This pattern of finds clearly indicates that Kujūla's coins circulated alongside the coinage of Azes II longer than with that of Gondophares and his colleagues, and that Kujūla's occupation should fall between the Śaka and Pahlava periods in Taxila. The coins which represent him there are the Bust of Hermaios/Herakles types (TX 90, 91), and these coins, being quite unlike the ZN coins of Azes and the Pahlavas, probably lost popularity and dropped out of circulation soon after the Pahlavas took the region.

But before and probably after his occupation of Taxila Kujūla was striking coins in the provinces north of the city. It is generally recognized that Kujūla's bronze type Bull/Camel was intended to succeed Zeionises' Bull/Lion coins.^{25a} In two series coins of these rulers are in sequence: TX 79 and 80, and CU 20, 21 and 22, 23. In the Cukhsa-Uraśa series B Zeionises' type (CU 24) is followed by coins of Azes II with similar markings (CU 25, 26). The bronze coin is Azes' own design of the Bull/Lion type (compare e.g. VIII.34 with XVI.21). When Kujūla took the district he did not strike the Bull/Camel type but introduced a new type, Zeus r./King seated (CU 27). The reverse of this type was probably adapted from the bronze type for Azes' coinage in the Taxila region (compare XIV.34 with XVI.27). The markings on a Bull/Camel issue (GDH 145) suggest that Kujūla temporarily occupied part of Aspavarman's satrapy. Both their coins in this series have mons. 123 and 118 (GDH 142 and 145).

Another type of Kujūla which might belong in this series or at another mint of Azes II's Pallas group is GDH 144 (XII.144) with Bust of Hermes/Pallas r. The figure of Hermes is found on coins of Azes with Demeter (GDH 55 and TX 78), and Kujūla's bust of Hermes might belong to the same vicinity. The Pallas device is rather crude but is probably an allusion to Azes' Pallas. However this type has no

^{25a} Ibid., p.39.

monograms or symbols and cannot be attributed to a mint with confidence. We have merely placed it in a Pallas series to which another coin of Kujūla's (GDH 145) seems to belong.

Kujūla's type with Roman-style head/King seated on curule chair, TX 84 (XV.84), is associated with types TX 81 and 82 of Azes II because of mon. 151. But this attribution and the chronological position of this type is not certain. The curule chair motif is associated with Demeter on a coin of Azes II (TX 46). But this latter coin also can be linked to coinage in the satrapal region by its Kh. ura (compare CU 19, 21, 23) and mon. 122 (compare GDH 141). Kujūla, it seems, was succeeded by a Pahlava or a satrap in only two series in the satrapal regions: by Āspavarman west of the Indus River and perhaps part of Uraśā (GDH 146), and by Sasan and Gondophares in a district east of the Indus (CU 28). In both cases the succeeding ruler adopted the Zeus r. device which was used by Kujūla in the latter district (CU 27).

Kujūla's Bust of Hermaios/Herakles types (TX 90, 91) link his coinage to the imitation Hermaios coinage. It is not likely that there was any formal relationship between Pseudo-Hermaios and Kujūla. As already seen, our evidence suggests that the former invaded Gandhāra-Taxila from the west three times during the early, middle and late periods of Azes II's reign, and the latter invaded the region from the north at the very end of Azes' reign. But there is chronological proximity between Kujūla and Pseudo-Hermaios, and Kujūla's use of the imitation design was probably motivated by a desire to have a popularly acceptable currency. The Hermaios legend on TX 90 has the form stērossy for sōteros. This blunder or variation is found on two other types of imitation Hermaios coins. These are of two types, one with Nike (GDH 65, 66, a, X.65), and the other with Zeus enthroned (TX 47, XIV.47). The latter has mon. 138, which is found on certain late coins of Azes II in the Taxila group (TX 45). This monogram is accompanied by mon. 71, which seems to identify the coins as a joint issue with the mint of the Nike variety, which has the same monogram. The attribution of mon. 71 to the Sigma mint is proposed on the basis of its general design and similarity to mons. 67 and 70. To reinforce this suggestion one issue of this type (GDH 66) has mon. 69 or 72 which are attributable to this mint (GDH 60-63 and 67, 68) during the period of transition between Azes II and Gondophares. It therefore seems correct to attribute

these 'sterossy' coins to the Sigma and Taxila mints between the reigns of Azes II and Gondophares. The findspots of these coins (Locations 100-102) favour their attribution to the vicinity of Gandhāra-Taxila. The hoards at Sirkap associate them with Azes II and Kujūla (Hoards 36 and 37) and Azes II and Gondophares (Hoard 55). It has been established that the transitional period between Śakas and Pahlavas is the time of Kujūla's occupation in the region, and his imitation Hermaios type with Herakles device also has the form stērossy. We may then suggest that Kujūla was responsible for these 'sterossy' coins, GDH 65, 66 and TX 47, as well.

* * *

The coinage of Gondophares and Abdagases at the Alpha mint (GDH 36-39) shows that the former was succeeded by Abdagases. We suggested above that GDH 38 may have been struck by Abdagases as a co-monarch with Gondophares. That he was or had been a co-monarch or viceroy in Gandhāra-Taxila is perhaps suggested by his coins, which call him the son of Gondophares' brother and which display Gondophares' symbol (GDH 69-71, 100, 101, 148, 149, TX 54, 55, and CU 29). Three types from two mint-series give this relationship on the obverse. GDH 69 has GONDOPHARABRAT which is actually an incomplete transliteration of the Kh. Guduvharabhrataputrasa in the reverse legend. GDH 100 and 101 have the relationship in Greek, adelphideos, 'nephew'. Each of these types have KM r./Zeus r. and mon. 73.

This monogram is taken to be a variation on mon. 72 and as having the basic design of mon. 69 with the sigma and alpha components arranged in the right half of the square. This monogram is therefore attributed to the Sigma mint. Mon. 94, alpha over my, on GDH 100 and 101 is also found on a KMW/ZN type of Azes II (GDH 99) and belongs in the region between and including Pushkalāvātī and Taxila. We tentatively assign it to our Epsilon mint. Abdagases' type GDH 100 and 101 would then be joint issues between the Sigma and Epsilon mints and indicate the reopening of the latter, which as far as is known had not been used by Gondophares. The sequence of Abdagases' coins at the Sigma mint and in its joint mintage can be suggested on the basis of the titulature in the legends:

- Period 1 - GDH 69 with GONDOPHARABRAT and short reverse legend;
- Period 2 - GDH 70 with royal titles in Greek and short reverse legend;
- Period 3 - GDH 71 and 100 with tratara in the reverse legend;
- Period 4 - GDH 101 with tratara and dhramia.

If this chronology is valid the 'adelphideos' legend on GDH 100 and 101 would be the latest innovation connected with Abdagases' Sigma mint coinage. Mon. 73 is also found on a type that has the obverse device facing left (GDH 149). This type is the same as GDH 148 (XIII.148) except that mon. 73 replaces mon. 98. This type doubtlessly belongs to the series of satrapal coinage of Āspavarman and Sasan with the same devices and mon. 98 (GDH 146, 147, XIII.146). Both issues have tratara in the reverse legend, and GDH 149 with mon. 73 may mark the introduction of this title on coins of Abdagases at the Sigma mint (GDH 71). Another type of Abdagases with KM 1. and tratara (CU 29) belongs to the Cukhsa-Uraśā mint series B, which is characterized by mon. 125, triratna, and Kh. va (see CU 26-28). The previous type here, CU 28 of Sasan, has KM r., so Abdagases' type was patterned on his GDH 148 and 149 issues. These latter types and the series to which they belong were probably the source of the Zeus r. device at the Sigma mint, where Abdagases abandoned the Pallas (GDH 67) and Śiva (GDH 68) devices of Gondophares' coinage. His moneyers apparently found it convenient to use one pattern for his reverse device in these mints. The Alpha mint had always been a major issuer of coins and probably was not in the jurisdiction of the moneyers of the 'Zeus r.' coinage. Taxila was certainly responsible for its own coinage independent of other mints, and did not change its Zeus Nikephoros device.

Abdagases succeeded Gondophares at two mints, Alpha and Sigma, and Sasan at others. There is no reason to believe that Gondophares' and Sasan's reigns ended at the same time. As Sasan was the nephew of Āspa or Āspavarman (SI 3), who was a satrap before the Pahlava conquest of Gandhāra-Taxila, he was evidently not a member of the Gondophares dynasty. We have already seen that Sasan's coins indicate that he had a degree of independence under Gondophares. On the death of the latter, or when Gondophares left Gandhāra to attend to other parts of his empire, Sasan may have attempted to make himself completely free of Pahlava suzerainty. In a war between Sasan and Abdagases, the Pahlava

viceroys, heirs or successors, dynastic affiliations would have been important questions in their bids for support. Hence Abdagases' reference to himself as the nephew of Gondophares and Sasan's calling himself the nephew of Aspa on their coins. And both used Gondophares' symbol. That the transition between Sasan and Abdagases at the Taxila mint was not a smooth one is suggested by types TX 52 and 53 (XIV.52, 53). The coins of type TX 52 are mules struck from dies of different kings and can be dated sometime after Abdagases' coinage was begun. But TX 53 is a unique coin which combines the style of Abdagases' ZN coins with the legend of Sasan on the reverse (compare XIV.51, 53 and 54). If we assume that the legend is correct, that is if it belongs to a time when Sasan controlled the mint, the die would have been engraved after the style of Abdagases' type had been introduced and therefore after Abdagases had first struck coins there. This would mean that the mint changed hands from Sasan to Abdagases and to Sasan again. However, as the only variation from Abdagases' coins is the reverse legend, it may be that, however unlikely it seems, the legend of Sasan was inadvertently engraved on a die of Abdagases' coinage. So neither of these coins prove that there were irregularities in the change of control over this mint, but they do indicate that there was some confusion at the time of transition.

The coins of Sasan in the Sind group, SI 3, are placed between those of Gondophares and his successor, or viceroy, SI 1 and 2, on one side and types SI 5-7 on the other on the basis of the style of the Nike image and its position. SI 3 (XVII.SI 3) shows the gown of the Nike figure with an illusion that it is swirling around her legs. This feature is not seen on types SI 1 and 2, but it is found on SI 4-7 (XVII.5). However, the Nike faces left on SI 3 as on the two preceding coins. Types SI 5-7 show the goddess facing to right. Assuming that the change was adhered to after the initial change, the coins of the unidentified king and Satavastra (SI 5, 6) must be dated after those of Sasan. Type SI 7 of Vima which belongs to the Nike r. group is logically the last issue in the series, since it is known that the Kushāṇas succeeded the Pahlavas. But SI 4 of Vima creates a problem in that its Nike faces left like that of Sasan's coins. If any chronological significance can be given to this it would mean that Vima temporarily held the region before the kings of types SI 5

and 6. But this does not seem likely, especially if the unidentified king of SI 5 is Abdagases. It is perhaps better to regard the Nike 1. coin of Vima as an anachronism, patterned on a type which had been issued much earlier than his occupation of the mint.²⁶

D.W. MacDowall has shown that Soter Megas succeeded Abdagases in Gandhāra and Taxila.²⁷ As MacDowall argues, Taxila was destroyed by Soter Megas, and it is unlikely that he struck any coins there. Some of Soter Megas' horseman type coins may have been struck at Pushkalāvātī or the Sigma mint.²⁸ Abdagases' Bust/Nike coinage at the Alpha mint was probably followed by the crudely executed coins of the same type which are probably imitations (GDH 40). But the Zeus r./Demeter coins of Soter Megas with mon. 125, triratna, and Kh. vi (CU 30) may belong to the mint series B of Cukhsa-Uraśā, which used the same symbol and Kh. va. The Zeus r. would then link with Abdagases' use of the same device there (CU 29). The date of Soter Megas' conquest of the region must be placed in or before A.D. 65, because Inscription 33 from Pañjtār indicates the presence of a Kushāṇa king in Gandhāra in that year, and Inscription 35 shows that a Kushāṇa king was in control of Taxila by the middle of A.D. 79 (Appendix III, Section C).

* * *

Azes II had to contend with three adversaries in his struggle to defend his kingdom. His realm was invaded by Pseudo-Hermaios three times (Political Maps 9 and 11), and Kujūla and Gondophares occupied parts of his kingdom at about the same time (Political Map 12). After Azes II and the Śakas had been overcome, Gondophares took Aśpavarman and the latter's nephew, Sasan, into his service. But with the Kushāṇas still threatening from the north, and with a large empire to keep under control, Gondophares undoubtedly found it necessary to delegate authority

²⁶ Hou Han-shu, 118.9 (Zürcher translation, PDK, pp.367 f.) attributes the conquest of Sind (T'ien-chu or Shen-tu) to Vima Kadphises (Yen-kao-chen). See Mukherjee, Agrippan Source, p.218.

²⁷ JNSI 1968, pp.29, 41-4.

²⁸ The Zeus r., mon. 159 and Kh. vi of Soter Megas' KM r./Zeus r. coins (BMC, XXIV.1, PMC, XVI.96, and IMC, IX.17) are links with his CU 30 issue and belong to the same general vicinity.

to lieutenants, and Sasan's status was probably closer to that of an ally than to that of a satrap or viceroy.

Pseudo-Hermaios is not known of again after his last imitation coinage in Gandhāra. It is possible that this Scythian group came under the influence of the Arsakids. The imperial Parthians apparently ruled Kābul and the Paropamisadai immediately before the Kushāna invasion, because the Hou Han-shu states that Ch'iu-chiu-ch'üeh (Kujūla Kadphises) invaded An-hsi (the Arsakids) and took Kao-fu (Kābul).²⁹ Arsakid control of the region can be dated after the last coinage of Pseudo-Hermaios and before Kujūla's invasion of Gandhāra (Political Maps 11-13). If Tiravharṇa of Inscription 27 was a Parthian satrap this record of year 83 could date Arsakid rule in the upper Kābul Valley in A.D. 25/26. This date would be in accord with our suggestion that a type of the Margiana-Areia coinage may belong to Artabanos III. Any Arsakid who could maintain a satrap in Nagarahāra would have to control territory between there and the imperial dominions in Iran, and this includes Margiana (Political Map 12). But we cannot rule out the possibility that Tiravharṇa was a Pahlava satrap and that Gondophares gained control of Nagarahāra for at least a short time.

There is no evidence of any coinage of the Panjāb class after that of Gondophares (PA 26). So it is not certain that Abdagases controlled that region as is shown on Political Map 15. Soter Megas may have taken the Panjāb before invading Taxila and Gandhāra. And if Soter Megas and Vima were the same person, as maintained by Mukherjee,³⁰ it would have been possible for him to make an incursion into Sind from the Panjāb long enough to strike coins of type SI 4 between the issues of Sasan and Satavastra.

The Kushāna conquest of Taxila, Gandhāra and Sind reduced the Pahlava kingdom to a buffer zone in the province of Arachosia between the Arsakid and Kushāna empires (Political Map 17).

²⁹ Hou Han-shu, 118.9; and see Mukherjee, Agrippan Source, pp.107 f., who dates this event before 1 B.C.

³⁰ SKCG, I, 54.

SUMMATION AND CONCLUSION

Three waves of invasion into the Gandhāra-Taxila region can be identified from the evidence of the coins of the Śakas and Pahlavas. The first two phases of these invasions follow a pattern with the major thrusts of attack coming from the north, west and southwest. The first invasion period resulted in the weakening of the last Indo-Greek kingdoms. The Maues group of Śakas overran the region from the north and gained a temporary ascendancy there during the reign of Maues. The Greeks had a short revival of power under Apollodotos II and Hippostratos and expelled the Pseudo-Hermaios Scythians who had invaded from the west. But apparently this success served only to weaken Pseudo-Hermaios' hegemony over the Śakas in Sakastān and Arachosia and to give them an opportunity to expand into the prosperous upper Indus region. The Greeks were confined to a small area in the Panjāb and were finally overrun or dispersed by the further extension of Śaka rule.

The second phase of invasion brought a fate to the Śakas similar to that of their Greek predecessors. As in the first invasions the initial success went to invaders from the north and west. The Kushāṇas under Kujūla occupied part of the region, and the Pseudo-Hermaios Scythians were constantly pressing upon Azes II. But the final blow again came from Sakastān and Arachosia, when the Pahlavas under Gondophares invaded Gandhāra. The dominions of the Śakas were reduced to their eastern holdings, and these too passed under Pahlava rule soon after the western line of defence had been broken.

The third invasion breaks the pattern of the first two; the attackers from the north, the Kushāṇas, were the final victors. Previously the northern invaders had been opposed by a strong rival on their western flank and could not extend their control very far from the economic centres of the Gandhāra-Taxila region and risk exposing them to attack. Similarly the adversary from the west could not consolidate his position in the region because of a strong rival on his southern flank. But in the third phase the Kushāṇas had secured their western flank by occupying Kapisene and the Paropamisadae. So when they invaded the Gandhāra-Taxila region again they could sweep down the Indus Valley without fear of leaving the prosperous commercial

centres unprotected. The Pahlavas as a whole were not driven deeper into India as their Śaka predecessors had been, although the fate of the Pahlava satraps in the east is unknown. The Pahlavas were confined to Arachosia and minor chiefs may have held out there for some time. The Arsakids were perhaps not powerful enough at this time to oppose the Kushāṇas' hold over the lower Indus region and may have had no reason to exert their control over Arachosia. Being cut off from the commercial centres around it, and no longer having importance as a link along open trade routes between Sakastān and Gandhāra and Sakastān and Sind, this province probably became economically depressed and was neglected by both the Arsakids and Kushāṇas.

A key point in the understanding of these invasions is the commercial interests of the participants. In order to enter the economic system of the region and exploit control of trade routes, the Pseudo-Hermaios Scythians copied the coins of their Greek predecessors because such coins were readily recognized and accepted by merchants. The Indo-Greeks had a high reputation for making coins of reliable weight and of an artistic quality which discouraged counterfeiting. The non-Greek rulers of this region tried to maintain these high standards of minting, and generally used devices copied from Greek coins. Moneyers in various administrative divisions or provinces followed traditions of style and technique peculiar to their mints which cut across changes of types, dynasties and kings. Deviations from traditional styles and designs give clues to political developments which disrupted continuity in the various mints.

The use of an imitation coinage by the Pseudo-Hermaios Scythians for about a century is a curious matter and requires some comment as to the reason for it. This group of Scythians may have been subordinate to the Arsakids, or more or less dependent on them at different times, and so did not strike a coinage of their own for political reasons. But if this were the case the systematic use of imitation types suggests to this writer that the coinage was not under the direct administration of the Arsakids, who would be expected to use a type of their own design. Another possible explanation is that the Pseudo-Hermaios Scythians were a confederation of tribal groups without a central authority. The imitation coinage would have been acceptable to all factions. Thirdly, we can be reasonably sure that the Scythian conquerors

had to arrive at an accommodation with both non-Scythian populations and local administrators of the cities. Collaboration between the two might have been favourable to the continued use of an imitation coinage, yet the use of imitation coins in the areas conquered from bases of operation in the Paropamisadae and Kapisene is an indication that such coinage was not a purely local phenomenon or a civic issue. The decision to transfer imitation designs to new territories was made by the central authority of the Scythian dominions, not a local one. Any one or a combination of these possible circumstances could have contributed to the prolonged use of an imitation coinage. But in any explanation a contributing factor is a conservative attitude which resists deviation from previous monetary usage.

The striking of joint issues between mints is another feature of coinage in this period which deserves some comment. Joint coinage could have been issued from mints in cities which served as the summer and winter capitals of a single administrative unit. It is likely that one mint would have had a subordinate status, issuing coins with double monograms, its own and that of the parent mint. Another reason for joint mintage could be that during periods of low productivity of or demand for currency, treasuries in different provinces combined their output of coinage to save operating expenses. Similarly, wartime dislocations could have forced the shifting of one province's treasury or moneyer to the capital of another province where the two treasuries then combined to supply specie to the mint, which struck coins with two monograms. It is possible that during such times, or for other reasons, the treasury of one province supplied specie for a full series of coins at the other's mint. In this case the striking mint might use its own style and types with the monogram of the other treasury's mint. Also, when kings of this period visited various parts of their kingdom the royal treasury and administrative apparatus travelled with them. In these times the royal coinage would probably be struck at existing municipal or provincial mints, and this could result in responsibility being shared between different issuing authorities with consequent joint issues.

The debasement of the silver currency after the reign of Azilises may well have been brought about by the loss of a supply of silver and a consequent increase in the value of that metal. In this case the

gold coins issued from Pushkalāvātī might represent an attempt to compensate for the loss of confidence in the silver coinage. Another situation which could explain the debasement is an increase in the demand for revenue and funds to finance wars. It seems that the earliest debasement was carried out in Azes II's Zeus Nikephoros coinage, struck mainly at Pushkalāvātī and Taxila. The latter city was probably the most important commercial centre of the region, since it was the objective of most invasions into this country. It would be the obvious source of revenue to pay for the defence of the region against invaders, and therefore its coinage was the first to be debased.

The strength and importance of Taxila's economy can be seen in the widespread repercussions of the debasement of its currency. The coinage of the major mints west of the Indus River, the GDH Alpha and Sigma mints, which was only moderately debased at first eventually became as debased as the Taxila coinage. The first coinage of the Pahlavas in Arachosia was struck in base metal, and the debasement of currency in the Margiana-Areia region under Phraatakes may have been influenced by contacts with Taxila.

The problems of the Śakas in defending their dominions against invaders are likely to have had effects on the kings' relationship with their satraps, since it was in this period that satraps in the Indus region struck coins in their own names for the first time. These satraps ruled the hill country immediately to the north of the major cities of the region, and their rôle in defending the northern frontier was an important one. They were therefore in a position to demand concessions from the king - who could not risk losing their support. Rājuvula retained independence as satrap in the Panjāb and Mathurā probably as a prerogative from being the conqueror of the region. During the Pahlava period the satrapies on the northern frontier were put under the command of Āspavarman and his nephew, Sasan, and the latter ruled in Taxila and was powerful enough to call himself 'king' on his coins. The Śakas had begun their coinage as satraps under Vonones in Sakastān on the frontier of the Parthian empire. They adopted royal titles when they gained independence from the Parthians. Similarly Sasan attempted to assert his independence from an overlord who belonged to a different race or tribal group from himself. The Śaka satraps in the Panjāb and Mathurā, while being virtually independent, apparently adhered to a

tradition that the Śakas were a united people and therefore had only one king. Their continued use of satrapal titles was probably due to the fact that they had not owed loyalty to a non-Śaka overlord.

* * *

Both the Śakas and Pahlavas at various times controlled an empire spanning territories from Sakastān to Mathurā, which placed some trade routes between Iran and India under a single administrative system, even if various satraps were their own masters in local affairs. Such a unified empire between two major cultures would have stimulated trade and other contacts between Western Asia and the sub-continent if it could have been maintained. But the stability of the Śaka and Pahlava systems was constantly being threatened by conflicts with other contenders for control of the lucrative trade routes. The Śakas and Pahlavas therefore occupy a transitional period between the Hellenistic and Kushāṇa periods, during which the politics of the Indo-Iranian borderlands were somewhat more stable.

APPENDIX I - COIN HOARDS,
PROVENANCE AND OVERSTRIKES

Introduction

All of the chronological and geographical evidence of coins which is not intrinsic to the coins themselves is provided in this appendix. The information is divided into four sections.

Section A: Hoards - Each hoard is given a number (1-80) which

is used throughout the thesis. The hoards are arranged in approximate chronological order, and each is described, with self-evident variations, according to the following pattern:

HOARD NAME (place if required).

$$\frac{\text{King (total number coins)} - \text{Type of coins (mint type)}}{\text{Total}}$$

Frequency of monograms, if known.

References.

Section B: Provenance - Each location is numbered, so that

Location 70 in the thesis refers to all the coins of Azilises found at Taxila, and Location 84 to all coins of Azes II from the same place. Locations of insufficiently described finds are listed, unnumbered, under the heading 'Uncounted finds'. Provenance of each king's coins is arranged as follows:

KING 'S NAME

$$\frac{\text{Location (total number)} - \text{Type of coins (mint type)}}{\text{King's total}}$$

References.

The kings, in approximate chronological order, and their

Location numbers are as listed below:

Hermaios Soter	Locations 1- 7
Hermaios and Kalliope	8-10
Archebios Dikaaios Nikephoros	11-14
Peukolaos Dikaaios Soter	15
Artemidoros Aniketos	16
Telephos Euergetes	17-20
Vonones	21-24
Spalyris and Špalagadama	25-26
Maues	27-30
Hermaios Soter (pseudo) - silver	31-32
Apollodotos II Soter Philopator	33-39
Hippostratos Soter	40-43
Dionysios Soter	44-46
Ziolos Soter	47-50
Strato II Soter	51-52
Strato II and Strato III	53-54
Bhadrayaśa Soter	55
Spalirises	56
Spalirises and Azes I	57
Azes I	58-62
Azes I and Azilises	63
Azilises	64-70
Azes I, Azes I and Azilises, or Azilises	71
Azilises and Azes II	72-73
Azes II	74-85
Azes II and Indravarman	86
Azes II and Aśpavarman	87
Rājuvula	88-91
Zeionises	92-94
Kharahostes	95
Hermaios Soter (pseudo) - plated	96-99
Hermaios Sterossy	100-102
Kujūla	103-109
Sanabares	---
Orthagnes	110
Gondophares	111-116
Gondophares and Aśpavarman	117
Gondophares and Sasan	118-120
Sorpedonos (?)	121-122
Sasan	123
Abdagases	124-125
Pakores	126
Satavastra	127

Section C: Overstrikes - There are 20 overstrikes, arranged in approximate chronological order, numbered and described according to the pattern:

OVERSTRIKING KING (mint type)

Metal.

Legends.

Devices and monogram, if known.

o/s: OVERSTRUCK KING (mint type)

Metal.

Legends.

Devices and monogram, if known.

Reference(s).

Section D: Analysis of Provenance Data - The commercial and economic history of the period is briefly reconstructed on the basis of data in sections A and B and Table 2, Coin Provenance by Mint Groups.

Mint types refer to Appendix II, where the evidence intrinsic to the coins - legends, devices, etc. - is described.

Section A: HOARDS

Early PeriodHoards deposited before ca. 120 B.C.:

1. DŪDIAL 1906 (Hazāra)

Small find of drachms:

Apollodotos I
 Menander Soter
 Antialkidas
 Antimachos Nikephoros

NC 1923, p.342.

2. HAMĪRPUR 1877 (Pachkhura Buzurg village, Bundelkhand)

98 AR coins:

Menander Soter	- 40
Apollodotos I Soter	- 34
Antimachos Nikephoros	- 21
Eukratides	- 3

Mon. 25 - 25 (?) coins; mon. 38 - 19 (?) coins;
 mon. 129 - 1 coin.

IA 1904, pp.217 f..

3. HAZAUREHJĀT 1833 (Afghānistān)

120 AR coins;

Menander Soter	- 108
Apollodotos I Soter	- 7
Antimachos Nikephoros	- 5

JASB 1836, pp.15 f..

4. YAGHISTĀN 1918 (Swāt Valley)

Menander Soter	Drachms	- 200
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NC 1923, p.313.

5. BĀJAUR 1926 (Gang village)

970 AR coins:

Menander Soter	- 722
Antimachos Nikephoros	- 152
Apollodotos I Soter	- 95
Zoilos Dikaioi	- 1

Mon. 38 - 348 coins; mon. 25 - 45 coins; mon. 62 - 8 coins;
 mon. 129 and var. - 132 coins.

NS 1927, pp.18-25.

6. BĀJAUR 1942

120 AR coins:

Menander Soter	- 91
Antimachos Nikephoros	- 17
Apollodotos I Soter	- 8
Zoilos Dikaios	- 4

NC 1946, pp.141 ff..

7. SAHĀRANPUR

More than 600 AR coins:

Apollodotos I
 Antimachos Nikephoros
 Antialkidas
 Menander
 Strato

Prinsep 1858, p.208, n.1.

8. CHĀRSADDĀ-BĀJAUR ca. 1960 (findspot unknown)

10 tetradrachms, about 100 drachms:

Menander Soter
 Antimachos Nikephoros
 Antialkidas
 Lysias
 Zoilos Dikaios
 Theophilos
 Philoxenos

Bivar 1965, pp.71 ff..

9. KANGRA DISTRICT ca. 1853

AR coins:

Antimachos Nikephoros
 Antialkidas
 Menander
 Lysias
 Philoxenos
 Punch marked - few

CASE, p.327 = NC 1873, p.209.

Later PeriodHoard deposited between ca. 120 B.C. and A.D. 70:

10. SONEPAT (near New Delhi)

At least 883 AR coins:

Menander Soter	- 564
Antialkidas	- 79
Antimachos Nikephoros	- 64
Heliokles	- 30
Apollodotos I Soter	- 26
Hermaios	- 22
Hermaios and Kalliope	- 22
Philoxenos	- 21
Lysias	- 19
Strato	- 19
Diomedes	- 12
Amyntas	- 5

CASE, p.277 = NC 1872, p.161.

11. ROHTAK 1918

100 AR coins: composition similar to Hoard 10.

NC 1923, p.342.

12. SHAIKHAN DHERI 1940 (Chārsadda)

81 AR coins:

Philoxenos	- 25
Menander Soter	- 15
Hermaios	- 13
Antialkidas	- 7
Diomedes	- 7
Hermaios and Kalliope	- 6
Amyntas	- 3
Antimachos Nikephoros	- 2
Strato and Agathokleia	- 2

Haughton 1940, pp.123 ff. = IGN, pp.87-90.

13. TATTA ca. 1885 (Attock District)

At least 8 tetradrachms:

Strato I	mon. 96 (GDH)	- 3
Strato and Agathokleia	mon. 96 (GDH)	- 1
Diomedes	mon. 39 (PK)	- 1
Philoxenos	mon. 62 and 91 (GDH)	- 1
Hermaios	mon. 29 (NH)	- 1

Gardner 1887, pp.181 ff.; NC 1923, p.316.

14. KUNDŪZ (Khishṭ Tepe, Afghanistan)

627 Attic standard AR coins:

Alexander (Seleukos I ?)	-	1
Antiochos Hierax	-	1
Alexander I Bala	-	1
Diodotos	-	5
Euthydemos	-	17
Demetrios	-	58
Agathokles	-	3
Eukratides	-	274
Antimachos Theos	-	14
Plato	-	12
Heliokles and Laodike	-	3
Heliokles	-	221
Lysias	-	4
Antialkidas	-	3
Theophilos	-	5
Amyntas (double dekadrachms)	-	5
Philoxenos	-	1
Hermaios	(PK 1) -	1
Archebios	(NH 4) -	2

Mon. 25 - 28 coins; mon. 29 - 8 coins; mon. 30 - 1 coin;
mon. 28 - 2 coins; mon. 62 - 3 coins; mon. 129 - 12
coins.

TMQ.

15. CHARSADDA or UPPER KĀBUL VALLEY 1917

At least 97 tetradrachms:

Antialkidas	-	1
Amyntas	-	2
Strato I	-	8
Strato and Agathokleia	-	5
Heliokles	-	10
Diomedes	-	4
Philoxenos	-	13
Hermaios	-	10
Hermaios and Kalliope	-	2
Archebios	-	30
Peukolaos	(NH 8) -	2

NC 1923, pp.315 ff.; NC 1940, p.108.

16. SHĪNKIĀRĪ ca. 1925 (Mānsehrā Tehsil, Hazāra)

Menander	Drachms	-	2
Philoxenos	square Drachms	-	2
Artemidoros	Tetradrachm (GDH 42)-	-	1

5

NS 1927, p.20.

17. DHARMARAJIKA STÜPA U 1 RELIQUARY (Taxila)

Deposit of relic bone; 32 thin disks of gold; gold and silver leaf and rings; assorted beads; 4 AE coins including 1 unidentified:

Vonones and Špalahora	Herakles/Pallas (SA)	-	1
Maues	Elephant head/Caduceus (TX 9)	-	1
Apollodotos II	AE square Apollo/Tripid (PA)	-	1

Taxila, I, 271 f..

18. SIĀLKOT 1908

Apollodotos II AE square (PA 9) - several

NC 1923, p.309.

19. AMARKOT 1899 (Rājanpur Tehsil, Dera Ghāzi Khān)

221 drachms of Apollodotos II:

Soter variety	(PA)	-	82
Soter Philopator variety	(PA)	-	96
Defaced	(PA ?)	-	43

Mon. 161 - 42 coins; mon. 163 - 33; mon. 164 - 26;
mon. 162 - 8; other mon. - 2; no Greek mon. - 66.

NS 1909, pp.307-309.

20. TAPPA MEWA ca. 1890 (Hamīrpur Tehsil, Panjāb)

Apollodotos II (21)	Drachms	(PA 4)	-	17
		(PA 15)	-	3
		(PA 14)	-	1
Amoghabhūti, king of Kuṇindas			-	54
				75

Proc. ASB 1893, pp.11 f..

21. JAWĀLAMUKHĪ (Panjāb)

Apollodotos II (Philopator)	Drachms	-	27
Amoghabhūti, king of Kuṇindas	AR	-	3
Dharaghosha	AR	-	1
Vamika Rudravama	AR Bull/Elephant	-	1
			32

C,ASI, XIV, 134; CASE, P. 328.

22. UPPER SATLEJ (findspot unknown)

Apollodotos II	AR	-	several
Zoilos Soter	AR (PA)	-	several
Dionysios	Drachms (PA 10)	-	4

CASE, p.238.

23. SIĀLKOT 1906

Apollodotos II	AE round	(PA)	-	?
Zoilos Soter	AE round	(PA)	-	?
Dionysios	AE round	(PA)	-	2

NC 1923, p.308.

24. DHARMARĀJIKĀ Building H (Taxila)

Zoilos Soter	Drachms	(PA)	-	25
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Taxila, I, 248.

25. SIĀLKOT 1911

Zoilos Soter	Drachms	(PA)	-	about 200
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NC 1923, p.308.

26. DHARMARĀJIKĀ STŪPA S 8

Deposit of grey schist reliquary; miniature gold casket;
3 gold safety-pins; 6 beads, 4 AE coins:

Maues	-	?
Azes I	-	?
		<u>4</u>

Taxila, I, 241.

27. DHARMARĀJIKĀ STŪPA R 4

Azes I	AE square King on camel/Bull (SA 23)	-	1
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Taxila, I, 241.

28. MATHURĀ ca. 1853

Strato II	Debased drachms	(PA 19)	-	96
Rājuvula		(PA)	-	<u>38</u> (?)
				134

CASE, p.253 = NC 1870, p.215.

29. DHARMARĀJIKĀ STŪPA B 4

Deposit of reliquary; gold casket with bone relics; gold
ornaments; misc.; 2 AR coins:

Azilises	KMW/Dioskouroi facing	(CU 10)	-	1
Augustus Caesar	Head/seated deity		-	<u>1</u>
				2

Taxila, I, 277.

30. CHAMAN 1940 (on route between Kandahār and Quetta)

Vonones and Špalahora (31)	Drachms	(SA 1)	-	2
	Drachms	(SA 3)	-	29
Spalirises and Azes I (5)	Drachms	(SA 19)	-	5
Azes I (27)	Tetradrachm	(SA 20)	-	1
	Tetradrachms	(SA 22)	-	4
	Drachms	(SA 22)	-	2
	Tetradrachms	(SA 24)	-	7
	Tetradrachms	(GDH 18)	-	2
	Tetradrachms	(GDH 22)	-	9
	Drachms	(GDH 22)	-	2
Azilises (8)	Tetradrachms	(SA 27-29)	-	7
	Drachms	(SA 27-29)	-	1
Azilises and Azes II	Tetradrachm	(GDH 26)	-	1
Azes II (few)	Drachms	KMW/Pallas facing (GDH)	-	few
	Drachms	KMW/ZN (TX)	-	few

 74 + X

Mon. 1 - 2 coins; mon. 2 - 29; mon. 12 - 5; mon. 13 - 1;
 mon. 14 - 6; mon. 15 - 15; mon. 56 - 12; mon. 57 - 2.

Jenkins 1955, pp.25 f..

31. SHABKADAR 1943 (Mohmānd, near Chārsadda)

About 400 AR coins:

Azes I (SA, GDH), Azilises (SA),		
	Azes II (GDH, TX)	- 280
Pseudo-Hermaios (GDH 11, 32, 44, 45, 57)		- 100
Orodes II	Arsakid drachms	- 20

Jenkins 1955, pp.23-25.

32. SHAIKHĀN DHERĪ, stratum IVB (Chārsadda)

Azes II	KMW/ZN (TX)	- 2
	Bull/Lion (GDH, CU 26)	- 7
		9

AP II, chart 2.210-218.

33. BHUTRI 1933 (Hazāra district)

495 AR, 11 AE:

Zoilos Soter	(PA)	- 1
Strato II and Strato III	(PA 22)	- 8
Azes II (488) Bi-AR KMW/ZN	(TX)	- 486
	Bi-AR KMW/Pallas l. (GDH)	- 1
	AE King seated/Hermes (TX)	- 1
Local Taxila AE		- 3
		506

Noe 1937, no.149.

34. SIRKAP, Block A, Stupa B 1

Apollodotos II	AE	-	1
Azes II	Bi-AR KMW/ZN	(TX) -	3
			4

Taxila, I, 144.

35. SIRKAP, Block G, Stupa deposit

Deposit of gold box; ring of AU wire; 2 pieces of
AU leaf; carnelian pendant; 2 beads; 8 coins:

Azes II	AE	King seated/Hermes	(TX) -	8
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Taxila, I, 167.

36. SIRKAP, Block H (Sk. '15-612; square 125.68')

Azes II and Indravarman (?)	Bi KMW/Pallas	-	1
Azes II	Bi KMW/ZN	-	3
Hermaios Sterossy	AE Bust/Nike	(GDH 65) -	1
Kujūla	AE Zeus/King seated	(CU 27) -	1
			6

Taxila, I, 170.

37. SIRKAP, Block D', coin hoard 5 (square 64.104')

Unidentified		-	2
Hermaios Sterossy	AE Bust/Nike	(GDH) -	4
Kujūla	AE Zeus/King seated	(CU 27) -	9
			15

Taxila, I, 190.

38. SIRKAP, Block D', coin hoard 1 (square 58.74')

Local Taxila	Swastika/blank	-	1
Eukratides	AE Bust/piloi	-	1
Hermaios Sterossy	AE Bust/Nike	(GDH 65 or 66) -	1
Rājuvula	Lead	Lion/Herakles (MT 1-3) -	1
			4

Taxila, I, 189.

39. SIRKAP, Block D', coin hoard 3 (square 56.98')

Azes II	AE King seated/Hermes	(TX) -	1
	Bi KMW/ZN	(TX) -	2
Rājuvula	Lion/Herakles	(MT 1-3) -	1
Kujūla	AE Bust/Herakles	(TX 90, 91) -	1
			5

Taxila, I, 190.

40. SIRKAP, Trench D (square 34)

Copper goblet with 341 AE coins:

Euthydemos	Herakles head/Horse	-	1
Pseudo-Hermaios	Bust/Zeus enthroned (GDH)	-	1
Maues	AE Elephant head/Caduceus (TX 9)	-	1
Azes II	AE Elephant/Bull (GDH)	-	1
Hermaios	Sterossy-Kujūla		
	AE Bust/Herakles (TX 90)	-	6
Kujūla	AE Bust/Herakles (TX 91)	-	331
			341

Taxila, I, 197.

41. SIRKAP, APSIDAL TEMPLE COURT (square 57.66')

Azes II	Bi	KMW/ZN	(TX)	-	1
Kujūla	AE	Bust/Herakles	(TX)	-	2
	AE	Roman head/king on curule chair	(TX 84)	-	1
					4

Taxila, I, 155.

42. SIRKAP, APSIDAL TEMPLE COURT (square 60.62')

Azes II	Bi	KMW/ZN	(TX)	-	7
Kujūla	AE	Bust/Herakles	(TX)	-	1
					8

Taxila, I, 155.

43. SIRKAP, House 2 C (square 45.44')

Kujūla	AE	Bust/Herakles	(TX 90, 91)	-	18
Azes II	Bi	KMW/ZN	(TX)	-	2
					20

Taxila, I, 149.

44. SIRKAP, Block E, coin hoard 3 (square 73.56')

Local Taxila	AE	Lion/blank	-	1
Azes I	AE	Poseidon/Yakshī (TX 28)	-	1
Azes II	Bi	KMW/ZN	-	1
Kujūla	AE	Bust/Herakles (TX)	-	1
				4

Taxila, I, 162.

45. SIRKAP, Block F (square 83.65')

Local Taxila			-	2
Azes II	Bi	KMW/Pallas	(GDH)	- 1
Kujūla	AE	Roman head/king on curule	(TX 84)	- 1
				4

Taxila, I, 166.

46. SIRKAP, Block D', coin hoard 4 (square 56.101')

Azes II	Bi	KMW/ZN		- 3
Kujūla	AE	Bust/Herakles	(TX)	- 5
	AE	Roman head/king on curule	(TX)	- 1
				9

Taxila, I, 190.

47. SIRKAP, Block E', coin hoard 5 (square 73.109')

Unidentified		Bust/Kh. legend		- 1
Azes II	AE	King seated/Hermes	(TX)	- 1
Kujūla	AE	Bust/Herakles	(TX)	- 14
	AE	Bull/Camel	(CU)	- 1
				17

Taxila, I, 185.

48. SIRKAP, Block E' (square 73.96')

Reliquary (grey schist) with: 5 gold ornaments; 6 pieces
gold and silver amalgam; 4 fragments of silver
ornaments; 3 pieces of copper; 3 AE coins:

Azes II		King seated/Hermes	(TX)	- 1
Kujūla		Bust/Herakles	(TX 90, 91)	- 2
				3

Taxila, I, 184.

49. SIRKAP, Block F', coin hoard 3 (square 93.79')

Vonones and Špalahora				
	AE	Herakles/Pallas	(SA)	- 1
Azes II	Bi	KMW/ZN	(TX)	- 1
Kujūla	AE	Bust/Herakles	(TX 90, 91)	- 2
				4

Taxila, I, 182.

50. SIRKAP, MAHAL (square 43.111')

Azes II	AE	King seated/Hermes	(TX) -	1
Kujūla	AE	Bust/Herakles	(TX) -	1

Taxila, I, 216.

51. BĪMARĀN STŪPA 2

Steatite vase with Śivarakshita inscriptions; the
Bīmarān gold reliquary; 4 Billon tetradrachms:

Azes II	KMW/Demeter	(TX 81) -	4
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ArAnt, pp.76 f., 81.

52. BĪMARĀN STŪPA 5

Azes II	Bi	KMW/Demeter	(TX 81) -	12
Kujūla	AE	Bust/Herakles	(TX 90, 91) -	94
Gondophares Soter	AE	Bust r./Nike r.	(GDH 36, 37) -	3

109

ArAnt, pp.76 f..

53. HADDA STŪPA 3

Hermaios	AE square	Bust Zeus/ Horse	(PK 10, 12) -	1
Azes II	Bi	KMW/Demeter	(TX 81) -	2
Kujūla	AE	Bust/Herakles	(TX 90, 91) -	12
Gondophares Soter	Bust r./Nike r.	(GDH 36, 37) -	1	

16

ArAnt, pp.76 f..

54. SIRKAP, Block G (square 110.52')

Azes II and Aśpavarman	Bi	KMW/Pallas	(GDH 142) -	4
Azes II	Bi	KMW/ZN	(TX) -	3
Gondophares and Sasan	Bi	KM/Zeus r.	(GDH or CU) -	4
	Bi	KM/ZN	(TX) -	2

13

Taxila, I, 169.

55. SIRKAP, Block H (a) (square 126.68')

Azes II	Bi	KMW/ZN	(TX) -	3
Hermaios Sterosy	AE	Bust/Nike	(GDH 65 or 66) -	1
Gondophares and Sasan	Bi	KM/ZN	(TX) -	1

4

Taxila, I, 170.

56. SIRKAP, Block H (c) (square 126.68')

Azes II	AE	King seated/Hermes	(TX) -	1
	Bi	KMW/ZN	(TX) -	5
Kujūla	AE	Bust/Herakles	(TX) -	3
Gondophares		Bust/Athena l.	(PA) -	1
				10

Taxila, I, 170.

57. SIRKAP, Block J (square 143.53')

Punchmarked			-	1
Azes II and Aspavarman				
	Bi	KMW/Pallas	(GDH 142) -	21
Gondophares and Sasan	KM/Zeus r.	(GDH or CU) -	40	
	KM/ZN	(TX) -	51	
				113

Taxila, I, 171

58. SIRKAP, Block K, Palace Complex (square 161.45')

Azes II and Aspavarman	Bi	(GDH 142)	-	3
Azes II	AE	King seated/Hermes	(TX)	- 1
	Bi	KMW/ZN		- 25
Kujūla	AE	Bust/Herakles	(TX 90, 91)	- 22
	AE	Bull Camel	(CU)	- 1
				60

Taxila, I, 174.

59. SIRKAP, Block C' (square 44.96')

Azes II and Aspavarman	Bi	(GDH 142)	-	1
Kujūla	AE Bust/Herakles	(TX)	-	5
Gondophares and Sasan	Bi KM/ZN	(TX)	-	1
				7

Taxila, I, 193.

60. SIRKAP, Block D', House 3, hoard C (square 62.113')

About 54 pieces of gold jewellery; 4 pieces of silver
Jewellery, 5 finger-rings; gold broach of
repoussé figures of Eros and Psyche; 12 AR coins:

Unidentified	KMW l. Goddess facing	-	11
Gondophares	Bust l./Nike l.	(SI 1) -	1

Taxila, I, 187; TAX, 241.209 (unidentified), and
242.216 (Gondophares).

61. SIRKAP, Block D', House 4, hoard E (square 59.114')
- 7 AE goblets; 5 copper objects; 2 AR paterae; 8 gold objects; 1 stone mould for gold casting of Simha-Vāhinī on lion; 8 AE and Billon coins:

Archebios	Elephant/Owl	(TX 4)	-	1
Azes II and Aspavarman		(GDH 142)	-	1
Azes II	KMW/Pallas	(GDH)	-	1
	KMW/ZN	(TX)	-	4
Gondophares	KM/Pallas	(GDH)	-	1
				8

Taxila, I, 188.

62. SIRKAP, Block D', House 4, hoard F

Azes II and Aspavarman		(GDH 142)	-	20
Azes II	KMW/ZN	(TX)	-	28
Gondophares and Sasan	KM/Zeus r.	(GDH or CU)	-	38
	KM/ZN	(TX)	-	34
				120

Taxila, I, 189.

63. SIRKAP, Block D', coin hoard 2 (square 62.96')

Azes II and Aspavarman		(GDH 142)	-	1
Azes II	Bull/Lion	(GDH)	-	1
	KMW/ZN	(TX)	-	4
Kujūla	Zeus/King seated	(CU)	-	1
	Bust/Herakles	(TX)	-	2
Gondophares Soter	Bust r./Nike r.			
		(GDH 36, 37)	-	1
Gondophares and Sasan				
	KM/Zeus r.	(GDH or CU)	-	1
				11

Taxila, I, 190.

64. SIRKAP, Block D', coin hoard 6 (square 65.114')

Azes II and Aspavarman		(GDH 142)	-	5
Azes II	KMW/ZN	(TX)	-	17
Gondophares and Sasan				
	KM/Zeus r.	(GDH or CU)	-	6
	KM/ZN	(TX)	-	9
				37

Taxila, I, 190.

65. SIRKAP, Block D', coin hoard 7 (square 63.116')

Azes II and Ašpavarman	(GDH 142)	-	1
Azes II	KMW/ZN	(TX)	- 11
Kujūla	Bust/Herakles	(TX 90, 91)	- 5
Gondophares and Sasan	KM/ZN	(TX)	- 1

 18
Taxila, I, 190.

66. SIRKAP, Block E', coin hoard 2 (square 73.90')

Azes II and Ašpavarman	(GDH 142)	-	1
Azes II	KMW/ZN	(TX)	- 1
Kujūla	Bust/Herakles	(TX)	- 1
Gondophares and Sasan	KM/ZN	(TX)	- 1

 4
Taxila, I, 185.

67. SIRKAP, Block E', coin hoard 3 (square 68.89')

Azes II and Ašpavarman	(GDH 142)	-	4
Azes II	KMW/ZN	(TX)	- 3
Gondophares and Sasan	KM/Zeus r. (GDH or CU)	-	2
	KM/ZN	(TX)	- 1

 10
Taxila, I, 185.

68. SIRKAP, Block E', coin hoard 4 (square 73.97')

Azes II	KMW/ZN	(TX)	- 5
Gondophares and Sasan	KM/ZN	(TX)	- 2

 7
Taxila, I, 185.

69. SIRKAP, Block E', coin hoard 6 (square 73.75')

Azes II	KMW/ZN	(TX)	- 8
Gondophares and Sasan	KM/Zeus r. (GDH or CU)	-	2
	KM/ZN	(TX)	- 4

 14
Taxila, I, 185.

70. SIRKAP, Block F', coin hoard 1 (square 88.86')

Vonones and Špalahora	Herakles/Pallas	(SA)	-	1
Azes II	KMW/ZN	(TX)	-	3
Kujūla	Bust/Herakles	(TX)	-	162
	Bull/Camel	(CU)	-	8
Gondophares and Sasan	KM/Zeus r.	(GDH or CU)	-	1

 175
Taxila, I, 182.

71. SIRKAP, Block F', coin hoard 2 (square 93.80')

Azes II and Ašpavarman		(GDH 142)	-	5
Gondophares and Sasan	KM/Zeus r.	(GDH or CU)	-	8
	KMW/ZN	(TX)	-	9

 22
Taxila, I, 182.

72. SIRKAP, Block F', coin hoard 4 (square 94.79')

Kujūla	Bust/Herakles	(TX)	-	7
Gondophares and Sasan	KM/Zeus r.	(GDH or CU)	-	2

 9
Taxila, I, 182.

73. SIRKAP, Block F', coin hoard 5 (square 93.78')

Azes II and Ašpavarman		(GDH 142)	-	11
Azes II	KMW/ZN	(TX)	-	4
Gondophares and Sasan	KM/Zeus r.	(GDH or CU)	-	34
	KMW/ZN	(TX)	-	27

 76
Taxila, I, 182.

74. BĪMARĀN STŪPA 3

Soter Megas	Bust KM r. with legend	-	27
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ArAnt, p.72.

75. BĪMARĀN STŪPA 4

Soter Megas	Bust KM r. with legend	-	6
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ArAnt, p.75.

76. SORKAP, House 1 E (square 77.65')

Gold repoussé figure of Aphrodite (SK '13 - 194 A/1, no.97); gold brooch of reclining Eros (194 A/2, no.99); gold necklace (194 A/3, no.60); 9 jacinth cut oval intaglios with figures and busts (194 A/4, no.71); carnelian oval intaglio with bust (no.72); 2 glass oval intaglios (no.73); 3 garnets and pieces of turquoise and crystal; 21 AR coins:

Sorpedonos (?)	TAX, 241.211	(SI 2) -	1
Gondophares	TAX, 242.213-215	(SI 1) -	3
Sasan	TAX, 241.201-208	(SI 3) -	8
Unidentified	TAX, 242.212, 220, 221	(SI) -	3
Satavastra	TAX, 242.217-219	(SI 6) -	3
Vima	TAX, 243.258-260	(SI 4, 7) -	3

21

Taxila, I, 160 f..

77. MĪR ZAKĀH (excavation site, near Gardez, Afghanistan)

About 12084 coins accumulated over extended period:

7092 (58 per cent) coins struck outside period 130 B.C. to A.D. 70:

Bent bar and punch-marked AR	-	5615
Local Taxilan	-	85
Greek and Parthian	-	8
Bactrian Greek	-	45
Early Indo-Greek	-	775
Apollodotos I AR	-	521
Kushāṇa	-	26
Unattributed	-	17
		7092

Genuine or Imitation AE square coins:

Eukratides	Bust helmed/Dioskouroi	-	11
Apollodotos I	Apollo/Tripod	-	22
			33

4959 (42 per cent) coins struck within period:

Hermaios and Kalliope AR	-	15
Hermaios AR Bust helmed/Zeus	-	1
AE square Bust Zeus/Horse (PK)	-	1
Genuine or Imitation Hermaios	-	801
Archebios (88) Bust/Zeus	-	65
Tetradrachm Bust helmed (PTY)	-	1
Drachms Bust Helmed (?)	-	22
Vonones and Spalahora (2) AR	(SA) -	1
AE square	(SA) -	1
Vonones and Spalagadama AR	(SA) -	1
Maues AR square Helios/Zeus (GDH 95)	-	1
Pseudo-Hermaios Tetradrachm	(TX 18) -	1

77. MĪR ZAKĀH (continued)

Apollodotos II (9)	Drachms	(TX or PA)	- 8
	AE round	(PA)	- 1
Hippostratos	Bust/KM prancing	(TX)	- 1
Zoilos Soter	Drachms	(PA)	- 5
Strato II and Strato III	Drachm	(PA)	- 1
Azes I (99) - See Section B: Provenance,			
	for types	(SA)	- 17
		(GDH)	- 75
		(SA or GDH)	- 6
		(TX)	- 1
Azes I and Azilises	KMS/Lamp Goddess	(SA)	- 1
Azilises (162)	KMS/Lamp Goddess	(SA)	- 155
	KMS/Goddess with palm and		
	wreath (PTY)	-	7
Azes I, Azes I and Azilises, or Azilises			
	KMS/Lamp Goddess	(SA)	- 83
Azes II (3562) - See Section B for types -			
		(TX)	- 2753
		(GDH)	- 809
Pseudo-Hermaios	AE round	(GDH 35, 64)	- 96
Hermaios Sterossy (4)	Bust r./Zeus enthroned	-	1
	Bust l./Zeus enthroned	-	1
	Bust r./Nike l.	(GDH)	- 2
Kujūla (8)	Bust/Herakles	(TX 90, 91)	- 8
Gondophares (7)	Bust r./Nike r.		
		(GDH 36, 37)	- 5
	KM r./Śiva r.	(GDH 68)	- 1
	KM r./Śiva facing		
		(GDH 138)	- 1
Gondophares and Sasan	KM/Zeus r.	(CU)	- 1
Gondophares or Abdagases	Bust r./Nike r.	(GDH)	- 1
Abdagases (2)	Bust r./Nike r.		
		(GDH 38, 39)	- 2
Soter Megas (4)	Bust/KM with legend	-	4

4959

TMA, pp.73-99.

78. BEGRĀM (excavation site, ancient Kāpīśa)

Composite list of coins (130 B.C. to A.D. 70) found in the Begrām-Chārikār district between 1830 and 1940:

Hermaios	AE square	Bust Zeus/Horse	(PK)	- 1
Eukratides	AE genuine or imitation (?)			- 13
Apollodotos I	AE genuine or imitation (?)			- 18
Vonones	KMS/Zeus		(SA)	- 2
Spalyris and Špalagadama	AE square		(SA)	- 2
Maues	Lunar Goddess/Nike		(TX 59)	- 1
Spalirises (Begrām or Kābul)	AE square		(SA 13)	- 3
Azilises	AE square		(SA)	- 1
Azes II (11)			(GDH)	- 6
			(TX)	- 5

78. BEGRĀM (continued)

Pseudo-Hermaios AE	(GDH 35, 64) -	92
Hermaios Sterossy (39)	Bust/Zeus enthroned	
	(TX 47) -	38
	Bust/Nike l. (GDH 65) -	1
Kujūla (about 600)	Bust/Herakles	
	(TX 90, 91) -	600 (?)
	Bust Hermes/Pallas (GDH 144) -	1
Gondophares	Bust r./Nike r. (GDH 36, 37) -	75
Abdagases	(GDH 38, 39) -	1
Soter Megas		- 728
		1588

ArAnt, p.339; JASB 1834, pp.167 ff.; JASB 1835, p.345;
 JASB 1836, pp.19-25, 547; NC 1948, p.103; NC 1950, p.207;
 Jenkins 1955, p.21 n; Bégram 1946, pp.85, 93.

79. SHAIKHĀN DHERĪ (excavation site, ancient Pushkalāvati)

Coins from strata Va, IVb, III and II (total find
 291 coins:

Telephos (stratum Va)	(CU) -	1
Maues (6) (strata Va, IVb, III, II)	(TX) -	4
	(?) -	2
Apollodotos I Genuine or Imitation		
(stratum III)	-	1
Apollodotos II (2) (strata IVb, II)		
AE round	(PA) -	1
AE square	(?) -	1
Hippostratos (stratum IVb) AE square (GDH 15)	-	1
Azilises (2) (strata IVb, III) AE square		
	(GDH 25) -	1
	AE square (SA) -	1
Azes II (36) (strata IVb, III, II)	(TX) -	4
	(GDH) -	32
Kujūla (7) (strata IVb, III, II)	(TX 90, 91) -	2
	(?) -	5
Gondophares (stratum IVb)	(GDH 122) -	1
Soter Megas (strata III, II)	-	38
Vima (strata III, II and I)	-	60
		155

AP II, 35-37 and chart 2.

80. TAXILA (excavation sites)

Composite list of coins (130 B.C. to A.D. 70) found at
 various sites in the vicinity of Taxila including
 Sirkap (total find more than 12,000 coins):

Archebios (7)	(TX) -	6
	(NH) -	1
Telephos	(CU) -	2
Vonones and Špalahora	(SA) -	28

80. TAXILA (continued)

Spalyris and Špalagadama	(SA)	-	4
Maues (104)	(TX)	-	73
	(CU)	-	3
	(GDH or TX)	-	17
	(GDH)	-	10
	(PA ?)	-	1
Apollodotos II (58)	(TX or PA)	-	56
	(GDH)	-	2
Hippostratos (6)	AE round (TX)	-	2
	AE square (TX or GDH)	-	4
Dionysios	(PA)	-	1
Zoilos Soter	(PA)	-	26
Strato II Soter	(PA)	-	3
Bhadrayasa	(PA)	-	1
Azes I (45)	(TX)	-	25
	(GDH)	-	18
	(SA)	-	1
	(SA or GDH)	-	1
Azilises (11)	(TX)	-	3
	(CU or TX)	-	5
	(GDH)	-	1
	(SA)	-	2
Azilises and Azes II	(TX)	-	1
Azes II (2639)	(TX)	-	2440
	(GDH)	-	199
Azes II and Indravarman	(GDH 140)	-	8
Azes II and Aspavarman	(GDH 142)	-	160
Rājuvula (160)	(GDH 139)	-	1
	(PA)	-	1
	(MT)	-	158
Zeionises	(CU 20)	-	1
Kharahostes	(TX 83)	-	1
Pseudo-Hermaios	AE round (GDH 35, 64)	-	29
Hermaios Sterossy (268)	(TX 47)	-	1
	Bust/Nike (GDH)	-	267
Kujūla (2542)	(TX 90, 91)	-	2106
	(TX 84)	-	334
	(CU 27)	-	78
	Bull/Camel (CU-TX)	-	24
Gondophares (110)	(GDH 36, 37)	-	20
	(SI 1)	-	3
	(PA 26)	-	82
	KM r./Pallas (GDH)	-	5
Gondophares and Aspavarman	(GDH)	-	1
Gondophares and Sasan (635)	(TX 51)	-	389
	(CU 28)	-	246
Sasan	(SI 3)	-	8
Sorpedonos (?)	(SI 2)	-	1
Unidentified	(SI)	-	3
Satavastra	(SI 6)	-	3
Abdagases (34)	(GDH 38, 39)	-	3
	(GDH 148)	-	14
	(TX 54, 55)	-	17

80. TAXILA (continued)

Soter Megas (16)	Bust r./KM r.	-	12
	Other	-	4
Vima (13)	(SI 4, 7)	-	3
	(?)	-	10
			6913

Taxila, II, 766-792.

Section B: PROVENANCE

HERMAIOS SOTER

1.	Kundūz	Attic tetradrachm	(PK 1)	-	1
2.	Mīr Zakāh	Bust helmed/Zeus enthroned		-	1
		AE square	(PK)	-	1
		Genuine or Imitation AR		-	801
3.	Begrām	AE square	(PK)	-	1
4.	Hadḍa stūpa 3	AE square	(PK)	-	1
5.	Chārsadda (?)	Tetradrachms	(?)	-	10
6.	Shaikhān Dherī (unstratified)		(?)	-	13
7.	Tatta	Tetradrachm	(NH 1)	-	1
					29 (or 830)

Uncounted finds: Bannū (?); Jhelum District.

NC 1872, p.161; NC 1923, pp.315, 339-342; NC 1940, pp.108, 125; JASB 1836, pp.21, 547; ArAnt, p.106; TMA, pp.79, 99; TMQ, LIII.627.

HERMAIOS SOTER and KALLIOPE

8.	Mīr Zakāh			-	15
9.	Chārsadda (?)	Tetradrachms	(NH 3)	-	1
			(GDH 103)	-	1
10.	Shaikhān Dherī (undratified)		(NH 3)	-	4
			(?)	-	2
					23

NC 1923, p.338; NC 1940, pp.108, 125; TMA, p.79.

ARCHEBIOS DIKAIOS NIKEPHOROS

11.	Kundūz	Attic Tetradrachms	(NH 4)	-	2
12.	Mīr Zakāh (88)	Bust/Zeus	(?)	-	65
	Tetradrachm	Bust helmed	(PTY)	-	1
	Drachms	Bust helmed	(?)	-	22
13.	Chārsadda (?)	Tetradrachms	(?)	-	30
14.	Taxila (7)	AE round	(TX 2)	-	1
		AE round (Overstrike 5)	(TX ?)	-	1
		AE square	(TX 3)	-	1
		AE square	(NH 7)	-	1
		AE square	(TX 4)	-	3
					127

TAX, 237.75-80; TMA, p.76; TMQ, LIII.624, 625.

PEUKOLAOS DIKAIOS SOTER

15.	Chārsadda (?)	Tetradrachms	(NH 8)	-	2
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NC 1923, pp.315, 324.

ARTEMIDOROS ANIKETOS

16. Shīnkiārī	Tetradrachm	(GDH 42) -	1
NS 1927, p.20.			

TELEPHOS EUERGETES

17. Shaikhān Dherī	AE square	(CU 2) -	1
18. Peshāwar	AR	(CU 1) -	1
19. Harīpur	AE square	(TX 56) -	1
20. Taxila (2)	AR	(CU 1) -	1
	AE square	(CU 2) -	1
			5

AP II, 37; NC 1923, XVII.6; Taxila, II, 836.

VONONES and Špalahora or Špalagadama

21. Chaman (31)	AR	(SA 1) -	2
		(SA 3) -	29
22. Mīr Zakāh (3)	AR	(SA 1 or 3) -	1
	AR	(SA 9) -	1
	AE square	(SA 2 or 4) -	1
23. Begrām (2)	AR	(SA) -	2
24. Taxila (28)	AE square	(SA 2 or 4) -	28
			64

Uncounted finds: Kandahār; Kābul; Kutānwālā (near Bhaun);
Sahr-i-Bahlol; Pathānkoṭ.

C, ASI, V, 6, 93, 154; NC 1890, p.107; ZDMG 1906, p.58;
JASB 1835, p.345; Jenkins 1955, p.25; Taxila, II, 782 f.;
TMA, p.81 ff..

SPALYRIS and SPALAGADAMA

25. Begrām	AE square	(SA 8 or 16) -	2
26. Taxila	AE square	(SA 8 or 16) -	4
			6

JASB 1836, p.547; Taxila, II, 782 f..

MAUES

27. Mīr Zakāh	AR square	(GDH 95) -	1
28. Kābul	AE square	Elephant/King seated (PA ?) -	1
29. Shaikhān Dherī (6)	Elephant head/Caduceus	(TX 9) -	3
	Lunar Goddess/Nike	(TX 59) -	1
	Elephant/Deity	(?) -	2

MAUES (continued)

30. Taxila (104)	Apollo/Tripod	(TX 11)	-	15
	Elephant head/Caduceus	(TX 9)	-	41
	Poseidon/Yakshī (GDH 8 or TX 60)		-	17
	Artemis/Bull	(GDH 7)	-	10
	Poseidon/Yakshī	(TX 52?)	-	6
	KM/Goddess	(CU 8)	-	3
	Elephant r./Bull r.	(TX 13)	-	3
	Zeus/Deity	(TX 58)	-	2
	Horse/Bow in case	(TX 10)	-	2
	Zeus l./Nike r.	(TX 5 or 12)	-	2
	Zeus enthroned/Goddess	(TX 57)	-	1
	Herakles/Lion	(TX 6)	-	1
	Elephant/King seated	(PA ?)	-	1

112

Uncounted finds: Kandahār; Bannū; Kutānwālā (near Bhaun);
Jalālābād; Sahr-i-Bahlol; Mānsehrā.

C, ASI, V, 6, 93; NC 1890, p.104; JA 1935, p.291; JASB
1836, p.26; Jenkins 1955, pp.14 n, 21 n; AP II, 35;
Taxila, II, 771, 782; TMA, p.79.

HERMAIOS SOTER (pseudo)

31. Mīr Zakāh	Tetradrachm	(TX 18)	-	1
	Genuine or Imitation AR		-	801
32. Shabkadar	(GDH 9, 11, 11a, 32, 57, ?)		-	100

about 101 (or 902)

JEN, p.24 f.; TMA, p.99.

APOLLODOTOS II SOTER PHILOPATOR

33. Mīr Zakāh (9)	Drachms	(?)	-	8
	AE round	(PA)	-	1
34. Amarkoṭ (221)	Drachms	(PA 4)	-	42
		(PA 7)	-	8
		(PA 12)	-	11
		(PA 13)	-	22
		(PA 15)	-	26
		(PA ?)	-	112
35. Shaikhān Dherī (2)	AE round	(PA)	-	1
	AE square	(?)	-	1
36. Spīnwārai (Chārsadda)	AE round	(TX 15)	-	1
37. Taxila (58)	AE square	(TX or PA)	-	18
	AE round	(TX or PA)	-	3
	AE ?	(TX or PA)	-	24
	Apōllo enthroned/Tripod	(GDH 46)	-	2
	Bull/tripod	(?)	-	11
38. Jawālamukhī	Drachms (<u>philopator</u>)	(TX or PA)	-	27

APOLLODOTOS II SOTHER PHILOPATOR (continued)

39.	Tappa Mewa (21)	Drachms (<u>philopator</u>)	(PA 4)	-	17
			(PA 15)	-	3
			(TX 14)	-	1
					339

Uncounted finds: Dūdiāl; Jhelum District; Siālkoṭ;
Upper Satlaj.

AP II, 36 and chart 2.279, 446; CASE, p.238; C,ASI, V, 6
and XIV, 134; NC 1923, pp.308, 309, 342; NC 1946, p.144;
NS 1909, pp.307-309; Proc.ASB 1893, pp.11 f.; Taxila, II,
766 f.; TMA, pp.73 ff..

HIPPOSTRATOS SOTER

40.	Mīr Zakāh	Bust/KM prancing horse	(TX)	-	1
41.	Shaikhān Dherī	AE square	(GDH 15)	-	1
42.	Spīnwarai	AE square	(?)	-	3
43.	Taxila (6)	AE square	(?)	-	4
		AE round	(TX 65)	-	2
					11

Uncounted finds: Pūnch District.

AP II, chart 2.382 (not Apollodotos); NC 1923, p.338;
NC 1946, pp.143 f.; Taxila, II, 766 f.; TMA, pp.73 ff..

DIONYSIOS SOTER

44.	Taxila	AE square Apollo/Diadem	(PA ?)	-	1
45.	Siālkoṭ	AE round	(PA ?)	-	2
46.	Upper Satlaj	Drachms	(PA 10)	-	4
					7

CASE, p.238; NC 1923, p.308; Taxila, II, 767.

ZOILOS SOTER

47.	Mīr Zakāh	Drachms	(PA)	-	5
48.	Taxila (26)	Drachms	(PA)	-	25
		AE round	(PA)	-	1
49.	Bhutri	Drachm	(PA)	-	1
50.	Siālkoṭ	Drachms	(PA)	-	200
					232

Uncounted finds: Siālkoṭ; Upper Satlaj.

CASE, p.238; NC 1923, p.308; Noe 1937, no.149; Taxila,
I, 248 and II, 767; TMA, pp.73 ff..

STRATO II SOTER

51. Taxila	AE Apollo/Tripod	(PA ?)	-	3
52. Mathurā	Drachms	(PA 19)	-	96
				99

CASE, p.253; TAX, 236.63, 64.

STRATO II SOTER and STRATO III

53. Mīr Zakāh	Drachm	(PA 22)	-	1
54. Bhutri	Drachms	(PA 22)	-	8
				9

Noe 1937, no.149; TMA, p.78.

BHADRAYASA SOTER

55. Taxila	Drachm	(PA 20)	-	1
<u>Taxila</u> , II, 784.				

SPALIRISES

56. Begrām or Kābul	AE square	(SA 13)	-	3
Uncounted finds: Jalālābād; Kandahār.				

JA 1935, pp.290 f.; JASB 1836, p.547; and see TMA, p.81.

SPALIRISES and AZES I

57. Chaman	Drachms	(SA 19)	-	5
Jenkins 1955, p.25; and see TMA, p.81.				

AZES I

58. Chaman (27)	Tetradrachm	(SA 20)	-	1
	Tetradrachm	(SA 22)	-	4
	Drachms	(SA 22)	-	2
	Tetradrachms	(SA 24)	-	7
	Tetradrachms	(GDH 18)	-	2
	Tetradrachms	(GDH 22)	-	9
	Drachms	(GDH 22)	-	2
59. Mīr Zakāh (99)	Tetradrachms	(SA 24 or 33)	-	2
	Drachms	(SA 24 or 33)	-	14
	KMS/Zeus	(SA or GDH)	-	6
	AE square	(SA 23)	-	1
	KMS/Zeus facing	(GDH 18)	-	4
	KMS/Athena	(GDH)	-	70
	AE square	(GDH 17 or 23)	-	1
	KMS/Zeus l.	(TX 66)	-	1
60. Shabkadar (less than 280)	KMS/Nike	(GDH 47)	-	?
	KMS/Zeus l.	(TX 66)	-	?
	KMS/Zeus	(SA or GDH)	-	?
	KMS/Athena	(GDH)	-	?

AZES I (continued)

61.	Kābul (or Azes II ?)	AE square	(SA or GDH)	-	2
62.	Taxila (45)	AE square	(GDH 17 or 23)	-	14
		Poseidon/Yakshī	(TX 28)	-	14
		KMS/Zeus l.	(TX 66)	-	5
		Deity l./Goddess r.	(TX 29)	-	4
		AE round	(GDH 19 or 21)	-	3
		Zeus/Nike	(TX 27)	-	2
		KMS/Zeus	(SA or GDH)	-	1
		KMS/Goddess	(SA 24 or 33)	-	1
		AE square	(SA 23)	-	1

 177 (or about 350)

Uncounted finds: Kandahār; Jalālābād.

C, ASI, V, 6; JA 1935, pp.290 f.; JASB 1836, p.25; JASB 1840, pp.97-99; JEN, pp.24 ff.; Taxila, II, 782 f.; TMA, p.79.

AZES I and AZILISES

63.	Mīr Zakāh	KMS/Goddess	(SA 34 or 40)	-	1
	TMA, p.80.				

AZILISES

64.	Chaman	KMS/Goddess	(SA)	-	8
65.	Mīr Zakāh (162)	Tetradrachms	(SA)	-	3
		Drachms	(SA)	-	152
		Tetradrachm	(PTY 6)	-	1
		Drachms	(PTY 6)	-	6
66.	Bāmiyān	AE square	(SA 30)	-	1
67.	Begrām or Kābul	AE square	(SA 32)	-	1
68.	Shabkadar	KMS/Goddess	(SA)	-	?
69.	Shaikhān Dherī (2)	AE square	(GDH 25)	-	1
		AE square	(SA 32 ?)	-	1
70.	Taxila (11)	AE square	(CU 13)	-	3
		KMW/Zeus	(TX 30)	-	1
		AR	(TX 71 or CU 10)	-	1
		KMS/Goddess	(SA 37)	-	1
		AE square	(SA 30)	-	1
		AE square	(GDH 49)	-	1
		AE square	(CU 15)	-	1
		Elephant/Bull	(TX 72)	-	1
		AE square	(TX 68)	-	1

 186

Uncounted finds: Jalālābād; Bīrkoṭ; Baffa, Pūnch.

AP II, 35 and chart 2.157, 432; ArAnt, p.320; JA 1935, pp.290 f.; JASB 1836, pp.19, 25; Jenkins 1955, p.24 ff.; Stein 1930, p.22; NC 1923, p.338; NC 1943, p.52; Taxila, II, 783; TMA, p.80.

AZES I, AZES I and AZILISES, or AZILISES

71. Mīr Zakāh	KMS/Goddess	(SA)	-	83
TMA, p.80.				

AZILISES and AZES II

72. Chaman	KMS/Athena	(GDH 26)	-	1
73. Taxila	Herakles/Horse	(GDH 127b)	-	1
				2

Jenkins 1955, p.26; Taxila, II, 783.

AZES II

74. Balkh (Tope-i-Rustam)	King seated/Hermes	(TX ?)	-	1
75. Mīr Zakāh (3562)	KMW/ZN	(TX)	-	5
	Drachms KMW/ZN	(TX)	-	2748
	KMW/Pallas l.	(GDH)	-	16
	KMW/Pallas r.	(GDH)	-	8
	Drachms KMW/Pallas r.	(GDH)	-	491
	KMW/Pallas	(GDH 82)	-	50
	KMW/Pallas facing	(GDH)	-	227
	KMW/Poseidon	(GDH 61)	-	2
	Drachms KMW/Poseidon	(GDH 61)	-	11
	KMW/Pallas r. (GDH 141 or 143)		-	1
	Bull/Lion	(GDH)	-	3
76. Begram (11)	KMW/Pallas r.	(GDH)	-	6
	KMW/ZN	(TX)	-	4
	IMW/Poseidon	(GDH 61)	-	1
	AE KMW/Lion r.	(TX 82)	-	1
77. Bīmarān	KMW/Demeter	(TX 81)	-	16
78. Hadda	KMW/Demeter	(TX 81)	-	2
79. Jalālābād (6)	KMW/Pallas r.	(GDH)	-	1
	KMW/Demeter	(TX 81)	-	1
	KMW/ZN	(GDH 114)	-	1
	Bull/Lion	(GDH)	-	3
80. Shabkadar (less than 280)	KMW/ZN	(TX ?)	-	?
	KMW/Pallas l.	(GDH)	-	?
	KMW/Pallas r.	(GDH)	-	?
81. Mīr Ziyārat (Chārasadda)	Bull/Lion	(GDH 59)	-	2
82. Sahr-i-Bahlol	KMW/ZN	(TX ?)	-	1
83. Shaikhān Dherī (36)	KMW/ZN	(TX 41)	-	4
	Elephant/Bull	(GDH)	-	7
	Bull/Lion	(GDH)	-	25

AZES II (continued)

84. Taxila (2639)	KMW/ZN	(TX)	- 1479
AE	King seated/Hermes	(TX)	- 862
	Lion/Demeter	(TX-CU)	- 87
AE	Elephant/Bull	(GDH)	- 58
	Demeter enthroned/Hermes	(GDH 55)-	49
AE	Bull/Lion	(GDH)	- 46
	KMW/Pallas r. (GDH 76, etc.)		- 28
	KMW/Pallas facing	(GDH)	- 7
	KMW/Demeter	(TX 81)	- 6
	KMW/Pallas r. (GDH 141 or 143)		- 5
	King seated/Pallas	(?)	- 4
	KMW/Poseidon	(GDH 61)	- 3
AE	Lakshmī/Bull	(GDH 117)	- 2
AE	Hephaistos/Lion	(TX ?)	- 1
AE square	Elephant/Bull l.	(TX ?)	- 1
AE square	Elephant/Lion	(GDH 75)	- 1
85. Bhutri (488)	KMW/ZN	(TX)	- 486
	KMW/Pallas l.	(GDH)	- 1
AE	King seated/Hermes	(TX)	- 1

 6766

Uncounted finds: Chaman; Pakhlī.

AP II, chart 2; ArAnt, pp.73 ff., 106; ASIAR 1902-03, p.159; ASIAR 1911-12, p.108; Bégram, p.93; JASB 1834, p.172; JASB 1836, p.26; Jenkins 1955, pp.24 ff.; Foucher 1942, p.377; Imperial Gazetteer of India ("Pakhlī" article); NC 1950, p.207; Noe 1937, no.149; Taxila, II, 782 f.; TMA, p.73 ff..

AZES II and INDRAVARMAN

86. Taxila	(GDH 140)	- 8
<u>Taxila</u> , II, 784.		

AZES II and AŚPAVARMAN

87. Taxila	(GDH 142)	- 160
<u>Taxila</u> , II, 783.		

RĀJUVULA

88. Taxila (160)	KM/ZN	(GDH 139)	- 1
	Bust/Athena	(PA 21, 23-25)	- 1
	Lion/Herakles	(MT 1-3)	- 158
89. Amritsar	Lion/Herakles	(MT 3)	- 1
90. Hoshiārpur	Lion/Herakles	(MT 3)	- 1
91. Mathurā	Bust/Athena	(PA)	- 38

 200

Uncounted finds: Siālkot; Mathurā.

BMCAI, p.188; CASE, p.253; NC 1890, p.128; Taxila, II, 783.

ZEIONISES

92.	Ghaz Dherī (Chārsadda)	Bull/Lion	(CU 21, 24)	-	1
93.	Taxila	Tetradrachm	(CU 20)	-	1
94.	Mānikialā	stūpa	(?)	-	1
					3

ASIAR, 1902-03, p.176; Taxila, II, 784; ZDMB 1906, p.66.

KHARAHOSTES

95.	Taxila	KMS/Lion	(TX 83)	-	1
<u>Taxila</u> , II, 783.					

HERMAIOS SOTER (pseudo)

96.	Mīr Zakāh	AE round	(GDH 35, 64)	-	96
97.	Begrām		(GDH 35, 64)	-	92
98.	Mīr Ziyārat	(Chārsadda)	(GDH 35, 64)	-	2
99.	Taxila (29)		(GDH 35, 64)	-	28
		AE round Bust l.	(GDH ?)	-	1
					221

ASIAR, 1902-03, p.159; JASB 1834, p.167; JASB 1836, pp.21, 547; Taxila, II, 766 ff.; TMA, p.79.

HERMAIOS STEROSY

100.	Mīr Zakāh (4)	Zeus enthroned	(TX 47)	-	2
		Nike l.	(GDH 65, 66)	-	2
101.	Begrām (39)	Zeus enthroned	(TX 47)	-	38
		Nike l.	(GDH 65, 66)	-	1
102.	Taxila (268)	Zeus enthroned	(TX 47)	-	1
		Nike l.	(GDH 65, 66)	-	266
		Nike r.	(GDH 66a)	-	1
					311

ArAnt, p.339; JASB 1834, p.167; JASB 1836, p.547; Taxila, II, 768, 804; TMA, p.79.

KUJŪLA

103.	Mīr Zakāh (8)	Bust/Herakles	(TX 90, 91)	-	8
104.	Begrām (about 600)	Bust/Herakles	(TX 90, 91)	-	600 (?)
		Bust Hermes/Pallas	(GDH 144)	-	1
105.	Bīmarān	Bust/Herakles	(TX 90, 91)	-	94
106.	Haḍḍa		(TX 90, 91)	-	12
107.	Jalālābād	Bust/Herakles	(TX 90, 91)	-	30
108.	Shaikhān Dherī (7)		(TX 90, 91)	-	2
			(?)	-	5

KUJŪLA (continued)

109. Taxila (2542)	(TX 90)	-	127
	(TX 91)	-	1975
Bust l./Herakles	(TX)	-	4
Roman head/King on curule	(TX 84)	-	334
Zeus/King seated	(CU 27)	-	78
Bull/Camel	(CU-TX)	-	24
			3293

AP II, chart 2, ArAnt, pp.76 f., 106; Begram, pp.85, 93;
JASB 1834, p.168; JASB 1836, pp.26 f., 547; Taxila, II,
792; TMA, p.82.

SANABARES

Uncounted finds: Persia; Marv (AE, type MA 7).

BMC, p.xlvi; Frye 1962, p.186 and n.33.

ORTHAGNES and GONDOPHARES and/or GUDANA

110. Seistān (SA 52, 55-57) - 2

Uncounted finds: Seistān, Begram, Girishk, Kandahār.

JA 1935, p.191; JRAS 1904, p.677; MacDowall 1965, p.138;
NC 1950, p.138n; ZDMG 1906, p.58.

GONDOPHARES

111. Mīr Zakāh (7)	Bust r./Nike r.	(GDH 36, 37)	-	5
	KM r./Śiva r.	(GDH 68)	-	1
	KM r./Śiva facing	(GDH 138)	-	1
112. Begram (75)	Bust r./Nike r.	(GDH 36, 37)	-	75
113. Bīmarān (3)		(GDH 36, 37)	-	3
114. Haḍḍa (1)		(GDH 36, 37)	-	1
115. Shaikhān Dherī	KM l./Pallas r.	(GDH 122)	-	1
116. Taxila (110)	Bust r./Nike r.	(GDH 36, 37)	-	20
	KM r./Pallas	(GDH)	-	5
	Bust l./Nike l.	(SI 1)	-	3
	Bust r./Athena	(PA 26)	-	82

198

Uncounted finds: Seistān; Kandahār; Ghaznī; Kābul; Sind;
Multān; Paṭhānkoṭ; Ludhiānā.

AP II, 35 and chart 2.444; ArAnt, pp.76 f.; Begram, pp.85,
93; C, ASI, V, 154; JA 1935, p.291; JASB 1836, p.547; JASB
1840, p.97; JRAS 1905, p.227; NC 1890, pp.122 f.; Taxila,
II, 784; TMA, p.81.

GONDOPHARES and ASPAVARMAN

117. Taxila (GDH) - 1

Taxila, II, 784.

GONDOPHARES and SASAN

118. Mīr Zakāh (1)	KM/Zeus	(CU 28)	-	1
119. Quetta (1)	KM/Zeus	(CU 28)	-	1
120. Taxila (635)	KM/ZN	(TX 51)	-	389
	KM/Zeus	(CU 28)	-	246

 637

NC 1950, 222 (XII.12); Taxila, II, 784; TMA, p.81.

SORPEDONOS (?)

121. Taxila (1)	Bust l./Nike	(SI 2)	-	1
122. Saīdpur (1)	Bust l. in tiara/Nike	(SI ?)	-	2

 3

ASIAR 1914-15, pp.94 f.; Taxila, II, 784.

SASAN

123. Taxila (8)	Bust l./Nike	(SI 3)	-	8
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Taxila, II, 784.

ABDAGASES

124. Mīr Zakāh (2)	Bust r./Nike r.	(GDH 38, 39)	-	2
125. Taxila (34)		(GDH 38, 39)	-	3
	KM/Zeus	(GDH 148)	-	14
	KM/ZN	(TX 54, 55)	-	17

 36

Uncounted finds: Begrām.

Bēgram, p.85; Taxila, II, 784; TMA, p.81.

PAKORES

126. Seistān	(SA 60, 61)	-	4
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Uncounted finds: Girishk; Kandahār; Mīr Zakāh (?); Bhakkar.

JA 1935, p.291; JRAS 1904, p.677; MacDowall 1965, p.138;
NC 1890, pp.122 f.; TMA, p.81.

SATAVASTRA

127. Taxila	Bust/Nike	(SI 6)	-	3
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Taxila, II, 784.

Total coins with provenance data

- 14,712

Section C: OVERSTRIKES

Early PeriodIndo-Greek coins overstruck before ca. 130 B.C.:

1. HELIOKLES DIKAIOS

AE square.

BASILEŌS DIKAIΟΥ ἘΛΙΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ

Maharajasa dhramikasa Heliyakreyasa

Diademed bearded bust r. /

Elephant l.; below mon. 62.

o/s: AGATHOKLEIA and STRATO

AE square.

BASILISSES THEOTROPOU AGATHOKLEIAS

Maharajasa tratarasa dhramikasa Stratasa

Bust Pallas-Queen r. helmed. /

Herakles seated l.; lf. mon. 96.

CHI, I, 499.

2. HELIOKLES DIKAIOS

AE square as Overstrike 1.

o/s: STRATO SOTER

AE square.

BASILEŌS ΣŌΤΕΡΟΣ ΣΤΡΑΤΩΝΟΣ

Maharajasa tratarasa Stratasa

Bust Herakles r., club over shoulder. /

Nike r. with wreath and palm;
rf. mon. 62 and 96 (or 97).

BMC, 24.28 = CASE, VI.11; CHI, I, 499.

3. EPANDER NIKEPHOROS

AE square.

BASILEŌS ΝΙΚΕΦΟΡΟΥ ΕΠΑΝΔΡΟΥ

Maharajasa jayadharasa Epandrasa

Nike r. with wreath and palm. /

Bull r.; below mon. ?.

o/s: PHILOXENOS ANIKETOS (?)

NSS (CIGC, p.119).

Later PeriodCoins overstruck after ca. 120 B.C.:

4. ARCHEBIOS DIKAIOS NIKEPHOROS (NH, GDH or TX)
 AE square.
 BASILEŌS DIKAIΟΥ NIKEPHOROU ARCHEBIOU
 Maharajasa dhramikasa jayadharasa Arkhebiyasa
 Bust of Zeus r., sceptre on l. shoulder. /
 Palm branches flanked by piloi; mon. ?.
 o/s: HELIOKLES DIKAIOS (GDH ?)
 AE square as Overstrike 1; mon. 62 (?).
 PMC, 39.230 (IV.230).
5. ARCHEBIOS DIKAIOS NIKEPHOROS (TX ?)
 AE square as Overstrike 4; mon. 131 (?).
 o/s: STRATO EPIPHANES SOTER (PTY ?)
 AE round.
 BASILEŌS EPIPHANOUS SŌTĒROS STRATŌNOS
 Maharajasa pratichasa tratarasa Stratasa
 Bust of Apollo r. /
 Bow and quiver; lf. mon. 25 (?).
 TAX, 237.76.
6. EUKRATIDES (Pseudo-Hermaios) (PK 22)
 Imitation AE square.
 BASILEŌS MEGALOU EUKRATIDOU
 Kaviśiye nagara devata
 Bust r. helmed. / City goddess of Kāpīśa enthroned;
 rf. mon. 41.
 o/s: APOLLODOTOS I SOTER (Pseudo-Hermaios) (PK 18)
 Imitation AE square.
 BASILEŌS APOLLODOTOU SŌTĒROS
 Maharajasa Apaladatasa tratarasa
 Apollo facing. / Tripod; rf. mon. 32.
 NC 1923, p.319; CASE, VI.5 = Narain, IG, IV, 9.

7. APOLLODOTOS II SOTER (GDH 46)

AE square.

BASILEŌS SŌTĒROS APOLLODOTOU
Maharajasa tratarasa Apaladatasa

Apollo seated r. / Tripod; lf. Kh. s(o),
rf. mon. 65 or 66 (?)

o/s: MAUES (PA 2 or 2a)

AE square.

Elephant r. with wreath. / King seated;
rf. mon. 160 or 166.

JEN, I.7 = XVII.7.

8. ZOILOS SOTER (PA ?)

AE round.

BASILEŌS SŌTĒROS ZŌILOU
Maharajasa tratarasa Joīlasa

Apollo r. / Tripod; lf. Kh. ?, rf. Kh. a (?).

o/s: APOLLODOTOS II SOTER (PA ?)

AE round.

BASILEŌS SŌTĒROS APOLLODOTOU (3 sides)
Maharajasa tratarasa Apaladatasa (3 sides)

Apollo r. / Tripod; lf. Kh. gi, rf. Kh. da.

NC 1923, p.308.

9. SPALIRISES (SA 13)

AE square.

BAC*ILEŌ*N BAC*ILEŌ*C* MEGALO*U PĀLIRIC*O*U
Maharajasa mahatakasa Špaliriśasa

King walking l. with axe. /
Zeus enthroned; rf. mon. 10.

o/s: SPALYRIS and SPALAGADAMA (SA 8 and 16)

AE square.

S*PALYRIO*C* DIKAIO*U ADELPHO*U TO*U BAC*ILEŌ*C*
Špalahoraputrassa dhramiasa Špalagadamasa

KMS in dotted frame. / Herakles seated l.
in dotted frame; lf. mon. 6, 7, 8 or 11.

BMC, 101.2 = XVII.9; NS 1929, V.6; and see Jenkins
1955, p.3.

10. AZES I (GDH 23)

AE square.

BASILEŌS BASILEŌN MEGALO*U AZO*U (4 sides)

Maharajasa rajarajasa mahatasa Ayasa (4 sides)

KMS / Bull r.; above mon. 56 and Kh. a.

o/s: APOLLODOTOS I SOTER (Pseudo-Hermaiōs) (PK ?)

Imitation AE square.

BASILEŌS APOLLODOTOU SŌTĒROS

Maharajasa Apaladatasa tratarasa

Apollo facing. / Tripod; mon. (?).

BMC, 88.171 = XVII.10.

11. AZES I (TX 28)

AE square.

BASILEŌS BASILEŌN MEGALOU AZOU (3 sides)

Maharajasa rajarajasa mahatasa Ayasa (3 sides)

Poseidon facing, foot on prostrate figure. /

Goddess (Yakshī ?) between vines; lf. mon. 135.

o/s: APOLLODOTOS II SOTER (TX 22)

AE square (large).

BASILEŌS SŌTĒROS APOLLODOTOU (3 sides)

Maharajasa tratarasa Apaladatasa (3 sides)

Apollo facing. / Tripod; lf. mon. 133, rf. Kh. jhe.

PMC, 123.244.

12. AZES I (TX 28)

AE square as Overstrike 11.

o/s: HIPPOSTRATOS SOTER (GDH 14)

AE square (large).

BASILEŌS SŌTĒROS IPPOSTRATOU

Maharajasa tratarasa Hipustratasa

Triton with steering-oar and dolphin. /

City goddess l.; lf. mon. 56, rf. Kh. a.

PMC, 123.246.

13. AZES I (TX 28)

AE square as Overstrike 11.

o/s: HIPPOSTRATOS SOTER (TX 25)

AE square (large).

BAC*ILEŌC* BAC*ILEŌN MEGALOU AZILIC*OU (3 sides)

Maharajasa tratarasa jayamtasa Hipustratasa (3 sides)

Zeus enthroned. / Horse l.; lf. mon. 133 or 134.

BMC, 89.184.

14. AZILISES (SA 30)

AE square.

BAC*ILEŌC* BAC*ILEŌN MEGALOU AZILIC*OU

Maharajasa mahatasa Ayilishasa (3 sides)

KMS / Herakles seated; lf. mon. 15 and Kh. si.

o/s: SPALIRISES (SA 13)

AE square as Overstrike 9; mon. 10.

Jenkins 1955, p.3.

15. AZILISES (SA 36)

AE square.

BAC*ILEŌC* BAC*ILEŌN MEGALOU AZILIC*OU (4 sides)

Maharajasa rajarajasa mahatasa Ayilishasa (4 sides)

KMS / Bull l.; above mon. 16 and Kh. mi.

o/s: AZES I (SA 23)

AE square.

BAC*ILEŌC* BAC*ILEŌN MEGALOU AZOU

Maharajasa rajarajasa mahatasa Ayasa (3 sides)

King mounted on camel. / Bull grazing r.;
rf. mon. 14.

BMC, 96.31 = JEN, I.6 = XVII.15.

16. AZES II (GDH 55)

AE round.

BASILEŌS BASILEŌN MEGALO*U AZO*U

Maharajasa rajarajasa mahatasa Ayasa

Demeter enthroned. / Hermes l.; lf. mon. 75,
rf. mon. 67.

o/s: AZES II (GDH 31)

AE round.

BASILEŌS BASILEŌN MEGALO*U AZO*U

Maharajasa rajarajasa mahatasa Ayasa

Elephant r.; above Kh. a. /

Bull r.; above mon. 58 and Kh. a.

BMC, 84.132; NC 1861, pp.72 ff.; JHA

17. AZES II (GDH 55)

AE round as Overstrike 16.

o/s: AZES II (GDH 55)

Same, obverse on reverse.

IMC, 46.57.

18. SASAN (SI 3)

Drachms.

Bust l. with chignon hair style and tiara; lf. mon. 20. /
Winged Nike l.

o/s: UNIDENTIFIED (SI ?)

Bust l.; lf. mon. 20. / Nike l.

TAX, 241.203 (and 208 ?).

19. PAKORES (SA 61)

AE round.

BACILEUC BACILEŌ*N MEGAC PAKORES

Maharajasa rajatirajasa mahatasa Pakurasa

Bust l.; star behind. / Winged Nike r.;
lf. Kh. to or ro, rf. Kh. pu.

o/s: SOTER MEGAS

AE round.

...CŌ*TER...

Devices unidentified.

EW 1957, III.1 = XVII.19.

20. VIMA (?)

AE round.

Kushāṇa "Elephant rider" variety.

o/s: GONDOPHARES SOTER (GDH 36)

AE round.

Bust r. / Nike r.

Mukherjee, Agrippan Source, III.17.

Section D: ANALYSIS OF PROVENANCE DATA

Table 2, Coin Provenance by Mint Groups, presents some apparently contradictory statistics. The majority of coins in each of most mint groups have not been found in the province of their respective mints. And the majority of coins found in four provinces are of the same mint group. These patterns of concentration in coin finds argue against most theories of identifying mint locations. But some insight into the problem can be gained by characterizing the finds, the findspots and the coins involved according to their significance for the commercial and economic conditions of the time.

Finds may be described as either hoards of commercial wealth and other accumulations along trading routes, or as hoards of personal wealth and other accumulations in areas of general circulation. The find at Mīr Zakāh, where a sacred pond was the repository of travellers' pious offerings,¹ belongs to the former category. Other finds which probably originated from a merchant's till are the predominately silver-coin hoards of Chaman, Amarkoṭ, and perhaps Shabkadar. Hoards of personal wealth are the predominantly bronze-coin lots found at Sirkap, and general circulation supplies the bulk of finds from excavations of cities: Begrām, Shaikhān Dherī, Sirkap. The stūpa deposits of the Upper Kābul Valley (Hoards 51-53, 74, 75) may be of coins in the latter category, but it was not uncommon for travellers to give offerings of valuables from their home province. It is impossible to draw a precise line between these categories, as coins of general circulation might find their way into a merchant's possession at home or abroad, and vice versa. But some patterns in hoard composition are discernible.

Coins may be characterized as being more or less desirable for hoarding or exporting. As in the hoards mentioned above, coins of the silver denomination are the currency of commerce and

¹ TMA, p.99.

hence liable to be hoarded as a merchant's current capital. Bronze coins, on the other hand, constitute the bulk of currency used in everyday transactions by the populace of a city. However, these rules cease to apply strictly when the debased coinage of the later decades is considered (see Chapter VII). In fact, in the last years of Azes II's rule mints stopped producing a separate bronze denomination as its intrinsic value would have been no different from that of the worn plated or silver-washed superior denomination. The identification of debased coins in finds has important bearing on interpreting the find with regard to commercial trends in the last decades of the Śaka-Pahlava period.

This analysis of the distribution of coin finds is based on known data. No attempt is made to anticipate the contents of future finds. But it must be cautioned that the relative extent of excavations and size of coin finds at Begram, Shaikhān Dherī and Taxila tend to give disproportionate weight to the last, both in the total number of coins involved and as a more complete sample of specimens from the area. About 75 per cent of all coins with provenance data from the period in question are of TX-CU types.

The first part (A) of the table gives the break-down by mint group of major finds. Percentages are calculated on the total of coins identified by provenance in the column next to last. The second part (B) gives the distribution of major mint groups. Percentages are of the total in the last column. Figures are for both pre-debasement and debased issues unless marked by an asterisk (*) which denotes pre-debasement coins only.

All of the Sakastān-Arachosia (SA) coins for which there is no provenance information were minted before the currency was debased after the reign of Azilises. That is, these coins are all 'pre-debasement' coinage. Silver coins of the SA group make up 78 per cent of the find from Chaman (Hoard 30). This percentage reflects the situation of Chaman on the trade route

between Arachosia and the entrepôt at Barbarikon in the Indus Delta. The same class of coins account for 75 per cent of the pre-debasement coins in the find at Mīr Zakāh (Hoard 77), and 17 per cent of pre-debasement coins from Taxila (Hoard 80). The SA coins from Chaman and Mīr Zakāh, both on the frontiers of Arachosia, make up 87 per cent of the total SA coinage with known provenance.

The small number of 364 SA coins is a poor sample on which to base any conclusions, and there are no adequate reports on finds within the provinces themselves. But it may be suggested that, before Sakastān and Arachosia were lost by the Śakas to the Arsakids at the end of Azilises' rule, SA currency gravitated toward the Lower Indus region for purchase of goods, and along the route to Taxila was carried by travellers who made offerings at Mīr Zakāh. However, there is no way to determine how severe the outflow of money was before the Arsakid conquest, but there is no reason to believe that it was detrimental to the provincial treasuries.

Debased SA coins of the Pahlavas are totally lacking in all areas except Arachosia. This illustrates the realignment of trade links after the reign of Azilises which may explain the original debasement of coinage by Śaka mints after the loss of Arachosia.

Almost all of the coins found in the Panjāb are of PA types. But these coins make up less than half of PA coins with known provenance: 40 per cent of total finds and 50 per cent of pre-debasement coins. (However, the unidentified and uncounted coins in Hoards 18 and 21-23 may point to a slightly higher ratio.) The find from Amarkoṭ (Hoard 19) stands in relation to the Panjāb as the Chaman hoard to Arachosia. Amarkoṭ, in Rājanpur Tehsil, is situated near the confluence of the Jhelum and Indus Rivers where all the routes along the Panjāb rivers converge towards Sind. The hoard is indicative of the flow of money to the delta region for the purchase of trade stock. PA coins account for about 16 per cent of the pre-debasement coinage found in Taxila,

and 25 of the 34 coins were found in a single lot at Dharmarājikā (Hoard 24).

The almost total absence of non-PA coins from the Panjāb suggests that trading merchandise was not exported from this region to other provinces. The weak commercial situation in the Panjāb, by which more currency was taken out than brought in, is further suggested by the absence of tetradrachms and the relatively inferior technique of minting in its coinage.

Out of a sample of 211 pre-debasement Gandhāra (GDH) coins, 36 per cent were found at Mīr Zakāh, 7 per cent at Chaman, and 10 per cent in Taxila. The remaining 47 per cent were found in Gandhāra, 43 are of GDH types (mostly bronze denomination of Azes II), and 13 are of TX types.

The take-over of Arachosia by the Arsakids and Pahlavas led to changes in Gandhāra's trading partners. Instead of GDH currency being sent to Arachosia, the direction shifted to the north towards the dominions of the Pseudo-Hermaios Scythians. Hence, 60 per cent of GDH debased currency comes from trade routes to the west. But Taxila also attracted a sizeable amount of GDH coins so that northern Gandhāra seems to have had an unfavourable balance of trade at this time.

Pre-debasement coins from Taxila (TX) and her hinterland, Cukhsa-Uraśā (CU), are practically unknown outside Taxila proper. No less than 94 per cent of the pre-debasement currency of the TX-CU group were found in Taxila. But these coins make up 57 per cent of this earlier coinage found there. The remaining 43 per cent are coins from Sakastān-Arachosia (17 per cent), Gandhāra (10 per cent) and Panjāb (16 per cent). This indicates a strong commercial position for Taxila, based on her situation as a central market and producer of finished exports.

In the debased period the dispersal of TX-CU coins is similar to that of GDH coins: 30 per cent (2764) were found in Mīr Zakāh, and about 9 per cent (155 and 641, respectively) in the Upper Kābul Valley and Begram. But unlike the GDH coins, the majority (61 per cent) of TX-CU coins were found in their

home province. The balance of trade was (apparently) less favourable to Taxila than it had been in the pre-debasement period, as a lower ratio of non-TX-CU coins was attracted there. No less than 87 per cent (5635) of the debased coins found in Taxila are of the TX-CU types, while 12 per cent are of the GDH (707) and PA (80) groups. However, the economic position of Taxila was still strong as compared to that of Gandhāra, the other major producer of debased coinage.

Coins of the TX-CU mints constitute more than two-thirds of finds of the debasement period from Mīr Zakāh (68.5 per cent), the Upper Kābul Valley (94 per cent) and Begrām (78 per cent). But none of these areas was striking its own coinage at this time, and in truth the percentages represent the competition between Taxilan and Gandhāran coinage, which together account for all of the debased coins that were circulating in those provinces.

Paktyika's position in the economic system of Śaka-Pahlava dominions was as a cross-roads of trade routes. It had no coinage of significance after the political disruptions following the reign of Archebios. But routes between Banagara (Bannū) and the Paropamisadai, and between Taxila and Arachosia, brought travellers and their currency to the region.

Similarly, Nagarahāra in the Upper Kābul Valley lost economic independence after the confusion attending the fall of Indo-Greek power. As in Paktyika, the coins recovered here represent religious offerings - in this case they were probably made to monasteries whose monks consecrated an appropriate percentage of the gifts for depositing in stūpas. In fact, the reputation of the region as a religious centre probably determined a significant portion of its livelihood.

The economic situation in Bannū and the Upper Kurrām Valley can be only vaguely reconstructed, because these regions have not yet been adequately explored archaeologically, and hence there is no information on coin finds. But the relatively superior quality of metal and minting technique of coins from the Alpha,

Sigma, Zeta and Beta mints of Gandhāra during the first half of the reign of Azes II suggest a rather strong, self-sufficient economy vis-à-vis that of Taxila and Gandhāra proper (Pushkalāvātī). If this was the case, these provinces might have been primary producing areas, probably in agricultural items,² supplying fine grains, fruits and fibres to the craftsmen, merchants and well-to-do inhabitants in the cities to the north. Or the agricultural based economy generated so little demand for material and manufactures from outside that there was not much exchange of currency and not the same advantage in a heavy debasement as in the commercial centres.

Kapisene and the Paropamisadaï seem to have been under the control of the Pseudo-Hermaios Scythians continuously from the defeat of Hermaios to about A.D. 20. Their economic role was principally one of middlemen between the Arsakids and the Śakas, and this interest is reflected in their dual monetary system of imitation Arsakid and Indo-Greek coins. During the period when coinage was heavily debased, however, the economic position of the Scythians in Kāpīśa seems to have been undermined. There is no evidence of any debased coins having been struck in Kāpīśa if it is correct to locate the Hermaios-Kujūla coins in Taxila and the plated Pseudo-Hermaios issues in the Alpha and Sigma mints of Gandhāra. This loss of financial strength was probably due to the growth of Pahlava power in Margiana-Areia, which severed the Scythians' commercial links with the Arsakids.

² During the 19th century this area exported raw cotton, wool, gram, wheat, oilseeds, millet and pulses, and imported sugar, piece-goods, indigo, ghi, wood, oil, iron and tobacco. There was a surplus of agricultural produce, and manufactured articles were obtained from the Panjāb. See Imperial Gazetteer of India, VI, 397 f., and XVI, 51.

APPENDIX II - CATALOGUE OF COIN TYPES

Introduction

The approximately 430 coin types or issues pertaining to this study are assigned to eleven regions, from Margiana to Mathurā, divided into 37 mint series. The regions are arranged in a generally west to east order beginning with Sakastān. The coin types in each mint series are arranged chronologically. The description of each type is presented according to the following arrangement:

Silver denomination or metal.

OBVERSE GREEK LEGEND IN UPPER CASE TYPE

Reverse Kharoshthī legend in lower case type

Obverse device and monograms, if any. /

Reverse device and monograms.

References, coins illustrated in Plates I - XVII are underlined.

Deviations from this pattern, for example Pahlavi or Brāhmī legends, are specifically noted. Standard transliteration is used for the Greek script, except that some palaeographic and linguistic features are indicated with special conventions:

C = lunate sigma (C).

C* = square sigma (C*).

P̄ = aspirate Ionic sigma (P̄).

O* = square omikron (O*).

Ō* = lower case omega (W or W*).

KH = chi in non-Greek names (X).

H* = eta representing non-Greek h sound (H*).

Kh. ṃ and ḥ are conventions for dots in legends and are not Sanskritic. Where possible the references are only to coins which have been illustrated in publications or examined at first hand by the author.

Four items of illustrative matter are supplemental to this appendix:

Table 1, Monograms.

Table 3, Diagram of Joint Issues between Mints.

Table 4, Chronological Concordance of Coin Types.

Plates I - XVII, Coins.

Catalogue

Arrangement of regions and mint series with number of types followed in the catalogue:

I. SAKASTĀN-ARACHOSIA (SA) - 64 types.

- | | | |
|----|-----------------------------------|-------------|
| A. | Śaka mint series Beta (Barda ?) | types 1-14. |
| B. | Śaka mint series Sigma (Sigala ?) | 15-32. |
| C. | Śaka mint series My-Rho (Mir...?) | 33-38. |
| D. | Śaka mint series Delta (Dri...?) | 39-42. |
| E. | Pahlava mint series in Sakastān | 43-50. |
| F. | Pahlava mint series in Arachosia | 51-64. |
| a. | Greek legend in genitive case | 51-54. |
| b. | Greek legend in nominative case | 55-61. |
| c. | Pahlavi legend | 62-64. |

II. MARGIANA-AREIA (MA) - 14 types.

- | | | |
|----|---|-------------|
| A. | Genuine and imitation Arsakid drachms countermarked for circulation in Arsakid-Scythian borderlands | types 1- 5. |
| B. | Arsakid and Pahlava mint series in Margiana-Areia | 6-14. |

III. PAKTYIKA (PTY) - 6 types.

- | | | |
|----|-------------------------|-------------|
| A. | Early Series (Gardez ?) | types 1- 4. |
| B. | Later Series | 5- 6. |

IV. NAGARAHĀRA (NH) - 8 types.

V. PAROPAMISADAI-KAPISENE (PK) - 26 types.

- | | | |
|----|---------------------------------------|-------------|
| A. | Paropamisadai mint series A (Kābul ?) | types 1- 8. |
| B. | Kapisene mint series B (Kāpīśa) | 9-26. |

VI. GANDHĀRA (GDH) - 149 types.

A.	Alpha mint (Artoarta ?)	types 1-40.
B.	Sigma mint (Sapana ?)	41-71.
C.	Zeta mint (near Kālābāgh ?)	72-87.
D.	Beta mint (Banagara ?)	88-93.
E.	Epsilon mint (Embolima ?)	94-101.
F.	Pushkalāvati	102-126.
G.	Joint mintage in districts between Pushkalāvati and the Indus River	127-138.
H.	Satrapal coinage administered from Pushkalāvati	139-149.

VII. TAXILA (TX) - 91 types.

A.	Central mint	types 1-47.
B.	General mintage for Indus districts south of Taxila	48-55.
C.	Indus mint	56-78.
D.	Satrapal (Taxila Kohistān)	79-84.
E.	Taxila-Gandhāra sub-mint Alpha (Kohāt district ?)	85-89.
F.	Hermaios-Kujūla imitation coinage	90-91.

VIII. CUKHSA-URĀŚĀ (CU) - 30 types.

A.	Mint series A (Agror-Uraśā ?)	types 1-23.
B.	Mint series B (Cukhsa ?)	24-30.

IX. SIND (SI) - 7 types.

X. PANJĀB (PA) - 26 types.

A.	Mint series A (Jhelum district ?)	types 1- 6.
B.	Mint series B (Siālkoṭ ?)	7-11.
C.	Mint series C (Eastern Panjāb ?)	12-14.
D.	Mint series D (Eastern Panjāb ?)	15.
E.	Mint series E (Upper Beās Valley ?)	16-21.
F.	Mint series F (Ludhiānā district ?)	22-26.

XI. MATHURĀ (MT) - 10 types.

** ** ** ** ** **

SAKASTĀN-ARACHOSIA

Śaka mint series Beta (Barda ?):

Previous kings: none known.

VONONES and ŚPALAHORA

1. Tetradrachms and Drachms.

BASILEŌS BASILEŌN MEGALOU ONŌNOU

Maḥarajabhrata-dhramikasa Śpalahorasa

KMS / Zeus leaning on sceptre l., thunderbolt r.;
rf. mon. 1.

BMC, 98.1 (XXI.7), 2, 3 (XXI.8); PMC, 141.372 = I.1,
372a, b; CCS, IV.1 = PMC, XV.iii.

2. AE square.

Legends as type 1 (on 3 sides).

Herakles stand facing, crowning self with wreath r.,
club and lion's skin l. /

Pallas l., wearing helmet and sword, shield and
spear l., callipers r.;
lf. mon. 1.

IMC, 41.4, 5; PMC, 141.375; BKB.

3. Drachms only.

Legends and devices as type 1;

Rev.: lf. mon. 2.

BMC, 98.4, 5; IMC, 40.1, 3; PMC, 141.373, 374
(XIV.374); CCS, IV.2; NSS.

4. AE square.

Legends and devices as type 2;

Rev.: lf. mon. 2.

BMC, XXI.9 = CCS, IV.3; IMC, 41.8; PMC,
142.376-381 (XIV.379).

HERMAIOS SOTER (pseudo)

5. Unique Drachm.

BASILEŌS SŌTĒROS ERMAIOU

Maḥarajasa tratarasa Heramayasa

Bust r. / Zeus enthroned, sceptre l. (between feet),
callipers r.;
rf. mon. 3.

BMC, 62.11 (XV.3) = CIGC, XXI.3.

SAKASTĀN-ARACHOSIA (continued)

6. Drachm.

Legends and devices as type 5;
Rev.: rf. mon. 4.

CML.

7. Tetradrachms and drachms.

Legends and devices as type 5;
Rev.: rf. mon. 5.

NC 1923, XVII.10 = NS 1910 XXXIII.13 = I.7;
IMC, 32.3, 4; BM.

SPALYRIS and SPALAGADAMA

8. AE square.

C*PALYRIO*C* DIKATIO*U ADELPHO*U TO*U BAC*ILEO*C*
Špalahoraputrasa dhramiasa Špalagadamasa

KMS in dotted frame./ Herakles seated l., club
r. resting on knee in dotted frame;
lf. mon. 6, 7 or 8.

BMC, 100.2, 1 (XXI.12) = CCS, IV.7; IMC, 41.1, 2;
PMC, 143.386-391 (XIV.386), 393 struck on round
flan, 389 = I.8; JHA.

VONONES and SPALAGADAMA

9. Tetradrachms and drachms.

BASILEOS BASILEON MEGALOU ONONOU
Špalahoraputrasa dhramiasa Špalagadamasa

Devices as types 1 and 3;
Rev.: lf. mon. 7 or 8.

CCS, IV.4, 5 = BMC, XXI.10; IMC, 42.1-3;
PMC, 142.382 (XIV.382), 384; NSS.

10. AE square.

Legends as type 9.

Devices as types 2 and 4;
Rev.: lf. mon. 8.

BMC, 99.5, 6 (XXI.11) = CCS, IV.6; PMC,
143.385 (XIV.385) = I.10.

HERMAIOS SOTER (pseudo)

11. Tetradrachms.

Legends and devices as types 5, 6 and 7;
Rev.: rf. mon. 8.

JNSI 1944, IIA.5; NMND = I.11.

SAKASTĀN-ARACHOSIA (continued)

SPALIRISES

12. Unique Drachm.

BAC*ILEŌ*C* MEGALOU P̄PALIRIC*OU
 Maharajasa mahatakasa Špaliriśasa

KMS / Zeus leaning on sceptre l., thunderbolt r.;
 lf. mon. 9.

NC 1923, XVII.14 = I.12.

13. AE square.

BAC*ILEŌ*N BAC*ILEŌ*C* MEGALO*U (P̄ or C*)PALIRIC*O*U
 Maharajasa mahatakasa Špaliriśasa

King walking l. with axe in dotted square frame./
 Zeus enthroned, sceptre l. (style as type 11);
 rf. mon. 9 or 10.

BMC, 101.1-3, 4 (XXII.2), 5 with mon. 8?;
 CCS, IV.10; IMC, 42.1-3; PMC, 144.397
 (XIV.397), 398 = I.13; NSS.

SPALIRISES and AZES I

14. AE round.

BAC*ILEŌ*C* MEGALOU P̄PALIRIC*OU
 Maharajasa mahatakasa Ayasa

King mounted r. with axe./ Strung bow and arrow;
 lf. mon. 10.

BMC, XXII.4; CCS, IV.13; PMC, XIV.396.

Saka mint series Sigma (Sigala ?):

Previous kings: none known.

VONONES and SPALAHORA

15. Unique Drachm.

Legends and devices as types 1 and 3;
 Rev.: lf. mon. 11.

IMC, 40.2.

SPALYRIS and SPALAGADAMA

16. AE square.

Legends and devices as type 8;
 Rev.: lf. mon. 11.

BMC, 100.3; IMC, 41.3; PMC, 143.392.

SAKASTĀN-ARACHOSIA (continued)

VONONES and ŠPALAGADAMA

17. Unique Drachm.

Legends and devices as type 9;

Rev.: lf. mon. 11.

PMC, 142.383 = I.17.

SPALIRISES

18. Tetradrachms (?) and Drachms.

BAC*ILEŌ*C* ADELPHOU C*PALIRIC*OU

Maharajabhrata-dhramiasa Špaliriśasa (or Špalarisasa)

Devices as types 1, 3 and 9;

Rev.: lf. mon. 11.

BMC, 100.1 (XXII.1), 2; CCS, IV.9; PMC, 143.394

(XIV.394) = I.18; SHORTT (tetradrachm).

SPALIRISES and AZES I

19. Tetradrachms and Drachms.

BAC*ILEŌ*C* MEGALOU P̄PALIRIC*OU

Maharajasa mahatakasa Ayasa

Devices as type 18;

Rev.: lf. mon. 12; rf. Kh. si.

BMC, 102, 1, 2, 3 (XXII.3), 4; CCS, IV.11

(= PMC, XV.iv), 12; JEN, I.1; PMC, 143.

395 (XIV.395) = I.19; JHA; NSS.

AZES I

20. Tetradrachm.

BASILEŌS BASILEŌN MEGALOU AZOU

Maharajasa rajarajasa mahatasa Ayasa

KMS / Zeus leaning on sceptre l., thunderbolt r.;

lf. Kh. dhra; rf. mon. 13 and Kh. sa.

JHA.

21. Tetradrachms.

Legends as type 20 except mahatasa for mahatasa.

Devices as type 20;

Rev.: lf. Kh. dhra; rf. mon. 13 andKh. da, dhra or na.JHA (5 coins) = I.21.

SAKASTĀN-ARACHOSIA (continued)

22. Tetradrachms and Drachms.

Legends and devices as type 21;

Rev.: lf. mon. 14; rf. Kh. dhra, na, ji,
vi, ra or lo.

BMC, 73.2 (XVII.9), 3, 5 (XVII.10); CCS, V.4
(= BMC, XVII.9), 4a; IMC, 43.3, 5, 6; PMC,
105.50-53; JEN, I.2; JHA; NSS.

23. AE square.

BAC*ILEOC* BAC*ILEON MEGALOU AZOU

Maharajasa rajarajasa mahatasa Ayasa (3 sides)

King mounted r. on two-humped camel, axe r.,
bow in case. /

Bull grazing r. (as though eating from manger
represented by monogram);
rf. mon. 14.

BMC, 88.178, 179, 180 (XIX.9, without monogram);
CCS, VI.2; IMC, 48.78; PMC, 128.305 (XII.305),
306, 307; JEN, I.5 = I.23; Auboyer 1968, 5.n (Berne
Museum).

24. Tetradrachms and Drachms.

Legends as types 21 and 22.

KMS; rf. Kh. dhra or sa. /
Goddess l. with lamp r., palm l.;
lf. mon. 15; rf. Kh. si.

BMC, 82.109 (XVIII.10), 110; IMC, 43.8;
PMC, 117.182, 184.

25. AE square.

BAC*ILEOC* BAC*ILEON MEGALOU AZOU

Maharajasa mahatasa Ayasa (3 sides)

KMS in dotted frame. / Herakles seated l., club
r. resting on knee in dotted frame (as types
8 and 16);
lf. mon. 15 and Kh. si.

CCS, VI.6; IMC, 49.85, 86; PMC, 124.255 (XII.255).

26. AE square.

BASILEOS BASILEON MEGALOU AZOU

Maharajasa rajarajasa mahatasa Ayasa (3 sides)

KMS; rf. Kh. sam. / Bull r.; above mon. 15 and
Kh. si.

BMC, 88.175, 176; NSS (4 coins).

SAKASTĀN-ARACHOSIA (continued)

AZILISES

27. Tetradrachms and Drachms.

BASILEŌS BASILEŌN MEGALOU AZILIC*OU

Maharajasa rajarajasa mahatasa Ayilishasa

Devices as type 24;

Obv.: rf. Kh. dhra, da or saṃ.Rev.: lf. mon. 15; rf. Kh. si.BMC, 94.10, 21; IMC, 50.5; PMC, 137.349
(2 coins), 350 (six coins); TMA, VIII.19;
JHA (3 coins); NSS.

28. Tetradrachms and Drachms.

Legends and devices as type 27;

Obv.: no mon.

Rev.: lf. mon. 15 and Kh. dhra, na, li
or sa; rf. Kh. si.BMC, 94.7 (XX.9), 20; PMC, 136-137.342 = II.28,
348; JHA; NSS (2 coins).

29. Tetradrachms and Drachms.

Legends and devices as types 27 and 28.

Obv.: above and lf. Kh. (2) ti - dhra;
ti - saṃ; jha - dhra; jha - saṃ.Rev.: lf. mon. 15; rf. Kh. si.BMC, 94.8, 22; IMC, 50.6; PMC, 137-138.343 = II.29,
344, 351 (2 coins), 352; JHA (6 coins).

30. AE square.

BAC*ILEŌC* BAC*ILEŌN MEGALOU AZILIC*OU

Maharajasa mahatasa Ayilishasa (3 sides)

Devices as type 25;

Rev.: lf. mon. 15 and Kh. si.BMC, XXI.1 = CCS, VIII.3, 3a; PMC, 138.353
(XIV.353), 354-356; NSS (2 coins).

31. AE square.

Greek legend as type 30.

Maharajasa rajarajasa mahatasa Ayilishasa (4 sides)

KMS / Bull r.; above mon. 15 and Kh. si.PMC, 139.360; NC 1950, XII.15 (small size);
NSS.

SAKASTAN-ARACHOSIA (continued)

32. AE square.

Legends as type 30.

KMS / Elephant r.; above Kh. si and mon. 15.

BMC, 95.25, 26 = CCS, VIII.2; PMC, 139.361, 362 (XIV.362).

Śaka mint series My-Rho (Mir ...?):

Previous kings: none known.

AZES I

33. Tetradrachms and Drachms.

Legends and devices as type 24;

Rev.: lf. mon. 16 and Kh. dhra or da;
rf. Kh. mi.

CCS, V.8, 8a; PMC, 117.179 (XI.179) = II.33, 180, 181, 183 (XI.183); ANS, MN 1957, XV.10; JEN, I.3; JHA (4 coins).

AZES I and AZILISES

34. Unique Tetradrachm.

BASILEŪS BASILEŪN MEGALOU AZOU

Maharajasa rajarajasa mahatasa Ayilishasa

Devices as type 33;

Rev.: lf. mon. 16 and Kh. dhra;
rf. Kh. mi.

PMC, 132.319 (XIII.319) = II.34.

AZILISES

35. Tetradrachms and Drachms.

Legends and devices as types 27-29;

Rev.: lf. mon. 16 and Kh. dhra or da;
rf. Kh. mi.

IMC, 49.3; PMC, 136.337, 338, 346; JEN, I.4.

36. AE square.

Legends as type 31.

KMS / Bull l.; above mon. 16 and Kh. mi.

BMC, 96.31; IMC, 50.7, 8; PMC, 139.359; JEN, I.6; NSS.

SAKASTĀN-ARACHOSIA (continued)

37. Tetradrachms and Drachms.

Legends and devices as types 27-29 and 35;

Rev.: lf. mon. 17; rf. Kh. sa, sam, dhra,
da, shi, na, li, im or a.

BMC, 94.15 (XX.11), 16-19; IMC, 49.4; PMC,
136.345; CCS, VII.4a (= BMC, XX.11); JNSI
1944, IIA.7; JHA (8 coins); NSS.

38. AE square.

Legends as type 36.

KMS / Bull r.; above mon. 17 and Kh. mi (?).

BMC, 95.30; NSS.

Śaka mint series Delta (Dri...?):

Previous kings: none known.

AZES I

39. Drachms.

Legends and devices as types 24 and 33;

Rev.: lf. mon. 18 and Kh. bha; rf. Kh. dhra.

BMC, 82.111 (XVIII.11); JHA.

AZES I and AZILISES

40. Unique Tetradrachm.

Legends and devices as type 34;

Rev.: lf. mon. 18; rf. Kh. sa.

BMC, XXXII.9 = CCS, VII.A1.

AZILISES

41. Tetradrachm and Drachms.

Legends and devices as types 27-29, 35 and 37;

Rev.: lf. mon. 18 and Kh. bha, dhra, da,
na, lo or sa; rf. Kh. sam.

BMC, 94.12-14; PMC, 136.339 (XIII.339) = II.41; JNSI
1944, IIA.6; JHA (7 coins); NSS (2 coins).

42. Unique Tetradrachm.

Legends and devices as type 27;

Rev.: lf. Kh. dhra; rf. Kh. da.

CCS, VII.4.

SAKASTĀN-ARACHOSIA (continued)

Pahlava mint series in Sakastān:

Previous kings: Azilises (see above), Phraates IV.

SANABARES

43. Attic Drachm.

Phl.: SA

BAC*ILEO*NTO*C* remainder corrupt

Bust l. with chignon hair style. /

King enthroned r. with bow; rf. mon. 19.

EW 1957, IV.9.

44. Attic Drachm.

Phl.: SA

BAC*ILEUC* MEGAC* C*ANABAROU

Bust l. in tiara. / Device as type 43;

rf. mon. 19; above Greek letters for
dates 310 or 313, often blundered.

EW 1957, IV.11-14, 15 = BMC, XXIII.10 = CCS,

X.14 = PMC, XVII.i; BM cast = II.44.

45. Attic Drachm.

Phl.: S'NBR' MLK'N MLK' (?)

BAC*ILEO*NTO*C* BAC*ILE remainder corrupt

Devices as type 44;

Rev.: rf. mon. 19.

EW 1957, IV.10 = II.45.

ORTHAGNES

46. Attic Drachms.

Rev.: BAC*ILEUC* BAC*ILEO*N MEGAC* O*RTHAGNEC*

Bust l. in tiara. / King enthroned r. with bow,
crowned by Nike from behind.

EW 1957, IV.3 (= NC 1950, p.226), 4, 5 (= MacDowell
1965, XII.13); BM cast = II.46.

GONDOPHARES AUTOKRATOR

47. Attic Drachms.

Rev.: BAC*ILEUC* BAC*ILEO*N MEGAC* YNDO*PHERE(C*)
AUTO*KRAT(O*R)

Bust l. diademed. / Device as type 46.

EW 1957, IV.6 = II.47; BMC, XXXII.10 = CCS, X.1.

SAKASTĀN-ARACHOSIA (continued)

SORPEDONOS or ABDAGASES as satrap (?)

48. Attic Drachms.

Rev.: Corrupt Greek legend; ...(EIPPH)ANOUC*...?

Radiate (?) bust l. in tiara; Gondopharid symbol
(mon. 20) behind. / Device as type 47.EW 1957, IV.1 = II.48, 2.

ABDAGASES

49. Unique Attic Drachm.

Phl.: VA

BAC*ILEŌ*C* BAC*ILEŌ*N MEGALO*U ABDAGAC*O*U
EPIPHANO*UC* DIKAIO*UBust l. with chignon hair style. /
King enthroned r. with bow; mon. 19.EW 1957, IV.7 = PDK, V.7 (p. 144) = II.49.

PAKORES

50. Unique Attic Drachm.

Remnants of Phl. legend.

BAC*ILELELE BAC*IIBAN MEGAC* ??? PKARIC*I

Bust l. with chignon hair style. /
Device as type 49; mon. 19.EW 1957, IV.8 = II.50.

Later kings: Volagases I.

Pahlava mint series in Arachosia:

Previous kings: Azilises (see above), Phraates IV.

Group A - Greek legend in genitive case

SANABARES

51. AE round (plated ?), unique.

Obv.: BACILEUC (BACILEŌN)

Rev.: (MEGALOU) C*ANABAROU

Bust l. in tiara. / Winged Nike r. with wreath.

BMC, XXIII.12 = CCS, X.15 = PMC, XVII.ii =
MacDowall 1965, XII.8 = III.51.

SAKASTĀN-ARACHOSIA (continued)

ORTHAGNES and GUDANA

52. AE round.

BACILEŌ*N MEGALOU ORTHAGNOU

Maharajasa (rajatiraja)sa mahatasa Gudrenasa

Bust l. with chignon hair style. /

Device as type 51; lf. Kh. mi, rf. Kh. ma.CCS, X.13; IMC, 57.3; PMC, 156.75; BM = III.52.

SORPEDONOS

53. AE round (unique).

(BACILEŌ*N MEG)ALOU CORPEDONOU

...tratarasa...

Bust l. with chignon hair style. /

Device as type 51; lf. Kh. spa or ka,
rf. Kh. ma twice (mam ?).MacDowall 1965, XII.7 = III.53.

ABDAGASES

54. AE round (unique).

BACIL(EŌ*N MEGALOU ABDAGA)COU

Maharajasa rajatirajasa mahata)sa Avadagasha(sa)

Bust l. / Winged Nike r. with wreath.

IMC, 57.1a = III.54.Group B - Greek legend in nominative case

ORTHAGNES and GONDOPHARES and GUDANA

55. AE round (plated ?).

BACILEUC BACILEŌ*N MEGAC ORTHAGNEC

Maharajasa rajatirajasa mahatasa Guduvharasa
Gudana

Bust l. with chignon hair style. /

Winged Nike r. with wreath and palm branch;
lf. Kh. ti, rf. Kh. go.

BMC, 109.1 (XXIII.9), 2; PMC, 156.74.

56. AE round.

Legends and devices as type 55;

Rev.: lf. Kh. mra or ma, rf. Kh. go.

CCS, X.12; IMC, 57.1 (catalogue description

as Abdagases incorrect); PMC, 156.72 (XVI.72),

73 (?); MacDowall 1965, XII.4 = III.56; KHALIA (3 coins);

BM.

SAKASTĀN-ARACHOSIA (continued)

57. AE round.

Legends and devices as types 55 and 56;
Rev.: lf. Kh. jham, rf. Kh. ma.

IMC, 57.1; MacDowall 1965, XII.3.

GONDOPHARES and GUDANA

58. AE round.

BAS(or C*)ILEUS(C*) BAS(C*)ILEŌ*N
MEGAS(C*) INDUPHERRES(C*)
Maharajasa Gadana-nisadasa hinasa-vanidasa
jadari-durehasa

Bust 1. / Nike as types 55-57; lf. Kh. ma.

CCS, X.3 = MacDowall 1965, XII.6 = III.58. PMC, 152.58,
59 (XV.59); NC 1940, VIII.10; NC 1950, XII.13; BM (3 coins).

GONDOPHARES (or ABDAGASES as nephew ?)

59. AE round (unique).

BAC*ILEUC* BAC*ILEŌ*N (MEGAC* ??)
...sa rajatirajasa Guduvha...

Bust 1. with chignon hair style. /
Nike as types 55-58; mon. indistinct.

BKB = III.59.

PAKORES

60. AE round.

BACILEUC BACILEŌ*N MEGAC PAKOREC
Maharajasa rajatirajasa mahatasa Pakurasa

Bust 1. with chignon hair style, without star
(see type 61). /

Nike as types 55-59; lf. Kh. ga or gu,
rf. Kh. pa or pu.

PMC, 157.77-79, 81; BM.

61. AE round.

Legends and devices as type 60;

Obv.: star behind bust.

Rev.: lf. Kh. to or ro, rf. Kh. pu.

BMC, 110.1 (XXIII.8) = III.61, 2; CCS, XI.13; PMC, 156.
76 (XVI.76); MacDowall 1965, XII.5; BM (4 coins).

Group C - Pahlavi legend

SATAVASTRA (?)

62. AE round.

Illegible Pahlavi or Greek legend.
...mahatasa...?

Bust l. with long hair. / Nike as types 55-61.

EW 1957, II.5 = III.62.

PHRAATES/PRAHATA

63. AE round.

Phl.: PR'T (MLK'N) MLK'
Mahajasa...Prahatasa

Bust l. in tiara. / Nike as types 55-62.

EW 1957, II.6, 7 = MacDowall 1965, XII.9, 10 =
JNSI 1968, II.1, 3 (respectively); NS 1910,
XXXIV.21 = EW 1957, II.6 = III.63.

(UNDECIPHERED SPECIMENS)

64. AE round.

Fragmentary legends.

Devices similar to types 61 or 63.

BM (6 coins including EW 1957, II.8, and
JNSI 1968, II.2).

MARGIANA-AREIA

Genuine and imitation Arsakid drachms countermarked for circulation
in Arsakid-Scythian borderlands:

ARSAKES (?) AUTOKRATOR PHILOPATOR c/m by OTANNES

1. Drachms.

Rev.: BASILEŌS MEGALOU ARSAKOU AUTOKRATOROS
PHILOPATOROS EPIPHANOUS PHILELLĒNOS

Bust l. in tiara decorated with star (or rosette ?),

c/m: bust l., legend OTANNĒC. /

King enthroned r. with bow.

EW 1958, I.2.

PHRAATES III c/m by OTANNES

2. Drachms.

Rev.: BASILEŌS MEGALOU ARSAKOU EUERGETOU
EPIPHANOUS PHILELLĒNOS

Bust l. in tiara decorated with horn and stag
antlers (?);

c/m: bust r., legend OTANNĒC. /

Device as type 1; rf. mon. 21.

EW 1958, I.3, 4 = BMC Parthia, XI.4 (= IV.2), 5 (respectively).

SINATRUKES (?) THEOPATOR NIKATOR

3. Imitation Drachms.

Rev.: BASILEŌS MEGALOU ARSAKOU THEOPATOROS
NIKATOROS

Bust l. in tiara decorated with horn and stag
antlers (?);

c/m: bust r.

Devices as types 1 and 2; no mon.

EW 1958, I.5.

ORODES II

4. Imitation Drachms.

Rev.: BASILEŌS BASILEŌN ARSAKOU PHILOPATOROS
DIKAIΟΥ EPIPHANOUS PHILELLĒNOS (blundered)

Bust l. diademed; c/m: helmed bust r. /

King enthroned r. with bow; rf. mon. 22.

EW 1958, I.6. Prototype: BMC Parthia, XIV.4.

MARGIANA-AREIA (continued)

PHRAATES IV

5. Imitation Drachms.

Rev.: BASILEŌS BASILEŌN ARSAKOU EUERGETOU
DIKAIΟΥ EPIPHANOUS PHILELLĒNOS (blundered)

Bust l. diademed, crowned by eagle with wreath
from behind;

c/m: helmed bust r. in border of dots. /

Device as type 4; rf. mon. 23.

EW 1958, I.8, 9, 13 (= BMC Parthia, XXI.4, 5, 6
respectively), 7, 10, 11, 12, 14, 15; IV.5 = BMC Parthia,
XXI, 4 and 5.

Arsakid and Pahlava mint series in Margiana-Areia:

PHRAATAKES

6. AE round (debased drachm), possibly imitation.

Rev.: BAC*ILEŌC* BAC*ILEŌN ARC*AKO*U EUERGETO*U
DIKAIŌ*U EPIPHANO*UC* PHILELLĒNO*C* (blundered)

Bust l. diademed, Nike flying to crown king on each
side of head. /

King enthroned r. with bow; rf. mon. 23.

BMC Parthia, XXIII.13 = IV.6.

SANABARES

7. AE round.

Rev.: BAC*ILE C*ANABAREC*

Bust l.; dotted border. / Device as type 6;
rf. mon. 23.

BMC, XXIII.11 = EW 1957, IV.16; BM = IV.7.

SANABARES or ORTHAGNES (?)

8. AE round.

Legend fragmentary.

Bust l. (style different from type 7); dotted
border. / Device as type 6; rf. mon. 23.

EW 1957, IV.17 = IV.8.

9. AE round.

Legend fragmentary.

Bust l. (style different from types 7 and 8);
dotted border. / Device as types 6-8;
rf. mon. 22 over 23.

EW 1957, IV.18; BM = IV.9.

MARGIANA-AREIA (continued)

ARTABANOS III (?)

10. AE round.

Legend fragmentary.

Bust l. diademed; lf. crescent and star;
dotted border. / Device as types 6-9.
rf. mon. 23.

BMC Parthia, 167.55 (XXVII.7 = IV.10), 56.

VARDANES I or GOTARZES II (?)

11. AE round.

Legend fragmentary.

Bust l. diademed. / Device as types 6-10;
rf. mon. 23.

BMC = IV.11.

GONDOPHARES

12. AE round.

Rev.: Phl. VINDF'R

Bust l. diademed. / Device as types 6-11;
rf. mon. 23 (below) and 20 (above).

EW 1957, II.4 = IV.24 = IV.12 (with legend),
IV.25-28.

ABDAGASES (?)

13. AE round.

Rev.: Phl. legend fragment.

Bust l. diademed; dotted border. /
Device as types 6-12; lf. mon. 20, (rf. mon. 23 ?).

EW 1957, IV.20 = IV.13.

VOLAGASES I

14. AE round.

Legend indistinct.

Bust l. diademed; dotted border. /
Device as types 6-13; lf. mon. 24, rf. mon. 23.

EW 1957, IV.21 = IV.14, 22.

PAKTYIKA

Early series (Gardez ?):

Previous kings (bilingual Indo-Greek coins):

Apollodotos I Soter, Lysias Aniketos,
Antialkidas Nikephoros, Menander Soter,
Epander Nikephoros, Heliokles Dikaios, Strato
Epiphanes Soter, Polyxenos Epiphanes Soter,
Philoxenos Aniketos.

ARCHEBIOS DIKAIOS NIKEPHOROS

1. Tetradrachm.

BASILEŌS DIKAIΟΥ NIKEPHOROU ARCHEBIOU
Maḥarajasa dhramikasa jayadharasa Arkhebiyasa

Bust r. diademed. / Zeus facing, sceptre
transverse l., hurl thunderbolt r.;
rf. mon. 25.

Bivar 1965, VIII.4.

2. Drachms only.

Legends as type 1.

Bust r. diademed; or bust l. thrusting javelin. /
Device as type 1; lf. mon. 25, rf. mon. 45.

BMC, IX.5; PMC, 38.227-229 (IV.228, 229).

3. Tetradrachms and drachms.

Legends as type 1.

Bust r. diademed or helmed. /
Devince as types 1 and 2; rf. mon. 26.

BMC, IX.2, 3; PMC, 38.225, 226 (IV.226); CML;
SNG, X.328-330; Bivar 1965, VIII.5, 6; TMA, VIII.6 = IV.3.

VONONES AND SPALAHORA

4. Tetradrachm.

BASILEŌS BASILEŌN MEGALOU ONŌNOU
Maḥarajabhrata-dhramikasa Spalahorasa

KMS / Zeus leaning on sceptre l., thunderbolt r.;
rf. mon. 27.

BM = IV.4.

PAKTYIKA (continued)

Later series (Gardez ?):

Previous kings: Pseudo-Hermaios, Azes I.

EUKRATIDES (Pseudo-Hermaios)

5. Imitation AE square.

BASILEŌS MEGALOU EUKRATIDOU
Maharajasa Evukratidasa

Bust r. helmed. / Dioskouroi mounted r.;
rf. mon. 28.

SNG, IX.281 = IV.5.

AZILISES

6. Tetradrachms and Drachms.

BASILEŌS BASILEŌN MEGALOU AZILIC*OU
Maharajasa rajarajasa mahatasa Ayilishasa

KMS; above and lf. Kh. (2) ? - sa; pa - ma. /
Goddess (Nike ?) l., wreath r., palm branch l.;
lf. mon. 28.

ArAnt, VIII.6; BKB = IV.6; TMA, 87.10-15 (?).

NAGARAHARA

Previous kings (bilingual Indo-Greek coins):

Menander Dikaios, Amyntas Nikator, Heliokles
Dikaios, Strato Soter Dikaios, Strato
Epiphanes Soter, Polyxenos Epiphanes Soter,
Diomedes Soter, Philoxenos Aniketos.

HERMAIOS SOTER

1. Tetradrachms and Drachms.

BASILEŌS SŌTĒROS ERMAIOU

Maharajasa tratarasa Heramayasa

Bust r. diademed or helmed. / Zeus enthroned,
sceptre l., callipers r., feet on footstool;
lf. mon. 29.

BMC, XV.5 = CIGC, XXI.8; IMC, 32.1; PMC, 82.654;
JHA; NSS.

2. Unique Tetradrachm.

Legends as type 1.

King mounted on prancing horse r. /
Device as type 1; rf. mon. 29.

NC 1940, VIII.5 = CIGC XXI.9.

HERMAIOS SOTER and KALLIOPE

3. Tetradrachms and Drachms.

BASILEŌS SŌTĒROS ERMAIOU KAI KALLIOPEŌS

Maharajasa tratarasa Heramayasa Kaliyapaya

Conjugate diademed busts r. /
King mounted on prancing horse r.; rf. mon. 29.

BMC, XV.9, 10; PMC, 86.693-698 (IX.693); IMC, 31.1, 2
(VI.11); NC 1923, XVII.7 = V.3; SNG, XI.368;
TMA, VIII.9; HPP; NSS; SML.

ARCHEBIOS DIKAIOS NIKEPHOROS

4. Attic Tetradrachms.

Rev.: BASILEŌS DIKAIΟΥ NIKEPHOROU ARCHEBIOU

Bust l. helmed thrusting javelin. /
Zeus facing, sceptre transverse l., thunderbolt
r., lf. mon. 29.

TMQ, LIII.624 = V.4, 625 = JNSI 1955, VIII.3;
Jenkins 1968, I.4.

NAGARAHĀRA (continued)

5. Tetradrachms.

BASILEŌS DIKAIΟΥ NIKĒPHOROU ARCHEBIOU

Maharajasa dhramikasa jayadharasa Arkhebiyasa

Devices as type 4;

Rev.: lf. mon. 29.

BMC, 32.4 (IX.4) = CIGC, X.2.

6. Tetradrachms.

Legends as type 5.

Bust r. diademed or helmed. /

Device as types 4 and 5.

lf. mon. 29, rf. mon. 46.

NC 1923, 323. 14, 15 (XIV.13 = V.6) = CIGC, IX.5; CML.

7. AE square.

Legends as type 5 (3 sides).

Bust of Zeus r., sceptre on l. shoulder. /

Palm branches flanked by piloi; below mon. 29.

TAX, 237.78.

PEUKOLAOS DIKAIOS SOTER

8. Tetradrachms.

BASILEŌS DIKAIΟΥ KAI SŌTĒROS PEUKOLAOU

Maharajasa dhramikasa tratarasa Peukulaasa

Bust r. diademed. / Zeus l., sceptre transverse l.,

callipers r.; lf. mon. 29, rf. mon. 46.

NC 1923, XV.4 = CIGC, XXVII.12; CML = V.8.

PAROPAMISADAI-KAPISENE

Paropamisadai mint series A (Kabul ?):

Previous kings (bilingual Indo-Greek coins):

Menander Soter.

Early series

HERMAIOS SOTER

1. Attic Tetradrachm.

Rev.: BASILEŌS SŌTĒROS ERMAIOU

Bust l. diademed. / Zeus enthroned, sceptre l.
(between feet), callipers r.;
lf. mon. 30.

TMQ, LIII.627 = V.1.

2. Tetradrachms and Drachms.

BASILEŌS SŌTĒROS ERMAIOU

Maharajasa tratarasa Heramayasa

Devices as type 1; rev.: rf. mon. 31.

BMC, XV.1 = CIGC, XXI.2 = V.2; PMC, 82.652, 653;
SNG, XI.361; JHA.

HERMAIOS SOTER (pseudo)

3. Tetradrachm.

Legends as type 2 except maharajasa for maharajasa.

Devices as type 1; rev.: rf. mon. 32.

SNG, XI.360 = V.3.

4. Drachms only.

Legends as type 2 (with maharajasa).

Devices as type 1; rev.: rf. mon. 33.

BMC, 62.10, 12.

APOLLODOTOS I SOTER (Pseudo-Hermaios)

5. Imitation AE square.

BASILEŌS APOLLODOTOU SŌTĒROS

Maharajasa Apaladatasa tratarasa

Apollo facing, bow l., arrow r. /
Tripod on stand in frame of dots; lf. mon. 34.

BMC, 36.31 (IX.12) = CIGC, VII.8.

PAROPAMISADAI-KAPISENE (continued)

Later Series

HERMAIOS SOTER (pseudo)

6. Drachms only.

BASILEŌS SŌTEROS ERMAIOU

Maharajasa tratarasa Heramayasa

Devices as type 1;

Rev.: rf. mon. 35.

BMC, 62.7, 8.

7. Drachms only.

Legends and devices as type 1;

Rev.: rf. mon. 36.

BMC, 63.14; PMC, 83.658.

8. Tetradrachms and Drachms.

Legends and devices as type 1;

Rev.: rf. mon. 37.

PMC, 82-83.648 = V.8, 661; IMC, 32.7 (?).Kapisene mint series B (Kāpisa district - Ophiane (?) and Mitraias (?)):

Previous kings (bilingual Indo-Greek coins with mon. 38): Antimachos Nikephoros, Lysias Aniketos, Antialkidas Nikephoros, Menander Soter, Zoilos Dikaioi, Strato Soter, Nikias Soter, Theophilos Dikaioi, Diomedes Soter, Philoxenos Aniketos;

(bilingual Indo-Greek coins with mon. 39):

Menander Soter, Strato Soter, Heliokles

Dikaioi, Diomedes Soter, Philoxenos Aniketos.

HERMAIOS SOTER

9. Drachms only.

BASILEŌS SŌTEROS ERMAIOU

Maharajasa tratarasa Heramayasa

Bust r. diademed (straight). /

Zeus enthroned (feet together), sceptre l.,
callipers r.; rf. mon. 38.

PMC, IX.657; NSS (2 coins).

PAROPAMISADAI-KAPISENE (continued)

10. AE square.

Legends as type 9.

Radiate bust of Zeus r. / Horse r.;
below mon. 38.

BMC, 66.51 = VI.10, 52; SNG, XI.367.

11. Tetradrachms and Drachms.

Legends as type 9.

Bust r. diademed (looped on tetradrachms,
straight on drachms). /
Device as type 9; rf. mon. 39.

IMC, 32.2 (VI.12) = VI.11, PMC, 83.656; SML; JHA.

12. AE square.

Legends and devices as type 10;
Rev.: below mon. 39.

BMC, 66.53 = VI.12, 54, 55 (XV 8); IMC, VI.15;
PMC, IX.679 = CIGC, XXI.12.

HERMAIOS SOTER (pseudo)

13. Tetradrachms and Drachms.

Legends as type 9.

Bust r. diademed (looped). /
Device as type 9; rf. mon. 40; below Kh. a.

BMC, 62.4 (XV.2) = VI.13; IMC, 32.3; HPP.

EUKRATIDES (Pseudo-Hermaios)

14. Imitation AE round.

Rev.: BASILEŌS MEGALOU EUKRATIDOU

Bust r. helmed. / Dioskouroi mounted r.;
rf. mon. 40.

BMC, 16.31, 32 = VI.14.

15. Imitation AE square.

BASILEŌS MEGALOU EUKRATIDOU
Maharajasa Evukratidasa

Devices as type 14; rf. mon. 40.

BMC, 17.41, 42 = VI.15, 43; PMC, 24.118; NS 1929,
V.2 = CIGC, XXXIV.10 = NSS.

PAROPAMISADAI-KAPISENE (continued)

HERMAIOS SOTER (pseudo)

16. Drachms only (Tetradrachms = type 3).

Legends as type 9.

Bust r. diademed (straight). /

Device as type 9; rf. mon. 32.

BMC, 63.13 = VI.16.

EUKRATIDES (Pseudo-Hermaios)

17. Imitation AE round.

Legend and devices as type 14;

Rev.; rf. mon. 32.

BMC, VI.1 (= VI.17), 2 = CIGC, XVI.7, 8
(respectively); PMC, III.86.

APOLLODOTOS I SOTER (Pseudo-Hermaios)

18. Imitation AE square.

BASILEŌS APOLLODOU SŌTEROS (often blundered)

Maharajasa Apaladatasa tratarasa

Apollo facing, bow l., arrow r. /

Tripod on stand in dotted frame;

rf. or lf. mon. 32.

BMC, 36.32-37 (36 = VI.18).

HERMAIOS SOTER (pseudo)

19. Tetradrachms and Drachms.

Legends and devices as type 16;

rf. mon. 41; below Kh. sa.

BMC, 62.3 = VI.19; IMC, 32.6; PMC, IX.649; SML; NSS.

EUKRATIDES (Pseudo-Hermaios)

20. Imitation AE round.

Legend and devices as types 14 and 17;

Rev.: rf. mon. 41.

BMC, 16.31 (catalogue mon. identification incorrect)
= VI.20.

21. Imitation AE square.

Rev.: legend as types 14, 17 and 20.

Bust l. helmed thrusting javelin. /

Dioskouroi mounted r.; rf. mon. 41.

NC 1869, 224.17 = CIGC, 125.13.

PAROPAMISADAI-KAPISENE (continued)

22. Imitation AE square.

BASILEŌS MEGALOU EUKRATIDOU
Kaviṣiye nagara devata

Bust r. helmed. / City goddess of Kāpiśa enthroned
(feet together), with mural crown, palm branch l.,
callipers r.; lf. elephant facing, rf. conical
shape (mountain ?), and mon. 41.

JRAS 1905, VI.1 = NC 1923, XIV.5 = NC 1947,
30. fig. 1 = NC 1950, XII.1 = CIGC, XVII.2;
MBC, VI.8; PMC, III.131.

HERMAIOS SOTER (pseudo)

23. Drachms only.

Legends and devices as types 16 and 19;
Rev.: rf. mon. 42.

BMC, 6.5 = VI.23, 6.

EUKRATIDES (Pseudo-Hermaios)

24. Imitation AE round.

Legend and devices as types 14, 17 and 20;
Rev.; rf. mon. 42.

BMC, 16.33 = VI.24; SNG, IX.277.

APOLLODOTOS I SOTER (Pseudo-Hermaios)

25. Imitation AE square.

Legends and devices as type 18;
Rev.; rf. mon. 42.

BMC, 36.38 = VI.25.

HERMAIOS SOTER (pseudo)

26. Drachms only.

Legends as type 9 except maharajasa for maharajasa.

Devices as type 16;
Rev.: lf. mon. 43, rf. mon. 44.

BMC, 63.16, 17; NSS.

GANDHĀRA

Alpha mint (Artoarta ?):

Previous kings (bilingual Indo-Greek coins with mon.46):
 Strato Soter Dikaïos, Heliokles Dikaïos.

ARCHEBIOS DIKAIOS NIKEPHOROS

1. Tetradrachms only.

BASILEŌS DIKAIΟΥ NIKĒPHOROU ARCHEBIOU
 Maharajasa dhramikasa jayadharasa Arkhebiyasa

Bust r. diademed or helmed. / Zeus facing,
 aegis on l. arm, hurl thunderbolt r.;
 lf. mon. 46.

NC 1923, XIV.11, 12 = CIGC, IX.11, 9 (respectively);
 CIGC, 101.2a; CML = VII.1.

2. Tetradrachm.

Legends as type 1 except maharajasa.

Bust l. helmed thrusting javelin. /
 Zeus facing, sceptre l. transverse, hurl
 thunderbolt r.; rf. mon. 46, lf. traces
 of erased mon. 29 (compare type NH 6).

NC 1923, XV.2 = CIGC, X.3.

3. AE square.

Legends as type 2 (3 sides).

Bust of Zeus r., sceptre on l. shoulder. /
 Palm branches flanked by piloi; below mon. 46.

SML.

PEUKOLAOS DIKAIOS SOTER

NH 8. Tetradrachms with monograms 29 and 46.

4. AE square.

BASILEŌS DIKAIΟΥ KAI SŌTĒROS PEUKOLAOU
 Maharajasa dhramikasa tratarasa Peukulaasa

Artemis facing drawing arrow r. /
 Tyche l., mural crown, palm branch l., lotus r.;
 lf. mon. 47.

NC 1923, XV.3 = NC 1950, XII.8 = CIGC, XXVII.13 = VII.4;
 PMC, VIII.642.

GANDHĀRA (continued)

EUKRATIDES (Pseudo-Hermaios)

5. Imitation AE square.

BASILEŌS MEGALOU EUKRATIDOU

Maharajasa Evukratidasa

Bust r. helmed. / Dioskouroi mounted r.;
rf. mon. 48.SNG, IX.280 = VII.5.

ARTEMIDOROS ANIKETOS

6. Tetradrachms and Drachms.

BASILEŌS ANIKĒTOU ARTEMIDŌROU

Maharajasa apadihatasa Atrimitorasa

Bust r. diademed (looped). /

Winged Nike r., palm branch l., wreath r.;
lf. (tetradrachms) or rf. (drachms) mon. 48.BMC, XXXII.5; PMC, 69.553 (VII.553 = CIGC, XI.2),
554; NC 1923, XVII.2 = VII.6.

MAUES

7. AE round.

BASILEŌS BASILEŌN MEGALOU MAUOU

Rajatirajasa mahatasa Moasa

Artemis running r., radiate, veil floating
around head. /

Bull l.; lf. mon. 50.

BMC, 69.5 (XVI.4 = CCS, II.8), 6; IMC, 39.7-10;
PMC, 99.10 (X.10).

8. AE square.

Legends as type 7 except mahatasa.Poseidon facing, trident l., r. foot on shoulder
of prostrate deity (river god ?). /Goddess (Yakshī ?) facing between vines;
rf. mon. 50.

CCS, III.22; NSS.

HERMAIOS SOTER (pseudo)

9. Tetradrachms and Drachms.

BASILEŌS SŌTEROS ERMAIOU

Maharajasa tratarasa Heramayasa

Bust r. diademed (straight). /

Zeus enthroned (feet together), sceptre l.,
callipers r.; rf. mon. 51.BMC, 62.2 = VII.9, 9; HPP (4 coins).

GANDHĀRA (continued)

EUKRATIDES (Pseudo-Hermaios)

10. Imitation AE square.

BASILEŌS MEGALOU EUKRATIDOU

Maharajasa rajatirajasa Evukratidasa

Bust r. helmed. / Winged Nike l. with palm
branch and wreath; lf. mon. 51.BMC, 18.58 = VII.10, 59 (VI.6 = ArAnt, XXI.6), 60,
XXX.12 = NC 1869, VI.4 = CIGC, XVII.4, 5.

HERMAIOS SOTER (pseudo)

11. Tetradrachms only.

BASILEŌS SŌTERO*S ERMAIO*U

Maharajasa tratarasa Heramayasa

Bust r. diademed (looped). /
Device as type 9; lf. mon. 52;
rf. Kh. ga, ma or da.BMC, 63.21 = VII.11; PMC, 82.650; CML.

11a. var.: mon. 53.

JEN, IV.11; IM.

EUKRATIDES (Pseudo-Hermaios)

12. Imitation AE square.

BASILEŌS MEGALOU EUKRATIDOU

Maharajasa Evukratidasa

Bust r. helmed. / Dioskouroi mounted r.;
rf. mon. 52.BMC, 17.44 = VII.12.

HIPPOSTRATOS SOTER.

13. Tetradrachms and Drachms.

BASILEŌS SŌTERO*S IPPO*STRATO*U

Maharajasa tratarasa Hipustratasa

Bust r. diademed (straight). /
Goddess l., cornucopia l., callipers r.;
lf. mon. 56; rf. Kh. a.BMC, 59.2 (XIV.1); PMC, 74.604-609 (VIII.606,
609 = CIGC, XXII.4), 607 = VII.13; JEN, II.1;
SNG, XI.357; SML; JHA.

GANDHĀRA (continued)

14. AE square.

Legends as type 13 except round omikrons.

Triton with rudder l. and dolphin r. /
City goddess l., mural crown, palm branch l.,
callipers r.; lf. mon. 56; rf. Kh. a.

BMC, 60.11-13 (XIV.6) = CIGC, XXII.7); PMC,
VIII.631; NC 1950, XII.4.

15. AE square.

Legends as type 14.

Apollo r. with arrow. / Tripod;
lf. mon. 56; rf. Kh. a.

BMC, 60.14 (XIV.7 = CIGC, XXII.6); PMC, 76.
622-627 (VIII.627); HPP (3 coins).

AZES I

16. Tetradrachms and Drachms.

BASILEŌS BASILEŌN MEGALO*U AZO*U
Maharajasa rajarajasa mahatasa Ayasa

KMS; ex. Kh. sa, ba or none. /
Zeus facing, leaning on sceptre l., thunderbolt r.;
lf. mon. 56; rf. Kh. a.

BMC, 73.4; IMC, 43.4; PMC, 104.41-49 (XI.46, 47);
JEN, II.2.

17. AE square.

BASILEŌS BASILEŌN MEGALOU AZOU (4 sides)
Maharajasa rajarajasa mahatasa Ayasa (3 sides)

KMS / Bull r.; above mon. 56 and Kh. a.

IMC, 48.79; PMC, 129.302, 303; BKB = VII.17; NSS.

18. Tetradrachms and Drachms.

Legends as type 16.

KMS; ex. Kh. sa, ga or mi. /
Zeus facing, sceptre l. transverse, hurl
thunderbolt r.; lf. mon. 57; rf. Kh. a.

BMC, 73.6 (XVII.11 = CCS, V.3a), 7; CCS, V.3; PMC,
104.37-40 (XI.38, 40), 38 = VII.18; JHA (2 coins).

19. AE round (extra large).

Legends as type 16.

KMS / Bull r.; above mon. 57 and Kh. a.

CCS, 145.3a.

GANDHARA (continued)

20. Tetradrachms only.

Legends as types 16, 18 and 19; some coins with mahatasa.

KMS; ex. Kh. da, pri or so. /

Athena Alkidemos l., aegis on l. arm, hurl thunderbolt r.; lf. mon. 56; rf. Kh. a.

BMC, 78.57 (plated); PMC, 112-113.127-133 (XI.127 = VII.20); IMC, 43.7; JEN, II.3; NSS; JHA.

21. AE round.

Legends as type 16.

KMS / Bull r.; above Kh. a and mon. 56.

PMC, XII.304; NSS.

22. Tetradrachms and Drachms.

Legends as type 16 except with mahatasa.

KMS; rf. Kh. ga, da or pri. /

Device as type 20; lf. mon. 56; rf. Kh. a.

BMC, 78.56, 68, 69 (XVIII.2); IMC, 44.15, 16; PMC, 113.134, 135, 138, 139.

23. AE square.

BASILEŌS BASILEŌN MEGALO*U AZO*U (4 sides)

Maharajasa rajarajasa mahatasa Ayasa (4 sides)

KMS / Bull r.; above mon. 56 and Kh. a.

BMC, 88.170; CCS, VI.3; PMC, 128.290, 291 = VII.23.

AZILISES

24. Tetradrachms and Drachms.

BASILEŌS BASILEŌN MEGALO*U AZILISO*U

Maharajasa rajarajasa mahatasa Ayilishasa

KMS / Athena Alkidemos l.; lf. mon. 56, rf. Kh. a.

CCS, VII.B1 (= JEN, II.4), 1a; IMC, 49.1, 2;

PMC, 135.331 (XIII.331 = VIII.24).

25. AE square.

Legends as type 24; both on four sides.

KMS / Bull r.; above mon. 56 and Kh. a.

BMC, 95.28, 29 = VIII.25; AP II, chart 2.432 (not Azes).

GANDHĀRA (continued)

AZILISES and AZES II

26. Tetradrachm.

BASILEŌS BASILEŌN MEGALO*U AZILISO*U
 Maharajasa rajarajasa mahatasa Ayasa

Devices as type 24;

Obv.: rf. Kh. ga;

Rev.: lf. mon. 56, rf. Kh. a.

CCS, VII.A2.

AZES II

27. Tetradrachms and Drachms.

BASILEŌS BASILEŌN MEGALO*U AZO*U
 Maharajasa rajarajasa mahatasa Ayasa

KMW; rf. Kh. ga or so. /

Pallas l., aegis on l. arm, callipers r.;

lf. Kh. a, rf. mon. 56.

PMC, 114.146, 148 (XI.148 = VIII.27); JEN, II.5;
 NSS (2 coins).

28. AE round.

Legends as type 27.

Elephant r.; above Kh. a. / Bull r.;

above mon. 56 and Kh. a.

IMC, 45.25, 27, 28, 31; PMC, 127.285 = VIII.28;
 JHA (8 coins); NSS.

29. Drachms only.

Legends as type 27 (round omikrons).

KMW; rf. Kh. sam. / Pallas facing, aegis on l.
 arm, spear transverse, crown self r.;

lf. Kh. a, rf. mon. 56.

PMC, 116.169-171; 169 = VIII.29.

30. Tetradrachms and Drachms.

Legends as type 27.

KMW; rf. Kh. sa or ?. / Pallas l. as type 27;

lf. Kh. a, rf. mon. 58.

BMC, XVIII.6 = CCS, V.10a, 10; PMC, 114. 145
 = VIII.30 (XI.145), 147.

GANDHĀRA (continued)

31. AE round.

Legends and devices as type 28;

Obv.: Kh. a above; rev.: above mon. 58
and Kh. a.

BMC, XIX.7 = CCS, VI.12 = JEN, I.8 = VIII.31;
PMC, 127.283.

HERMAIOS SOTER (pseudo)

32. Drachms only

BASILEŌS SŌTĒRO*S ERMAIO*U

Maharajasa tratarasa Heramayasa

Bust r. diademed (looped) with curled hair style (?). /
Zeus enthroned; lf. mon. 52.

CIGC, XXXIV.12; HPP.

AZES II

33. Tetradrachms and Drachms.

Legends as type 27.

KMW; rf. Kh. de or ti. / Pallas r., spear
transverse, lotus r., drapery folds either
side (var. B); lf. mon. 56, rf. mon. 61.

BMC, XVIII.8 = CCS, V.12 = JEN, II.7; IMC, 44.
19, 20; PMC, 115.165 = VIII.33.

34. AE round.

BASILEŌS BASILEŌN MEGALO*U AZO*U

Maharajasa rajatirajasa mahatasa Ayasa

Bull r.; above mon. 56. / Lion r.; above mon. 61.

BMC, 85.138, 139; IMC, 46.48; PMC, 125.257 = VIII.34.

HERMAIOS SOTER (pseudo)

35. AE round (plated tetradrachms and drachms).

Legends and devices as type 32;

Rev.: lf. mon. 59, rf. Kh. da, dhra, li or ?.

BMC, 64-65.25, 26, 40-44 (BMC, XV.6, 7 = CIGC,
XXI.10, 11); IMC, 32.10-16; PMC, 83.665-673
(IX.666); SNG, XI.362 = VIII.35, 363; SML; BKB (4 coins).

GANDHĀRA (continued)

GONDOPHARES SOTER

36. AE round (plated ?).

BAC*ILEOC* C*OTERO*C* YNDO*PHERRO*U

Maharajasa Gudavharnasa tratarasa

Bust r. diademed. / Winged Nike r. wreath
and palm branch.BMC, 105.13-16, 18-21 (XXII.11); CCS, X.4;
IMCsup, 20.1-3; PMC, 152.47, 48, 51, 52;
TAX, 241.192-194; MacDowall 1965, XII.1;
BKB (2 coins); BM = VIII.36.

37. AE round.

BAC*ILEO*C* C*OTERO*C* YNDO*PHERRO*U

Maharajasa Gudavharnasa tratarasa

Devices as type 36.

BMC, 105.17; PMC, 152.49, 50.

ABDAGASES SOTER

38. AE round.

BACILEO*C CO*TEROC ABDAGACOU

Maharajasa tratarasa Avatragaśasa

Bust l. diademed. / Winged Nike l.;
lf. mon. 20 (Gondopharid symbol).CCS, XI.4; BM = VIII.38.

39. AE round.

BACILEO*C CO*TEROC ABDAGACOU

Maharajasa Avadagaśasa tratarasa

Bust r. diademed. / Nike as on type 36.

BMC, 107.1-4 (XXIII.1) = VIII.39; CCS, XI.1-3;
MacDowall 1965, XII.2.

ABDAGASES (pseudo)

40. Imitation AE round.

Legends as type 39, blundered.

Devices as type 39, crude style.

PMC, 154.68-71 (XV.70).

Later kings: Soter Megas.

GANDHARA (continued)

Sigma Mint (Sapana ?):

Previous kings (bilingual Indo-Greek coins with mon. 62):

Lysias Aniketos, Antialkidas Nikephoros, Menander Soter,
Strato Soter Dikaio, Heliokles Dikaio, Diomedes Soter,
Philoxenos Aniketos.

HERMAIOS SOTER

41. Unique Tetradrachm.

BASILEŌS SŌTĒROS ERMAIOU

Maḥarajasa tratarasa Heramayasa

Bust r. helmed. / Zeus enthroned (footstool);
lf. mon. 95, rf. mon. 63.

NC 1923, XVII.9 = Bivar 1965, VII.6 = IX.41.

ARTEMIDOROS ANIKETOS

42. Tetradrachms.

BASILEŌS ANIKĒTOU ARTEMIDŌROU

Maḥarajasa apadihatasa Atrimitorasa

Bust r. diademed. /
Winged Nike r. with wreath and palm branch;
rf. mon. 63.

ANS, MN 1948, VI.C = CIGC, XI.1 = IX.42.

MAUES

43. AE square.

Legends as type 7.

Lunar goddess facing between two stars, sceptre
l. transverse. / Winged Nike l. with wreath
and palm branch; lf. mon. 62, rf. mon. 49.

CCS, II.12; PMC, X.13; BKB.

HERMAIOS SOTER (pseudo)

44. Drachms only.

BASILEŌS SŌTERO*S ERMAIO*U

Maḥarajasa tratarasa Heramayasa

Bust r. diademed (looped). /
Zeus enthroned (feet together); lf. mon. 54,
rf. mon. 64.

BMC, 63.22 = IV.44; PMC, 83.662; CIGC, XXI.6; HPP.

GANDHĀRA (continued)

45. Tetradrachms and Drachms.

Legends and devices as type 44;

Rev.: lf. mon. 55, rf. mon. 65 and Kh. da or ma.

BMC, 63.20 (XV.4) = CIGC, XXI.5 = IX.45; PMC, 82.651; NSS.

APOLLODOTOS II SOTER

46. AE square.

BASILEŌS SŌTEROS APOLLODOTOU

Maharajasa tratarasa Apaladatasa

Apollo seated r. with bow. / Tripod;

lf. Kh. s(o), rf. mon. 65 or 66 (?).

BMC, 167.1; TAX, 237.87, 88; HPP; NSS; CIGC, VIII.6.

AZES I

47. Tetradrachms.

BASILEŌS BASILEŌN MEGALO*U AZO*U

Maharajasa rajarajasa mahatasa Ayasa

KMS; ex. Kh. pri. / Nike facing, palm branch l.,
wreath r.; lf. mon. 66, rf. Kh. so.

CCS, V.1 = NC 1923, XVII.13; HPP = IX.47.

AZİLİSES

48. Tetradrachms and Drachms.

BASILEŌS BASILEŌN MEGALO*U AZILISO*U

Maharajasa rajarajasa mahatasa Ayilishasa

KMS; ex. Kh. pri or none. /

Goddess l., palm branch l., lamp r.;

lf. mon. 62, rf. Kh. so.

BMC, 94.11 (XX.10); PMC, 136.340 = IX.48, 341, 347
(XIII.347); HPP; NSS.

49. AE square.

Legends as type 48 (each on four sides).

KMS / Bull r.; above Kh. so and mon. 62
(sometimes reversed).

BMC, 95.27 (XXI.3); TAX, 240.162; NSS (2 coins).

50. AE square.

Legends and devices as type 49 except bull l.;
above mon. 62 and Kh. so.

BMC, 96.32 = CCS, VIII.1; PMC, 139.358, 359
(XIV.358); NSS.

GANDHĀRA (continued)

50a. var.: KMS 1.

HPP.

HERMAIOS SOTER (pseudo)

51. Tetradrachms and Drachms.

BASILEŌS SŌTĒRO*S ERMAIO*U

Maharajasa tratarasa Heramayasa

(tetradrachm with maharayasa)Bust r. diademed (looped). / Zeus enthroned;
lf. mon. 67.NC 1923, XVII.11 = CIGC, XXXIV.11 = IX.51;
BMC, 63.23.

AZES II

52. Tetradrachms and Drachms.

BASILEŌS BASILEŌN MEGALO*U AZO*U

Maharajasa rajarajasa mahatasa Ayasa

KMW; rf. Kh. so, la or ti. / Pallas facing,
aegis on l. arm, spear transverse,
crowning self r.; lf. mon. 75, rf. mon. 67.BMC, 79.70, 76-83 (XVIII.4 = CCS, V.9); IMC,
44.9, 11; PMC, 116.172-176 (XI.172); JEN, II.6;
BKB; NSS = IX.52.

53. Drachms only.

Legends and devices as type 52 except round

omikrons;Obv.: rf. Kh. so, ga or la.

Rev.: lf. mon. 75, rf. mon. 57.

BMC, 79.71-75 (XVIII.5); CCS, V.9a; IMC, 44.10;
PMC, 116.167 = IX.53, 168.

53a. var.: Rev. rf. mon. 56.

NSS.

54. AE round.

Legends as type 52.

Elephant r. / Bull r.; above mon. 67 and 75.

IMC, 45.33; IMCsup, 17.5.

54a. var.: Obv.: above Kh. a.

Rev.: above mon. 57 and 75.

BMC, 87.161, 162; IMC, 45.24.

GANDHĀRA (continued)

54b. var.: Obv.: above Kh. a.

Rev.: above mon. 56 and 75.

BMC, 87.167.

55. AE round.

Legends as types 52 and 54.

Demeter enthroned, cornucopia l. /

Hermes l., caduceus transverse; lf. mon. 75,

rf. mon. 67.

BMC, 84.127-132 (XIX.2); CCS, VI.10; IMC, 46,
49-57; PMC, 120.209-217 (XI.217) = IX.55; JEN, I.9; JHA.

55a. var.: Obv. lf. Kh. śi.

IMC, 46.58; JHA.

56. AE round.

BASILEŌS BASILEŌN MEGALO*U AZO*U

Maharajasa rajatirajasa mahatasa Ayasa

Bull r.; rf. Kh. śi or none, above mon. 67. /

Lion r.; above mon. 75.

BMC, 86.149-150 (XIX.6 = CCS, VI.14); IMC,
45.34-37, 42. 46; PMC, 126.263-267 (XII.263).

HERMAIOS SOTER (pseudo)

57. Tetradrachms only.

BASILEŌS SŌTERO*S ERMAIO*U

Maharajasa tratarasa Heramayasa

Bust r. diademed (looped) with curled hair style. /

Zeus enthroned; lf. mon. 68, rf. Kh. da or go.

JEN, IV.12; BM = IX.57; HPP.

AZES II

58. Tetradrachms and Drachms.

Legends as type 52.

KMW; rf. Kh. so, da or la. / Pallas r., spear
transverse, lotus r., drapery fold behind (var. A);
lf. mon. 67, rf. mon. 78.

BMC, 82.105-107 (XVIII.9); CCS, VI.12a; IMC, 44.17, 18;
PMC, 115.158-164 (XI.158); BKB = IX.58.

GANDHĀRA (continued)

59. AE round.

Legends and devices as type 56:

Obv.: above mon. 67; rf. Kh. si or none;

Rev.: above mon. 78.

BMC, 86.151, 153; IMC, 46.44; PMC, 126.268-270, 278, 279.

60. Tetradrachms and Drachms.

Legends and devices as on type 58;

Obv.: rf. Kh. sam or da;Rev.: lf. Kh. si, rf. mon. 69.JHA; BKB = IX.60.

61. Tetradrachms and Drachms.

Legends as type 52.

KMW; rf. Kh. di, ca, so, pra or ? /

Poseidon-Siva r., trident transverse, callipers (?) r.;

lf. mon. 69, rf. Kh. si.

BMC, 77.55 (XVIII.1); CCS, V.7 = JEN, II.8;

IMC, 43.7; PMC, 117.177, 178 (XI.177); CML = IX.61; JHA.

62. AE round.

Legends as type 52.

Bull r.; above Kh. si. / Lion r.; above mon. 69.

BMC, 86.148; IMC, 46.41.

63. Tetradrachms.

BASILEŌS BASILEŌN MEGALO*U AZO*U

Mahatasa rajatirajasa maharajasa Ayasa

Devices as types 58 and 60;

Obv.: rf. Kh. no;

Rev.: lf. mon. 69, rf. mon. 76.

ANS, MN 1957, XV.8, 9 (same dies).

HERMAIOS SOTER (pseudo)

64. AE round (plated tetradrachms and drachms).

Legends and devices as type 57;

Rev.: lf. mon. 70, rf. Kh. da, ra, va or lo.BMC, 64.37-40, 44, 39 = IX.64; IMC, 33.17-19;

SNG, XI.364.

GANDHĀRA (continued)

HERMAIOS STEROSSY

65. Imitation AE round (irregular weight standard).

BASILEŌS STĒRO*SSY ERMAIO*U

Maharajasa rajarajasa mahatasa Heramayasa

Bust r. diademed (looped). / Winged Nike l. with
wreath; lf. Kh. pra, rf. mon. 71.

BMC, 65.49, 50; PMC, 85.682, 687 (IX.682);

SNG, XI.366 = X.65; TAX, 238.96-100.

66. Imitation AE round.

Legends and devices as type 65;

Rev.: lf. Kh. pri, rf. mon. 69 or 72.

PMC, 85.691; HPP.

- 66a. var.: bust l. or Nike r. and variable styles.

PMC, 85.692; TAX, 238.95.

GONDOPHARES

67. Billon Tetradrachms.

BAC*ILEŌ*C* BAC*ILEŌ*N MEGALO*U YNDO*PHERRO*U

(often blundered)

Maharaja-rajadiraja-tratara-devavrata-Gudavharasa

KM r.; rf. mon. 20 (Gondopharid symbol). /

Pallas r., spear transverse, lotus r.;

lf. mon. 77, rf. mon. 72 and Kh. ma.

BMC, 103.142, 143 (XXII.6 = CCS, X.7); IMC, 54.1

(IX.8); PMC, 150.38 (XV.38) = X.67; JEN, II.11; JHA.

68. Billon Tetradrachms.

BAC*ILEŌ*C* BAC*ILEŌ*N MEGALOU YNDOPHEROU

Maharaja-rajatiraja-tradara-devavrada-Guduvharasa

KM r.; rf. mon. 20. / Poseidon-Siva r., sceptre

transverse; lf. mon. 72, rf. Kh. vhre.

JHA (2 coins).

- 68a. var.: lf. mon. 72, rf. Kh. ra and vhre.

BMC, 103.1 (XXII.5) = JEN, II.2; PMC, 146.1

(XV.1); KWD.

- 68b. var.: lf. mon. 72, rf. Kh. vhre and bu.

PMC, 146.4, 7; BM = X.68b; JHA.

GANDHĀRA (continued)

68c. var.: lf. alpha and mon. 72, rf. Kh. vhre and bu.
PMC, 146.3, 6.

68d. var.: lf. beta and mon. 72, rf. Kh. vhre and bu.
BMC, 103.2 = CCS, X.8; PMC, 146.2; JHA.

ABDAGASES (nephew of Gondophares)

69. Billon Tetradrachms.

BACILEOC GONDOPHARABRAT ABDAGACOU

Guduvharabhrataputrasa maharajasa Avadagaśasa

KM r.; rf. mon. 20. / Zeus r.; sceptre vertical;
lf. mon. 73, rf. mon. 79..

MacDowall 1965, XII.12 = X.69.

70. Billon Tetradrachms.

BASILEUO*NTO*C* BASILEŌ*NY ABDAGASO*U

Guduvharabhrataputrasa maharajasa Avadagaśasa

Devices and monograms as type 69.

PMC, 153.61 (XV.61); BMC, 108.15.

70a. var.: lf. mon. 73, rf. Kh. sa and bu, or tre and sa.
BMC, 108.14; Kak 1923, p.131.

71. Billon Tetradrachm.

Obv. legend as type 70.

Guduvharabhrataputrasa maharajasa tratarasa
Avadagaśasa

Devices and mon. 20 as on type 69;

Rev.: lf. mon. 73, rf. Kh. sam and ra.

BMC, 108.13.

Later kings: Soter Megas, Vima.

GANDHĀRA (continued)

Zeta mint (near Kalābāgh ?):

Previous coinage: none known.

AZES II

72. AE square.

BASILEŌS BASILEŌN MEGALO*U AZO*U (4 sides)

Maharajasa rajarajasa mahatasa Ayasa (4 sides)

KMS; rf. Kh. sa. / Bull r.; above mon. 80.

PMC, 128.294-296, 300; BKB.

73. AE square.

Legends and devices as type 72;

Rev.: above mon. 80, rf. Kh. dhra.

BMC, 88.173; PMC, 128.298, 299; NSS.

74. AE square.

Obv. legend as type 72, often blundered.

Maharajasa rajatirajasa mahatasa Ayasa (4 sides)

Devices as types 72 and 73;

Rev.: above mon. 80.

BMC, 88.174; PMC, 128.297, 301; HPP; NSS (3 coins).

75. AE square (small).

Fragments of legends as type 72.

Elephant r. / Lion r.; above mon. 83.

TAX, 240.141.

76. Tetradrachms and Drachms.

BASILEŌS BASILEŌN MEGALO*U AZO*U

Maharajasa rajarajasa mahatasa Ayasa

KMW; rf. Kh. ka, la or so. / Pallas r. (var. A);

lf. mon. 81, rf. mon. 84.

BMC, 81-82.95, 108; PMC, 115.157 (XI.157) = X.76; BKB.

77. AE round.

BASILEŌS BASILEŌN MEGALO*U AZO*U

Maharajasa rajatirajasa mahatasa Ayasa

Bull r.; above mon. 81. / Lion r.; above mon. 84.

BMC, 86.140; PMC, 125.260-262, 260 = X.77.

GANDHĀRA (continued)

78. Tetradrachms only.

Legends as type 77 (rajatirajasa).

Devices as type 76 (var. A);

Obv.: rf. Kh. ka or pra.

Rev.: lf. mon. 82, rf. mon. 87 over 83.

NSS (2 coins).

79. Tetradrachms only.

Legends and devices as type 78;

Obv.: rf. Kh. im, ka, ti, pa or la.

Rev.: lf. mon. 82, rf. mon. 88.

BMC, 81.93; PMC, 115.151-153, 151 = X.79; NSS (5 coins).

80. AE round.

Legends as type 76 (rajarajasa).

Bull r.; above mon. 88, rf. Kh. ti. /

Lion r.; above mon. 82.

IMC, 46.43.

81. Unique Tetradrachm.

Legends and devices as type 78 (rajatirajasa);

Obv.: rf. Kh. jo (?);

Rev.: lf. mon. 106, rf. Kh. ga over mon. 82.

NSS.

82. Tetradrachms and Drachms.

Legends as on type 76 (rajarajasa), king's name separate in ex.

KMW; rf. Kh. ka, ti or da. / Pallas r., r. hand at side with lotus, drapery fold either side (var. B); lf. mon. 81, rf. mon. 84.

BMC, 80.89 (XVIII.7); CCS, V.13; PMC, 115.166 (XI.166); BKB; NSS = X.82.

83. AE round.

Legends as type 77 (rajatirajasa), king's name separate in ex.

Bull r.; mon. 81. / Lion r.; mon. 84.

IMC, 45.39.

GANDHĀRA (continued)

84. Tetradrachms only.

Legends as type 77 (rajatirajasa).

KMW; rf. Kh. sa or sa over dhra. / Pallas r.,
lotus r. (var. B.); lf. mon. 80, rf. mon. 83.

PMC, 115.156 = X.84; NSS.

85. AE round.

Legends as type 77 except rajat(i)rajasa.

Bull r.; mon. 80. / Lion r.; mon. 83.

BMC, 86.141; PMC, 125.258, 259.

86. Tetradrachms only.

Legends as type 85 (rajat(i)rajasa).

Devices as type 84;

Obv.: rf. Kh. ka, ti, bu, va, la or sa;

Rev.: lf. mon. 86 over mon. 80, rf. mon. 83.

BMC, 81.94; IMC, 44.22; PMC, 115.154, 155;

Auboyer 1968, 5.k (Berne Museum); BKB = X.86; NSS (5 coins).

GONDOPHARES

87. Plated (?) AE round (irregular weight standard).

(BACILEŌ*C BACILEŌ*N) - obv.

(MEG)ALOU YNDOPHEOU - rev.

King enthroned l., callipers (?) r., throne ornamented
with Gondopharid symbols (mon. 20). /

Winged Nike r. with wreath and palm branch;

lf. mon. or Kh. (?), rf. mon. 86.

BMC, 104.12 (XXII.10) = CCS, X.10 = X.87 (two).

Beta mint (Banagara ?):

Previous coinage: none known.

AZES II

88. AE round.

BASILEŌS BASILEŌN MEGALO*U AZO*U

Maharajasa rajatirajasa mahatasa Ayasa

Bull r.; above mon. 89, rf. Kh. ka, ti, si or ?. /

Lion r.; above mon. 90.

BMC, 86.143-145, 147, 156; IMC, 46.45; JEN, I.10;

PMC, 126.275-280; BKB.

GANDHĀRA (continued)

89. Unique Drachm.

BASILEŌS BASILEŌN MEGALOU AZOU
Maharajasa rajarajasa mahatasa Ayasa

KMW; rf. Kh. so. / Pallas l., aegis on l. arm,
callipers r.; lf. mon. 98, rf. mon. 89.

NSS.

90. AE round.

Legends and devices as type 88;
Obv.: above mon. 98, rf. Kh. ka or si.
Rev.: above mon. 89.

BMC, 86.142, 154; PMC, 126.271-274, 271 = X.90.

91. Tetradrachms only.

Legends as types 88 and 90.

KMW; rf. Kh. bu (?). / Pallas r. (var. A);
lf. mon. 60, rf. mon. 89.

BMC, 81.91 = X.91; NSS.

92. AE round (corresponding tetradrachms, as with types 84 and 85 at the Zeta mint, are not known).

Legends as type 85 (rajat(i)rajasa).

Bull r.; above mon. 89, rf. Kh. si (?). /
Lion r.; above mon. 83.

BMC, 86.146; IMC, 46.47 (?).

93. Tetradrachms only (see type 86).

Legends as type 85.

KMW; rf. Kh. ?. / Pallas r. (var. B);
lf. mon. 85 over 89, rf. mon. 83.

NSS (2 coins).

GANDHĀRA (continued)

Epsilon mint (Embolima-Ambalina ?):

Previous kings (bilingual Indo-Greek coins with mon. 91): Nikias Soter, Theophilos Dikaïos, Diomedes Soter, Philoxenos Aniketos.

ARTEMIDOROS ANIKETOS

94. AE square.

BASILEŌS ANIKĒTOU ARTEMIDŌROU
 Maharajasa apaḍihatasa Atrimitorasa
 Artemis facing. / Bull r.; rf. mon. 91.
 PMC, 69.556.

MAUES

95. Square Drachms.

BASILEŌS BASILEŌN MEGALOU MAUOU (3 sides)
 Rajatirajasa mahatasa Moasa (3 sides)
 Helios and driver in tetrazygon. /
 Zeus enthroned, sceptre l. (between feet),
 callipers r.; lf. mon. 92.
 CCS, II.3; NC 1940, VIII.3.

AZES I

96. Tetradrachms.

BASILEŌS BASILEŌN MEGALOU AZOU
 Maharajasa rajatirajasa mahatasa Ayasa
 KMS. / ZN; lf. Kh. ba, rf. Kh. im.
 JEN, III.8 = XI.96.

AZILISES

97. Tetradrachms and Drachms.

BASILEŌS BASILEŌN MEGALOU AZILISOU
 Maharajasa rajatirajasa mahatasa Ayilishasa
 ZN; lf. mon. 93. / Dioskouroi mounted r.;
 rf. Kh. pa, ex. Kh. ha.
 CCS, VII.8 = JEN, III.9; PMC, 133.323 = XI.97,
 324 (XIII.323, 234); JHA; NSS; HPP; Kak 1923, p.129.

98. AE square.

Legends as type 97 (3 sides).
 Elephant r. / Bull r.; rf. mon. 93.
 CCS, VIII.4; NSS.

GANDHĀRA (continued)

AZES II

99. Billon Tetradrachms.

BASILEŌS BASILEŌN MEGALO*U AZO*U

Maharajasa rajarajasa mahatasa Ayasa

KMW; rf. Kh. ti. / ZN; lf. mon. 94, rf. mon. 95.

NSS (2 coins).

ABDAGASES ADELPHIDEOS

100. Billon Tetradrachms.

BAC*ILEUAO*A YNDIPHERO ADELPHIDEŌ*C*

Guduvharabhratapurasa maharajasa tratarasa

Avadagaśasa

KM r.; rf. mon. 20. / Zeus r., sceptre vertical,
 callipers r.; lf. mon. 73,
 rf. mon. 94 over Kh. ma, ma with adjunct (?)
 or pra.

CCS, XI.5 = XI.100; BM; BMC, 108.16 (XXIII.3).

101. Billon Tetradrachm.

Obv. legend as type 100.

Guduvharabhratapurasa maharajasa tratarasa

dhramiasa Avadagaśasa

Devices as type 100;

Rev.: lf. mon. 73, rf. mon. 94 over Kh. pu.

NC 1947, II.6.

Pushkalāvati:

Previous kings (bilingual Indo-Greek coins with mon. 96):

Agathokleia and Strato Soter, Heliokles Dikaios,

Strato Soter Dikaios, Philoxenos Aniketos.

HERMAIOS SOTER

See type 41 with mon. 96 and 63.

102. Drachms only.

BASILEŌS SOTERŌS ERMAIOU

Maharajasa tratarasa Heramayasa

Bust r. diademed. / Zeus enthroned, sceptre l.
 (between feet) and footstool; lf. mon. 96.

BMC, 63.15 = XI.102; PMC, 83.655.

GANDHĀRA (continued)

HERMAIOS SOTER and KALLIOPE

103. Tetradrachms only.

BASILEŌS SŌTĒROS ERMAIOU KAI KALLIOPEŚ
Maharajasa tratarasa Heramayasa Kaliyapaya

Conjugate busts r. / King mounted on
prancing horse; below mon. 96.

NC 1923, XVII.8 = Bivar 1965, VII.7;
NC 1963, V.29.

ARTEMIDOROS ANIKETOS

104. AE square.

Legends as type 94.

Artemis facing. / Bull r.; below mon. 97.

PMC, 69.555 (VII.555).

AZES I

Coinage for Pushkalāvati struck at Alpha mint.
Compare types 22 and 23.

105. Tetradrachms and Drachms.

BASILEŌS BASILEŌN MEGALO*U AZO*U
Maharajasa rajarajasa mahatasa Ayasa

KMS; rf. Kh. ga, da, pri, sa, si or so. /
Athena Alkidemos l.; lf. mon. 56, rf. mon. 98.

BMC, 78.58-67 (XVIII.3); CCS, V.11a; IMC,
44.13, 14; PMC, 113.136-144 (XI.141), 136 = XI.105;
JHA (2 coins); NSS (3 coins).

106. AE square.

Legends as type 105 (4 sides).

KMS; rf. Kh. si. / Bull r.; above mon. 56 and 98.

BMC, 88.172 (XIX.8); PMC, 127.292, 293 (XXI.292).

107. AE round.

Legends as type 105.

Elephant r. / Bull r.; above mon. 56 and 98.

BMC, 87.166, 168; IMC, 45.23, 26, 30, 32;
PMC, 127.286-289 (XII.288).

GANDHĀRA (continued)

AZILISES

Coinage struck at Pushkalāvātī.

108. Tetradrachms and Drachms.

BASILEŌS BASILEŌN MEGALOU AZILISOU

Maharajasa rajatirajasa mahatasa Ayilishasa

KMW; rf. mon. 99. / Goddess (l.) with mural crown, diadem r., and Zeus (r.), sceptre transverse, callipers r.; lf. Kh. pa, rf. mon. 74.

CCS, VII.7, 7a; PMC, 135.334 = XI.108, 335 (XIII.334, 335); JRAS 1905, VI.3; NC 1940, VIII.9.

AZES II

109. Billon Drachms only.

BASILEŌS BASILEŌN MEGALO*U AZO*U

Maharajasa rajarajasa mahatasa Ayasa

KMW; rf. Kh. kam, jham, de or ña. /
ZN; lf. mon. 62, rf. mon. 98 over Kh. so.

BMC, 75.32 = XI.109; IMC, 51.18; PMC, 111.113 (?), 116, 117.

110. Unique Billon Tetradrachm.

Legends as type 109 except rajatirajasa.

KMW; rf. Kh. jham. / ZN; lf. mon. 100, rf. Kh. thi.

NSS.

111. Billon Tetradrachms and Drachms.

Legends and devices as type 109 (rajarajasa);

Obv.: rf. Kh. jha.

Rev.: lf. mon. 101, rf. Kh. de.

BMC, 75.31; JEN, IV.1; NSS (2 coins) = XI.111.

112. AE round.

Legends as type 109.

King seated cross-legged; lf. Kh. jha (?). /

Hermes facing, caduceus l., callipers r.;

lf. mon. 101, rf. Kh. de.

BMC, XIX.1 = JEN, IV.2; IMC, 46.62, 63, 70.

113. Billon Tetradrachms only.

Legends and devices as type 109;

Obv.: rf. Kh. sa or go. /

Rev.: lf. mon. 98, rf. mon. 115 over Kh. vi.

BMC, 74.18, 19 = XI.113.

GANDHĀRA (continued)

114. Billon Tetradrachms only.

Legends and devices as type 109;

Obv.: rf. Kh. ga, ji, sam or bhu. /

Rev.: lf. mon. 102, rf. mon. 108.

NSS (4 coins).

115. AU Distater (Indian standard).

(Pa)khalavadidevada (rf.) Ampae (lf.)

TAUROC (above), (U)shabhe (below)

Goddess facing, lotus (?) r. /

Bull r.

BMC, XXIX.15 = JRAS 1905, VI.2 = Mukherjee 1965,

IX.1 = XI.115.

116. AU eighth Stater (Indian standard).

...IC*ILO*...

Traces of Kh. legend, ...aya... at bottom;

4 aksharas - sa, a, tha, ma - arranged
around mon. 105.

KMW / Mon. 105.

JRAS 1905, VI.10 = PMC, 145.399 (XV.399) = XII.116.

117. AE round.

Legends as type 110 (rajatirajasa).

Goddess facing, lotus (?) r.; lf. mon. 104,

rf. mon. 103. /

Bull r.; rf. Kh. vi.

BMC, XIX.5 = CCS, VI.13 = Mukherjee 1965, IX.3;

JEN, I.11 = Mukherjee 1965, IX.2 = XII.117; PMC,
XII.308; NSS.

118. Billon Tetradrachms and Drachms.

Legends and devices as type 109 (rajarajasa);

Obv.: rf. Kh. de, ta, bu, sa or ha.

Rev.: lf. mon. 105, rf. mon. 109 over Kh. a.

IMC, 51.11; PMC, 110.97-102; NSS.

119. Billon Drachms only.

Legends and devices as type 109;

Obv.: rf. Kh. mi, sa or sam.

Rev.: lf. mon. 105, rf. Kh. dhra over a.

BMC, 75.28; IMC, 50.3; PMC, 109.90, 91.

GANDHĀRA (continued)

119a.var.: Kh. la / mon. 105, Kh. ma over sa.

PMC, 110.103; BKB.

119b.var.: Kh. de, dam, cam, bu or sa / mon. 105, Kh. sam.

BMC, 75.25-27; IMC, 50.4, 5, 8, 9, PMC,

109.86-89; BKB (2 coins); JHA; NSS.

120. Unique Billon Tetradrachm (see also type 81).

Legends as type 110 (rajatirajasa).

KMW; rf. Kh. jha (?). / Pallas r. (var. A);

lf. mon. 106, rf. Kh. so.

NSS.

121. Billon Drachms only.

Legends as type 109 (rajarajasa).

KMW; rf. Kh. de or sa. / ZN; lf. mon. 107,

rf. Kh. vsa.

BMC, 75.29; BKB.

GONDOPHARES

122. Unique Billon Tetradrachm.

Obv. legend indistinct.

Mahara(jasa)...devavra(tasa) Gadavharasa

KM l.; lf. mon. 20 over Kh. pra. /

Pallas r. with lotus; lf. Kh. ba over bu,

rf. mon. 98.

AP II, chart 2.444.

123. Billon Tetradrachms.

BACILEŌ*C BACILEŌ*N MEGALOU YNDOPHERROU

Maharajasa rajarajasa tratarasa devavratasa

Guduvharasa

KM l., Nike flying behind with wreath;

lf. mon. 20, below Kh. rtu. /

Śiva facing, palm branch l., trident r.;

lf. mon. 117 over 118, rf. Kh. gu over

Kh. rtu and mon. 116.

BMC, 104.8 (XXII.8 = CCS, X.6), 9; PMC, 151.

43 (XV.43); BM = XII.123.

GANDHĀRA (continued)

124. Billon Tetradrachms.

Legends and devices as type 123;

Obv.: lf. mon. 20, below Kh. saṃ and rtu.

Rev.: lf. mon. 117 over Kh. rtu and mon. 116,
rf. Kh. gu over mon. 118.

PMC, 151.42, 44; BM (2 coins) = XII.124.

125. AE square.

...O*O*AC*C*...AC*ILC*O*U...OPHNOU

Maharajasa rajarajasa....devavratasa

Guduvharasa

KM l., Nike l. holding up wreath to king. /

Large mon. 20; lf. Kh. rtu, rf. mon. 118.

PMC, 153.60 (XV.60); BM = XII.125.

126. AE square.

...PHARO*U..EGALO*U GO*NDA...

Maharajasa (rajarajasa) dhramikasa apratihata

devavratasa Gudavharasa

Devices as type 125;

Rev.: lf. mon. 118 over Kh. bu, rf. Kh. saṃ.

BMC, 105.22 (XXII.12) = CCS, X.2 = XII.126.

Joint mintage between Pushkalāvati and the Indus Mint:

AZILISES and AZES II

127. AE square.

BASILEŌS BASILEŌN MEGALOU AZILISOU (3 sides)

Maharajasa rajatirajasa mahatasa Ayasa (3 sides)

Herakles facing, club l., crowning self r.;

lf. mon. 114. /

Horse r.; above Kh. bu, rf. mon. 74.

PMC, 138.357 (XIV.357); NS 1910, XXXIV.16.

127a. var.: mon. 114 / above mon. 104 (?).

BMC, 96.38.

127b. var.: mon. 114 / above Kh. mi, rf. va or ba.

BMC, 96.39 (XXI.5); BMC, 89.187 = XII.127b (XIX.11 = CCS,
VI.15); PMC, 124.254 (XII.254); TAX, 240.161.

GANDHĀRA (continued)

AZES II

128. Billon Drachms only.

BASILEŌS BASILEŌN MEGALO*U AZO*U

Maharajasa rajarajasa mahatasa Ayasa

KMW; rf. Kh. saṃ or sa. / ZN; lf. mon. 62,
rf. mon. 110 over Kh. so.

PMC, 111.114, 115.

129. Billon Tetradrachms and Drachms.

Legends as type 128.

KMW; rf. Kh. mi or sa. / ZN; lf. Kh. om over mon. 110,
rf. Kh. dhra over o.

BMC, 75.21, 22 (?); PMC, 107.64; 112.123.

EUKRATIDES (Pseudo-Hermaios)

130. Imitation AE square.

MEGALOU BASILEŌS EUKRATIDOU

Maharajasa Evukratidasas

Bust l. helmed, thrusting javelin. /

Winged Nike r. with wreath and palm branch;

rf. mon. 111.

BMC, 18.62 (VI.7) = CHI, VI.13 = CIGC, XVII.6 = XII.130.

AZES II

131. Billon Tetradrachms and Drachms.

Legends as types 128 and 129.

KMW; rf. Kh. ka, ji, de, sa or saṃ. /
ZN; lf. mon. 111, rf. mon. 119 over Kh. dhraṃ.BMC, 74.20 = XII.131, 33, 34; CCS, V.6; IMC, 51.19;

PMC, 110.106-109; BKB (4 coins).

132. AE round.

Legends as type 128.

King seated cross-legged. / Hermes facing;

lf. mon. 111, rf. mon. 119 or alpha overKh. dhraṃ.

BM.

GANDHĀRA (continued)

133. Billon Tetradrachms (and Drachms ?).

Legends as type 128.

KMW; rf. Kh. mi. / ZN; lf. mon. 111,
rf. mon. 109 over Kh. dhram̄.

NSS.

134. Billon Tetradrachms (and Drachms ?).

Legends as type 128 (rajarajasa).

KMW; rf. Kh. mi. / ZN; lf. mon. 111,
rf. mon. 109 over Kh. bu.

IMC, 50.1; JHA; NSS.

135. Unique Tetradrachm.

Legends with rajatirajasa.

KMW (superior style, as on Pallas class coins);
rf. mon. 120. /

ZN; lf. mon. 111, rf. mon. 116 over Kh. dhram̄.

PMC, 107.62 = XII.135.

GONDOPHARES

136. Unique Billon Tetradrachm.

Obv. legend indistinct.

Maharaja-rajatiraja-tratara-devav(r)ata-
Guduvharasa

KM l.; lf. mon. 20. / Pallas r.; lf. 2 Kh. letters,
rf. mon. 111.

NC 1950, p.221.

HERMAIOS SOTER (Pseudo)

137. Plated Tetradrachms.

BASILEŌS SŌTĒRO*S ERMAIO*U

Maharajasa tratarasa Heramayasa

Bust r. diademed. / Zeus enthroned; lf. mon. 112.

PMC, 83.663, 664.

GANDHĀRA (continued)

GONDOPHARES

138. Billon Tetradrachms.

BAC*ILEŌ*N BAC*ILEŌ*N GO*NDO*PHARO*U
 Maharaja-rajara-rahata-dhramia-devavrata-
 Guduvharasa

KM r.; rf. mon. 20. / Poseidon-Siva facing,
 trident l., callipers (?) r.;
 lf. mon. 113, rf. mon. 121.

BMC, 104.10 (XXII.9), 11; CCS, X.9 = XII.138;
 PMC, 152.45, 46 (XV.46); BM; JHA (2 coins).

Satrapal coinage administered from Pushkalāvati:

RĀJUVULA

139. Unique Billon Drachm.

Obv. legend lost.
 (Ksha)trapa...Raj(u)v(u)lasa

KMW; rf. mon. 151 (?). /
 ZN; lf. mon. 105, rf. mon. 108.

TAX, 241.182.

INDRAVARMAN

140. Billon Tetradrachms and Drachms.

Obv. legend corrupt.
 Vijayamitraputrasa Itravasasa apracarajasa

KMW; rf. Kh. ca. / Pallas r.;
 lf. mon. 118 over Kh. ksha or ma.
 rf. six-pointed star over mon. 98.

CCS, XII.7, 8; PMC, XVII.iii; TAX, 241.185-188;
 BM = XII.140.

AZES II

141. Billon Tetradrachms and Drachms.

Obv. legend corrupt, similar to type 140.
 Maharajasa rajatirajasa mahatasa Ayasa

KMW; rf. mon. 122, below horse mon. 118. /
 Pallas r.; lf. mon. 118 over Kh. da or dhra,
 rf. mon. 98.

IMC, 52.30, 31; PMC, 124.251-253 (XII.252).

GANDHĀRA (continued)

AZES II and AŚPAVARMAN

142. Billon Tetradrachms only.

BASILEŌS BASILEŌN MEGALO*U AZO*U
 Īmdravarmaputrāsa Aśpavarmasā strategasā
 jayatasā

KMW; rf. mon. 123, below horse mon. 118. /
 Pallas r.; lf. six-pointed star, mon. 118
 and Kh. ma, da, bu, etc., rf. mon. 98.

BMC, 91.200-211 (XX.2 = CCS, XII.6);
 IMC, 52-54.1-10, 12-25; JEN, II.10 = XII.142;
 PMC, 130.310-318 (XII.317).

AZES II

143. Billon Tetradrachms only.

Legends as type 141.

KMW; rf. mon. 118. / Pallas r. (crude style);
 lf. mon. 118, rf. mon. 98.

IMC, 52.29; JEN, II.9.

KUJŪLA

144. Plated AE round (irregular weight standard).

KORCAN (or KOṖCAN) KOZOLO
 Kuyula Kaūsa Kushan yavūsa

Bust of Hermes r. with winged helm. /
 Pallas r., spear transverse.

IMC, 66.5 (XI.2); BM = XII.144.

145. AE round.

Obv. legend indistinct.

Mahatasā rayatirayasā devaputrāsā Kuyula
 Kara Kaphasā

Bull r.; above mon. 118, rf. mon. 124. /
 Two-humped camel r.; rf. mon. 123.

TAX, 242.239; BM (2 coins) = XIII.145.

GANDHĀRA (continued)

GONDOPHARES and AŚPAVARMAN

146. Billon Tetradrachms only.

Obv. legend indistinct.

Jayatasa tratarasa Idravarmaputrassa
strategasa Aśpavarmasa

KM l., lf. mon. 20 over Kh. bu, below mon. 125. /
Zeus r., sceptre vertical; lf. mon. 125 over
Kh. ura, rf. mon. 98, Kh. śi and a.

NS 1910, XXXIV.18; PMC, 150.35-37 (XV.35);
BM (3 coins) = XIII.146.

GONDOPHARES and SASAN

147. Billon Tetradrachms only.

Obv. legend blundered.

Maharajasa rajarajasa ..yasa apratihatacakrassa
devavradasa Sasasa

KM l.; lf. mon. 20, below horse mon. 125. /
Zeus r.; lf. mon. 125, Kh. śi and ura,
rf. mon. 98 over Kh. pra.

NC 1950, XII.12; IMC, 54.2 (same obv. die).

ABDAGASES

148. Billon Tetradrachms.

BASILEUO*NTO*C* BASILEŌ*NI ABDAGASO*U
Guduvharabh(r)ataputrassa maharajasa
tratarassa Avadagaśasa

KM l.; lf. mon. 20 over Kh. bu, tra or ?. /
Zeus r.; lf. mon. 98 over mon. 126,
rf. mon. 127 over 128.

BMC, 107.6 = XIII.148 (XXIII.2), 7; IMC, 57.2;
PMC, 154.63.

148a. var.: additional mon. 116 or bēta lf.

BMC, 108.9, 8 = CCS, XI.6.

149. Billon Tetradrachms.

Legends as type 148.

KM l., rf. mon. 20 over Kh. pra, kha or jo. /
Zeus r.; lf. mon. 73 over mon. 126,
rf. mon. 127 over 128.

BMC, 108.10-12; PMC, 153.62.

TAXILA

Central mint:

Previous kings (bilingual Indo-Greek coins with mon. 129):

Antimachos Nikephoros, Lysias Aniketos, Menander Soter.

Bilingual Indo-Greek coins with mon 131:

Menander Dikaios, Amyntas Nikator, Heliokles

Dikaios, Strato Epiphanes Soter, Polyxenos

Epiphanes Soter, Philoxenos Aniketos.

ARCHEBIOS DIKAIOS NIKEPHOROS

1. Tetradrachms only.

BASILEŌS DIKAIΟΥ (KAI) NIKĒPHOROU ARCHEBIOU

Maḥarajasa dhramikasa jayadharasa Arkhebiyasa

Bust r. diademed or helmed. / Zeus facing,
sceptre l. transverse, hurl thunderbolt r.;
lf. mon. 131.

BMC, 32.1 (IX.1) = CIGC, IX.4; NC 1923, XIV.

14 = CIGC, IX.7 = NC 1963, III.12C; Bivar

1965, VIII.1, 2 = NC 1923, XV.1; CML = XIII.1.

2. AE round.

Legends as type 1 (without KAI), except maharajasa.

Winged Nike l. with wreath and palm branch. /

Owl; rf. mon. 131.

BMC, 32.6 (IX.6) = CIGC, X.5.

3. AE square.

Legends as type 2 (3 sides).

Bust of Zeus r. / Palms flanked by piloi;
below mon. 131.

SNG, X.331.

4. AE square.

Legends as type 3.

Elephant r. / Owl; below mon. 131.

BMC, 33.7, 8 (IX.7 = CIGC, X.6); SNG, X.332.

TAXILA (continued)

MAUES

5. Tetradrachms and Drachms.

BASILEŌS BASILEŌN MEGALOU MAUOU
Rajatirajasa mahatasa Moasa

Zeus l., sceptre l. transverse, callipers r. /
Winged Nike r. with wreath and palm branch;
rf. mon. 131.

CCS, II.4; PMC, 98.3 (X.3); NSS.

6. AE round.

Legends as type 5.

Herakles facing, club l. / Lion l., lf. mon. 131.

BMC, 69.8 (XVI.5); CCS, II.9; IMC, 39.11;
NSS (2 coins).

7. AE square.

Legends as type 5 (3 sides).

Male figure facing, ankus l. / Aegis;
below mon. 131.

CCS, II.13; PMC, XV.ii.

8. AE square.

Legends as type 7.

Apollo facing, bow l., arrow r. /
Tripod on stand in dotted frame; lf. mon. 131.

NSS = XII.8.

9. AE round.

Rev.: BASILEŌS MAUOU

Elephant head r. with bell. / Caduceus;
lf. mon. 131.

BMC, 68.1, 2 (XVI.1 = CCS, II.6); IMC, 38.
1-5; JEN, III.2; PMC, 98.5-9 (X.5).

10. AE square.

BASILEŌS MAUOU (2 sides)
Maharajasa Moasa (2 sides)

Horse r. / Bow in case; lf. mon. 131.

CCS, II.15; PMC, 102.35 (X.35).

TAXILA (continued)

11. AE square (small).

Legends as type 10 (3 sides)

Apollo facing, bow l., arrow r.; lf. mon. 130. /
Tripod in dotted frame.

BMC, 72.26 (XVII.7 = CCS, II.14), 27;
IMCsup, 16.1; PMC, 99.17-19 (X.18).

12. Tetradrachms and Drachms.

Legends and devices as type 5;

Rev.: rf. mon. 132.

BMC, 68.3 (XVI.2 = JEN, III.1); CCS, II.5;
IMC, 39.6, 6a; PMC, 98.1, 2 (X.1); JHA; Marshall
1960, III.15 = XIII.12.

13. AE square.

Legends as type 7 and 8.

Elephant r., wreath in raised trunk, in
dotted frame. / Bull r.; rf. mon. 132.

BMC, 71.25 (XVII.6); CCS, III.16; IMCsup, 16.3;
PMC, 102.32, 33 (X.32); BKB.

APOLLODOTOS II SOTER PHILOPATOR

14. Tetradrachms and Drachms.

BASILEŌS (MEGALOU) SŌTĒROS KAI PHILOPATOROS

APOLLODOTOU (drachms without MEGALOU)

Maharajasa tratarasa Apaladatasa

Bust r., diademed. / Athena Alkidemos l.; lf. mon. 132.

BMC, 37.1 = XIII.14; 2 (X.1, 2) = CIGC, VIII.7, 11;
IMC, 18.8, 9 (IV.2); PMC, 42.264-275; SNG, XI.343;
SML (3 coins); NSS.

15. AE round (large).

BASILEŌS APOLLODOTOU

Maharajasa tratarasa Apaladatasa

Apollo r. with bow and arrow, wreath border. /
Tripod; lf. mon. 134.

NC 1946, pp.143 f. = CIGC, VII.11.

TAXILA (continued)

16. AE square.

BASILEŌS SŌTĒROS KAI PHILOPATOROS APOLLODOTOU
(3 sides)

Maharajasa tratarasa Apaladatasa (3 sides)

Devices as type 15, each in reel and pellet
frame; rev.: rf. mon. 132.

BMC, 39.16, 17; NC 1870, IX.9; PMC, 49.354; CIGC,
VIII.9; SNG, XI.345 = XIII.16; SML; HPP (3 coins).

16a. var.: small size without frames.

BMC, 39.18, 19 (X.9 = CIGC, VIII.10); PMC, 48.352,
353 (V.333); SNG, XI.346; SML (2 coins).

17. AE square.

BASILEŌS SŌTĒROS APOLLODOTOU (3 sides)

Maharajasa tratarasa Apaladatasa (3 sides)

Devices as type 16; rev.: rf. mon. 129.

BMC, 38.15 (X.8) = CIGC, VIII.3.

HERMAIOS SOTER (pseudo)

18. Tetradrachms and Drachms.

BASILEŌS SŌTĒRO*S ERMAIO*U (drachms with
round omikrons)

Maharajasa tratarasa Heramayasa

Bust r. diademed (looped). / Zeus enthroned
(feet together); lf. mon. 133.

TMA, VIII.8 = Auboyer 1968, 5.j = XIII.18;
BMC, 63.18; PMC, 83.660; HPP.

EUKRATIDES (Pseudo-Hermaios)

19. Imitation AE square.

BASILEŌS MEGALOU EUKRATIDOU

Maharajasa Evukratidasa

Bust r. helmed. / Dioskouroi mounted;
rf. mon. 134.

BMC, 17.54 (?); PMC, 22.88.

20. AE square.

Legends and devices as type 19;
Rev.: mon. 129 and 134.

PMC, 25.123.

TAXILA (continued)

APOLLODOTOS II SOTER PHILOPATOR

21. Unique Tetradrachm.

Legends as type 14.

Bust r. diademed (looped). / Athena Alkidemos l.,
lf. mon. 133, rf. Kh. jhe.

NC 1923, XIV.7 = JEN, III.3 = XIII.21.

22. AE square (large).

Legends as type 17.

Apollo facing. / Tripod; lf. mon. 133, rf. Kh. jhe.

BMC, 38.11 (X.6) = CIGC, VIII.5.

HIPPOSTRATOS SOTER

23. Tetradrachms and Drachms.

BASILEŌS SŌTERO*S IPPO*STRATO*U

Maharajasa tratarasa jayamtasa Hipustratasa

Bust r. diademed (straight). / King mounted
on prancing horse; below mon. 133.

BMC, 60.10 (XIV.5) = CIGC, XXII.8, 9 = PMC, 75.616
(VIII.616); SML.

24. AE round (large).

BASILEŌS SŌTEROS IPPOSTRATOU

Maharajasa tratarasa Hipustratasa

Apollo r. / Tripod; lf. mon. 133.

JEN, IV.9 = XIII.24; PMC, 75.628 (VIII.628) = CIGC, XXII.5.

25. AE square (large and small).

Legends as type 23 (3 sides)

Zeus enthroned (feet together), diadem r. /
Horse l., reel and pellet frame;
lf. mon. 133 or 134.

BMC, 60.15-17 (XIV.8 = CIGC, XXII.11); NC 1940, VIII.6
= CIGC, XXII.10; NC 1923, XVII.4 = XIII.25; PMC, 77.629,
630 (VIII.629).

26. Tetradrachms only.

BASILEŌS MEGALO*U SŌTERO*S IPPO*STRATO*U

Maharajasa tratarasa mahatasa jayamtasa
Hipustratasa

Devices as type 23; rev.: below mon. 133.

BMC, 59.3; JEN, III.4; PMC, 75.614 (VIII.614) = XIII.26;
SML.

TAXILA (continued)

AZES I

27. Tetradrachms and Drachms.

BASILEŌS BASILEŌN MEGALOU AZOU

Maharajasa rajarajasa mahatasa Ayasa

Zeus l., sceptre l. transverse, callipers r. /
 Winged Nike r. with wreath and palm branch;
 rf. mon. 135.

BMC, 83.112-114 (XVIII.12 = CCS, V.2); IMC,
 43.1, 2; NC 1923, XVII.12 = JEN, III.5;
 PMC, 118.185-187 (XI.187) = XIII.27.

28. AE square.

Legends as type 27 (3 sides)

Poseidon facing, r. foot on prostrate figure,
 trident l. / Goddess (Yakshī ?) facing
 between vines; lf. mon. 135.

BMC, 89.181-183 (XIX.10); CCS, VI.1; IMC, 48.76,
 77; PMC, 122.241-249; BKB.

29. AE square.

Legends as type 28.

Male deity facing, knobbed sceptre (?) r.,
 trident (?) l. / Goddess r., with wreath (?);
 rf. mon. 135.

BMC, 89.185; PMC, 123.250; NS 1910, XXXIV.14;
 TAX, 239.127, 128.

AZILISES

30. Tetradrachms and Drachms.

BASILEŌS BASILEŌN MEGALOU AZILISOU

Maharajasa rajatirajasa mahatasa Ayilishasa

KMW; rf. mon. 136. / Zeus r., sceptre transverse,
 callipers r.; lf. - rf.: Kh. ya - a, or
 Kh. a - ra.

BMC, 93.1 (XX.4); CCS, VII.2, 2a; PMC, 133.
 320-322 (XIII.320, 322), 320 = XIII.30; Kak 1923, p.129.

31. Tetradrachms and Drachms.

Legends as type 30.

KMW; rf. mon. 136. / Gaja-Lakshmi;
 lf. Kh. ya, rf. Kh. a.

CCS, VII.3; PMC, 135.332 = XIV.31, 333
 (XIII.332, 333); Kak 1923, p.129.

TAXILA (continued)

AZES II

32. Billon Tetradrachms and Drachms.

BASILEŌS BASILEŌN MEGALOU AZOU
Maharajasa rajarajasa mahatasa Ayasa

KMW; rf. Kh. ji, mi, sa or ka (?). /
ZN; lf. mon. 134, rf. mon. 80 over jham.

BMC, 74-76.17, 35, 36; PMC, 109.84, 85;
NSS (2 coins) = XIV.32.

33. Billon Tetradrachms and Drachms.

Legends as type 32.

KMW; rf. Kh. a, gha or sam. /
ZN; lf. mon. 134, rf. Kh. ra.

BMC, 74-76.8, 9, 37; PMC, 106.54, 66; BKB.

34. AE round.

BASILEŌS BASILEŌN MEGALO*U AZO*U
Maharajasa rajarajasa mahatasa Ayasa

King seated cross-legged; lf. Kh. gha, ti or pra. /
Hermes facing, caduceus l., callipers (?) r.;
lf. mon. 134, rf. Kh. ra.

BMC, 83.119-121; IMC, 47.65, 72; IMCsup, 18.13;
PMC, 119.192-195 (XI.195) = XIV.34.

35. Billon Tetradrachms and Drachms.

Legends as type 32.

KMW; rf. Kh. gam, gha, ji, jo, jha (or da),
ma or sa. /

ZN; lf. mon. 134, rf. mon. 116 over Kh. ra.

BMC, 74-76.10-13, 43-45 (XVII.12); IMC, 51.17, 21;
PMC, 106-108.55-58, 66-72 (XI.56); BKB;
JHA (6 coins); NSS (2 coins).

36. AE round.

Legends and device as type 34;

Obv.: lf. or rf. Kh. gha, ti, pra or ?.

Rev.: lf. mon. 134, rf. mon. 116 over Kh. ra.

CCS, VI.9; IMC, 47.60, 65, 68; IMCsup, 18.18;
PMC, 118.188, 189, 196, 197.

TAXILA (continued)

ARSAKES DIKAIOS

37. Billon Tetradrachms only.

BAS(or C)ILEUONTOS(or C) BAS(or C)ILEŌ(or Ō*)N
DIKAIΟΥ ARS(or C)AKOU

Maharajasa rājarajasa mahatasa Arshakasa tratarasa

KMW; rf. Kh. gam̄. / ZN; lf. mon. 134, rf. mon. 137.

CCS, XI.11, 12 = NC 1963, XXII.3, 4 = XIV.37, 5.

AZES II

38. Billon Drachms only.

Legends as type 32.

KMW; rf. mon. 67. / ZN; lf. mon. 134,
rf. mon. 116 over Kh. vsa.

JEN, IV.7; PMC, 108.77; KWD = XIV.38.

39. Billon Drachms only.

Legends and devices as type 38;

Obv.: rf. mon. 111.

Rev.: lf. mon. 134, rf. mon. 116 over Kh. vsa.

JEN, IV.6.

40. Billon Drachms only.

Legends and devices as types 38 and 39;

Obv.: rf. mon. 145 (or mon. 110 ?).

Rev.: lf. mon. 134, rf. mon. 116 over Kh. sam̄.

JEN, IV.5; PMC, 107.67.

41. Billon Tetradrachms and Drachms.

Legends as type 32.

KMW; rf. Kh. ti, jo, bu, va, sam̄ or ?.

ZN; lf. mon. 134, rf. mon. 116 over Kh. bu.

BMC, 76.47, 48; IMC, 51.13, 14; IMCsup. 16.1;

PMC, 106.59, 60, BKB.

42. AE round.

Legends and devices as types 34 and 36;

Rev.: lf. mon. 134, rf. mon. 116 over Kh. bu.

IMCsup, 18.12, 15; JHA.

43. Billon Drachms only.

Legends and devices as type 41;

Obv.: rf. Kh. ba, bu or sa.

Rev.: lf. mon. 134, rf. 116 over Kh. dhra.

BMC, 76.46; PMC, 108.73, 74.

TAXILA (continued)

44. Billon Drachms only.

Legends and devices as type 41;

Obv.: rf. Kh. u.

Rev.: lf. mon. 134, rf. Kh. spa (?).

IMC, 51.12; PMC. 108.81; BKB (2 coins).

45. Billon Drachms only.

Legends as types 32 and 44.

KMW; rf. Kh. ura. / ZN; lf. mon. 138,

rf. mon. 122 or Kh. vi.

BMC, 77.51; IMC, 51.26; PMC, 111.126 (XI.126).

46. AE round (irregular weight standard).

Legends as types 32 and 45, often indistinct.

Lion r.; above Kh. ura. / Demeter l. with
cornucopia, seated on curule chair (?);

lf. mon. 138, rf. mon. 122 or Kh. vi.

BMC, 85.135 (XIX.4) = CCS, VI.11; PMC, 122.228.

HERMAIOS STEROSY

47. Imitation AE round (irregular weight standard).

BASILEŌS STĒRO*SSY ERMAIO*U

Maharajasa mahatasa Heramayasa

Bust r. diademed (looped). / Zeus enthroned;

lf. mon. 138, rf. Kh. pra over mon. 71.

BMC, 65.45-48; IMC, 33.21a; PMC, 84.676-678;

TAX, 238.101, 102; SNG, XI.365 = XIV.47; CIGC,

XXXIV.13; BKB.

General mintage for or in Indus districts south of Taxila:

AZES II

48. Billon Tetradrachms and Drachms.

BASILEŌS BASILEŌN MEGALO*U AZO*U

Maharajasa rajarajasa mahatasa Ayasa

KMW; rf. Kh. go, ji, ti, bu, pra, la, va or sa. /

ZN; lf. mon. 139 or 140, rf. mon. 116 over Kh. bu.

BMC, 74.14, 15; IMC, 51.13, 14; PMC, 106.57-61;

59 = XIV.48; JHA (2 coins); BKB (2 coins); NSS (2 coins).

TAXILA (continued)

49. AE round

Legends as type 48.

King seated cross-legged; lf. Kh. pra, ji or ?. /
Hermes; lf. mon. 139 or 140, rf. 116 over Kh. bu.

BMC, 84.123, 124; IMC, 47.64, 66, 67, 73;
IMCsup, 18.17; PMC, 120.204-208.

GONDOPHARES (?)

50. AE round (plated ?), irregular weight standard.

Legends indistinct.

King enthroned r.; rf. mon. 20. /
ZN; lf. mon. 139, rf. mon. 116 over Kh. va.

CCS, X.11 = XIV.50.

SASAN and GONDOPHARES

51. Billon Tetradrachms and Drachms.

BACILEONTOC BACLIEŌ*N CACOU

Maharajasa rajatirajasa.....Gudavhara Sasasa

KM r.; mon. 20 and Kh. im, ji, pa, ma, va or si. /
ZN; lf. mon. 141, rf. mon. 116 over Kh. va.

BMC, 106.30-32 (XXII.13); CCS, XI.9 = JEN, IV.4 = XIV.51;
IMC, 55.7-11 (IX.10); PMC, 148-149.21-34;
EW 1957, III.3.

ABDAGASES-SASAN (die links)

52. Billon Tetradrachms.

Obv.: Abdagases die (see type 54); Kh. si or na.
Rev.: Sasan and Gondophares die (as type 51).

IMC, 55.7; PMC, 149.27 = XIV.52.

53. Billon Tetradrachm.

Obv.: Abdagases die (see type 54); Kh. si.
Rev.: Style of ZN as on Abdagases die and
mon. 139 lf.; legend of Sasan and
Gondophares as type 51.

BM = XIV.53.

TAXILA (continued)

ABDAGASES (nephew of Gondophares)

54. Billon Tetradrachms only.

BASILEUO*NTO*C* BASILEŌ*NY (or BASILEŌ*IN)
 ABDAGASO*U (often blundered)

Maharajasa rajatirajasa Gudavharabhrataputrasa
 Avadagasasa.

KM r.; mon. 20 and Kh. na, ma, bu, si or śi. /
 ZN; lf. mon. 139, rf. mon. 116 over Kh. va.

BM (6 coins) = XIV.54; PMC, 148.20 (XV.20);
 EW 1957, III.2.

55. Billon Tetradrachms only.

Legends and devices as type 54;

Obv.: rf. mon. 20.

Rev.: lf. mon. 139, rf. 116 over Kh. bu.

PMC, 154.64, 65 (XV.64).

Indus mint (west of Taxila):

Previous mintage: none known.

TELEPHOS EUERGETES

56. AE square.

BASILEŌS EUERGETOU TELEPHOU
 Maharajasa kalanakramasa Teliphasa

Zeus enthroned, sceptre l. (between feet),
 callipers r. /

Brāhman squatting r. performing sacrifice (?);
 lf. mon. 142.

NC 1923, XVII.6 = CIGC, XXXII.14 = XIV.56; HPP.

MAUES

57. AE square.

BASILEŌS BASILEŌN MEGALOU MAUOU
 Rajatirajasa mahatasa Moasa

Zeus enthroned, sceptre l. (between feet),
 small radiate figure facing at l. /

Goddess facing with mural crown, sceptre l.
 transverse; lf. mon. 142.

BMC, 70.12 (XVI.9 = CCS, III.21), 13 = XIV.57;
 PMC, 99.15 (X.15).

TAXILA (continued)

58. AE square.

Legends as type 57.

Zeus l., sceptre l. transverse, callipers r. /
Deity facing with pointed cap; lf. mon. 142.

BMC, 71.20 (XVII.4); CCS, III.20; PMC, 100.16
(X.16).

59. AE square.

Legends as type 57.

Lunar goddess facing, sceptre l. transverse,
flanked by 2 six-pointed stars. /
Winged Nike l. with wreath and palm branch;
lf. mon. 142.

BMC, 70.11 (XVI.8); PMC, 99.14; NSS.

60. AE square.

Legends as type 57.

Poseidon facing, r. foot on prostrate figure,
trident l. / Goddess (Yakshī ?) facing
between vines; lf. mon. 142.

BMC, 70.15 (XVII.1); PMC, 100.21, 22.

61. AE square.

Legends as type 57.

Poseidon with r. extended; rf. mon. 142 (?). /
Yakshī (?) with r. extended.

CCS, III.25, 26; NSS.

62. AE square.

Legends as type 57.

Poseidon struggling with small figure with l.,
hurling thunderbolt r.; above rf. mon. 146. /
Yakshī facing, small figure l.; above lf. Kh. pri.

CCS, III.24.

HIPPOSTRATOS SOTER

63. Tetradrachms only.

BASILEŌS MEGALO*U SŌTERO*S IPPO*STRATO*U

Maharajasa tratarasa mahatasa jayamtasa Hipustratasa

Bust r. diademed (straight). / King mounted r. on
standing horse; lf. Kh. mam, rf. mon. 143,
ex. Kh. na, pa, pri, la, sa or none.

BMC, 59.7-9 (XIV.4 = CIGC, XXIII.3); IMC, 30.3, 4;
PMC, 76.617-621 (VIII.617 = XV.63); SML.

TAXILA (continued)

64. Tetradrachms and Drachms.

Legends as type 63.

Bust r. diademed (ruffled). / King mounted r.
on prancing horse; lf. Kh. mam,
rf. mon. 143, ex. Kh. pu, pri, la or none.

BMC, 59.4-6 (XIV.2, 3 = CIGC, XXIII.1, 2);
IMC, 30.2; PMC, 75.610-613, 615 (VIII.610, 615),
611 = XV.64; SNG, XI.358; JEN, III.6.

65. AE round (large).

BASILEŌS SŌTEROS IPPOSTRATOU
Maharajasa tratarasa Hipustratasa

Apollo r. with arrow. / Tripod; lf. mon. 143,
rf. Kh. mam.

NS 1910, XXXIII.9; TAX, 236.92.

AZES I

66. Tetradrachms only.

BASILEŌS BASILEŌN MEGALO*U AZO*U
Maharajasa rajarajasa mahatasa Ayasa

KMS; ex. Kh. da, pri or sa. / Zeus l.,
sceptre l. transverse, callipers r.;
lf. mon. 143, rf. Kh. mam.

BMC, 73.1 (XVII.8) = CCS, V.5; PMC, 104.36
(XI.36) = XV.66; JEN, III.7.

AZILISES

67. Tetradrachms and Drachms.

BASILEŌS BASILEŌN MEGALOU AZILISOU
Maharajasa rajatirajasa mahatasa Ayilishasa

KMW; rf. mon. 144. / One of Dioskouroi (or
Mithra ?) facing, spear r.; lf. mon. 147.

BMC, 93.5, 6 (XX.7, 8 = CCS, VII.5a); CCS, VII.5;
PMC, 134.329 = XV.67, 330 (XIII.329, 330); HPP; NSS.

68. AE square.

Legends as type 67 (3 sides).

Indra and three elephants facing; mon. (?). /
Goddess facing with mural crown, lamp r. (?),
palm branch l.; above lf. mon. 147.

TAX, 240.163; BM.

TAXILA (continued)

69. AE square.

Legends as type 68.

Hephaistos facing, tongs-and-hammer l., callipers r.;
lf. mon. 144. / Lion r.; above mon. 147.

BMC, 97.40 (XXI.6); PMC, 140.369-371 (XIV.369 = XV.69).

70. AE square.

Legends as type 68.

Herakles facing, club l., callipers r. (?);
lf. mon. 144. / Horse r.; above mon. 147.

CCS, VIII.10; NC 1950, XII.16.

71. Tetradrachms and Drachms.

Legends as type 67.

KMW; rf. mon. 145, below nandipada. /
Dioskouroi facing; lf. Kh. vsa (or rsa),
rf. mon. 148.

BMC, 93.3, 5 (XX.5, 6); JEN, III.10 = BMC, XX.5;
CCS, VII.6; HPP; NSS (3 coins).

72. AE square.

Legends as type 68.

Elephant r. / Bull r.; rf. mon. 145.

PMC, 139.364; TAX, 240.164; BMC, 90.188 = XV.72.

72a. var.: Bull l.; lf. mon. 145.

NS 1929, V.4 = NSS.

72b. var.: Elephant l.; Bull l.; lf. mon. 145.

BMC, 97.41; PMC, 139.363 (XIV.363).

AZES II

73. Billon Tetradrachms only (unique style).

Greek legend blundered.

Maharajasa rajarajasa mahatasa Ayasa

KMW; rf. Kh. ba, below nandipada. /
ZN; lf. mon. 145, rf. Kh. sam.

JEN, IV.3 and NSS = XV.73 (same dies).

TAXILA (continued)

74. Billon Tetradrachms and Drachms.

BASILEŌS BASILEŌN MEGALO*U AZO*U

(often blundered, e.g. AZIOU)

Maharajasa rajatirajasa mahatasa Ayasa

KMW; rf. Kh. ? / ZN; lf. mon. 145, rf. Kh. sam.

BMC, 75.24 (XVII.13); CCS, V.6a; IMC, 50.8;

JEN, III.11; BKB; NSS.

75. AE round.

Legends as type 74.

King seated cross-legged; lf. Kh. jo (?). /Hermes facing; lf. mon. 145, rf. Kh. sam.

JEN, III.12.

76. Billon Tetradrachms and Drachms.

Legends as type 74 except rajarajasa.KMW; rf. Kh. ma, sa or ? /ZN; lf. mon. 145, rf. Kh. sam.BMC, 92.1 (XX.3); PMC, 107-112.63 = XV.76,
122 (XI.122).

77. AE round.

Legends as type 76.

Devices as type 75; obv.: lf. Kh. jham (?).Rev.: lf. mon. 145, rf. Kh. sam.

IMC, 47.61, 74; PMC, 119.201-203; BKB.

78. AE round (irregular weight standard).

Legends as types 76 and 77.

Hermes with caduceus; lf. mon. 145. /

Demeter with cornucopia; lf. mon. 139, rf. Kh. bu.

BMC, 85.133 (XIX.3); PMC, 121.218, 219 (XII.218).

TAXILA (continued)

Satrapal (Taxila Kohistān):

ZEIONISES

79. AE round.

Greek legend indistinct.

Manigula....Jihonikasa

Bull r.; above mon. 125, rf. Kh. pu. /Lion r.; above mon. 149, rf. Kh. dha.PMC, 158.88 = XV.79, 89.

KUJŪLA

80. AE round.

Obv. legend indistinct.

Maharayasa rayatiraya(sa devaputrasa Kuyula-
Kara-Kaphasa)Bull r.; above mon. 125, rf. Kh. bu. /

Two-humped camel r.; rf. mon. 149.

BM = XV.80.

AZES II

81. Billon Tetradrachms only.

Greek legend blundered.

Maharajasa mahatasa dhramikasa rajatirajasa Ayasa

KMW; rf. mon. 151. / Demeter l., cornucopia l.;
lf. Kh. dhra or none, rf. mon. 150.

BMC, 90-91.191-199 (XX.1 = CCS, VI.5);

IMC, 52.29-32; PMC, 122.231-240 (XII.231) = XV.81.

82. AE square (small).

...ΩS MEGA...

...Ayasa

KMW; rf. mon. 151. / Lion r.; above mon. 149,
rf. mon. 152.IMC, 49.87 (IX.3) = XV.82.

TAXILA (continued)

KHARAHOSTES

83. AE square (large).

KHARAH*Ō*C*TEI C*ATRAPEI ARTAUO*U

Chatrapasa pra Kharaostasa Artasa putrasa

KMS; rf. Kh. sam or pra (?). / Lion r.; above
mon. 149, rf. mon. 152.

BMC, 111.1-6 (XXIII.6); CCS, XII.9, 10;

JRAS 1905, VI.9 = PMC, XVI.91; PMC, 159.91, 92;

TAX, 241.189.

KUJULA

84. AE round.

KHOPANCY ZAOUU KOZOLA KADAPHEC

Kuyula Kaphsasa sacadhramaṭhitasa Khushanasa yaüasa

Head r. in Roman style. / King seated r. on

curule chair; lf. mon. 151, rf. Kh. tra or none.BMC, 123.1-10 (XXV.5), 1 = XV.84; IMC, 66.6-15 (XI.3);

PMC, 181.24-28 (XVII.24); KWD.

Taxila-Gandhāra sub-group Alpha:

AZES II

85. Billon Drachms only.

BASILEŌS BASILEŌN MEGALO*U AZO*U

Maharajasa rajarajasa mahatasa Ayasa

KMW; rf. Kh. mi or sa. / ZN; lf. mon. 134,
rf. alpha over Kh. ra, or ra and pa.

JHA (2 coins); PMC, 108.82, 83.

86. AE round.

Legends as type 85.

King seated cross-legged; lf. Kh. pra. /Hermes; lf. mon. 134, rf. alpha over Kh. ra.

PMC, 119.190, 191.

87. AE round.

Legends with rajatirajasa.Elephant r.; above alpha. / Bull r.; above mon. 90.

BMC, 87.157, 158.

TAXILA (continued)

88. Billon Tetradrachms only.

Legends as type 85 (rajarajasa).

KMW; rf. mon. 120, Kh. ti, gu, de or ba. /
Pallas r. (var. A); lf. alpha over Kh. vi (or ri),
rf. mon. 111.

BMC, 81.97 = XVI.88, 98, 99; PMC, 114.149, 150; NSS.

89. Billon Tetradrachms only.

Legends as type 87 (rajatirajasa).

KMW; rf. Kh. sa. / Pallas r. (var. B);
lf. above alpha, below Kh. sam, rf. mon. 78.

BMC, 81.96 = XVI.89.

Hermaios Sterossy-Kujūla imitation coinage:

HERMAIOS STEROSY and KUJŪLA

90. AE round (Tetradrachm size or smaller).

BAC*ILEŌS STĒRO*SSY ERMAIO*U (often blundered)
Kujula-Kasasa Kushana-yavugasa dhramathidasa

Bust r. diademed. / Herakles facing, club r.
resting on ground, lion's skin l.

BMC, 120-121.1-14 (XXV.1, 2); IMC, 33-34.1-15
(VI.14); PMC, 178.1-7 (XVII.1).

KUJŪLA

91. AE round (Tetradrachm size or smaller).

KO*ZO*ULO*U KADPHIZO*U KO*RC*O*LO*U (often blundered).
Kujula-Kasasa Kushana-yavugasa dhramathidasa

Devices as type 90;

Rev.: lf. Kh. dhra, rf. Kh. ra;
or lf. Kh. ura, rf. Kh. bu.

BMC, 122.1-8 (XXV.3, 4), 1 = XVI.91; PMC, 179.8-15
(XVII.8); IMC, 65.1-4 (XI.1); BKB.

CUKHSA-URASĀ

Mint series A (Agror-Urasā ?):

TELEPHOS EUERGETES

1. Drachms only.

BASILEŌS EUERGETOU TELEPHOU

Maharajasa kalanakramasa Teliphasa

Mythical monster with serpentine legs, axe (?) r.,
 flower (?) l. / Zeus or Helios facing on left,
 sceptre r., goddess with mural crown on r.;
 rf. mon. 153.

BMC, XXXII.7 = PMC, IX.x = CIGC, XXXII.13;
 TAX, 238.94.

2. AE square.

Legends as type 1 (3 sides).

Zeus enthroned, sceptre l. (between feet). /
 Warrior r., spear transverse; rf. mon. 153.

NS 1910, XXXIII.125 = NC 1923, XVII.5;
 PMC, 79.640, 641 (VIII.640 = CIGC, XXXII.15);
 TAX, 238.93.

MAUES

3. Tetradrachms and Drachms.

BASILEŌS BASILEŌN MEGALOU MAUOU

Rajatirajasa mahatasa Moasa

Helios and driver in tetrazygon. /
 Zeus enthroned, sceptre l. (between feet);
 lf. mon. 153.

CCS, II.1 (= PMC, XV.i), 2.

4. AE square.

Legends as type 3 (3 sides).

Poseidon with r. foot on prostrate figure,
 trident l. / Yakshī (?) among vines;
 rf. mon. 153.

PMC, 100.20 (X.20).

5. Unique Drachm.

Legends as type 3.

Goddess enthroned r., with mural crown, sceptre l.,
 callipers r. / ZN; lf. Kh. da, rf. mi.

PMC, 98.4 (X.4) = NC 1940, VIII.2 = XVI.5.

CUKHSA-URASĀ (continued)

6. AE square.

Legends as type 4.

KM r.; rf. Kh. pri. / Goddess r., with mural crown, patera r., l. with aegis on ground; lf. Kh. mi, rf. da.

NC 1950, p.220.

7. AE round.

Legends as type 3.

KMS; rf. mon. 154. / Goddess facing, mural crown, patera r., r. with aegis on ground; lf. Kh. dami.

BMC, 68.4 (XVI.3) = CCS, II.7.

8. AE square.

Legends as type 4.

KM r.; rf. mon. 154. / Goddess r., spear transverse; rf. Kh. dami.

BMC, 69.9 (XVI.6) = CCS, II.10; TAX, 238.118, 119; NSS.

9. AE square.

Legends as type 4.

Male deity facing, knobbed sceptre (?) r., trident l.; lf. mon. 154. /

Goddess r., with wreath; rf. Kh. dami.

BMC, 71.18, 19 (XVII.3); CCS, III.19; PMC, 101.25, 26 (X.25); NSS.

AZILISES

10. Tetradrachms and Drachms.

BASILEŌS BASILEŌN MEGALOU AZILISOU

Maharajasa rajatirajasa mahatasa Ayilishasa

KMW; rf. mon. 154. / Dioskouroi facing.

BMC, 93.2; CCS, VII.6a; PMC, 134.327 = XVI.10, 328 (XIII.327, 328).

11. Unique Drachm.

Legends as type 10.

KMW; rf. mon. 154. / Goddess l., mural crown, diadem r., spear, palm and aegis l.

PMC, 136.336 (XIII.336) = XVI.11.

CUKHSA-URASĀ (continued)

12. Tetradrachms and Drachms.

Legends as type 10.

ZN enthroned r.; rf. mon. 154. / Dioskouroi mounted.

CCS, VII.9; PMC, 134.325 = XVI.12, 326 (XIII.325, 326); JHA.

13. AE square.

Legends as type 10 (3 sides).

Pallas (?) r., spear transverse; rf. mon. 154. /
Deity r., diadem r.; lf. Kh. mi, rf. da.

BMC, 96.34-37 (XXI.4); CCS, VIII.8; PMC, 140.
365-368 (XIV.366), 366 = XVI.13; TAX, 240.166.

14. AE square (small).

Legends as type 13.

Herakles (?) Nikephoros facing, club r., Nike l.;
rf. mon. 154. /

Goddess facing, lamp (?) r.; rf. Kh. dam(i).

CCS, VIII.7.

15. AE square.

Legends as type 13.

Goddess enthroned r., mural crown, callipers r. /
Herakles (?) Nikephoros facing, Nike r., club l.;
lf. mon. 155, rf. mon. 156 (Kh. ura ?).

CCS, VIII.6; NC 1950, XII.3; TAX, 240.165.

16. AE square.

Legends as type 13.

Elephant r.; above Kh. bu. / Bull l.; lf. triratna.

NS 1929, V.5 = NSS; JEN, IV.8.

ZEIONISES

17. AE square.

Greek legend fragmentary.

Jihoniasa Manigulaputrassa chatrapa(sa)

Elephant r.; above (?). / Bull l.; above
triratna, lf. (?).

CCS, XII.5.

CUKHSA-URASĀ (continued)

18. Unique Tetradrachm.

...CATRAPOU ZEIŌ*NICOU

Manigulasa chatrapasa putrasa chatrapasa Jihoniasa

KMW; rf. triratna (mon. 125). / Figure facing,
 crowned by Nike l. and wingless deity r.;
 lf. mon. 157.

BMC, XXXII.11 = CCS, XII.3 = XVI.18.

19. Tetradrachms and Drachms (?).

MANNILIU UIIU CATRAPOU ZEIŌ*NICOU (blundered)

Manigulasa chatrapasa putrasa chatrapasa Jihoniasa

KMW; rf. triratna, Kh. letters below. /
 Goddess on r., mural crown, cornucopia l.,
 diadem r. crowning Satrap on l.;
 lf. mon. 157, rf. Kh. ura.

BMC, 110.1, 2 (XXIII.4 = CCS, XII.1); IMC, 58.1
 (IX.14); PMC, 157.82, 83 (XVI.82) = XVI.19; NSS.

20. Tetradrachms.

Greek legend indistinct.

(Mani)gulasa putrasa mahachatra(pasa Jihoniasa)

Devices and monograms as type 19.

NS 1929, V.7 = NSS; TAX, 241.200.

21. AE round.

Greek legend blundered.

Manigulaputrasa chatrapasa Jihoniasa

Bull r.; above triratna, rf. Kh. sa or pu. /
 Lion r.; above mon. 157, rf. Kh. ura.

BMC, 111.3, 4 (XXIII.5); CCS, XII.4, 4a;
 IMC, 59.2-7; PMC, 158.84-89 (XVI.84), 84 = XVI.21.

KUJŪLA

22. AE round.

Greek legend indistinct.

Maharayasa rayatirayasa devaputrasa Kuyula-
 Kara-Kaphasa

Bull r.; above triratna, rf. Kh. pa or pu. /
 Two-humped camel r.; above (?), rf. Kh. ca
 or ku over ca.

BMC, 112.10 (XXIII.7); PMC, 180.18 (XVII.18);
 TAX, 242.237, 238; BM.

CUKHSA-URASĀ (continued)

23. AE round.

Legends and devices as type 22.

Obv.: above triratna, rf. Kh. bu.

Rev.: Kh. ura, or ku over ca.

TAX, 242.235, 236; BM = XVI.23 (two).

Mint series B (Cukhsa ?):

ZEIONISES

24. AE round.

Legends as type 21, fragmentary.

Bull r.; above triratna and Kh. va, rf. Kh. sa. /

Lion r.; rf. Kh. cu (?), below Kh. a or ha.

PMC, 158.90.

AZES II

25. Billon Tetradrachm.

BASILEŌS BASILEŌN MEGALO*U AZO*U

Maharajasa rajatirajasa mahatasa Ayasa

KMW / Pallas r. (crude style); lf. triratna
(mon. 125) over Kh. va, rf. mon. 98
over Kh. a or ha.

CCS, VI.4.

26. AE round.

Legends as type 25.

Bull r.; rf. Kh. pra. / Lion r.; above triratna,
rf. Kh. va.

PMC, 127.282.

KUJŪLA

27. Drachm-size AE round (plated ?).

Legends indistinct.

Zeus r., sceptre vertical; lf. triratna (?),
rf. Kh. va. / King seated cross-legged.

PMC, 181.29, 30 (XVII.29); BM (2 coins) = XVI.27.

CUKHSĀ-URĀŚĀ (continued)

GONDOPHARES and SASAN

28. Billon Tetradrachms only.

Greek legend blundered.

Maharajasa mahatasa tradarasa devavradasa

Guduvharasa Sasasa

KM r.; rf. mon. 20, below Kh. pa with a, tha, ti,
ga, gha or bu. /

Zeus r., sceptre vertical; lf. triratna,
rf. Kh. va over pa, below alpha, beta,
Kh. dha, ja or ya.

BMC, 106.24 (= CCS, XI.8), 25, 27 = XVI.28; IMC, 54.3,
4; PMC, 147.8-19 (XV.19); BKB; BM.

ABDAGASES (nephew of Gondophares)

29. Billon Tetradrachms only.

...BASILEŌ*NI ABDAGASO*U

Guduvharabhratapurasa maharajasa tratarasa

Avadagaśasa

KM l.; lf. mon. 20 and Kh. pra. /

Zeus r.; lf. triratna over Kh. va, above Kh. ?,
rf. Kh. bu (?), or Kh. bu over pra.

BM (2 coins) = XVI.29.

SOTER MEGAS

30. AE round (irregular weight standard).

No legend.

Zeus r., sceptre vertical, dotted border;

lf. mon. 158, rf. Kh. vi. / Demeter r.

with cornucopia; lf. triratna, rf. mon. 159.

CCS, IX.8; PMC, 163.113, 114 (XVI.113).

SIND

Barbarikon (?):

GONDOPHARES

1. Drachms only.

(MEG)AC GŌ*NDO(PHERRĒS)

(Maharajasa rajaraja)sa tratarasa G(u)d(u)vharasa

Bust l. wearing tiara; lf. mon. 20. /

Nike l., palm branch l., wreath r.; rf. Kh. bhu.

TAX, 242.213-216.

SORPEDONOS (?)

2. Drachms only.

BACI(LEUC)...EDŌ*N

(Maharajasa) rajarajasa tratarasa dhramiasa ..danasa

Bust l. diademed; lf. mon. 20. /

Nike l. with palm and wreath; rf. Kh. be (?).

TAX, 241.211.

SASAN (nephew of Áspa)

3. Drachms only.

Greek legend indistinct.

Maharajasa Áspabhataputrasa tratarasa Sasasa

Bust l. with chignon hair style and wearing tiara;

lf. mon. 20. /

Winged Nike l. with palm and wreath; rf. Kh. bhu or none.TAX, 241.201-208, 202 = XVII.3.

VIMA

4. Drachms only.

...ANO OOĒM...?

...rajatirajasa Kh(u)shana...?

Bust l. wearing conical tiara. /

Winged Nike l. with palm and wreath;

rf. Kh. bhu (below wing).

TAX, 243.258, 259.

UNIDENTIFIED KING

5. Drachms only.

Legends fragmentary.

Bust l. wearing tiara; lf. mon. 20. /

Winged Nike r. with palm and wreath;

lf. Kh. bhu (below wing).TAX, 241-242.212, 220 = XVII.5, 221.

SIND (continued)

SATAVASTRA

6. Drachms only.

...C CA(T ?)OA..?

Maharajasa rajatirajasa tratarasa Satavastrasa

Bust l. wearing tiara; lf. mon. 20. /

Winged Nike r. with palm and wreath;

lf. Kh. bhu or none.

TAX, 242.217-219.

VIMA

7. Drachms only.

Legends fragmentary.

Bust l. wearing conical tiara. /

Winged Nike r. with palm and wreath;

lf. Kh. bhu (?).

TAX, 243.260.

PANJĀB

Mint series A (Jhelum district ?):

MAUES

1. AE square.

BASILEŌS BASILEŌN MEGALOU MAUOU (3 sides)

Rajatirajasa mahatasa Moasa (3 sides)

KMS / Winged Nike l. with palm and wreath;
lf. mon. 160.BMC, 69.10 (XVI.7) = CCS, II.11; IMC, 40.14;
PMC, 102.27; NSS.

2. AE square.

Legends as type 1.

Elephant r. with wreath. / King seated
cross-legged; rf. mon. 160.BMC, 71.22 (XVII.5); IMC, 40.13; NSS (2 coins) = XVII.2.

2a. var.: mon. 166.

BMC, 71.23, 24; CCS, III.17; IMC, 40.12;
PMC, 102.31 (X.31).

APOLLODOTOS II SOTER (PHILOPATOR)

3. Drachms only.

BASILEŌS SŌTĒROS APOLLODOTOU

Maharajasa tratarasa Apaladatasa

Bust r. / Athena Alkidemos l.; rf. mon. 161.

PMC, 42.263 (IV.263) = XVII.3.

4. Drachms only.

BASILEŌS SŌTĒROS KAI PHILOPATOROS APOLLODOTOU

Maharajasa tratarasa Apaladatasa

Devices and monogram as type 3.

PMC, 43.283-292 (IV.292); BMC, 37.3 (X.3);
IMC, 18.3; NC 1948, IX.14; SML.

5. AE round (large).

Legends as type 3.

Apollo r.; lf. mon. 161. / Tripod; lf. Kh. tu (?),
rf. Kh. u (?).

PMC, 46.331, 332 (V.331).

PANJĀB (continued)

ZOILOS SOTER

6. Drachms only.

BASILEŌS SŌTĒROS ZŌILOU
Maharajasa tratarasa Joīlasa

Bust r. / Athena Alkidemos l.; rf. mon. 161.

BMC, 52.8; BKB = XVII.6.

Mint series B (Siālkot ?):

APOLLODOTOS II SOTER

7. Drachms only.

Legends and devices as type 3.

Rev.: lf. Kh. di, nu or none.
rf. mon. 162.

BMC, 37.7, 8 (X.4); PMC, 42.258-262, 258 = XVII.7.

8. AE round (large).

Legends and devices as type 5.

Obv.: lf. mon. 162.

Rev.: lf. Kh. u, rf. di.

BMC, 38.9, 10 (X.5); PMC, 45.322 (V.322);
SNG, XI.344 = XVII.8; BKB.

9. AE square.

Legends as types 3 and 5 (3 sides).

Apollo r. / Tripod in dotted frame;

lf. Kh. di, rf. mon. 162.

BMC, 38.14.

9a. var.: mon. 169.

TAX, 237.89; NSS.

DIONYSIOS SOTER

10. Drachms only.

BASILEŌS SŌTĒROS DIONYSIOU
Maharajasa tratarasa Dianisiyasa

Bust r. / Athena Alkidemos l.; rf. mon. 162.

BMC, 51.1 (XII.9).

PANJĀB (continued)

ZOILOS SOTER

11. Drachms only.

Legends and devices as type 6, except Jhoīlasa.

Rev.: rf. mon. 162.

lf. Kh. go, dha, vi or none.

BMC, 52.3-5 (XII.11); PMC, 66.534-538 (VII.534);

SNG, XII.347, 348 = XVII.11; NC 1948, IX.11.

Mint series C (Eastern Panjāb ?):

APOLLODOTOS II SOTER (PHILOPATOR)

12. Drachms only.

Legends and devices as type 3.

Rev.: rf. mon. 163.

PMC, 41.254 = XVII.12, 255; SML.

13. Drachms only.

Legends and devices as type 4 (with philopatoros).

Rev.: rf. mon. 163.

BMC, 37.6; PMC, 43.280-283.

14. AE round (large).

Legends and devices as type 5.

Rev.: lf. mon. 163.

PMC, 46.330 (V.330).

Mint series D (Eastern Panjāb ?):

APOLLODOTOS II SOTER PHILOPATOR

15. Drachms only.

Legends and devices as type 4 (with philopatoros).

Rev.: rf. mon. 164.

BMC, 37.5; PMC, 43.277-279 = XVII.15; IMC, 18.7;

SML (2 coins).

PANJĀB (continued)

Mint Series E (Upper Beas Valley ?):

ZOILOS SOTER

16. Drachms only.

Legends and devices as type 11.

Rev.: lf. Kh. tu or ?, rf. mon. 165 over
Kh. ji or ?.

BMC, 52.6, 7; NC 1948, IX.12; PMC, 65-66.526-533.

17. AE square.

Legends as type 16 (3 sides).

Apollo r.; lf. mon. 165. / Tripod;
lf. Kh. ja, rf. ka.

BMC, 53.11 (XII.13).

APOLLOPHANES SOTER

18. Drachms only.

BASILEŌS SŌTĒROS APOLLOPHANOU

Maharajasa tratarasa Apalavinasa

Bust r. helmed. / Athena Alkidemos l.;

lf. Kh. hi or none, rf. mon. 165 over ma
or none.BMC, 54.1, 2 (XII.1); PMC, 68.550 (VII.550);
NC 1948, IX.13.

STRATO SOTER

19. Drachms only.

BASILEŌS SŌTĒROS STRATŌNOS

Maharajasa tratarasa Stratasa

Bust r. diademed. / Athena Alkidemos l.;

lf. Kh. tra, ra or sa, rf. mon. 165 over
Kh. im, ti, hu or ?.BMC, 40.7-10 (X.13, 14); PMC, 50.361 (V.361);
NC 1948, IX.10; SNG, X.324.

BHADRAYASA SOTER

20. Drachms only.

BASILEŌS SŌTĒROS....

Maharajasa tratarasa Bhadrayaśasa

Bust r. diademed. / Athena Alkidemos l.;

lf. Kh. da, rf. mon. 165 over Kh. im or ?.

PMC, IX.ix; TAX, 241.184.

PANJĀB (continued)

RĀJUVULA SOTER

21. Billon Drachms only.

BACILEŌ*C BACILEŌ*N CŌ*TĒROC RAIY (blundered)
 Chatrapasa apratihacakrasa Rajuvulasa

Bust r. diademed. / Athena Alkidemos l.;
 lf. Kh. sti or ha, rf. mon. 165 over Kh. ha or ra.
 BMC, 67.5, 6.

Mint series F (Ludhiānā district ?):

STRATO II SOTER and STRATO III (PHILOPATOR)

22. Drachms only.

BAS(or C)ILEŌS SŌTĒROS STRATŌNOS YIOU STRATŌNOS
 Maharajasa tratarasa Stratasa putrasa casa
 priyapita-Stratasa

Bust r. diademed. / Athena Alkidemos l.;
 rf. Kh. sa or ri.

PMC, 81.643, 644 (VIII.643); NC 1948, IX.9.

RĀJUVULA SOTER

23. Billon Drachms only.

BACILEŌ*C BACILEŌ*N CŌ*TĒROC RAIY (blundered)
 Apratihatacakrasa chatrapasa Rajuvulasa

Devices as type 21;
 Rev.: lf. Kh. ga, rf. a.

BMC, 67.1 (XV.11) = CCS, XII.12 = BMCAI, 185.98
 (XXVI.7).

24. Billon Drachms only.

Legends and devices as type 21;
 Rev.: lf. Kh. sti, rf. ha.

BMC, 67.2-4 (XV.12 = CCS, XII.13 = BMCAI, XXVI.8);
 BMCAI, 185-186.99-101, 106, 108, 109 (XXVI.8-11);
 PMC, 166.130, 131 (XV.131).

24a. var.: lf. Kh. ha, rf. bu (?).

BMCAI, 185-186.103-105.

PANJĀB (continued)

25. Billon Drachms only.

Greek legends indistinct.

Mahachatrapasa apraticakrasa Rajuvulasa

Devices as types 21 and 24;

Rev.: lf. Kh. ha, rf. bu.

BMC, 67.8.

25a. var.: lf. Kh. ji (?), rf. sa.

BMC, 67.7 (see also BMCAI, 186.110-112).

GONDOPHARES

26. Billon Drachms (or plated AE).

Greek legend indistinct.

(Rajatirajasa) tratarasa Gadapharasa

Bust r. / Athena Alkidemos r.;

lf. Kh. stra, rf. i, ho or ?.

BMC, 103.5-7 (XXII.7 = CCS, X.5); IMC,
56.19-24; PMC, 151.39-41 (XV.39); BM = XVII.26.

MATHURĀ

RĀJUVULA

1. Lead round (plated ?).
Obv. legend indistinct.
Kh.: ...sa chatrapasa...
Lion r.; above Kh. me (?). / Herakles l.;
lf. Kh. ?, rf. Kh. similar mon. 156.
BMCAI, 189.122, 134 (XLIV.5).
2. Lead round.
Obv. legend indistinct.
Kh.: Mahachatrapasa aprati(ha)cakrasa Rajulasa
Devices as type 1;
Rev.: lf. Kh. de, rf. śa.
BMCAI, 188-189.121-132 (XLIV.3, 4).
3. Lead round.
Legends and devices as type 2.
Rev.: lf. swastika.
BMCAI, 188.116-120 (XLIV.1, 2).
4. Lead round.
Br. (obv.): Mahākhatapasa Rājuvulasa
Lakshmī facing between symbols; swastika
at end of legend. / Gaja-Lakshmī.
BMCAI, 187.113, 114 (XXVI.12, 13).

ŚODĀSA

5. Lead or AE round (plated ?).
Br. (obv.): Mahākhatapasa putasa khatapasa Śodāsasa
Lakshmī facing between symbols; swastika
at end of legend. / Gaja-Lakshmī.
BMCAI, 190.135-142 (XXVI.14-17, XXV.25).
6. AE round.
Br. (obv.): Rājuvulaputasa khatapasa Śodāsasa
Devices and swastika as type 5.
BMCAI, 191.143-145 (XXVI.18).
7. AE round.
Br. (obv.): Mahākhatapasa Śodāsasa
Devices and swastika as type 5.
BMCAI, 191.146 (XLIII.15).

MATHURĀ (continued)

ŚIVADATTA

8. AE round.

Br. (obv.): Khatapasa Śivadatasa

Lakshmī facing between symbols; below mon. 170. /
Horse l.

BMCAI, 183.85 (XXV.26).

HAGĀMASHA

9. AE round.

Br. (obv.): Khatapasa Hagāmashasa

Devices and mon. 170 as type 8.

BMCAI, 183-184.86-96 (XXVI.1-5); IMC, 195.1-10;
IMCsup, 20.1-12.

HAGĀMASHA and HAGĀNA

10. AE round.

Br. (obv.): Khatap(ā)na Hagānasa Hagāmashasa

Mon. 170, vertical, to r. of legend. /
Horse l.

BMCAI, 184.97 (XXVI.6); IMC, 195.1-6.

APPENDIX III - INSCRIPTIONS

Introduction

All of the chronological and geographical evidence of inscriptions is given in this appendix. Not every inscription from the period is included, but only those which promise a contribution to the solution of the general problem. All inscriptions are in Kharoshthī script and Prākṛit language unless otherwise indicated. The information is divided into three sections.

Section A: Synoptical Data from Inscriptions - Each inscription is given a number (1-35) which is used throughout the thesis. References to inscriptions illustrated in plates XVIII to XXV are underlined. The inscriptions are arranged in approximate chronological order. Some undated records are grouped in the early or later part of the period (ca. 150 B.C. - A.D. 78) by the occurrence of similar personal names, titles and orthography of place names. Another criterion for dating minor objects, particularly Inscriptions 17-22 and 26, is their provenance from the later period of Sirkap. A hypothesis is postulated in Section C that the designation for 'year' in dated inscriptions may have chronological significance. The frequency of names occurring in more than one inscription and terms for 'year' are given at the end of Section A. Names collected from the inscriptions do not include references to the Buddha. Data from the inscriptions are arranged according to the following scheme:

NAME and year if any (further provenance information).

Type of object - stationary or portable (material).

Recorded date by day, month, year. (absolute date or period according to theories given in Section C).

Personal names and/or titles.

Religious orders, monasteries, etc.

Place names.

Purpose of inscription, if necessary.

References.

Section B: Notes on Select Inscriptions - Specific problems with six inscriptions, 1 and 10, 13, 30, 34 and 35, are discussed separately. Some inscriptions thought by Konow to be dated are not included in this appendix. These are explained under Miscellaneous inscriptions at the end of the section.

Section C: The Eras - The problem of assigning eras to the dates in seventeen inscriptions is discussed here. A list of the dates and the writer's conversion of them to absolute chronology is given at the end of the section.

SECTION A: SYNOPTICAL DATA FROM INSCRIPTIONS

Inscriptions in Approximate Chronological Order.

1. BĀJAUR CASKET OF MENANDER (Shīṅkoṭ).

Portable religious deposit.

14 Kaṭia (Kārttika), (year ?). (middle 2nd Cent. B.C.)

Menedra maharaja.

Dedication of Buddhist relic.

Majumdar 1937-38, pp.1-8; Sircar 1942-43, pp.318-321;

Konow 1947-48, pp.52-58; Sircar 1965, pp.102-106; XVIII.

2. TAXILA COPPER PLATE 78 (near Jandīāl ?).

5 Panema (Panemos), samvatsaraye 78. (May, 93 B.C.)

Maharaya Mahānta Moga; Kshaharata and Kshatrpa

Liaka Kusuluka of Cukhsa; Patika (son of Liaka);

Rohinimitra, the navakarmika.

Takhasīla; Kshema (eastern region north of Takhasīla),
Cukhsa.

Dedication of Buddhist relic and samghārāma.

CII, pp.23-29, plate V.1; XIX.2.

3. TAXILA VASE (mound 13 west of Shāhpur).

Portable religious deposit (clay).

Undated.

Sihila; Siharakshita.

Takhasīla.

Dedication of stūpa.

CII, p.87, plate XVII.2; XIX.3.

4. MUCHAI 81 (Gandhāra).

Stationary (stone).

Vashe ekaśitimaye 81. (90/89 B.C.)

Vaśhīśuga companions.

Dedication of a well.

CII, pp.29 f., plate V.2; I.46 Lahore Museum; XIX.4.

5. MOUNT BANJ 102 (Mahābān Range, on Indus River).
 Stationary (stone).
 Saṃvatsāraye 102. (69/8 B.C.)
 Vayira, son of Makadaka.
 Gift of a well.
 I.42 Lāhore Museum; CII, pp. 55ff., plate XI.2 (Konow read Vayira[thu]ve, Vajrastūpa); XX.5.
6. BĀJAUR SEAL OF THEODAMAS (Miānkīllī, Bājaur).
 Portable (stone).
 Undated
Su Theüdama[sa].
 CII, p. 6, plate I.3.
7. TAXILA COPPER PLATE OF A MERIDARKH (stūpa 17, west of Shāhpur village).
 Portable religious deposit.
 Date missing.
 Meridākha.
 Dedication of a stūpa.
 Calcutta Museum; CII, pp. 4f., plate I.2; XX.7.
8. SWĀT RELIC VASE OF THEODOROS (Swāt Valley).
 Portable religious deposit (steatite).
 Undated.
 Theüdora Meridarkha.
 Dedication of relics.
 L.4 Lāhore Museum; CII, pp. 1ff., plate I.1; XX.8.
9. KĀLDARRA 113 (Swāt, south of Malakand Pass).
 Stationary (stone).
 20 Śravaṇa, vasha 113. (July/August, 57 B.C.)
 Son of Datia, Thaüdora.
 Dedication of a tank
 I.77 Lāhore Museum; CII, pp. 65f., plate XIII.2.

10. BĀJAUR CASKET 5 OF VIJAYAMITRA (see Inscription 1).

Portable religious deposit.

Pamcaviṣaye (25) Veśakha (Vaiśākha), Vashaye, pamcamaye 5.
(54/3 B.C., or 5th regnal year)

Vijayamitra (Viyakamitra) Apracaraja; Viṣpila
Anamkaya (Gk. anagkaios, enforcer).

Restoration and rededication of relic.

Konow 1947-48, pp. 52-58; XVIII; and see Inscription 1.

11. KHUDACA 168 (provenance unknown).

Stationary (stone).

Pamcadaṣe (15) Jeṭha (Jyaishṭha), sam 168. (May/June, 2 B.C.)

Travaśakura companions.

Khudaca vihāra.

Gift of a well.

No. 20, Peshāwar Museum; CII, pp. 77ff., plate XV.1.

12. FATEHJANG 68 (Mahjia, 5 miles south of Fatehjang).

Stationary (stone).

Shoḍaṣe, 16, Proṭhavata (Praushṭhapada), sam 68.
(August/September, A.D. 11)

Vadhitira companions.

Gift.

I.3 Lāhore Museum; CII, pp. 21f., plate IV.1; XXI.12.

13. MATHURĀ LION CAPITAL (Śītalā temple-altar, Kaṅkāḷī Tīlā).

Stationary, reused in steps of an altar (sandstone).

Dated in time of Rājuvula and Kharahostes.
(before A.D. 14)

Mahakshatrava Rajula (Rājuvula); Agramaheshi (chief queen)
Ayasia Kamuia, wife of Rajula and daughter of
Kharaosta; Kharaosta (Kharahostes) Yuvaraya Kamuia;
Nada Diaka, son of Ayasia; Abuhola, mother of Ayasia;
Piśpasia, mother of Kharaosta; Hayuara, brother of
Ayasia; Hana, daughter of Hayuara; Khalamasa Kumara
Maja kaniṭha (the younger), or Kumara (Prince) Maja
kaniṭha of Khalama (?); Kshatrava Śudasa [Naūludo ?],
son of Rajula; Kalui or Kaluia, younger brother of
Śudasa (?), or natural son of Rajula (?); Mahakshatrava
Kusulua Patika; Kshatrava Mevaki Miyika; Kshatrava
(of ?) Khardaa; (The ?) Kronina (of ?) Takshila
(Takshaśilā/Taxila); Budhateva (Buddhadeva); Bhikhu
(Monk) Budhila or Nak(r)araa, Nak(r)arak(r)a (Nagarahāra);
(the superintendent of construction or engraver ?).

13. MATHURĀ LION CAPITAL (continued).

Sarvastivata (Sarvāstivādins); Mahasaghia
(Mahāsāṃghikas).

Veyāūdirna kadhavara (encampment); Busapara
kadhavara; Nak(r)araa, Nak(r)arak(r)a
(Nagarahāra); Takshila (Takshaśilā/Taxila);
Khardaa (or personal name ?); Sak(r)astana.

Dedication of a relic of the Buddha, a stūpa and
a saṃghārāma.

BM; CII, pp. 30-49, plates VI-IX; Dani 1960, pp.128-147;
Sircar 1965, pp. 114-119; XXI.13.

14. MATHURĀ (BRĀHMĪ) 72 OF ŚODĀSA (Kaṅkāli Tīlā).

Stationary (votive tablet).

9 second winter month (Hemantamāse), Savatsara 72.
(November/December, A.D. 14)

Mahākshatrapa Śodāsa; Amohini (Amohinī) the Kochi
(Kautsī), wife of Pāla; Pāla, son of (a) Hariti;
sons of Amohinī - Pālaghosha, Poṭhaghosha
(Proshthaghosha) and Dhanaghosha.

Dedication of an Āryavatī (votive tablet) to the Arhat
Vardhamāna.

Bühler 1894, p. 199, plate facing p. 200, no. 2;
Lüders List, no. 59; Sircar 1965, p. 120.

NOTE: Other Jain inscriptions from Mathurā with the
names of Rājūvula (sic) and/or Śodāsa are published
in Lüders 1961, pp. 99f., 154, 155, 203 f..

15. KHALATSE 187 OF VIMA (Ladakh).

Stationary (stone).

Sam 187. (A.D. 17/8)

Maharajasa Uvima-Kavphisasa.

CII, pp.79-81, plate XV.2; EW 1959, p. 194, fig. 8;
Bailey 1949-50, p. 397; XXII.15.

16. BEDĀDĪ COPPER LADLE (12 miles north of Mānsehrā).

Portable.

Undated. (first half 1st Cent. A.D.)

Samgharakshita.

Kashyaviyana (of the Kāśyapīyas).

Uraśaraje (in the Uraśā kingdom).

Donation of the ladle to the congregation of the
four quarters.

Peshāwar Museum; CII, pp. 88f., plate XVII.4.

17. TAXILA COPPER LADLES (Mahal, near Sirkap).

Portable, 2 ladles with identical inscriptions.

Undated. (first half 1st Cent. A.D. ?)

Isparaka (Īśvaraka).

Kaśaviana (of the Kāśyapīyas).

Utararame (in the Uttarārāma, 'northern garden' or 'estate', probably a Buddhist monastery); Takshasilae.

CII, pp. 87f., plate XVII.3.

18. TAXILA SILVER VASE 191 OF JIHOṆIKA (Sirkap, Block D, square 58.47', stratum III; Hoard SK '26 - 4081/13).

Portable.

Ka 191. (A.D. 21/2)

Maharajabhrata-Maṇi [gula*] sa putrasa Jihonikasa
Cukhsasa kshatrapasa.

'Of Jihonika, kshatrapa of Cukhsa, son of Manigula
the brother of the Great King'.

CII, pp. 81f., plate XVI; Taxila, II, 611-613.

19. SILVER SIEVE (Inscription 18 hoard, 4081/19).

Portable.

Undated. (first half 1st Cent. A.D.)

Gomanadaputras(y)a Jhāndanamas(y)a.

'Of Jhāndanama, son of Gomananda'.

CII, p. 99, plate XIX.5; Taxila, II, 611-613; XXII.19.

20. SILVER TRAY OF MUMJUKRITA (Inscription 18 hoard, 4081/20).

Portable; weight 358.5 grammes (5378 grains).

Undated. (first half 1st Cent. A.D.)

Mumjukritas(y)a s(y)a. 20, dra. 1.

'Of Mumjukrita 20 staters, 1 drachm'.

CII, p. 98, plate XIX.3; Taxila, II, 610, 613.13.

21. SILVER PLATE OF MIMJUKRITA (Inscription 18 hoard, 4081/21).

Portable; weight 486.35 (7505.3 grains).

Mimjukritasa sa. 30, dha. 2.

'Of Mimjukrita 30 staters, 2 drachms'.

CII, p. 99, plate XIX.4; Taxila, II, 610, 612.10.

22. SILVER BOWLS (Inscription 18 hoard, 4081/24).
 Portable, 2 bowls with identical inscriptions.
 Undated. (first half 1st Cent. A.D.)
 Theütaras(y)a Thavaraputras(y)a.
 'Of Theodoros, son of Thavara'.
 CII, pp. 97f., plate XIX.1, 2; Taxila, II, 610-613.
23. SHĀHDAUR 40 + X OF ŚIVARAKSHITA (Agror Valley).
 Stationary (stone).
 Sam 20 + 20 + X. (19 B.C. + X)
 ...Aya (Azes); Śivarakshita.
 Donation of a gift (?).
 CII, pp. 16f., plate III.2; XXIII.23.
24. BĪMARĀN VASE OF ŚIVARAKSHITA (Bīmarān stūpa 2).
 Portable religious deposit (see coin Hoard 51).
 Undated. (first quarter 1st Cent. A.D.)
 Śivarakshita, son of Munjavamda.
 Dedication of a votive deposit.
 BM; CII, pp. 50ff., plate X.2; XXIII.24.
25. ŚIVARAKSHITA COPPER SEAL (Sirkap, Block C', square 48.78', stratum II, find SK '14 - 526).
 Portable.
 Undated. (first quarter 1st Cent. A.D.)
 Śivarakshitasa (Br. and Kh.).
 Monogram 125 in right field.
 CII, p. 102, plate XX.11; Taxila, II, 681, plate 208.56; XXIII.25.
26. SILVER SAUCER OF ĀSPAVARMAN (Sirkap, House 3, Hoard D, Block D', square 62.113', find SK '29 - 1362/4).
 Portable, weight 168.719 grammes (2603.7 grains).
 Āspavarmasa Strategasa sa. 11, dra. 2, o. 2.
 'Of Stratega Aspavarman, 11 staters, 2 drachms, 2 obols'.
Taxila, II, 610, 613.11, plate 187.

27. JALĀLĀBĀD 83 OF TIRAVHARṆA

Stationary (stone).

Vasha 83. (A.D. 25/6 ?)

Kshatrapa Tiravharṇa; Cobuva Putreshtap(a)...
Majashua.

Construction of a tank.

Kābul Museum; Konow 1938, pp. 234-240; Humbach 1969, pp. 29-33; Fussman 1970, pp. 43-51; XXIV.27.

28. DEWAI 200 (east slope of Mahābān Range).

Stationary (stone).

Athame, 8, Vesakha (Vaisākha), sam 200.
(April, A.D. 31 ?)

Hima.

Gift of a 'water-giver', probably a well.

CII, pp. 104-106, plate XV.3.

29. GONDOPHARES SEALING (Sanghol, Panjāb, India).

Portable (grey clay).

Undated. (A.D. 25-50)

Device as reverse of coin-type PA 26.

Rajatirajasa tratarasa Gudupharasa.

Chaturvedi 1969, pp. 140-142, plate I.1; Archaeological Survey, New Delhi, negative no. 2322/65.

30. TAKHT-i-BĀHĪ 103 (Shāhbāzgarhī or Takht-i-Bāhī).

Stationary (stone).

Maharayasa Guduvharasa vasha 26 (regnal year);
Prathame, 1, Vesakha (Vaisākha), sambatsarae
tisatimae, 103. (April, A.D. 46)

Maharaya Guduvhara (Gondophares); Erjhuna Kapa
(Prince Kadpha); Balasami Boyana (Saviour
Balasvāmin ?); Mira Boyana (Saviour Mira).

Donation and dedication of a chapel.

Lāhore Museum; CII, pp. 57-62, plate XII.1; Sircar 1965, pp. 125 f.; XXIV.30.

31. PARIS CORNELIAN (provenance unknown).

Portable.

Undated. (second quarter 1st Cent. A.D. ?)

Device of Zeus r. as on coins of Kujūla,
Gondophares and Sasan, Abdagases, and Soter
Megas (Cu 27-30).

Puṇamatasa (of Puṇyamata).

Cabinet of Medals, Paris; CII, p. 7, plate I.4; XXV.31.

32. PĀJĀ 111 (northeast of Takht-i-Bāhī).

Stationary (stone).

Paṃcadase, 15, Śravaṇa (Śrāvaṇa), saṃvatsāraye
ekadaśatimaye, 111. (July/August, A.D. 54)

Samghamitra, son of Ananda.

Donation and dedication of a well.

I.47 Lahore Museum, CII, pp. 63ff., plate XIII.1; XXV.32.

33. PAÑJĀR 122 OF GUSHANA

Stationary (stone).

Pradhame, 1, Śravaṇa, saṃ 122. (July, A.D. 65)

Maharaya Gushana (Kushāna); Moika, son of Urumuja.

Kasusa pracadeso (eastern region of Kasua).

Donation and dedication of two trees.

CII, pp. 67-70, plate XIII.4; Sircar 1965, pp. 130f.; XXV.33.

34. KĀLAWĀN COPPER PLATE 134 (near Sirkap, Taxila).

Portable religious deposit.

Trevisē, 23, Śravaṇa, saṃvatsāraye 134 Ajasa.
(August, A.D. 77)

Camḍrabhi (Candrābhī), daughter of Dhramma (Dharma),
wife of Bhadravala (Bhadrāpāla), sister of
Naṃdivadhana (Nandivardhana); Sama and Saṭṭa
(Sacitta), sons of Candrābhī; Rajā and Indrā,
daughters-in-law of Candrābhī; Jivaṇamdi
(Jivanandin), son of Sama.

Sarvastivāa (Sarvāstivādins).

Chadaśila (Kālawān ?).

Establishment of relics in chapel-stūpa.

Konow 1931, pp. 251-259; Konow 1932, pp. 949-965;
Sircar 1965, pp. 131 f.; XXV.34.

35. TAXILA SILVER SCROLL 136 OF KHUSHANA (Room G5, Dharmarājikā).

Portable religious deposit.

15 Ashada (Āshādha), sa(m) 136 Ayasa.
(June/July, A.D. 79)

Maharaja rajatiraja devaputra Khushana; Urasaka, of
the Imtavhria sons, the Bahalia (Bactrian).

Noaca nagara (the home of Urasaka); Dharmarae
Takshasilae ('In the Dharmarājikā compound in
Takshasilā').

Establishment and dedication of relics.

National Museum, New Delhi; CII, pp. 70-77, plate XIV;
Sircar 1965, pp. 133f.; Banerji-Sastri 1937, pp. 261-268;
XXV.35.

Personal names, Titles, religious orders and places mentioned in more than one inscription.

Aya (Azes II) - 23; Ajasa, Ayasa (Era of Azes) - 34, 35.

Cukhsa - 2, 18.

Guduphara (Gondophares) - 29; Guduvhara - 30.

Gushana (Kushana) - 33; Khushana - 35.

Kashyaviya (Kasyapiyas) - 16; Kasavia - 17.

Meridakha - 7; Meridarkha - 8.

Mumjukrita - 20; Mimjukrita - 21.

Patika - 2, 13.

Rajula (Rajuvula) - 13, 14 note.

Sarvastivata (Sarvastivadins) - 13; Sarvastivaa - 34.

Sivarakshita - 23, 24, 25.

Sudasa - 13; Sodasa - 14.

Takhasila - 2, 3; Takshila - 13; Takshasila - 17, 35.

Theudora (Theodoros) - 8;

Thaidora, son of Datia - 9;

Theutara, son of Thavara - 22.

Designations for 'year' in order of first occurrence.

Samvatsara - 2, 5; Savatsara - 14; Sambatsara - 30;

Samvatsara - 32, 34.

Vasha - 4, 9, 10 (regnal ?), 27, 30 (regnal).

Sam - 11, 12, 15, 23, 28, 33, 36.

Ka (Kale ?) - 18.

SECTION B: NOTES ON SELECT INSCRIPTIONS

Inscriptions 1 and 10.

The Bājaur Casket has two inscriptions of different ages. Each is dated. The earlier records the establishment of a relic during the reign of Menander. The later one describes the re-establishment of the relic and implies the repair of its receptacle in the fifth year during the reign of Apracarāja Vijayamitra. Doubt surrounds the interpretation of line B, which is translated 'of Apracarāja Viyikamitra'. Konow takes these latter two names as being of the same person, whereas Majumdar and Sircar treat Viyakamitra as a contemporary of Menander and predecessor of Vijayamitra.

The name Vijayamitra occurs twice in the later inscription - once on the outside of the lid and once inside the bowl - in the instrumental case. Neither instance connects the name with the date, the reckoning of which is therefore left ambiguous. The editing officer may have realized after the draft had been engraved that by its context the year 5 could be reckoned incorrectly in Menander's reign. According to Konow line B was inserted above the date to identify it as the year, probably regnal, of Viyakamitra=Vijayamitra. The different forms of the name are due to the orthographies of different scribes. This seems to be the most reasonable solution of the problem. The view of Majumdar and Sircar that line B, a name in genitive case, belongs to the earlier engraving would leave it alone in the inside of the bowl, separated from the rest of the original epigraph and without an antecedent.

Line E, Viśpilena anamkayena Likhit(r)e, 'written by Viśpila the anagkaioi (?)', may belong to the time of Menander's inscription rather than the later one.

Inscription 13.

The Mathurā Lion Capital inscription presents four important problems in its linguistic and historical interpretation: 1) the genealogy of the individuals listed in lines A.1-8, E.1-3, B.1-3, C.1-2, and D; 2) whether Maues is named in lines A.13 or G.1-2;

- 3) the reference to Kusula Patika, who apparently is mentioned in the much earlier Inscription 2 as the son of Liaka Kusuluka;
- 4) and whether the inscription is a forgery.

1) The problem of genealogy has been approached in several ways, but the two most reasonable methods are those of Konow and Sircar. The principal character in the inscription is the chief queen (agramaheshi) of Mahakshatrava Rajula (Mahākshatrāpa Rājuvula), who - with certain other people - established a relic of the Buddha, a stūpa and a saṃghārāma. The relationships given in lines A.2-7 certainly refer to her. The interpretation of lines A.6-8 is without doubt: Abuhola is the mother of the chief queen, Piśpasia the paternal grandmother, Hayuara the brother of the chief queen, and Hana the daughter of Hayuara. The relationships in lines A.2-5 depend on the identification of the chief queen. Konow identifies her as Ayasia Kamuā; according to Sircar she is Nada Diakasi (< Nadadi[si ?]akasa[e ?]).

If the chief queen is Ayasia, she would be the daughter of Kharaosta (Kharahostes) and the mother of Nada Diaka, which name would in this case be masculine, from the genitive Diakasa. However, if this latter name is nominative feminine and agrees with agramaheshi, the chief queen would be the daughter of Ayasia and the mother of Kharaosta. Since the mother of the chief queen is certainly Abuhola, Ayasia would have to be her father. Sircar reads the name as Ayasia Kamu[sa]a and as masculine. There are three main objections to this interpretation besides the doubtful reading. The masculine genitive singular of Kamusa would be Kamusasa, not Kamusaa. Sircar's genealogy requires four generations of living adults, from Kharaosta to Piśpasia. This is not impossible, though it is unlikely. Kharaosta's coins (TX 83) identify him as the son of Arṭa. If his mother was the chief queen of Rājuvula, she must have married twice.¹ Again, this is unlikely, but not impossible. Konow's genealogy also requires four generations of living persons, but Nada Diaka and Hana could have been quite young. In this version

¹ CII, p.35.

Nada Diaka is not specified as a participant in the ceremony, and Hana need only have been old enough to attend the dedication with her aunt, father, grandmother and great-grandmother.

Kharaosta is named again in line E.1 in association with Khalamasa kumara Maja kanitha. Konow interprets this line as meaning 'Prince Khalamasa and Maja, the youngest'. This may be correct, but the names could also refer to one person as 'the Prince of Khalama, Maja the youngest' or 'Prince Khalamasa Maja, the youngest'. A title between two names of the same person can be seen in the reference to Kharaosta yuvaraya Kamuñō. The purpose of section E is to indicate that Kharaosta made the Prince an assenting party or participant. It seems strange that Kharaosta himself is not included in the list of participants, but this may have been foregone because of his royal rank. The same is the case with Rājuvula, but then he may not have been present. An alternative rendering could be that both Kharaosta and the Prince were made participants. In this case section E would go with sections B and C - that is '... made assenting (parties) by Kshatrapa Śoḍāsa, the son of Mahākshatrapa Rājuvula'. This would avoid the necessity of explaining line M.1, 'by Kshatrapa Śoḍāsa', as an unnecessary repetition of line C.3. The lines would refer to different actions by Śoḍāsa.

Kaluñ avaraja, or Kaluñ[a*]avaraja, was added to section C after the original engraving. The phrase appears to be a qualification of Śoḍāsa, but it may identify a certain younger brother or natural son named Kaluñ. Konow takes Nañludo with Śoḍāsa, but Sircar links the word to Kaluñ.

Śoḍāsa was a participant in the ceremony because section M identifies him as the donor of the land to the Sarvāstivādins. He is called the son of Rājuvula, but not of the chief queen. It is probably correct to assume that he was not her son since her relations are listed with their relationship to her. Śoḍāsa had certainly attained his majority because he is called 'kshatrapa' and takes responsibility in the ceremony. It would not be difficult to imagine him as being older than his step-mother.

2) The reading and interpretation of line A.13 are unsettled. Konow's version is Muki[śri]raya saśpa [a]bhusavi[ta], 'after having performed the solemnities over the illustrious king Muki (= Moga, Maues) and his horse'. This statement is puzzling if this interpretation is correct. It has nothing to do with the purpose of the record and seems off-handed in context. Coming after the reference to the Buddha's relic as it does, one would expect this line to be a dedication. Sircar gives the reading as ma(?)kihi(?)ra(ta ?)ya saśpa [a]bhusavita and Sanskritizes it as [sarveshām] mukti-hitāya (?) abhyutsarpitaḥ (= utthapitaḥ = kāritaḥ). This is not completely satisfactory because he does not explain saśpa. But it seems more convincing than Konow's reading, even though the latter is insistent that mukti becomes mutti, not muki, in this dialect. Still, it is reasonably certain that muki is not a personal name.

Sircar suggests that Maues' name is given as Mevaki in section G. He reads these lines as Mahaksha[tra]vasya Kusulaasa Padikasa Meva(?)kisa Miyikasa kshatravasa puyae. Sanskrit: Mahākshatrapasya Kusulukasya (Kūsuluka-putrasya ?) Patikasya, Mevakeḥ (Mevaki-putrasya ?) Miyikasya [ca] pūjāyai. Aside from the omission of kshatrapasya after Miyikasya in his Sanskritization, this version takes considerable liberties with the text. There is nothing in the original to suggest that Kshatrapa Miyika was the son of Mevaki = Moga = Maues or that the two names do not belong together. Furthermore, if Mevaki is Maues his titles should be included. Both suggestions that Maues is mentioned in this inscription are unwarranted.

3) As with the Mevaki-Miyika relationship there is no basis for Sircar's suggestion that Patika was the son of Mahākshatrapa Kusuluka. Sircar finds it necessary to assume that Patika or Kusuluka Patika was not the same person as the Patika of Inscription 2, because he dates this inscription, year 78, to the same era as Inscription 14, year 72, of Mahākshatrapa Śoḍāsa and after the Lion Capital. Therefore, Mahākshatrapa Patika could not be the Mahādānapati Patika, son of a kshatrapa, in a later inscription. Similarly, if Maues is mentioned in this inscription and again as the reigning monarch in a later one,

the reference here could not allude to his funeral. But Sircar's chronology is clearly incorrect: Maues and Inscription 2 cannot possibly be contemporary with Śodāsa. The years 72 and 78 belong to different eras, and the latter is the earlier by about a century. The Lion Capital must be dated during Śodāsa's term as kshatrapa and before the end of A.D. 14 by which time he had succeeded Rājuvula as mahākshatrapa: between ca. 10 B.C. and A.D. 14 (see below, Section C).

Sircar's reason for postulating two Patikas does not hold, and there is no reason to assume the inscriptions refer to different men. However, if Patika was old enough to receive the honorary title mahādānapati at least before ca. 80 B.C., it is unlikely that he was still alive in ca. 10 B.C. His age would have been (age 15 + 70 years) about 85 or more, and if it is correct to date Inscription 2 in 93 B.C., his age would have been at least 98.

But there is a case for suggesting that Patika was not alive when the Lion Capital inscription was drafted. Lines G.1-2, 'in honour of (for the worship of) Mahākshatrapa Kusuluka Patika (and) Kshatrapa Mevaki Miyika', occurs in the middle of the description of the ceremony donating the religious gift. This gives the impression that the pious act was dedicated to Patika and Mevaki during the actual ceremony. Curiously, none of the participants are singled out as receiving honour. Sections O and P extend worship to all the Buddhas, the Law, the Order and all of Sakastāna - each traditionally possessing sacred qualities. Other inscriptions give worship to mother and father, family and friends in general. But the earliest inscriptions which connect the term pūjā to a specific, non-religious individual who might have been living at the time are Inscription 30 (A.D. 46) which has erjhūna Kapasa puyae, and the Zeda inscription, year 11² (not earlier than A.D. 89), which has pujane Liakasa kshatrapasa. But it is not certain that either of these men were alive at the time. If Erjhūna Kapa is a reference to Kujūla, it is not

² CII, pp.142-145, plate XXVI.2.

impossible for his death to have occurred as early as the beginning of the year A.D. 46.

It is possible, therefore, that every use of the term pūjā in Kharoshthī inscriptions before A.D. 100 refers to the worship of ancestors, Buddhas, holy men, or sacred institutions or relationships - never of a particular living individual. It seems reasonable then to regard section G as a dedication to ancestors of the royal Śaka dynasty, the Kshaharātas. Patika and Mevaki were perhaps the last high ranking Kshaharātas to have died before the Lion Capital inscription was composed.

4) Dani dates the palaeography of the Lion Capital to the period of the Kanishka group of Kushāṇas.^{2a} He notes however that some aksharas seem to be a conscious attempt to copy older forms. The record could be a forgery, he concludes, fabricated to support a claim to the land mentioned in it. The names of several famous Śakas of the previous generations were included to date the fictitious grant and lend credibility to the claim. There is nothing improbable or unprecedented in this theory. But there are two alternative explanations to be considered.

First, the inscription was found outside the area where Kharoshthī was the regular script. Brāhmī was normally used in Mathurā. The peculiarities of the inscription's palaeography then may have been the result of a hand either unaccustomed to the script or influenced by a different style. However the fact that some letters are like the regular forms of the later Kharoshthī script detracts from the credibility of this explanation.

Secondly, the inscription might have been a copy of an original, genuine grant. This could explain how some early forms of aksharas influenced the hand of the scribe. Also, there is a lack of economy of words in the epigraph which could have been avoided with more care in its drafting. For example, the phrase 'Budhila from Nagara(hāra), the Sarvāstivādin monk' in section F is repeated in N. Such verbosity is not normally found in inscriptions on stone, and the Lion Capital itself has

^{2a} Journal of the Asiatic Society of Pakistan 1960, p.147.

a dearth of space. But if the original grant had been on parchment or a metal plate, there would have been no need for brevity. Either material could have deteriorated after say a century, making it necessary to copy the grant.

The occasion for copying such a record might be found in a general renovation of the stūpa and saṃghārāma which are mentioned in it. Two inscriptions on statues found at Tokrī Tīlā near Maṭ, not far from Mathurā, record first the construction of a temple (devakula) and tank (pushkarinī) during the reign of Vima, and the reconstruction of the same temple during the reign of Huvishka.³ The temple was a centre for ancestral worship, and its upkeep was a personal concern to members of the dynasty. Its restoration is not necessarily related to repairs to a Sarvāstivādin establishment in the same city, but these Kushāṇa inscriptions show that important centres of worship were periodically refurbished with ceremonial deference, and that at least one such improvement was carried out and dedicated during the reign of Huvishka. In the case of the Sarvāstivādin monastery at Kaṅkāli Tīlā, the original grant might have been copied onto the capital and exhibited in a public place. If there was an explanatory legend it would probably have been on the pedestal, now lost. Sections N-R are on the bottom of the capital and could not have been read when it was erected. But written records and invocations were popularly regarded as possessing a kind of magic.⁴ Such spells need not be seen in order to impart merit to the devotee who offers pūjā to the ancestors named in them. This may indicate that the Sarvāstivādin centre and the Lion Capital were to the

³ Lüders 1961, pp.131-145, sections 98 and 99.

⁴ See CII, pp.159-162. According to Konow the Rāwal Kharoshthī inscription was copied from the Shakardarra one, year 40, which recorded the gift of a well. The copy was to engage mystic power for another well or religious monument. Rāwal is a village near Mathurā. The date and place demonstrate that the conception of magic in written records was known in the Mathurā region during the reign of Huvishka or later.

Śaka community of Mathurā what the devakula of Māt and its cult statues - each with names inscribed - were to the Kushāṇas.

Therefore, it is not necessary to interpret the palaeography of the Lion Capital inscription as betraying it as a forgery. But Dani's opinion on the date of its engraving may be correct. In view of this, the date of the epigraph should be clarified. The record was composed before A.D. 14, but it was perhaps put on the capital - being copied from an original document - about a hundred or more years later.

Inscription 30.

Line 5 of the Takht-i-Bāhī 103 inscription has been the cause of some controversy. Konow's reading is Erjhuna Kapasa puyae madu. Erjhuna is explained as the Saka-Khotanese word for kumara, 'prince', and Kapa as a variant of Kadphises, other forms being Kasa, Kaphsa, Kadapha, Kaü and Kapha. He interprets the designation as possibly meaning Prince (Kujūla) Kadphises. The principal cause of disagreement, however, is the fact that a gap of about eight inches occurs between the pa and sa of kapasa, dividing the line into two approximately equal parts on either side of the stone. Konow attributes this gap to roughness in the stone. Sircar assumes that about eight aksharas are missing, and, noting that Cunningham obtained the stone from a miller who used it as a grinding base, attributes their loss to wear. An examination of the stone itself clearly refuted Konow's suggestion about roughness in the stone's surface in the gap. Neither was there evidence of enough loss of the stone's surface to account for any missing aksharas.

The cause of the gap, then, should be some condition at the time of the inscription's engraving which is no longer apparent. One can only speculate, but something, possibly a religious painting, must have filled the approximately 7 x 8 inches (18 x 20 centimeters) space. Or something may have been placed in front of the stone, perhaps an image of the Buddha. Several of the early Gandhāran images of seated Buddha are of about these dimensions. Such an arrangement could have served as an altar

in the chapel. So Konow's reading of line 5 can be defended, though not proved.

Also, it would not be unlikely for this inscription itself to have been an object of worship (see above, Inscription 13). Two holy men are mentioned in it. One is the donor of the chapel, and the other, along with Erjhuna Kapa and the mother and father of the donor, is a recipient of pūjā. The occurrence of these three names would have been of interest to the worshipper performing śrāddha. The second holy man and, as mentioned above in the discussion of Inscription 13, possibly, if not probably, Kapa had died before this inscription was drafted.

Inscriptions 34 and 35.

The words ajasa and ayasa which occur after the year in these inscriptions have been given three interpretations, two of which link the words to the month and one to the year. Before the discovery of Kālawaṇ134, Konow took ayasa in the Taxila Silver Scroll 136 to be from ādyasya, 'first', referring to the month. However, he abandoned this view when ajasa was found in Inscription 34, and it is no longer advocated by anyone. Banerji-Sastri argues that ajasa/ayasa āja/āya = āryasya. He points out that both the Āshāḍha and Śrāvaṇa months are especially sacred (ārya) to the Buddhists and Jains, and quotes examples of Āryāshāḍha being used as a personal name and name of a ceremony. In his opinion āja/āya simply affirms the sanctity of the months named in the inscriptions. However none of his examples link ārya with the month in a recorded date. His explanation is not conclusive, though possible.

Banerji-Sastri argues that āja/āya cannot qualify the year because of its position after the year, and because a term āryakāla, 'Āryan year', would not have been used by an Indian. Konow's final opinion takes āja/āya from āja (āja) or aza (āza) = Azes. This requires the word to qualify the year, but as Sircar points out the formula for the date in at least one inscription places the king's name after the year and before the month (Inscription 2, and possibly 1). So Banerji-Sastri's objections do not necessarily hold. But in these inscriptions

the usage is unique because the king's name is not accompanied by titles. The significance of this is further cause for debate. Konow's view is that 'of Azes' does not mean that the era of the year was instituted by Azes, but simply that the era was popularly connected with the Azes dynasty. He identifies the era as the one which became known as the Vikrama Era, the use of which had spread to the area from the south and east. Sircar takes aja and aya as references to Azes II. He assumes that Azes was being mentioned as the reigning king by some people after his overthrow. But the correct interpretation of the words seems to be that of Marshall,⁵ who first suggested that ayasa of Inscription 35 means 'of Azes', and that it is the name of the era or its founder. Konow's interpretation is an unnecessary complication because there is no evidence of the Vikrama Era being used anywhere else earlier than in Taxila and Gandhāra. Sircar disallows the importance of the lack of titles. It is inadmissible to see a reference to a king presumed to be living which does not include his title. The likeliest explanation of ajasa and ayasa is that they identify the era of the dates as having been founded by a king named Azes.

Miscellaneous inscriptions.

Konow's reading of five inscriptions with dates are dubious. No sense can be made out of the inscription on the Maira well,⁶ and Konow's reading of the year 58 is arbitrary.

His Shāhdaur inscription of year 60 of Damijada⁷ is on the same rock as Inscription 23. The latter is on the top of rock, and the Damijada inscription is on the side. The aksharas of the two inscriptions are the same average size. The rubbing of the inscription is of poor quality, and it is not always possible to separate engraved lines from flaws in the stone. But Konow's reading of the date is certainly wrong, and the designation Rajño

⁵ Marshall 1914, pp.973-986.

⁶ CII, pp.11-13, plate II.

⁷ CII, pp.13-16, plate III.1.

Damijadasa sakasa is not certain. Konow's reading shashtihae, 'sixty', looks more like apratāha[ra]. His three numerals, each representing 20, are distinctly different characters. The first is dha or ca, the second spu or ku, and the third a. Instead of ...mijadasa in the name the reading could as easily be ...mitrana(da ?)sa. The ka of Konow's saka is hopelessly confused in the rubbing. There is certainly no date in this record, and it is possibly a continuation or addendum to Śivarakshita's inscription above it.

Konow's reading of line 1 of the Mānsehrā inscription is adhashaṭhia..., 'sixty-eight...'.⁸ But this epigraph seems to be only a fragment with missing lines above and aksharas to the right. This line could be read ...adhashaṭh[i]a 1 1 [100]..., and it is not certain the number 68 or 268 is a date.

By Konow's own admission the reading of the year 100 in the Kala Sang inscription⁹ is questionable. The characters for 1 100 are almost certainly something else.

Konow's restoration of vashe 1 100 before [10] 4 1 1 1 in the Mārguz inscription¹⁰ is speculation. The number can only be given as $X + 7$.

⁸ CII, pp.18-20, plate IV.2.

⁹ CII, pp.52-54, plate XI.1.

¹⁰ CII, pp.66f., plate XIII.3.

SECTION C: THE ERAS

It is noted in the discussion of Inscription 13 above that the year 78 of Inscription 2 and the year 72 of Inscription 14 belong to different eras. All of the years except two in the 35 inscriptions included in this Appendix belong to one of these eras, and all of them date from before the Kanishka Era which began during the fifty years between A.D. 78 and 128.¹ This writer, where it is necessary to make a choice, has based his assumptions on A.D. 78 and the identification of the Kanishka and Śaka eras.²

One of these two earlier eras is identified as the Azes Era (AZ) by Inscriptions 34 and 35 (see above). Inscription 33 of year 122 and 35 of year 136, which are only 14 years apart in their recorded dates and both of which mention a Kushāṇa (Gushāṇa and Khushāṇa) monarch, certainly belong to the same era. Inscription 30 of year 103 which mentions Gondophares and possibly a Kushāṇa, Erjhuṇa Kapa, must also belong to this era. Since Gondophares was a late contemporary of Kujūla (see Chapter VII) the dates of four inscriptions, 103, 122, 134 and 136, within a 33-year span may be dated to the early Kushāṇa period. It is doubtless that Maues preceded the kings named Azes, so his year 78 must be earlier than the year $40 + X$ of (Mahārāja*) Azes (II) in Inscription 23. And finally, as already mentioned, the era of year 72 in Inscription 14 is also a younger one. Inscription 30 gives the equations $AZ\ 103 = 26$ regnal of Gondophares, and $AZ\ 78 = 1$ regnal. The known sequence from Azes II and Rājuvula to Gondophares and Śodāsa, and the proximity of years $40 + x$ and 72 to Gondophares' first year leave little doubt that these years also belong to the Azes Era.

It has been demonstrated that an obverse device on some coins of Gondophares (GDH 125, 126) was copied from the reverse

¹ See PDK, passim. Despite some remaining adherents, the theory of A.D. 144 has little evidence in its support.

² The writer has discussed the epochs of these three eras in JOSA 1970, pp.23-37.

of a tetradrachm of Artabanos III of Parthia dated Sel. 338 = A.D. 27/8.³ This means that part of Gondophares' reign must be dated after A.D. 27.⁴ His twenty-sixth year, AZ 103, is almost certainly in the later part of his reign. However this year must be before the consolidation of the Kushāna rule in Gandhāra under Vima sometime before A.D. 78-128. This bracket of possibilities for the absolute date of AZ 103 argues in favour of identifying this era with the Vikrama Era of 58/7 B.C. By this reckoning the year AZ 103 would be A.D. 45/6, and the first year of Gondophares would be A.D. 20/1. Such an identification is supported by several scholars.⁵ This means that the first year of Azes I, the founder of the era, is 58/7 B.C.

The older era cannot be identified with any known reckoning. Its epoch depends on the possible dates of three inscriptions which are all apparently dated by it. The fact that Maues' year 78 belongs to the older era has been established. Since the coinage of Zeionises is earlier than those of Kujūla and Gondophares, his year 191 in Inscription 18 is earlier than AZ 103 and hence belongs to an older era. And on the assumption that Vima was succeeded by Kanishka in A.D. 78 or at least some years before A.D. 129/30 (= AZ 187) his year 187 is also attributed to an older era. The older era in each instance is taken to be the same.

The evidence of Inscription 2, year 78 of Maues: The sequence of kings in Taxila after Maues is established by their coins.⁶ Year 78 of Maues must be several years earlier than Azes' first year, AZ 1 = 58/7 B.C., to allow for the remainder of Maues' reign

³ BMC Parthia, plate XXV.5, 6.

⁴ Mukherjee 1962, pp. 239ff..

⁵ Marshall 1914, pp. 973ff.; CHI, p. 570; Konow 1931, pp. 251ff.; Narain, IG, p. 143n; Mukherjee 1962, pp. 239ff.; Mukherjee, Agrippan Source, p. 175; Bivar 1963, p. 500; Bivar 1970, p. 14; PDK, pp. 283f., 292.

⁶ Jenkins 1955, pp. 15f..

and the reigns of Apollodotos II and Hippistratos. The time-gap could hardly be less than about 10 years, so the year 78 cannot be later than 65 B.C.. An upper limit to the length of the gap may be suggested but not proved. Apollodotos II Soter Philopator was the first Indo-Greek king to use the title philopatōr. This title may have been copied from certain Arsakid coins just as the Parthians copied some titles from Seleukid and Ptoleimid kings,⁷ though the borrowing is not a necessary assumption in the case of Apollodotos. The earliest Arsakid coins with philopatōr should not be dated earlier than about 85 B.C..⁸ If Apollodotos borrowed the title, this dating of the source means that his first 'philopator' coinage, and by implication the end of Maues' reign, cannot be dated before ca. 85 B.C.. This would give a maximum possible span of about 30 years for the reigns of Apollodotos and Hippistratos, but it was probably shorter. A 20- or 25-year rule for Maues in Taxila puts his conquest of the region in about 100 B.C.. His year 78 should be expected to be no earlier than 100 and no later than 75 or 65 B.C.. Consequently, year 1 of the older era corresponds to a year between 177 and 142 B.C..

The evidence of Inscription 18, year 191 of Jihonika: The reign of Kshatrapa Zeionises/Jihonika is parallel with that of Azes II. His silver coins continue a series of Azilises' coins in Cukhsa and Uraśa which was not issued by Azes II. The first

⁷ See Gardner 1877, p. 65. Gardner's dates for some of the Arsakid titles are too early. See following note and BMC Parthia, pp. 275f..

⁸ See discussions of Arsakid coins in Sellwood 1962, pp. 73ff.; Selwood 1965, pp. 113ff.; and Simonetta 1966, pp. 15ff.. None of these studies answers all of the problems. This writer's reconstruction of the period arranges the coins according to the following chronology of kings and titles:

Mithradates II	123-87 B.C.
Gotarzes I (no extant coins)	?-90
Orodes I Theopator	90-80/79
Arsakes (?) Autokrator Philopator	ca. 85-79
same without title Autokrator	80/79-75
Sinatrukes Theopator Nikator (drachms only)	77-70
Phraates III	70-57

year and coinage in good silver of Zeionises are contemporary with, if not earlier than, the beginning of Azes II's reign. It is difficult to allow a career for Zeionises much longer than that of Azes. He was displaced from Uraśā by Kujūla, and it is doubtful that Zeionises was still ruling after Gondophares consolidated his conquests in Gandhāra. As Gondophares' first regnal year began in A.D. 20, a maximum date of A.D. 30 for the end of Zeionises' career seems reasonable. A date of 15 B.C. for his accession would give his reign a span of 45 years. These conjectural dates for Zeionises and hence his year 191 place the first year of the older era between 206 and 161 B.C..

The evidence of Inscription 15, year 187 of Vima: The Khalatse inscription reads simply 'year 187 of Mahārāja Uvima Kavphisa'. There is no indication of the purpose behind this message. However, the mahārāja notwithstanding, it need not be assumed that the epigraph dates from the independent reign of Vima. The title mahārāja certainly designates a member of the royal family, but not necessarily the ruling, senior monarch. There is a crude human figure in a horizontal position engraved at the beginning of the record, and it is clearly an integral part of the message. The figure would seem to represent Vima. The inscription could be a child's graffito. Or it could commemorate an important occasion in his life - birth, initiation into manhood, etc. - and may mark the site of a ceremony. If this is the case, there should be no objection to dating this record earlier than the possible reference to Kujūla in the AZ 103 epigraph, as must be done if the year 187 belongs to the same era as the year 191 of Zeionises. But of course the date must be assigned to the lifetime of Vima. If Vima died in A.D. 78 his birth date should not be earlier than about A.D. 5, based on a life span of about 70 to 75 years. As the epigraph and year 187 can be placed in any intervening year if no notice is taken of the synchronization with Zeionises' date, the alternatives for the year 1 of the era fall between 182 and 109 B.C..

The combined evidence of these three records argues for a date in round figures between 180 and 160 B.C. for the beginning of the older era. The mean year is 170 B.C..

The identification of this era is a matter of conjecture. It has been called the Old Śaka Era⁹ and the Yavana Era.¹⁰ Theories supporting the latter name connect the era with Menander and date its beginning to the middle of the second century B.C.. Few facts are known in the history of this region between 180 and 160 B.C.. Consequently any suggestion of a link between this era and a known event necessarily suffers from this ignorance, and there is a danger in explaining all unknown events in the light of known ones.

The idea of an era at this time almost certainly had its origin in the Greek kingdoms of Bactria and India and ultimately must be traced to the Seleukid Era (311 B.C.). The Parthians followed the example of this prototype in their own dynastic Arsakid Era (247 B.C.). The Śaka tribes of Maues' people would have been unlikely to acquire this practice in their homelands bordering the Chinese Empire, where regnal years of each reigning emperor were the only dating system known. Therefore, the Maues group probably found the era already in use when they occupied Taxila. The use of a Greek month (Panemos) in the earliest known record dated in this era, Inscription 2 of Maues, supports a Greek origin for the era.¹¹

Circumstances surrounding the establishment of a new, non-Seleukid, era in Greek dominions should be expected to involve the founding of a new dynasty on analogy with the Seleukid and Arsakid precedents. The most famous of such events among the Indo-Greeks is the career of Eukratides. Justin supplies the information that the reigns of Eukratides and

⁹ CII, p. xci (84/3 B.C.); Lohuizen-de Leeuw 1949, p.33 (129 B.C.).

¹⁰ Narain, IG, p.144; R.M. Smith 1958, p.178; PDK, p.237.

¹¹ Thomas 1952, p.111.

Mithradates I (171-138/7 B.C.) started simultaneously.¹² Eukratides was a usurper who gained possession of his kingdom by defeating Demetrios. He was the only Indo-Greek king before the time of Maues to use the title megas, and he struck staters and the largest gold medal of antiquity. These features of his coinage reinforce the view that Eukratides controlled more territory and wealth than any Bactrian king before him. Such circumstances could have induced his successors to adopt an era computed from his accession. Or, as Eukratides saw fit to proclaim his own greatness, he may have initiated an era himself. Admittedly, this theory about the era having been founded by Eukratides is speculative. But it seems to have as much if not more reason than the Menander theory. For purposes of this thesis the epoch of the era is dated in 170/69 B.C. - the mean year of its possible alternatives and the probable date of Eukratides - and referred to as the Yavana Era (YE).

The preceding paragraphs have posited the existence of two eras and their epochs on the evidence of nine inscriptions which mention kings and officials known from other sources. Eight other dated inscriptions can be tentatively assigned to these eras by various means of relating them to the nine 'fixed' inscriptions: palaeography, epigraphy and nomenclature.

Konow's analysis of the palaeography in these inscriptions was doubtlessly influenced by his ideas about the dating of their recorded years - he recognized only one era for them when he compiled his Corpus.¹³ But his comparison of the palaeography of Inscription 4, year 81, and Inscription 5, year 102, and the former to Inscription 2 seems justified, especially in the shape of the akshara sa, the mouth of which is closed or nearly so in each case. He compared the palaeography of Inscription 9, year 113, with that of Inscription 5. But the sa, while retaining a generally angular shape, is less closed. This inscription

¹²Justin, XLI.6.

¹³CII, p. xci.

mentions a certain Thaïdora, and the inscriptions of Meridarkh Theüdora and a meridarkh, Inscriptions 8 and 7, are grouped with 9 in the chronological arrangement by similarity of names and titles, but both could be much earlier for palaeographical reasons. Konow related features of Inscription 11, year 168, to the palaeography of several inscriptions spanning a wide period. It has both the open and nearly closed sa. But its script seems to be generally less cursive than that of most early inscriptions of the Kanishka Era. Konow dated the palaeography of Inscription 28, year 200, between Inscription 35 and Kanishka, but he notes that the characters are irregular and inconsistent. With more reservations with some than others, on the basis of palaeography the years of these five inscriptions are here assigned to the Yavana Era.

If Inscription 11, year 168, is correctly assigned to 2 B.C., it and Inscription 23, year AZ 40 + X, would be the earliest known instances of the abbreviation saṃ for saṃvatsāraye except perhaps for Inscription 12, year 68. Konow dated the palaeography of this latter record to the early period. But its examples of partly closed sa are not much different from some of those in Inscriptions 15 and 18, years 187 and 191, which cannot be dated before about A.D. 5. So this inscription may be dated in year AZ 68 = A.D. 10/11, and the abbreviation saṃ in its date may be a further argument against dating it in YE 68 = 103/2 B.C., because there would be no other known example of saṃ until about a hundred years later. Examples of sa in Inscriptions 27 and 32, years 83 and 111, are similar to some of those in Inscriptions 18 and 23. But there are no compelling reasons for dating these years to the later era. As all the commentators agree that Tiravharṇa is a Parthian name, however, a Parthian kshatrapa in Jalālābād would perhaps synchronize with A.D. 25/6 (Political Map 12) better than with 88/7 B.C. (Political Map 4).

Chronological list of inscriptions dated YE and AZ.

2.	5 Panemos, YE 78	May, 93 B.C.
4.	YE 81	90/89
5.	YE 102	69/8
9.	20 Śrāvāṇa, YE 113	July/Aug., 57
11.	15 Jyāishṭha, YE 168	May/June, 2 B.C.
12.	16 Praushṭhapada, AZ 68	Aug./Sept., A.D. 11
14.	9 second winter month, AZ 72	Nov./Dec., 14
15.	YE 187	17/8
18.	YE 191	21/2
23.	AZ 40 + X (40 to ca.90)	19 B.C. to ca. A.D. 32
27.	AZ 83	A.D. 25/6
28.	8 Vaisākha, YE 200	April, 31
30.	1 Vaisākha, AZ 103	April, 46
32.	15 Śrāvāṇa, AZ 111	July/Aug., 54
33.	1 Śrāvāṇa, AZ 122	July, 65
34.	23 Śrāvāṇa, AZ 134	August, 77
35.	15 Āshāḍha, AZ 136	June/July, 79

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SAKASTĀN-ARACHOSIA

PLATE I

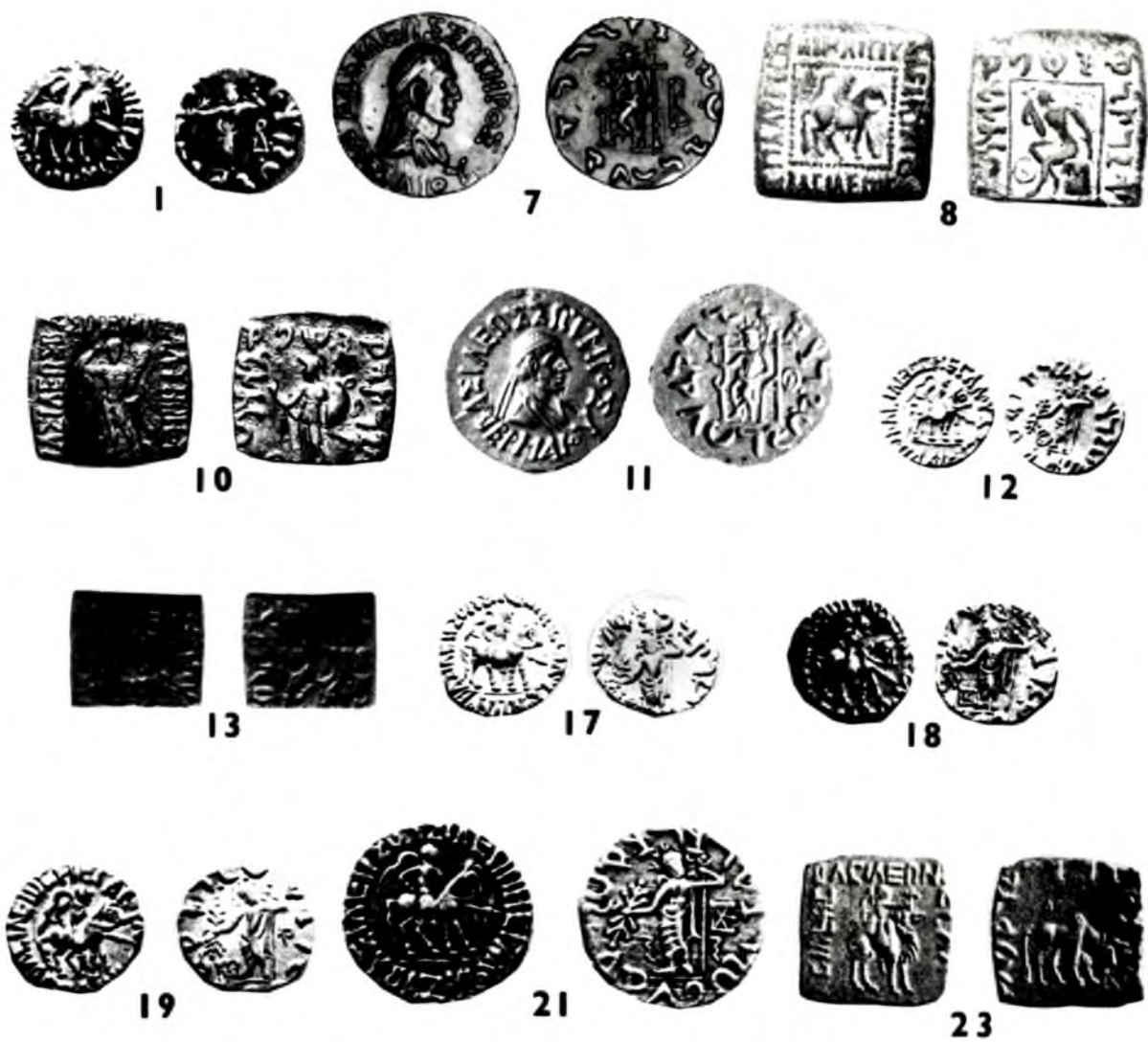


PLATE II

SAKASTĀN-ARACHOSIA



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PLATE III

SAKASTĀN-ARACHOSIA



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PLATE IV

MARGIANA-AREIA



PAKTYIKA



PLATE V

NAGARAHĀRA



PAROPAMISADAI-KAPISENE



PLATE VI

PAROPAMISADAI-KAPISENE



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PLATE VII

GANDHĀRA

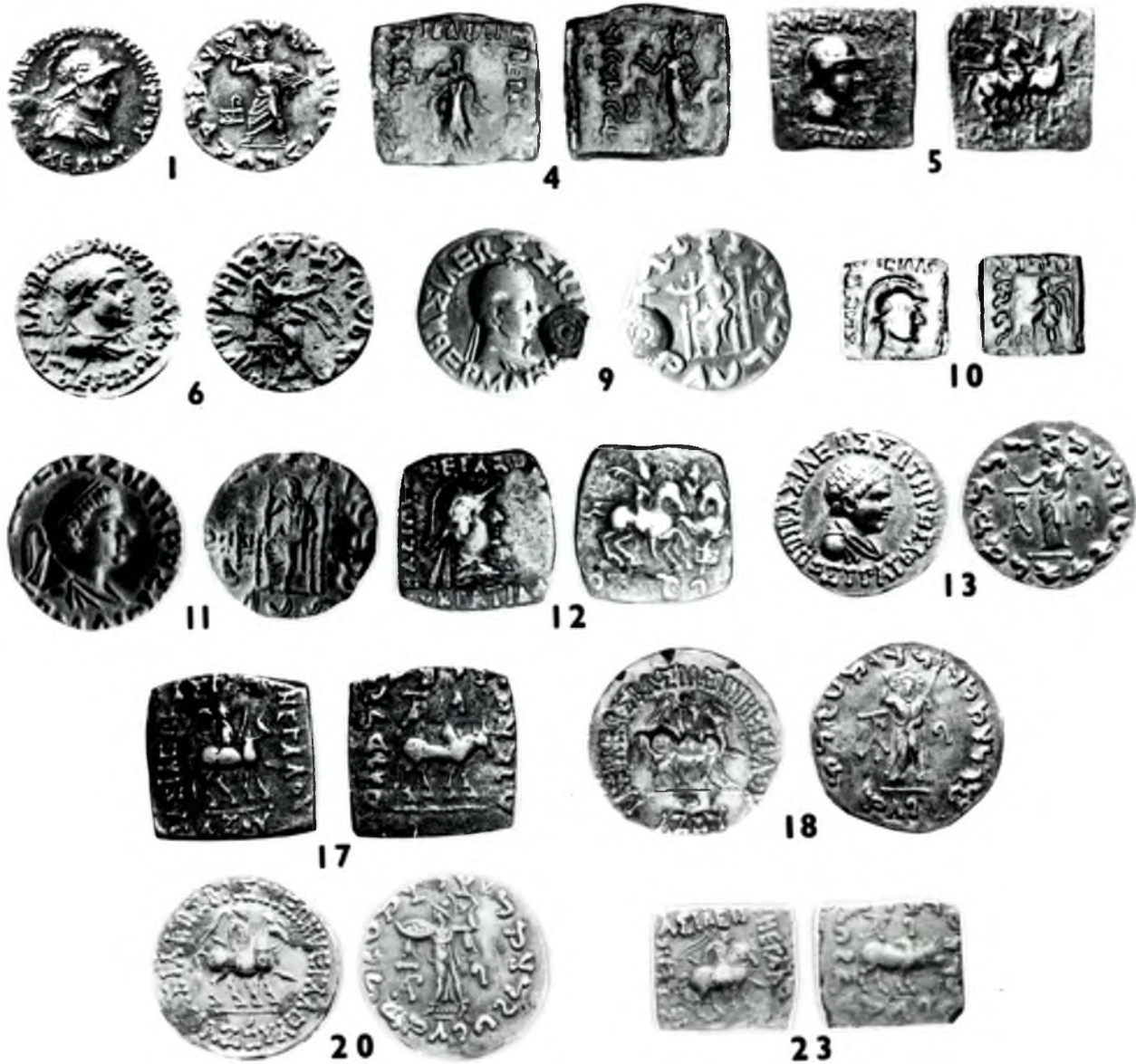


PLATE VIII

GANDHĀRA



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PLATE IX

GANDHĀRA



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PLATE X

GANDHĀRA



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PLATE XI

GANDHĀRA



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PLATE XII

GANDHĀRA



PLATE XIII

GANDHĀRA



TAXILA



PLATE XIV

TAXILA



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PLATE XV

TAXILA



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72



73



76



80



81



84



82

enlarged

PLATE XVI

TAXILA



CUKHSĀ-URASĀ



PLATE XVII

SIND



PANJĀB



OVERSTRIKES



PLATE XVIII

INSCRIPTIONS



A 2



E



B

D

I and IO ShInko!

PLATE XIX

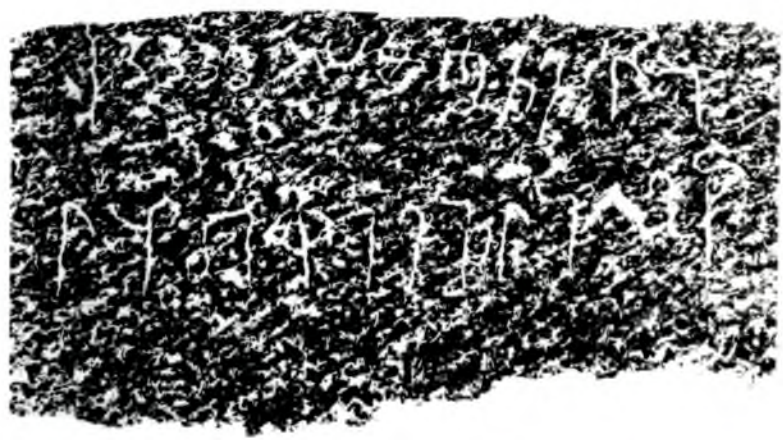
INSCRIPTIONS



2 Taxila



3 Taxila



4 Muchai

PLATE XX

INSCRIPTIONS



5 Mount Banj



7 Taxila



8 Swāt



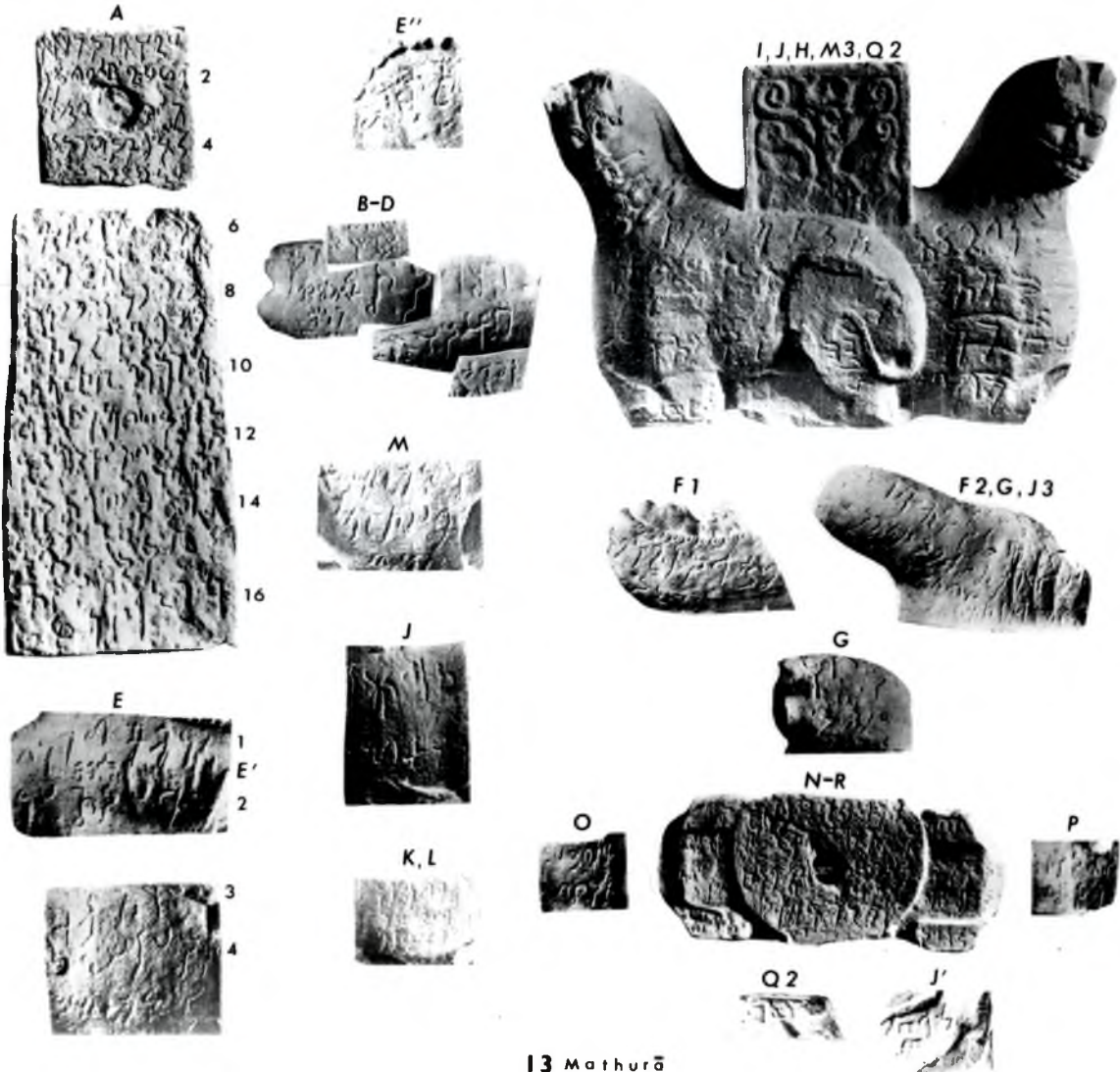
9 Kāldarra

PLATE XXI

INSCRIPTIONS



12 Fatehjang



13 Mathurā

PLATE XXII

INSCRIPTIONS



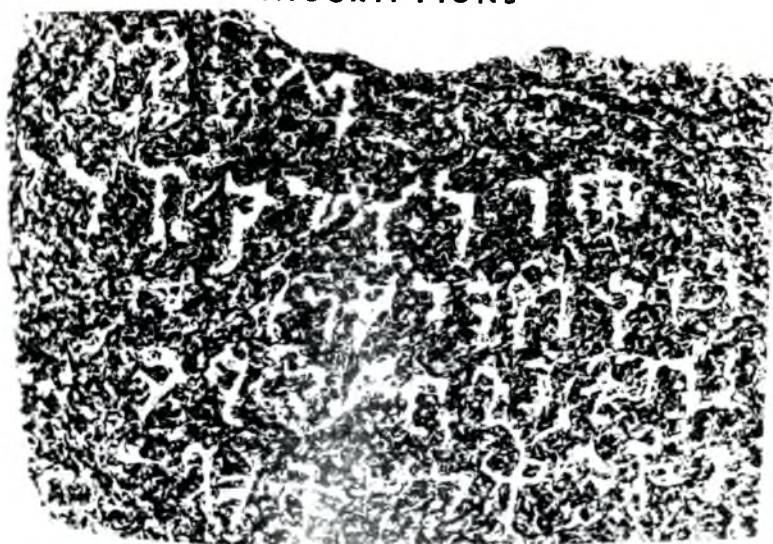
15 Khalatse



19 Taxila

INSCRIPTIONS

PLATE XXIII



23 Shāhdaur



24 Bīmarān



25 Taxila

PLATE XXIV

INSCRIPTIONS



27 Jalālābād



30 Takht-i-Bāhī

PLATE XXV

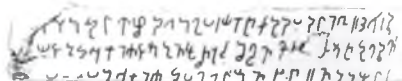
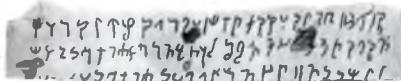
INSCRIPTIONS



31



32 Pājā



33 Pañjār



34 Kālawān



35 Toxila

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
Barda-Oartha-Oada										Sigala					Mir...	
18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34
Dri...							PTY		NH				PK			
35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50	51
			PK Kapisene										Artoarta			
52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60	61	62	63	64	65	66	67	68
GDH Alpha mint										Sapana-Spila-Sagila						
69	70	71	72	73	74	75	76	77	78	79	80	81	82	83	84	85
GDH Sigma mint										GDH Zeta mint						
86	87	88	89	90	91	92	93	94	95	96	97	98	99	100	101	102
GDH Beta mint					Embolima-Amb					Praklais-Pukalovada						
103	104	105	106	107	108	109	110	111	112	113	114	115	116	117	118	119
GDH Pushkalāvāt																
120	121	122	123	124	125	126	127	128	129	130	131	132	133	134	135	136
					TX Central mint											
137	138	139	140	141	142	143	144	145	146	147	148	149	150	151	152	153
					TX Indus mint											
154	155	156	157	158	159	160	161	162	163	164	165	166	167	168	169	170
CU										PA					MT	

TABLE 1. MONOGRAMS

A PROVENANCE		SA	GDH	TX-CU	PA	Total Identified	TOTAL FIND
Chaman		58* 78%	15+? 20%	1+? 1%	0	74+? (72*)	74+?
Mīr Zakāh (PTY)		259 6.5%	993 24.5%	2767 68.5%	7 -	4026	4959
PTY*		259* 75%	76* 22%	3* 1%	7* 2%	345*	1272*
Bīmarān-Jalālābād (NH)		0	9 6%	155 94%	0	164	165
Begrām (PK)		8 1%	176 21%	642 78%	0	826	826
Chārsadda-Peshāwar		3 1.7%	143 87.7%	17 10%	1 -	164	460
Taxila environs (TX)		35 -.5%	728 11%	5754 86.8%	114 1.7%	6631	6902
TX*		35* 17%	21* 10%	119* 57%	34* 16%	209*	288*
Amarkot*		0	0	0	178* 100%	178*	221*
Siālkot-E. Panjāb (PA)*		1+?* -	0	1* -	222* 99%	224*	253*
TOTALS		364	2064	9337	522	12287	13860

B	CHAMAN	PTY	NH	PK	GDH	TX	AMARKOT	PA	TOTAL
SA*	58* 16%	259* 70.5%	0	8* 2%	3* 1%	35* 10%	0	1+?* -	364*
GDH	15 -	993 48%	9 -	176 8%	143 7%	728 35%	0	0	2064
GDH*	14* 7%	76* 36%	0	0	100* 47%	21* 10%	0	0	211*
TX-CU	1 -	2767 29%	155 2%	642 7%	17 -	5754 61%	0	1 -	9337
TX-CU*	0	3* -	0	1* -	4* -	119* 94%	0	1* -	128*
PA	0	7 -	0	0	1 -	114 22.5%	178 35%	222 40%	522
PA*	0	7* 1.5%	0	0	1* -	34* 7.5%	178* 40.3%	222* 50%	442*
Coins minted before debasement of currency.									TOTAL
									1145*

TABLE 2. COIN PROVENANCE BY
MINT GROUPS

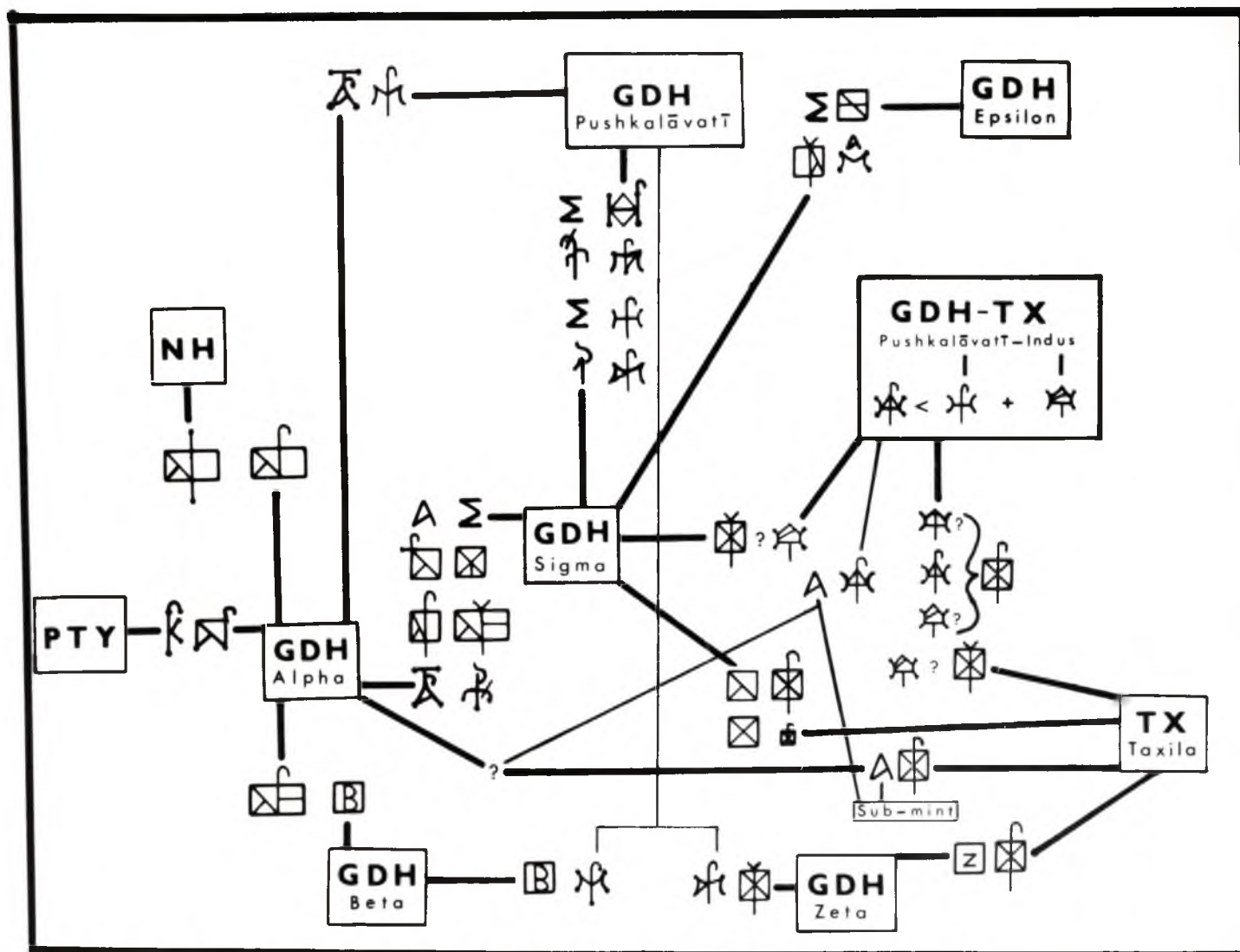
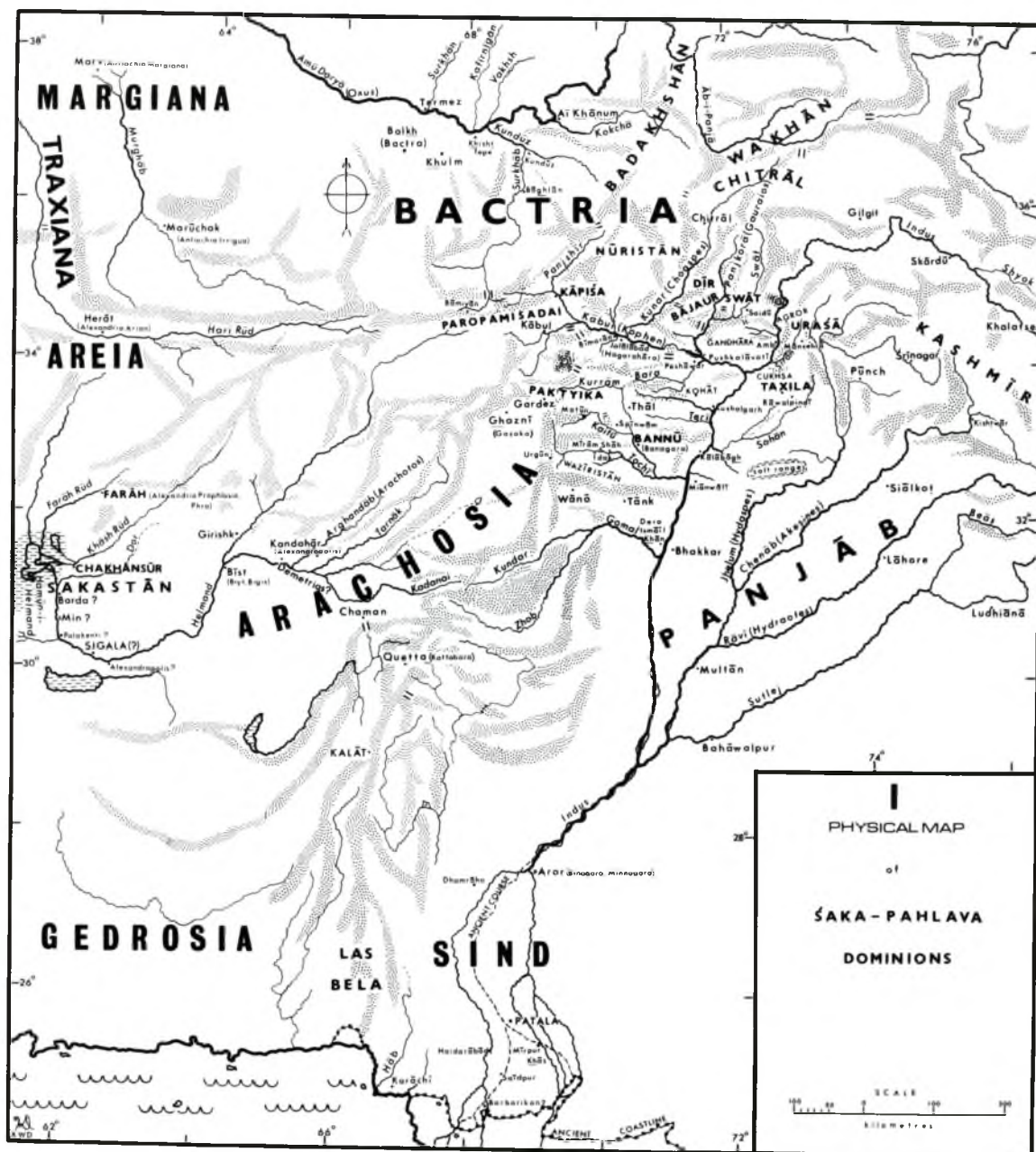
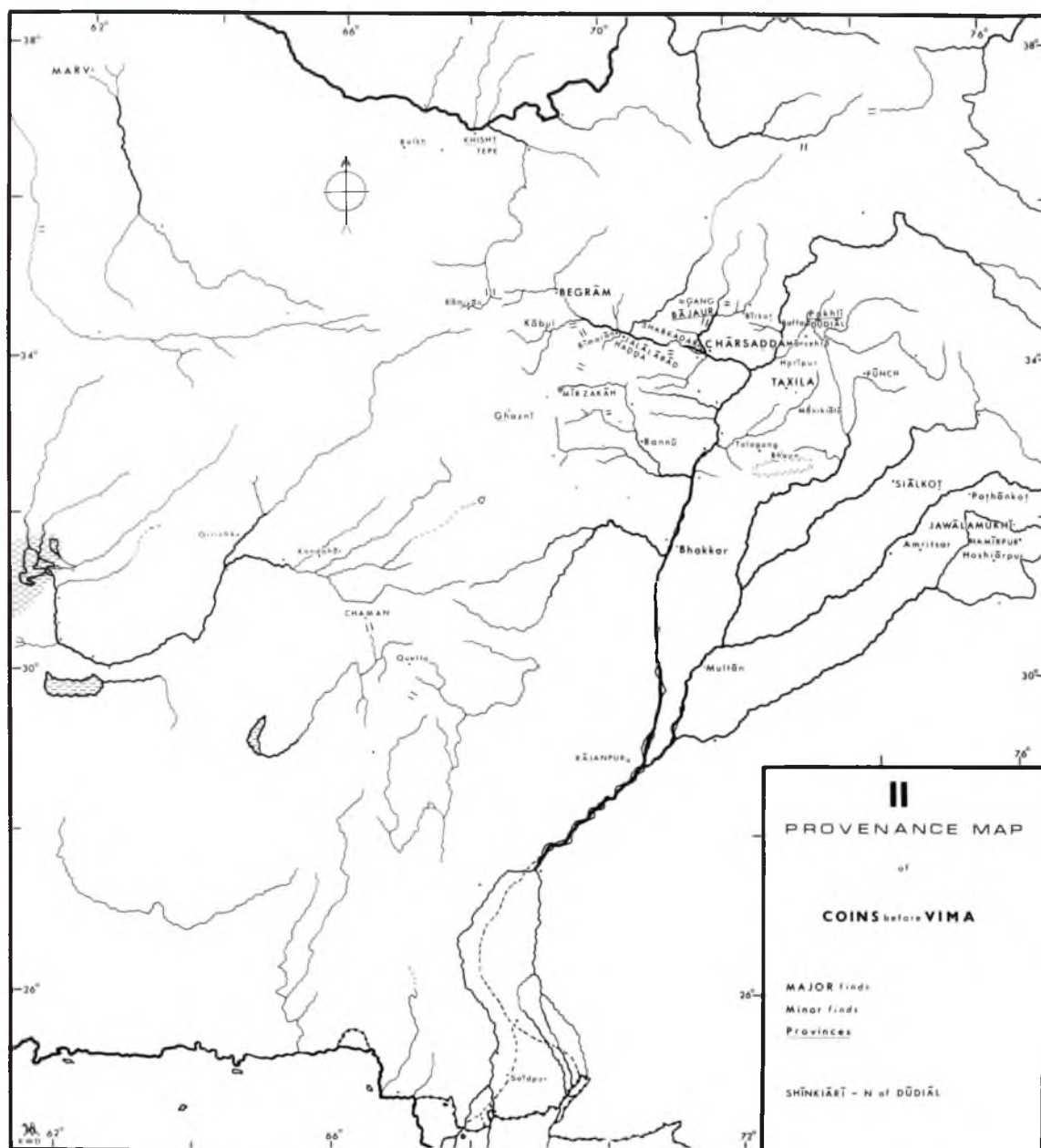


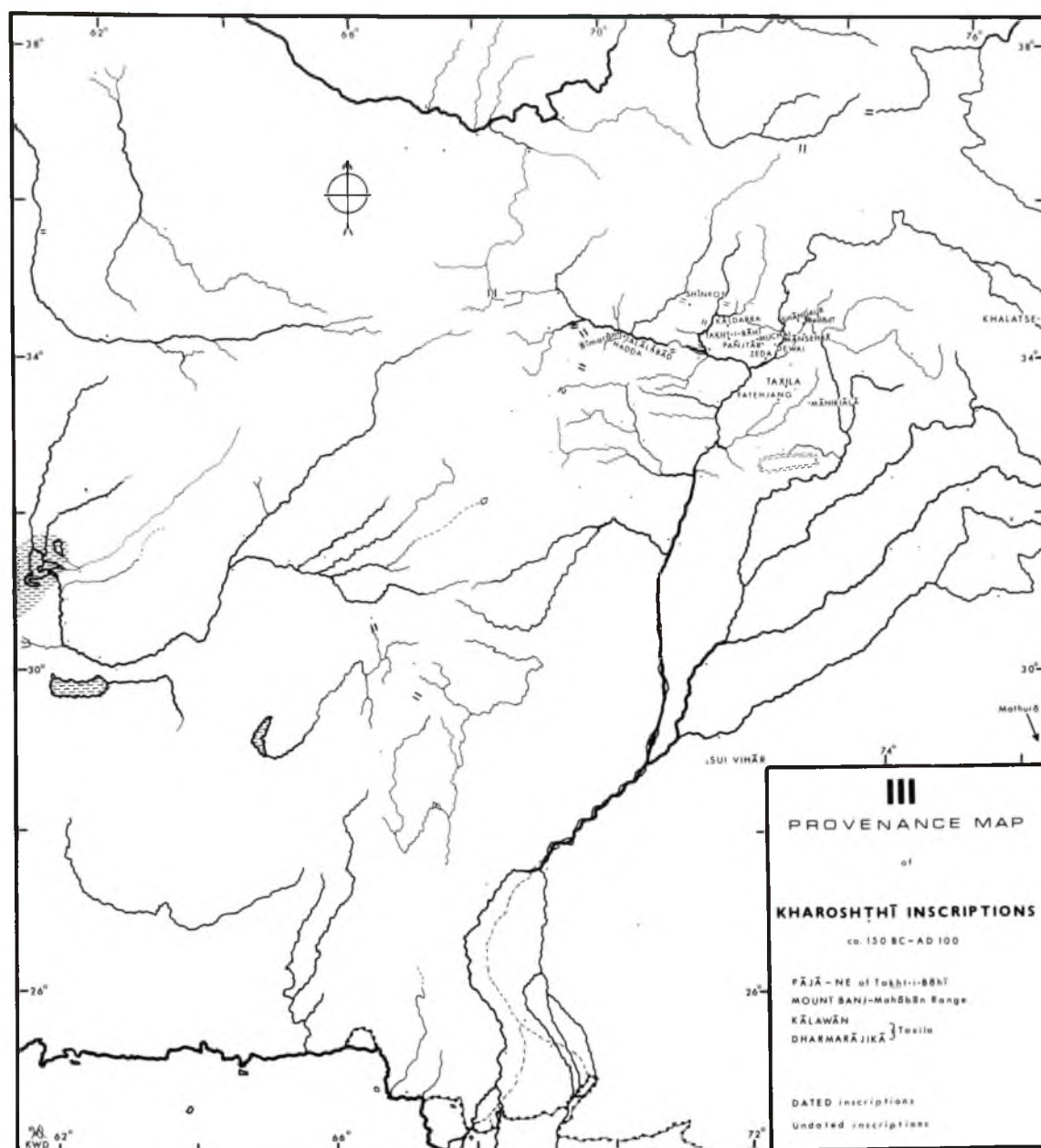
TABLE 3. DIAGRAM OF JOINT ISSUES
BETWEEN MINTS

	SA	MA	PTY	NH	PK	GDH	TX	CU	SI	PA	MT
130			1-3	1-3	1 2 9-12	1-3 41 102 103	1-4				
				4-7	3-5						
115	1-4 15			8	13-15	4 94 104	56	1 2			
						5					
100		4				6 42	5-11 57-60	3 4			
	5-7				16-18						
90	8 16					7 8 43 95	12 13 61 62	5-9		1 2	
	9 10 17						14-17			3 7-9 12	
80	11 18				19-22	9 10	18-20			4 5 10 13-15	
	12 13	1				11 12 44 45 46	21 22				
60	14 19	2			23-25	13-15	23-26 63-65			6 11 16 17	
40	20-26 33 39	3			6	16-19 47	27-29 66			18 19 22	
	34 40	4			7 26	20-23 96 105-107				20	
20	27-32 35-38 41 42	5			8	24 25 48-50 97 98 108	30 31 67-72	10-16		21 23 24	
						26 127		17			1
10						27-31 51 52-56 72-75 109-114 128 129 130 139 140	32-36 37 73-75	18 19	25		2
						32 57 76-81 88-93 141	85-88				3
BC											
AD	43-45 51	6				33 34 58-63 82-86 92 93 115-117 131-135 142	38-40 76 77 79	20 21			4 5
		7				136	89				
10	46 52 55-57	8 9				35 64 137	41-44 48 49 80	22 24			6
						118-121 143	81 82	23			
20	47 58 59	10				36 65 66 87 99 138 144 145	45 46 78 83		1 26		7
							47 90	25 26			
30	48 53	11				67 68 122-126 146	50 84 91	27	2		
40		12				37 69-71 147	51	28	3		8
						100 101 148 149	52 53	29			
50	49 54	13				38 39	54 55		4		9
									5		10
60	50 60 61	14				40		30	6		
	62										
70	63								7		

TABLE 4. CHRONOLOGICAL CONCORDANCE OF
COIN TYPES



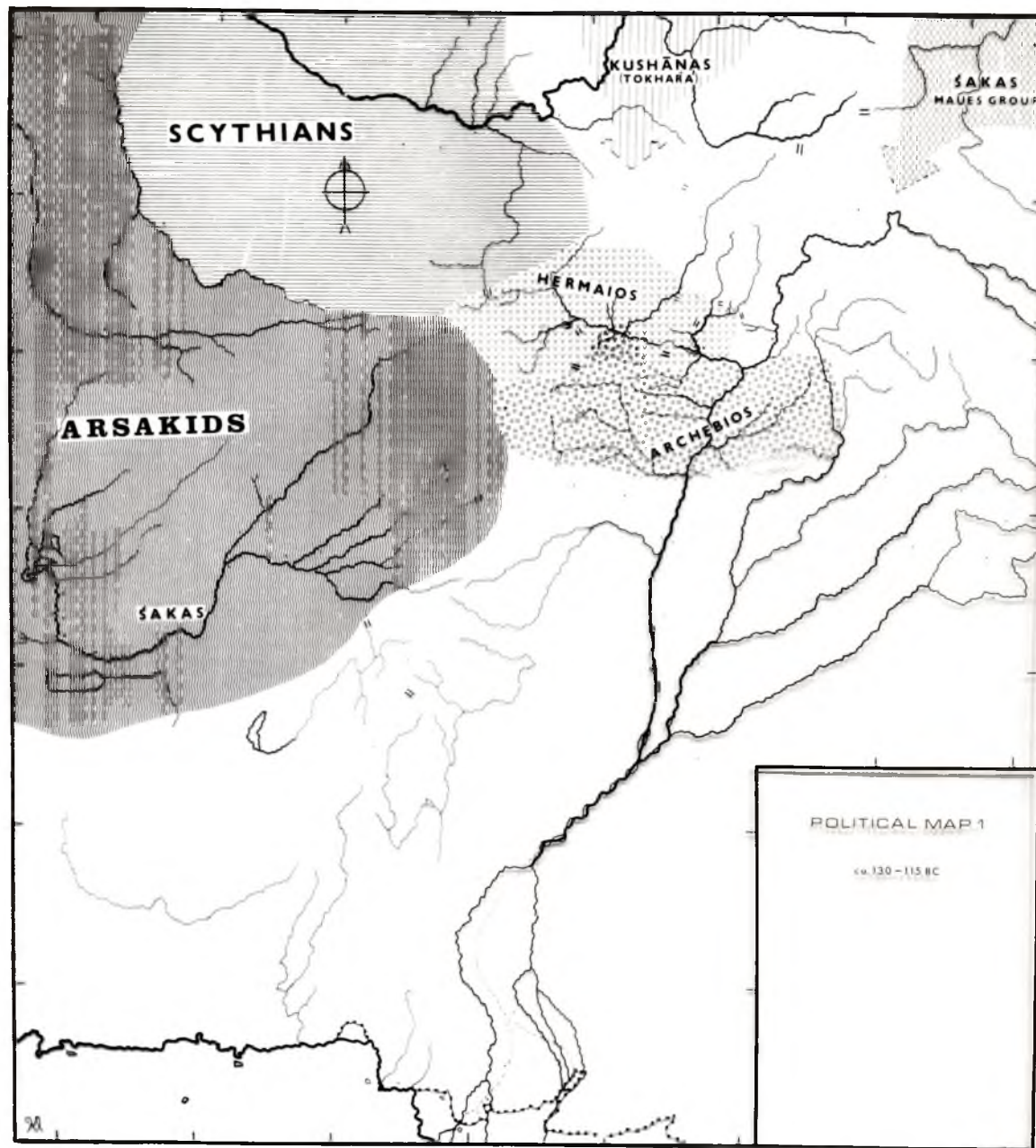




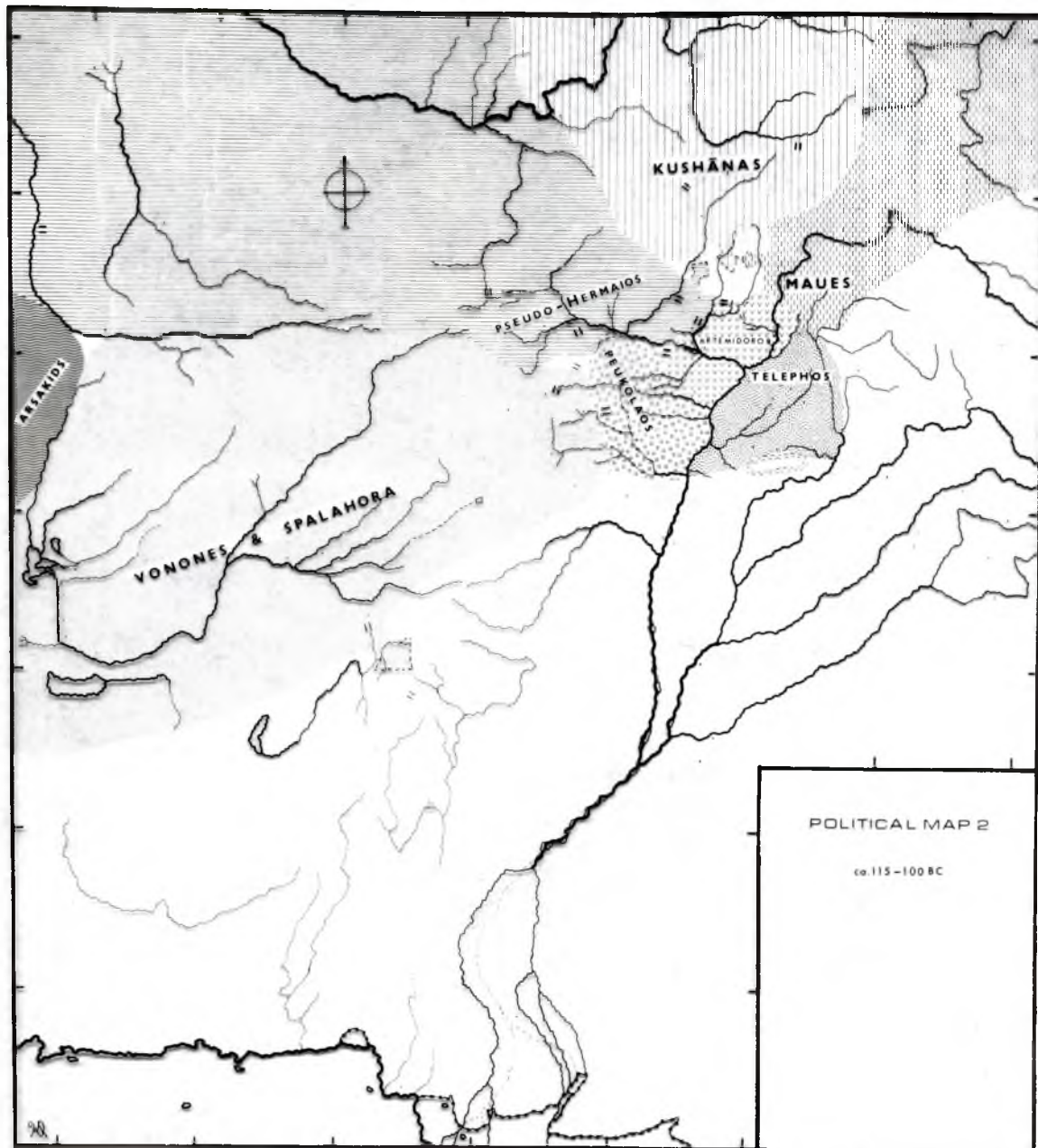
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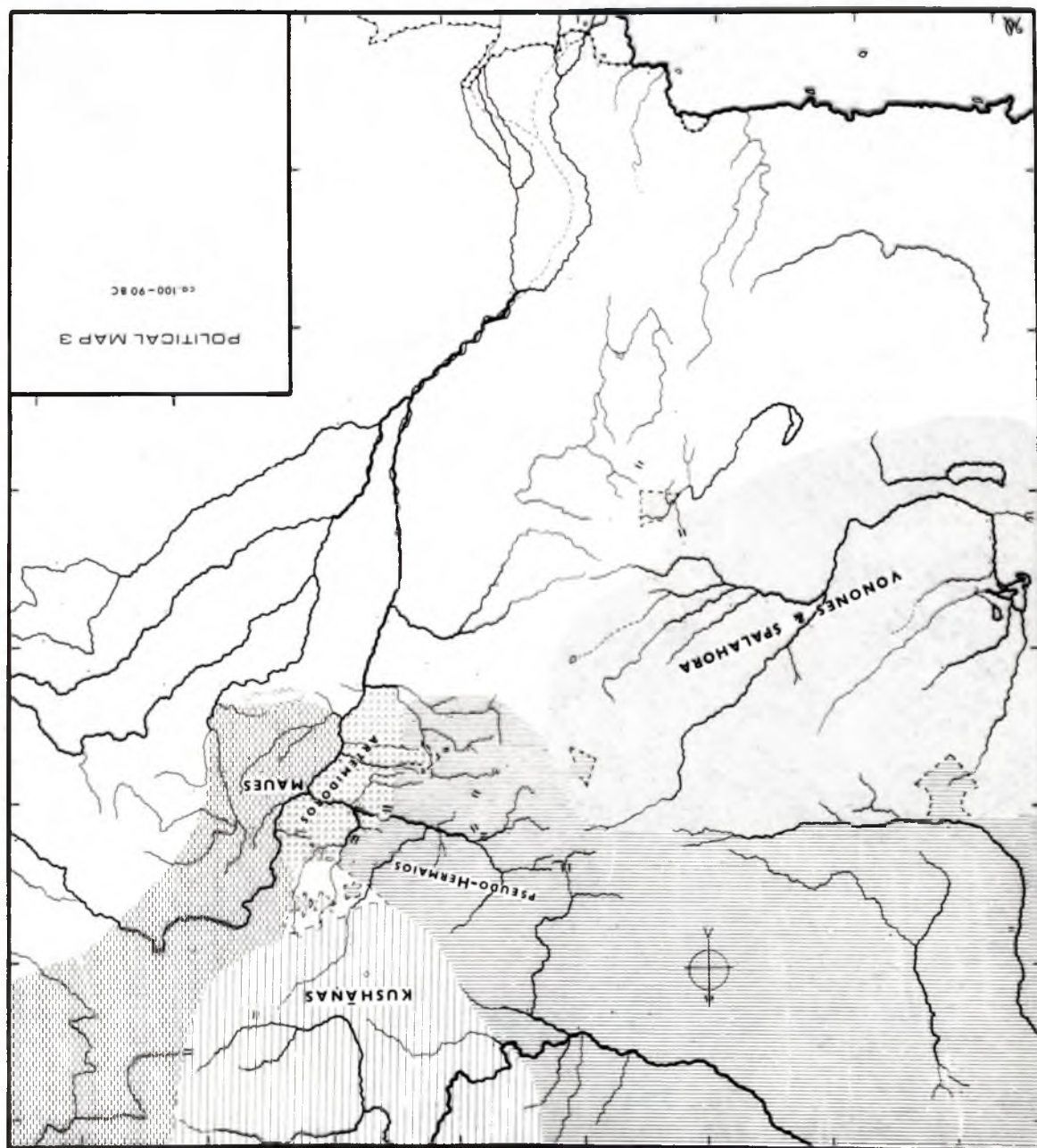
8051391

.D6



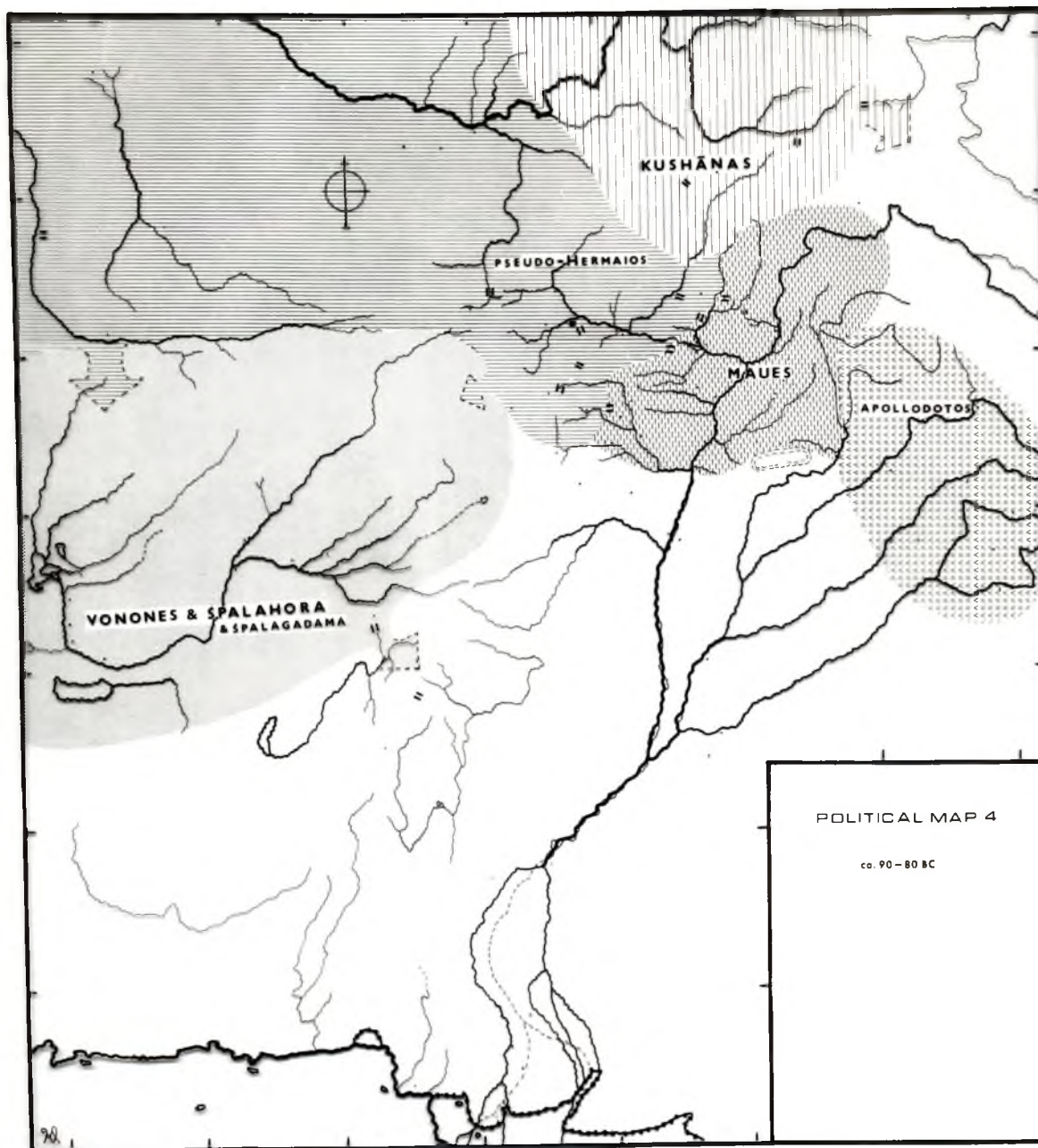
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8 CJ 1391
.36



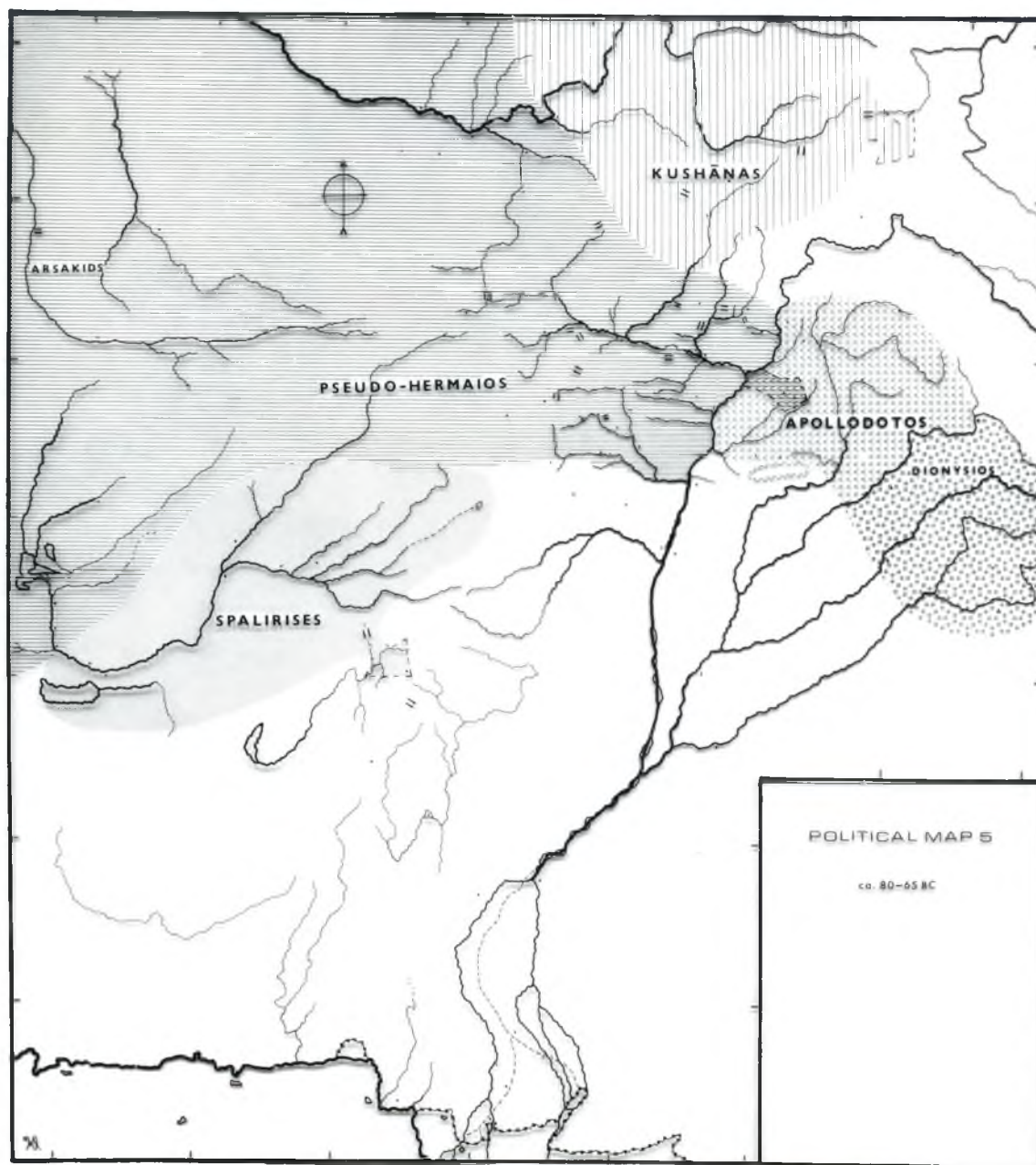


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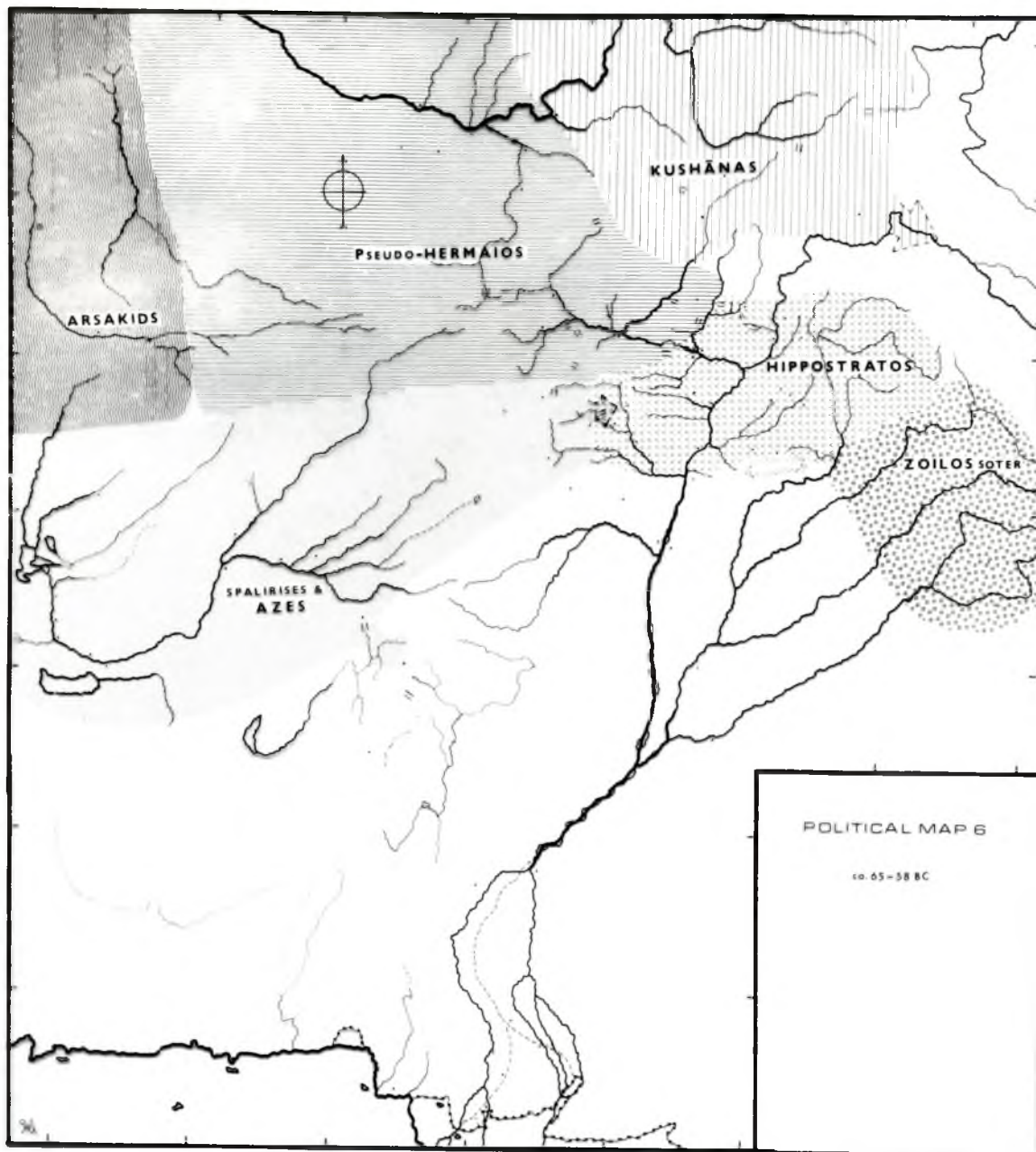
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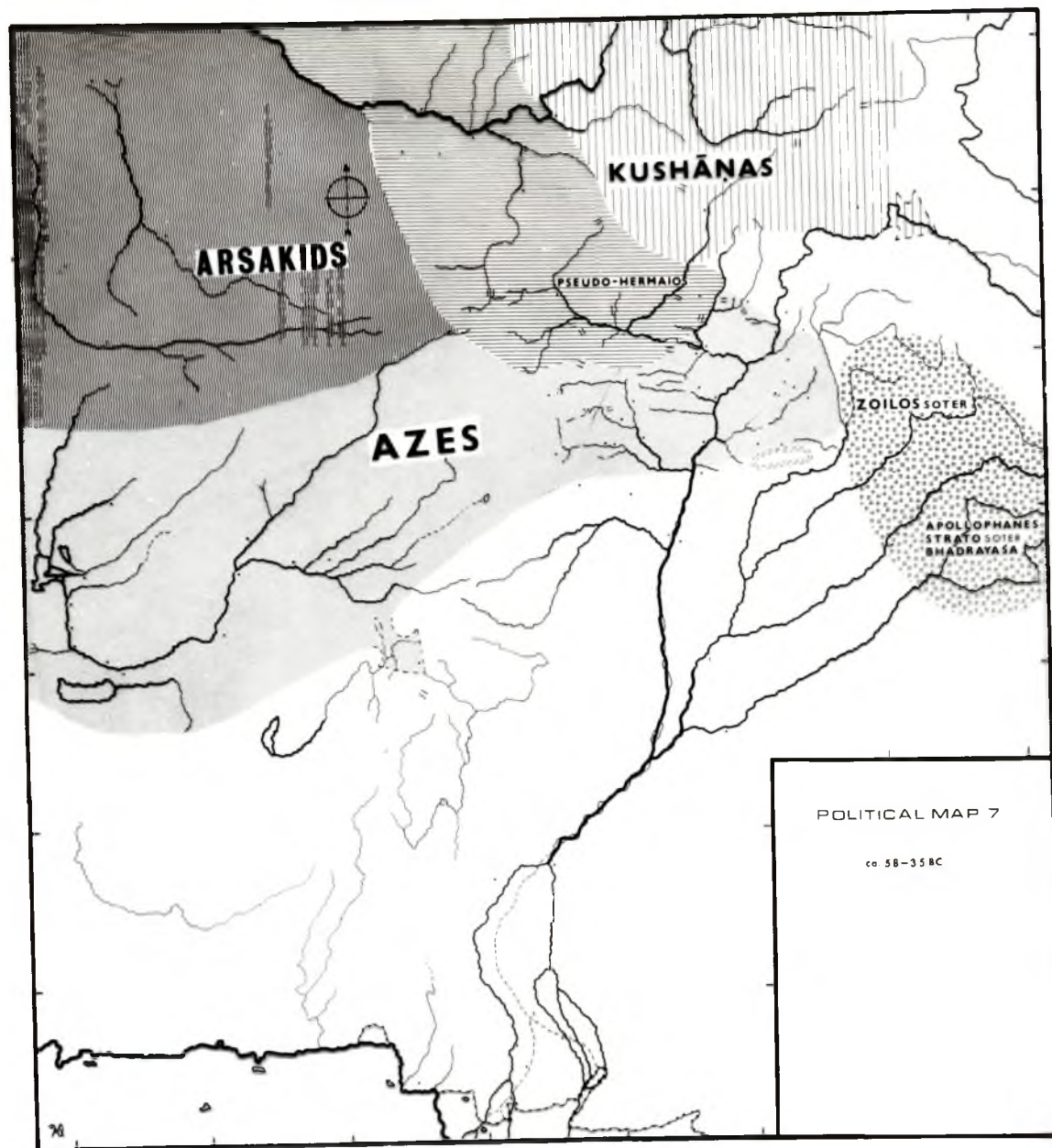
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8 CJ 1391
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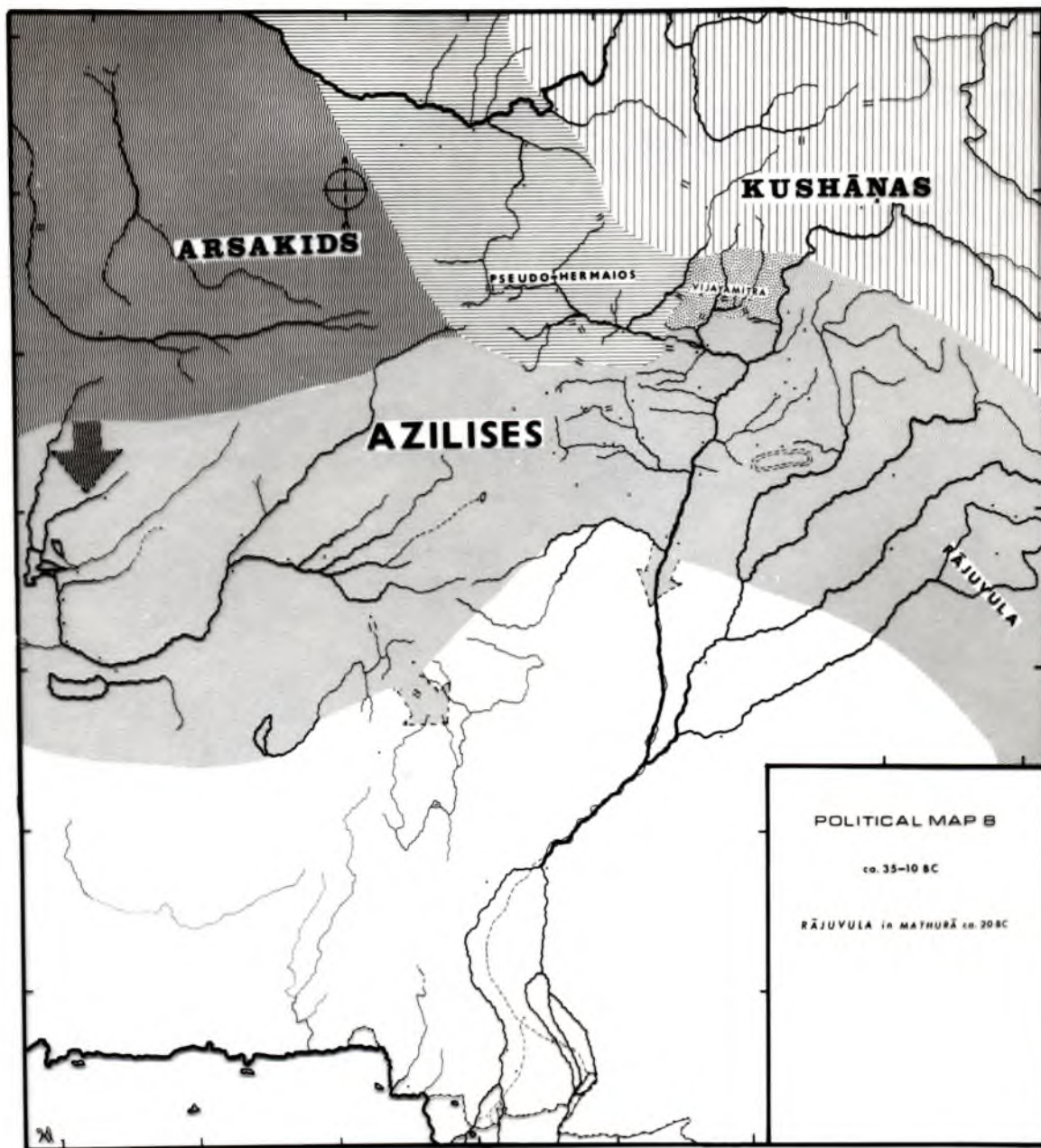
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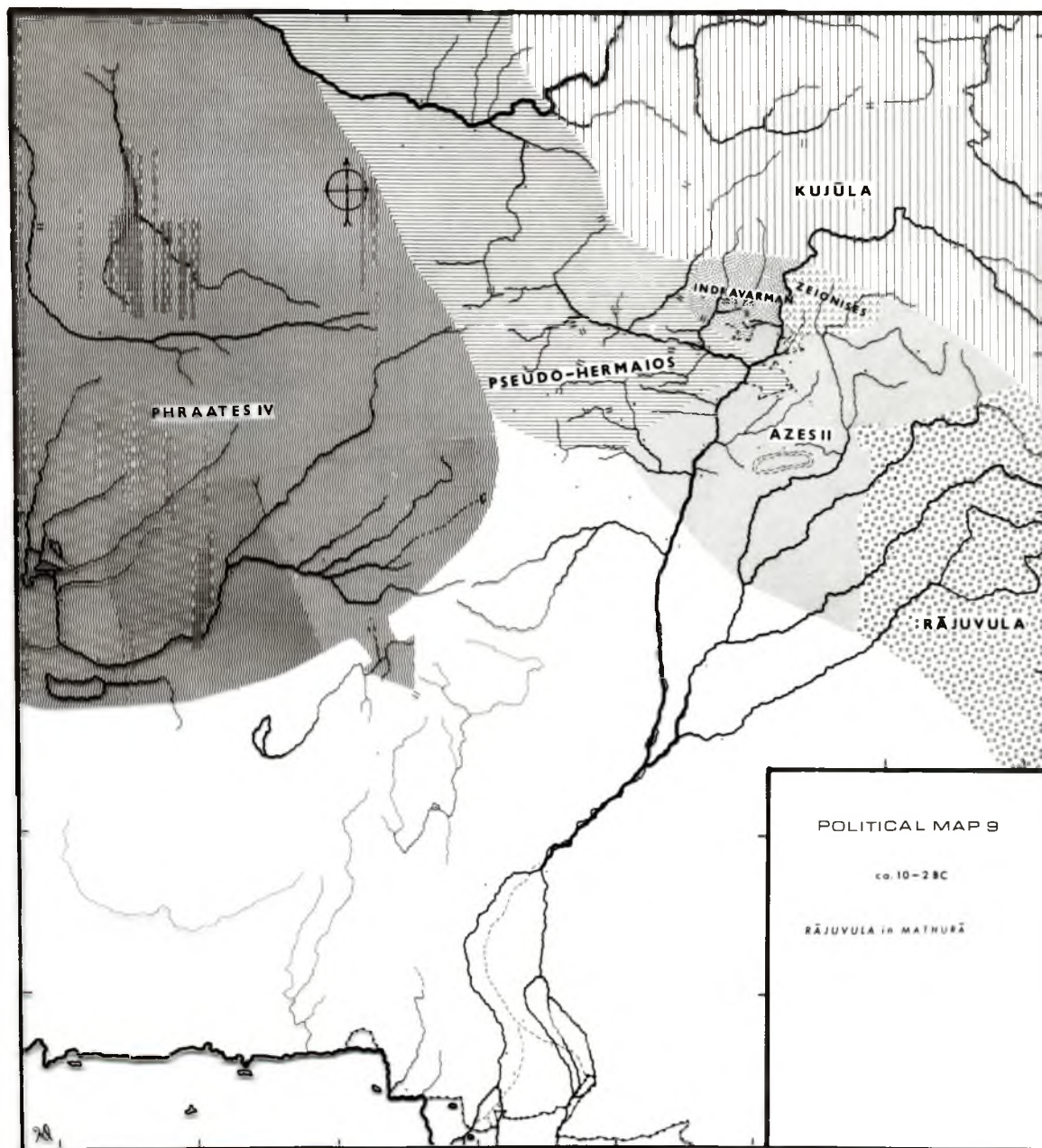
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8 CJ 1391
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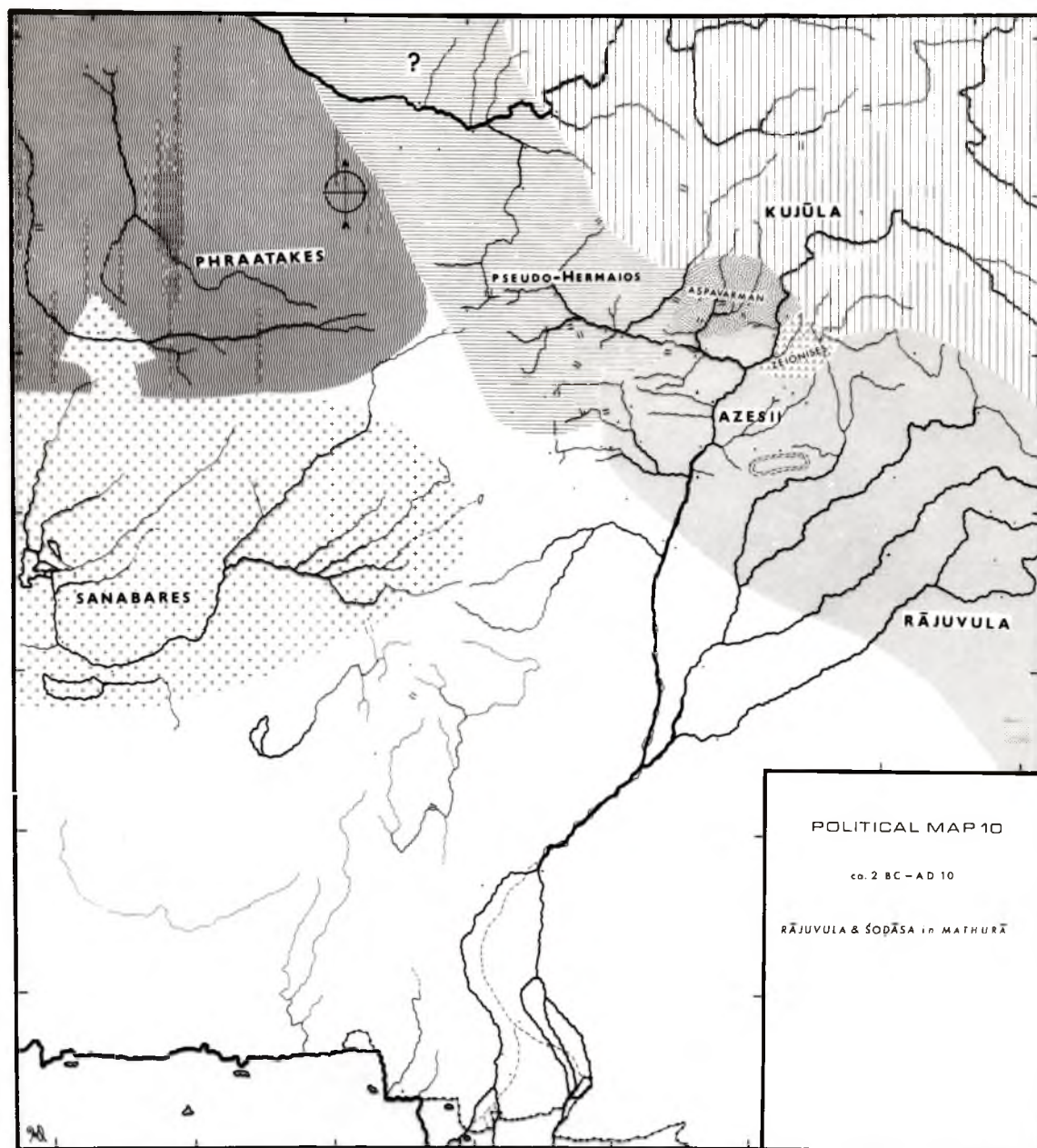
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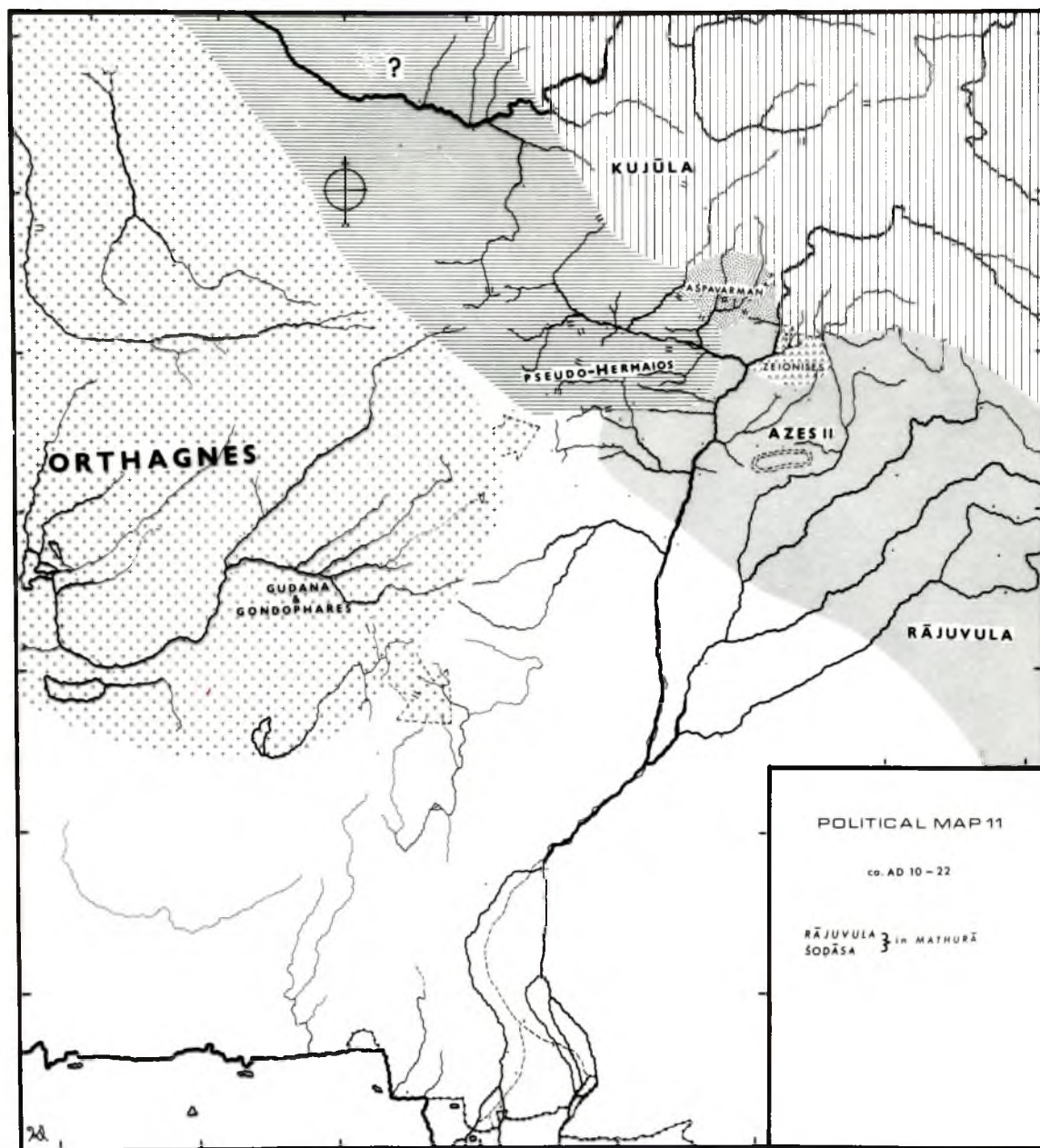
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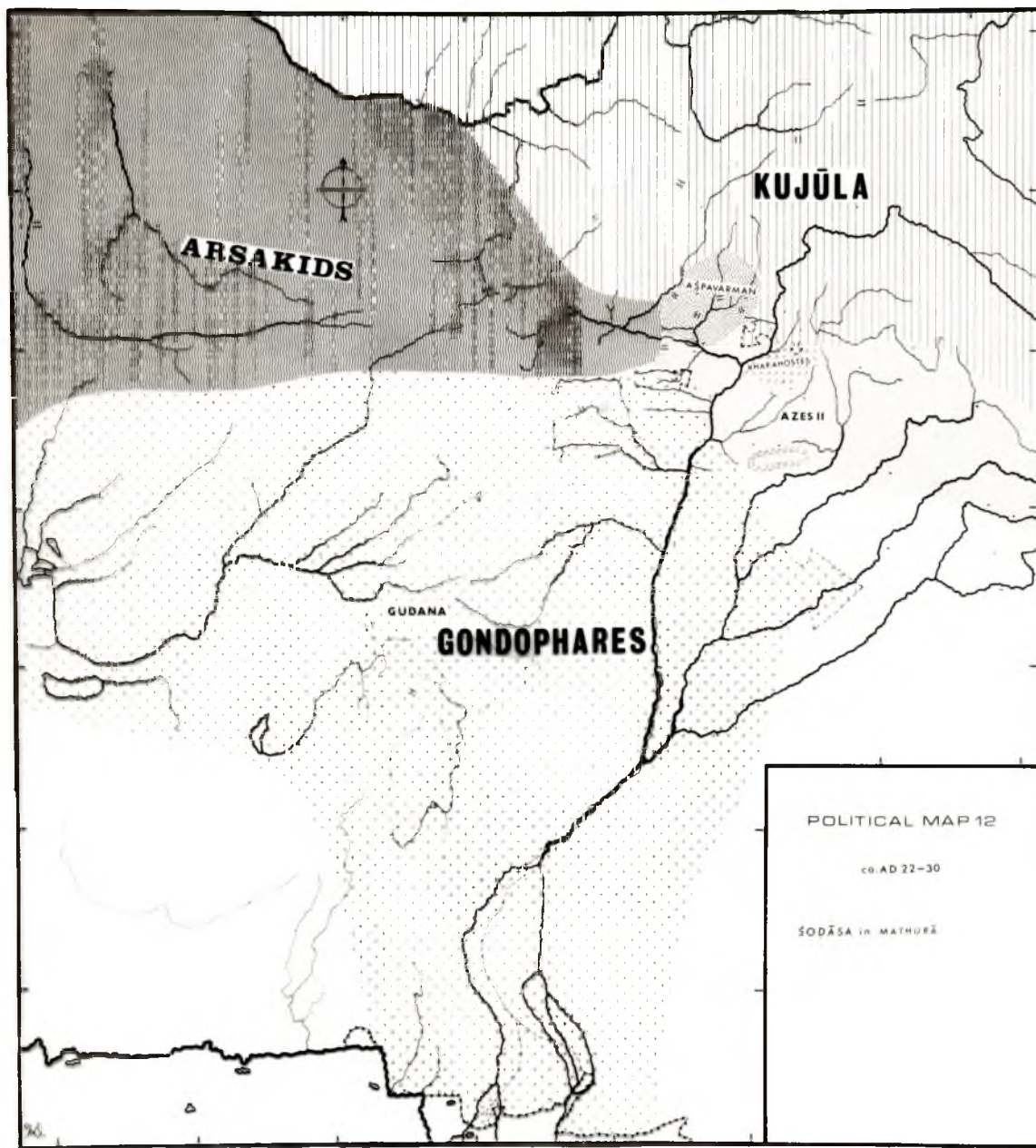
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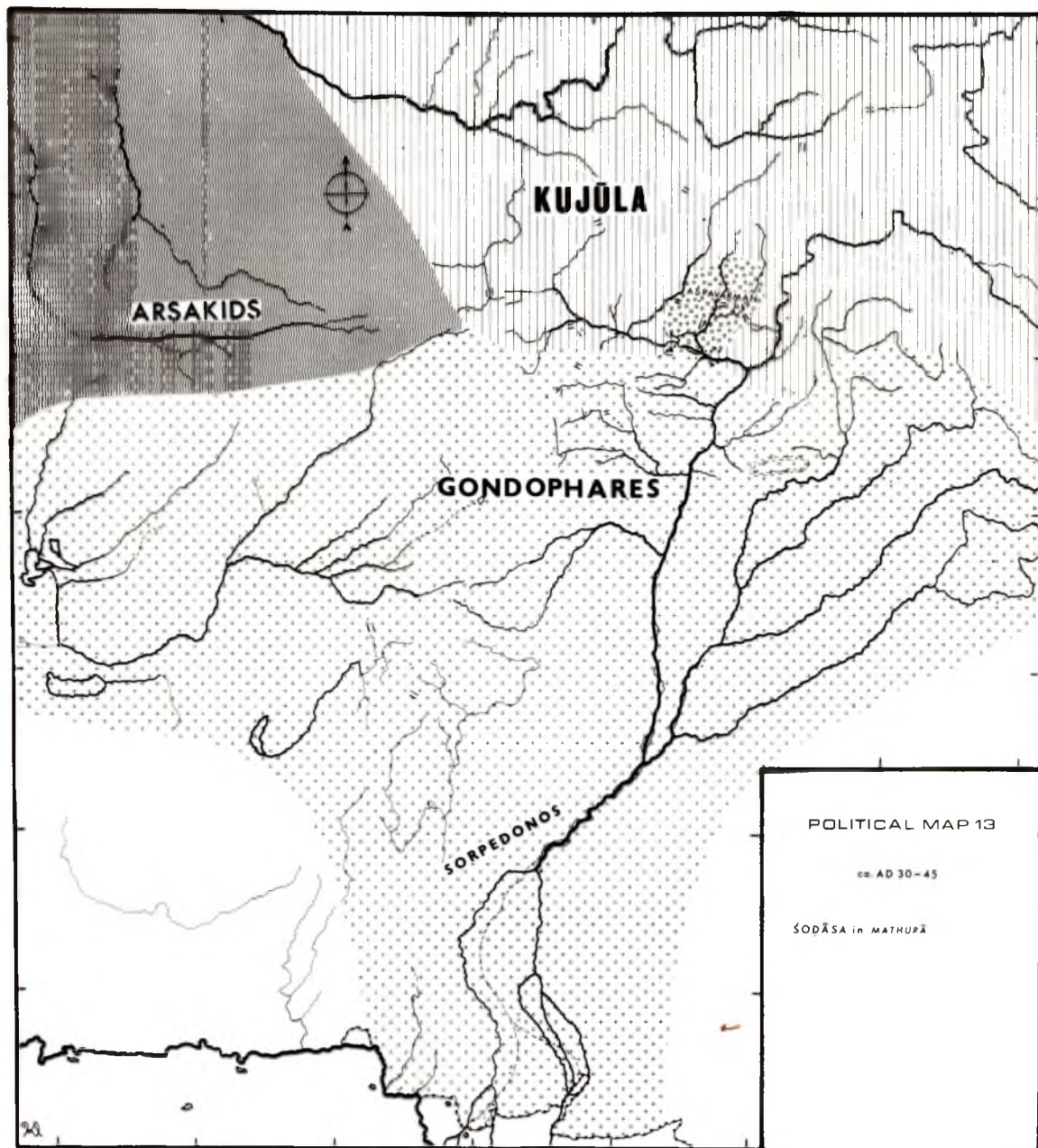
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A
8CJ1391
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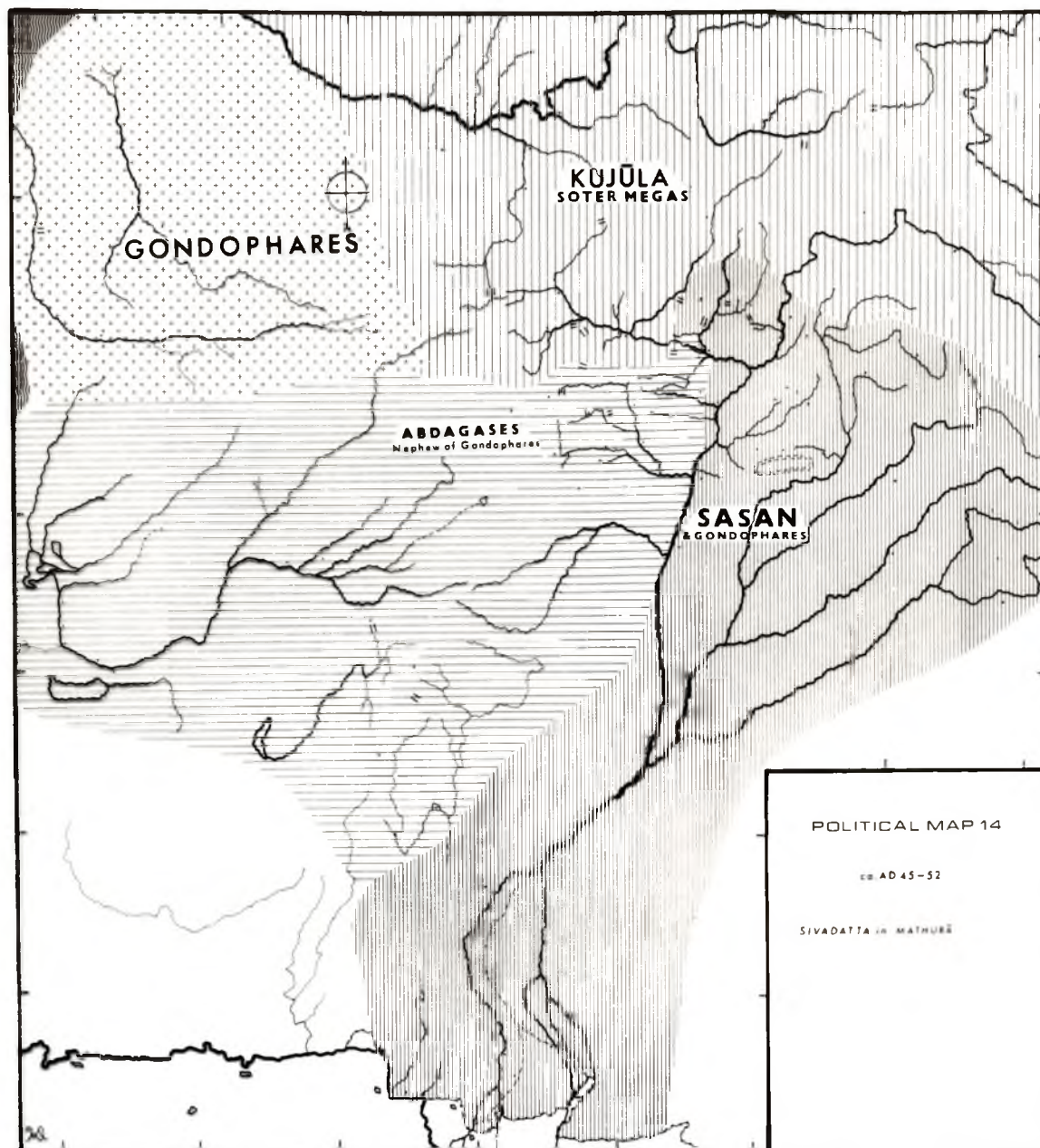
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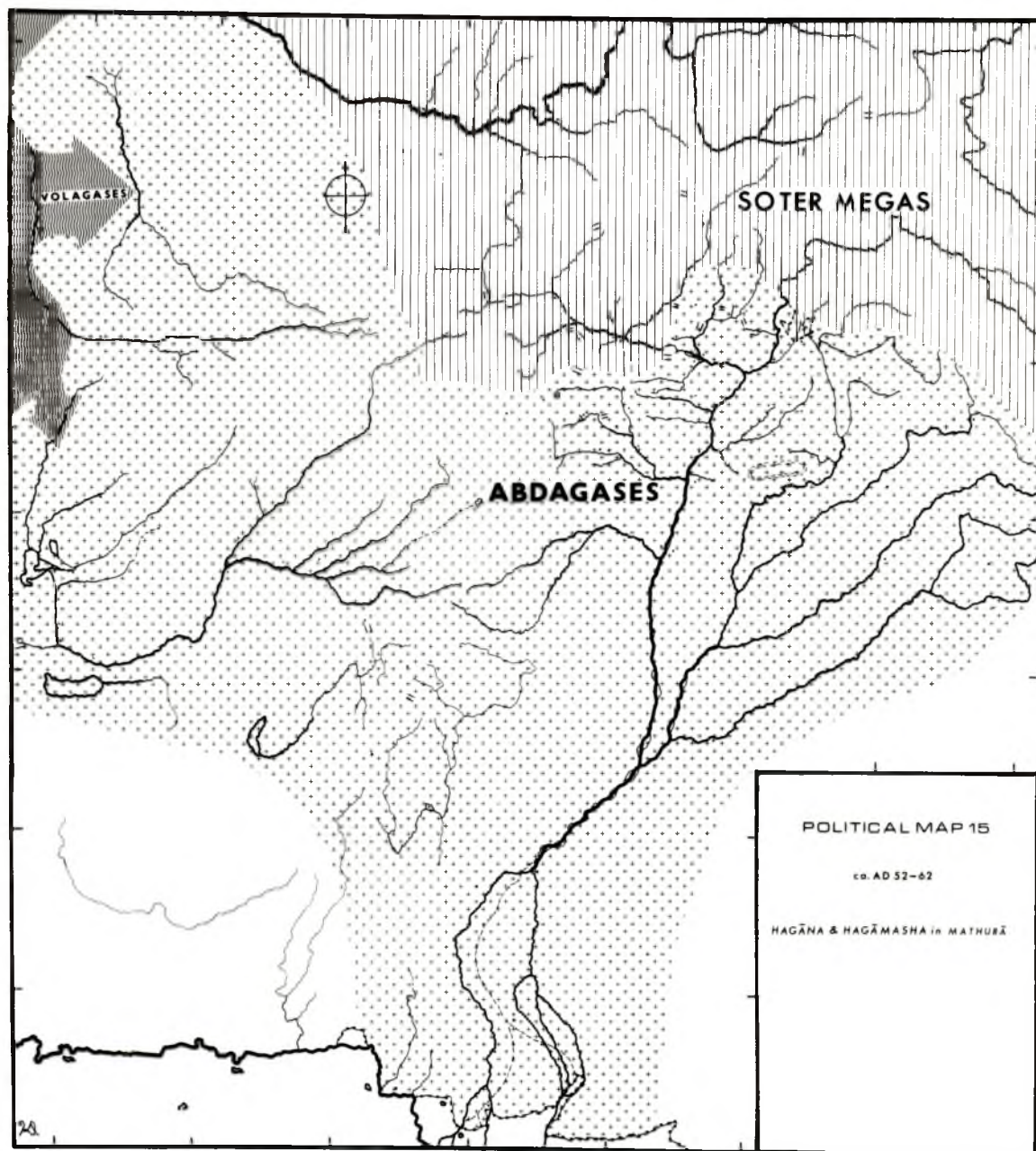
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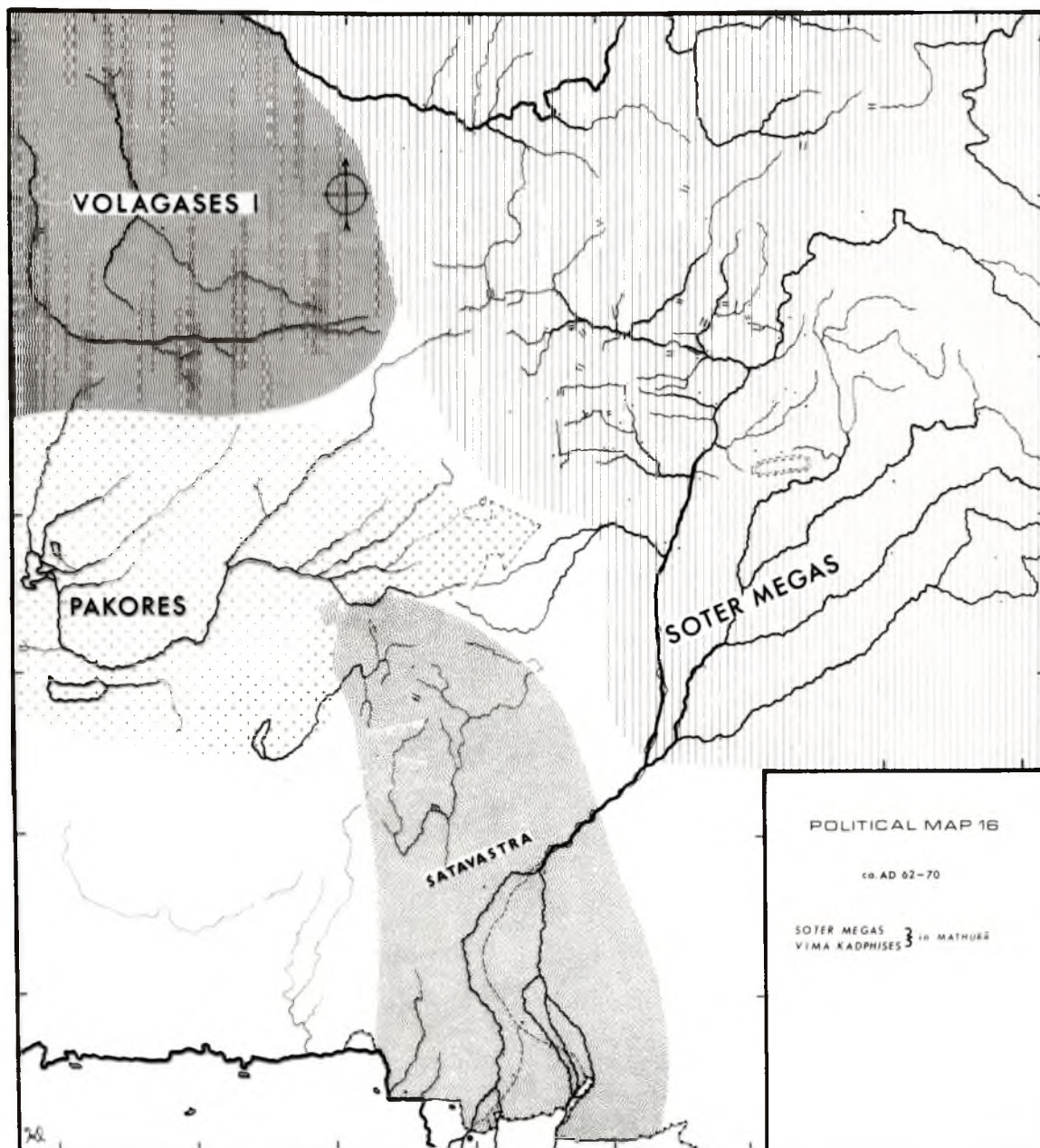
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