

THE KUSHĀNA NUMISMATICS

SATYA SHRAVA M.A.

Formerly : Director, State Museum, Lucknow ;
Deputy Keeper (Archaeology) : National Museum, New Delhi ;
Officer : Archaeological Survey of India, New Delhi.

Author : Śakas in India ;

A Comprehensive History of Vedic Literature (5 Vols);

Irrigation in India through the Ages : .

प्राचीन भारत में सिंचाई (Hindi)

Editor : वैदिक वाङ्मय का इतिहास (पाच भाग)

PRANAVA PRAKASHAN

1/28, Punjabi Bagh, New Delhi-110 026

First Editton : May 1985

© *Pranava Prakashan, 1985*

Price : Rs. 300.00, \$ 50 00, £ 40 00

Publishers :

PRANAVA PRAKASHAN

1/28, Punjabi Bagh

New Delhi-110 026

Phones : 502581

538215

Printers:

Hans Raj Gupta & Sons

48/37 Anand Parbat, New Delhi-110 005

PREFACE

The year 1947, witnessed the greatest tragedy of history, *the Partition of India*. Not only the people had to migrate, even the cultures were brutally massacred. The age old cultural barriers had to be sacrificed to satisfy the whims and impractical suggestions of the politicians. The greatest loss to India, a major part of its cultural heritage very closely inter-woven with its achievements in the past millenniums was taken away from it and the great country with a still greater past was bereft of its greatness. The worst to be hit, the Kushāṇa culture, whose rulers, having their capital in Purushapurā i.e., the present day Peshawar, now in Pakistan, had affluence of their empire and intimate cultural links as far as Mathura, was indiscriminately butchered. The Kushāṇa capital and remains around it, now form a part of north-west Pakistan and important centres of the empire like Taxila, etc., are all hundreds of miles away from and denied access to Mathura, the most prolific centre of Kushāṇa *Brāhmī* inscriptions.

If the past two centuries had seen piecing together of Indian history, carefully sifted from Archaeological and traditional sources, both supplementing and corroborating each other, the last four decades proved a gloomy period weaning away the strenuous efforts made in this direction. The present day archaeology for the past forty years, is mainly confined to potsherds, as the back bone of archaeology, with disparaging attitude for the remaining sources of Indian history, including even the other excavated materials.

Delhi, the metropolis of India has already seen its many a rise and fall during the last at least two millenniums. The excavators of present day Delhi, in future, when excavating a flourishing colony housing, say, the elite of town, perhaps, will not find any riches to stand witness to the prosperity of the people residing therein, today, except a few metal utensils giving to the archaeologist of the future an impression vehemently to be stressed and contested by him that the excavated culture shows the occupants of the place were not at all prosperous people. Such an impression falsifies the true nature of the present and, therefore, while arriving at conclusions, realities which always travel with the time have never to be lost sight of. Therefore, the present day attitude, unnecessarily, to gloat over pottery, needs drastic revision in this attitude and instead the desideratum is to rightly assess the importance of other finds which only corroborate the various sources of Indian history. Undue stress on potsherds and too much endearment to them has, perhaps, in the last four decades loomed as a dark cloud on the royal glory, the prosperity and the affluence of our past. While searching history, we have to be face to face with the real past which must have dwelt on cultures like

those of today and as our prime duty, drawing the correct picture of our past deserves and needs to be carefully revived. If Macaulay had planned to impart education to the white collared class, who were to serve the British empire, the satellites created even in historical horizon have added to the minimal to our history.

A round piece of metal always about two centimetres in diameter carries not only on the front, but also on its back wonderfully and minutely drawn details, carefully executed to bring to the Archaeologists, the august personality of a Kushāna ruler, dressed from head to toe, wearing abundant jewellery testifying to the prosperity not only of the ruler, but of the subjects, the pulsating desire to stress on the populace with awe, the name and titles appended to the ruler, and on the back the various deities, drawn from different cultures brought together, to propagate the religious syncretism of the rulers and to top the mastery of the details, names of such deities were given alongwith their particular monogram. The studious preparation of moulds, the technical minting of coins, their careful execution is not a minor feat and needs maximum attention to write the history of the Kushāna rulers, instead of wasting energy, resources, time and above all finances on stressing alone on pottery designs of the period. Pottery certainly helps to have additional knowledge of the past, but it should not be the, be all of our glorious past. A change in attitude will encourage the present day archaeologist to equip himself to truly contribute to the real past of India and bring its cultural heritage vividly before the present day lives.

Our past still has important sources as well as resources, which if worked with unbiased introspection will help the excavated archaeological material reveal to the living as well as to posterity a wonderfully connected mass of our glorious history.

The Kushānas are well known to have ruled effectively in northern India and a large variety of their coins as well as their inscriptions help glean their history from them and realise the greatness of those rulers.

On joining the Archaeological Survey of India in October 1947, the author had to undertake, initially a study of gold coins, most of which belonged to the Kushānas. Availing the opportunity provided to study the Coin Cabinets of various museums of the country, it was possible to equip ultimately for writing on Kushāna coinage in the form of the present book, *the Kushāna Numismatics*. All possible details of these coins, after their analysis, have been arranged in fourteen chapters. The desideratum to have a comprehensive dissertation on the subject and to piece together from the available coins of these rulers an account of their lives resulted in the preparation of this book.

The very first chapter is: INTRODUCTION. It fruitfully traces out the genesis of Kushāṇa coinage which normally is linked with the immediate predecessors of the earliest Kushāṇa rulers. The Kushāṇa rulers had liberally borrowed from their predecessors and in turn the Kushāṇa tradition of minting coins successfully penetrated into their successors, as well. The earliest Kushāṇa coinage has not much to impress and the joint issues of Hermaeus and Kujula Kadphises, being, mere imitations of his predecessor, confirm it. However, Kujula Kadphises was innovative and gaining ground for his principality, he started making changes in his coinage. The current trends of art in Bactria, Gāndhāra and Mathura had a conspicuous effect on the coinage of the Kushāṇa rulers. The portraiture of Kushāṇa rulers on these coins are reminiscent of the great artistic activity of those ages; besides, the sculptures are corroborative of the tremendous contemporary developments in art. The portraiture both of the ruler as well as the deity must have been based on reality which fact would help to form a fair idea of the personality of the ruler and his august appearance, as on coins.

The religious policy of the Kushāṇa rulers had encouraged to depict liberally a variety of deities on the reverse of coins. A study of the deities itself is enlightening to bring to fore the vastness, the comprehension, the liberalism, the great tolerance these rulers had in their religious approach and their enduring attitude towards their subjects. The deities on the reverse bring together a multitude of gods and goddesses belonging to different pantheons as worshipped and revered in those ages in Greece, Rome, Bactria and India. If the Kushāṇas borrowed Hellenistic and Roman deities, they equally encouraged and patronised prominent deities of the Indians of those ages. Having associations with Bactria they very naturally introduced Iranian deities which exceeded in number all other deities.

Minting of a large variety of gold coins was a unique feature of these Kushāṇa rulers. Mostly silver coins were in vogue till their advent to power. The contribution to gold coinage made by the Kushāṇa rulers penetrated with success into their successors, the Imperial Guptas.

Vima Kadphises had introduced gold coinage; eight varieties of coins were issued by him. His coins show him sacrificing with his right hand at an altar having a trident behind it. Religion in India had effect on his coins and their reverse have Śiva with or without his bull. Depiction of this deity brings forth the prevalence of Śaivism even two thousand years earlier. He also had liberally borrowed from the coins of his Roman contemporaries. His mature portraits show him with heavy beard. He added an additional feature of flaming shoulders to signify the investiture of authority to rule by the Almighty.

His successor, Kanishka continued to mint coins on the designs followed by his predecessors especially Vima Kadphises. Besides the God Śiva, introducing

more Hellenistic and Iranian gods became a regular feature. He continued the minting of gold coins, in general. The king on his coins is invariably shown sacrificing at an altar. This feature of Kushāṇa coinage was borrowed liberally by the Sassānian rulers of Persia whose coins have the altar, as a must, on the coins. Borrowed initially from the Vedic concept of performing a sacrifice, the idea persisted for a few millenniums.

It was Huvishka who had made the greatest contribution to Kushāṇa gold coinage. The source of gold must have been accessible to these rulers who never found dearth of the yellow metal and have left to posterity a rich variety of these coins. How prosperous our country was during the rule of the Kushāṇas, is evident. He had minted 27 varieties of gold coins and some of these varieties had further sub-varieties, as well, and these were also minted in gold. The portrait of the king on these coins clearly shows the ruler as a young prince, in his adolescence and of mature age.

Huvishka, however, abruptly discontinued the altar on his coins and had on the obverse the portrait of the ruler holding a mace in the right hand and a spear, an emblem of authority, in the left hand. The design of a helmet or a crown differ on his various coins, perhaps, due to the mint officer or his taste for having different types of helmets. The number of deities shown on the reverse of his coins increased tremendously during his reign. He inducted more Bactrian or Iranian deities on his coins. His coins showing the portrait of an old person are reminiscent of his having ruled for a very long period. How meticulous the ruler was about his dress is well borne out by the coins. Addition of more Indian deities like *Skanda-Kumāra*, *Mahāsena* and *Viśākha* is credited to Huvishka. As usual, he had issued very few silver or copper coins.

A chapter on : LEGENDS ON KUSHĀṆA COINS gives a brief survey of the legends in Greek script and in *Kharoshthī* characters as found on the coins of these rulers. To further elaborate the *Kharoshthī* legends these have been given separately at the end in the Appendix. A chart on : the KHAROSHṬHĪ ALPHABET as found on the coins and another on the COMPOSITE KHAROSHṬHĪ WORDS and their equivalents in English are separately given towards the end. The Greek letters and their equivalents in English are also given at the end.

It is surprising that, whereas the inscriptions mention profusely the prevalence of Jainism and Bhagavatism, deities of the Jainas on the coins are conspicuous by their absence. Similarly, these inscriptions are in majority related to Buddhism; however, as a paradox only few coins depicting the Buddha or the Buddhist deities, on the reverse have been found. More finds of coins of the Kushānas, in future, will help solve this riddle.

Certain ambiguous types of coins identifiable on the basis of details on the reverse are labelled incorrectly. These have also been included at their proper places in the following pages.

A brief chapter on : the METROLOGY OF KUSHĀṆA COINS is included alongwith another chapter on : MONOGRAMS ON KUSHĀṆA COINS.

A chapter on : KUSHĀṆA SILVER COINAGE surveys such coins, very few in number, of these rulers.

The coins of these rulers have been detailed in separate chapters alongwith their coin types. This survey, perhaps, will be useful for the scholar and the student to study them with interest alongwith their detailed descriptions. It has been attempted to include a coin of each type which were made available. Some of these coins could not be faithfully reproduced due to non availability of better photographs and as a further attempt to prove their utility all the 333 coins of these Kushāṇa rulers have been reproduced on art paper at the end of the book and their serial numbers correspond to each other. These two separate reproductions will help the reader have a better comprehension of the details on these coins. As already well known, the most note-worthy coin of Huvishka shows him, possibly, wearing a turban (page 171).

This brief survey without mentioning the sources in the form of foot-notes from which the information has been drawn is, however, based on works and articles as given in the detailed Bibliography at the end.

Due to paucity of detailed data, certain im-perfections and possible mistakes have naturally crept in for which the author craves the pardon of readers and also their indulgence for additional information, if available with them, with the earnest request to pass it on for subsequent additions. Whenever, there is any difference of opinion the same would be appreciated, if conveyed, for further revision of the view point, as well.

History of Kushāṇa coinage after Huvishka is embedded in uncertainty and it is here that the coins do not help to access the genealogy of these rulers except with the help of their inscriptions.

The successors of Vāsudeva had become weak; the shrinkage of the empire is attributed to the process of disintegration which resulted ultimately in the emergence of tribal rulers whose brief account is given in the ending chapters.

An important effect of these coins was on the coinage of Kashmir especially of the *Karkoṭaka* or *Nāga* dynasty; the Kushāṇa coinage had its effect on the coinage

of Orissa, as well. In the early centuries of the Christian era Kalinga rulers were holding sway in these regions. The fabrication of their coinage is extremely crude and is therefore, a reflection on the economic conditions of those periods. Since these coins are indirectly related to the Imperial Kushāṇas, the coinage of the successors of the Kushāṇas has been only briefly treated.

Each dynasty has its emergence, rise, stability and gradual disappearance, so was the case with the Kushāṇas. The greatness of Kushāṇa rulers, is well realised from the coinage of their successors who had borrowed liberally from the coin types of the Kushāṇas. These successors issued coinage imitating the coin designs of these great rulers and perpetuated their monetary achievements. The Yaudheyas, the Kunindas, the Scythian tribes, the Gadaharas, the Śitadas, the Kidāra Kushāṇas and even in the remote corners of Orissa, the Kalingas had no hesitation to imitate the Kushāṇa coinage even though crude in fabrication. The Kidāra Kushāṇas and the Kushāṇo Sassānian rulers had no other option but to continue the Kushāṇa coinage even in its decadent form.

Dr B N Mukherjee, the scholar-savant has extensively worked on the Kushāṇas and his books, monographs as well as articles are helpful for this survey and my grateful and respectful obligations to him.

In general, the author expresses his thanks to all the sources from which any information is drawn and recorded in the following pages.

Unstinted assistance by Mr Baldev Singh associated with the publishers as a Personal Assistant for the past more than nine years has been a cherished advantage. Sarva Shri H C Verma of Neo Graphic Aids, Sushil Verma and Ajit Kumar Ghosh have been very helpful for preparation of photographs, drawings, charts etc. The Librarians of the Archaeological Survey of India and its Reading Room Assistant, Mrs Rajani Lal alongwith Shri Atma Ram were forthcoming with books drawn even from the remote corners of the library for study. In spite of the present day mechanical form of assistance, their approach to help a scholar needs further elaboration and a fuller appreciation. Mrs Pratibha Parashar, Assistant Librarian, National Museum, New Delhi has a great part in the completion of this book and her ungrudged help can never be forgotten.

Miss R. Vanja, Keeper Numismatics and Epigraphy and Dr G N Pant, Keeper Lecturing and Education both of the National Museum, New Delhi and one time colleagues, are a great pivot behind the writing of this book and the author is obliged to both of them.

The Publisher, Smt. Shruti, my wife, is a source of great encouragement for publishing such difficult to sell books and has never failed in financing their publica-

tion. The paper used for printing has been of the best available quality and the credit for making the publication a success goes to her.

A few publications to be added in the series include among others a volume on THE KUSHĀNA INSCRIPTIONS which is ready to go to the press. It is hoped these publications shall receive the same ardent appreciation as accorded to similar other publications by the author.

My thanks to Shri J.C. Gupta, Proprietor of the press and his able Foreman Shri S.C. Bhale for minutely supervising the printing aspect of the book.

Beseching always the blessings of the Almighty for a long and healthy life to be usefully spent for enriching our cultural heritage.

New Delhi,
the Baisakhi Day,
April 13, 1985.

SATYA SHRAVA

MAP	xvi
CHAPTER ONE : INTRODUCTION	1
(i) Genesis of Kushāṇa Coinage	1
(ii) Early Kushāṇa Coinage	3
(iii) Portraiture on Coins	5
(iv) Kushāṇa Coinage	7
(v) Deities on Coins	8
(vi) Decline of Kushāṇa Coinage	10
(vii) Monograms on Coins	12
(viii) Coinage of the Successors	13
CHAPTER TWO : LEGENDS ON KUSHĀṆA COINS	15
(i) General	15
(ii) Coin Legends : Kujula Kadphises	15
(iii) Coin Legends: Vima Kadphises	17
(iv) Coin Legends: Soter Megas	18
(v) Coin Legends: Kanishka I	18
(vi) Coin Legends: Huvishka	19
(vii) Coin Legends: Vāsudeva I	20
(viii) Coin Legends: Vāsudeva's Successors	21
(ix) Legends on Kushāṇo-Sassānian Coins	22
(x) Coin Legends: Scythian Tribal Coins	22
(xi) Coin Legends: Kidāra Kushāṇas	22
CHAPTER THREE : DEITIES ON KUSHĀṆA COINS	23
(i) General	23
(ii) The Deities	26
(iii) Hellenistic and Roman Deities	28
(b) Iranian Deities	31
(c) Indian Deities	38
(iv) Ambiguous Types	42
CHAPTER FOUR : METROLOGY OF KUSHĀṆA COINS	43
(i) General	43
(ii) Coin-Denominations	46
(iii) Weight Standard of Copper Coins	47

CHAPTER FIVE : MONOGRAMS ON KUSHĀṆA COINS	49
(i) General	49
(ii) Kujula Kadphises	51
(iii) Vima Kadphises	52
(iv) Soter Megas	52
(v) Kanishka I	52
(vi) Huvishka	52
(vii) Vāsudeva I	53
(viii) Vāsudeva I and His Successors	53
CHAPTER SIX : KUSHĀṆA SILVER COINAGE	54
(i) General	54
(ii) Earliest Kushāṇa Silver Coinage	56
(iii) Silver Coins: Kujula Kadphises	58
(iv) Silver Coins: Vima Kadphises	58
(v) Silver Coins: Kanishka I	59
(vi) Silver Coins: Huvishka	60
(vii) Silver Coins: Vāsudeva I	61
CHAPTER SEVEN: COINAGE OF KUJULA KADPHISES	62
(i) General	62
(ii) Coins of Kujula Kadphises	63
Type (i) Bust of Hermaeus and Herakles	68
Type (ii) Head of Augustus	70
Type (iii) Zeus and Seated Buddha or king	71
Type (iv) Bull and Camel	72
Type (v) Macedonian Soldier	72
Type (vi) Bust of king	74
Type (vii) Coins from Begram	74
CHAPTER EIGHT: COINAGE OF VIMA KADPHISES	77
(i) General	77
(ii) Coin Types: Vima Kadphises	79
(iii) Coins of Vima Kadphises	80
Type (i) Elephant Rider	80
Type (ii) King in Biga	81
Type (iii) Enthroned king	81
Type (iv) King seated cross-legged	82

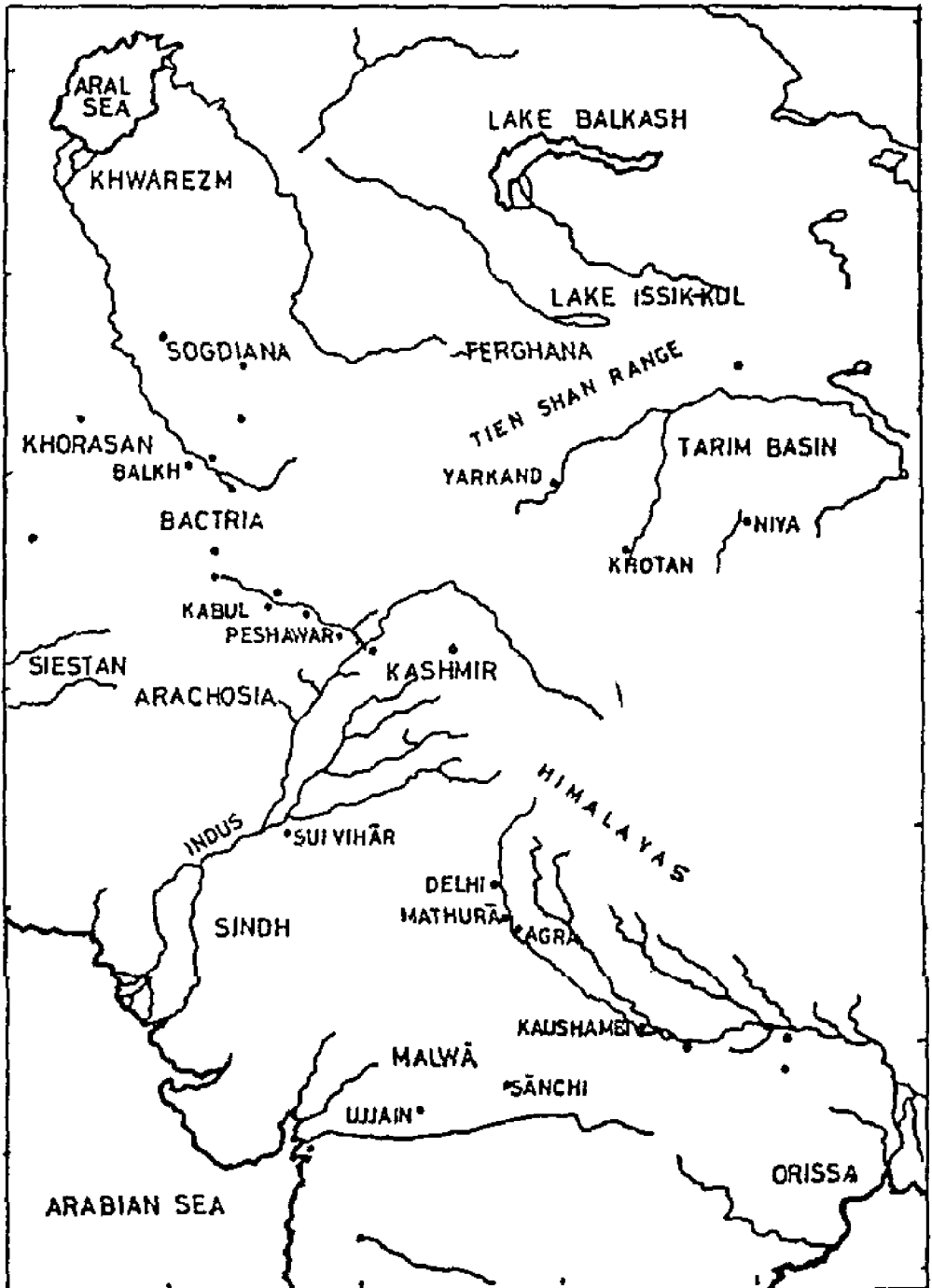
Type	(v) Bust portrait with high helmet and Śiva with bull	82
Type	(v) (a) Bust portrait with high helmet and Śiva	83
Type	(vi) Bust portrait with low cap and circlet	85
Type	(vii) Portrait in a frame or a square	85
Type	(viii) Standing king at altar	87
CHAPTER NINE. COINS OF A NAMELESS KING		91
	(i) General	91
	(ii) His Important Coins	92
CHAPTER TEN COINAGE OF KANISHKA		97
	(i) General	97
	(ii) Coins of Kanishka	98
Type	(i) King at an altar and HAIO<	98
Type	(i) (a) King at an altar and HAIO<	99
Type	(ii) King at an altar and HφAI<TO<	99
Type	(iii) King at an altar and <ΛΛΗNH	100
Type	(iv) King at an altar and APΔOXpO	101
Type	(v) King at an altar and AθpO	102
Type	(vi) King at an altar and ΔΠOOA<ΓO	103
Type	(vii) King at an altar and MANAOBAΓO	104
Type	(viii) King at an altar and MAO	105
Type	(viii) (a) Bust of King and MAO	106
Type	(ix) King at an altar with MHPO	106
Type	(ix) (a) King at an altar and MΣIPO	108
Type	(ix) (b) MHPO on obverse and NANApAO on reverse	108
Type	(x) King at an altar and MO<ΔOOANO	109
Type	(xi) King at an altar and NANA	110
Type	(xi) (a) King at an altar and NANAIA	111
Type	(xi) (b) King at an altar and NANApAO	112
Type	(xii) Bust of a king and NANA and OHpO	113
Type	(xiii) King at an altar and OΔΔO	113
Type	(xiv) King at an altar and OpΛATNO	114
Type	(xv) King at an altar and φAPPO	115
Type	(xvi) King at an altar and BOΔΔO	117
Type	(xvi) (a) King at an altar and the Buddha	117
Type	(xvi) (b) King at an altar and CAKAMABOYΔΔO	118
Type	(xvi) (c) King at an altar and BAΓOB/OYΔO	118

Type	(xvii) King at an altar and OHpO	119
Type	(xvii) (a) Upper part of King and OHpO	121
Type	(xvii) (b) King at an altar and OHpO	121
Type	(xvii) (c) King seated on a throne and a deity probably Śiva	122
	(iii) Kanishka's Successors: Vāsishka and Kanishka II	123
CHAPTER ELEVEN : COINAGE OF HUVISHKA		124
	(i) General	124
	(ii) Coins of Huvishka	129
Type	(i) Bust of king and hPAKIAO	129
Type	(i) (a) King riding an elephant and hPAKIAO	129
Type	(ii) Bust of king and WPON or WPOH	130
Type	(iii) Youthful portrait of king and <APAΓO	131
Type	(iii) (a) Youthful portrait of king and <APAΓO	132
Type	(iv) Bust portrait of king and ZHPO	132
Type	(v) King riding an elephant and APΔOXpO	133
Type	(vi) Bust of king and APΔOXpO	134
Type	(vii) Bust of king and ApΑΣIXpO	137
Type	(viii) Bust of king and AΘpO	138
Type	(ix) Bust of king and horse riding ΔPOOA<ΓO	139
Type	(x) Bust of king and MANAOBA ΓO	139
Type	(xi) Bust of king and MAO	141
Type	(xii) Huvishka seated cross legged and MAO	148
Type	(xiii) King riding an elephant and MAO	149
Type	(xiv) Bust of king with galamucha and MAO-MIPO	149
Type	(xv) Bust portrait of king and MIPO	150
Type	(xv) (a) Bust portrait of king and MJOPO	154
Type	(xv) (b) King squatting or in easy position and MIOPO	158
Type	(xv) (c) Bust of king and MIPPO	159
Type	(xv) (d) Bust of king and MOPO	160
Type	(xvi) King seated cross legged and NANA or NANO	160
Type	(xvi) (a) Bust portrait of king and NANO seated on lion	165
Type	(xvi) (b) King seated on cushion and NANA	165
Type	(xvi) (c) Bust portrait of king and NANApAO or pAONANA	166
Type	(xvii) King riding an elephant and OΔΔO	167
Type	(xviii) Bust of king and OANINΔO	168
Type	(xix) Bust of king and OAXpO	170

Type	(x ₂) Bust of king and OΔHO (NANA)	170
Type	(x ₇ i) Bust of king wearing a turban and φAPPO	171
Type	(xxi) (a) Bust of king and φAPPO facing left	171
Type	(xxi) (b) King riding an elephant and φAPPO	178
Type	(xxi) (c) Bust of king and φAPO	178
Type	(xxii) Bust of king and PION or PIPNO	181
Type	(xxiii) Bust of king and pAOPhOpO	182
Type	(xxiv) Bust of king and WOPMO<ΔO	184
Type	(xxv) Bust portrait of king and MAA<hNO	185
Type	(xxvi) Bust portrait of king and OhpO	186
Type	(xxvi) (a) Bust of king and OhpO-NANA; silver	189
Type	(xxvi) (b) Bust of king and OhpO-NANA; gold	190
Type	(xxvi) (c) Bust of king and OhpO-OMMO	191
Type	(xxvii) Bust portrait of king and <KANΔO-KOMAPO-BIZA ΓO	192
Type	(xxviii) (a) Bust portrait of king and <KANΔO-KOMAPO- MAA<hNO-BI<A ΓO	194
	(iii) Coins from Muni K ₁ Reti, Rishikesh	195
	(iv) Unidentified Types	197
CHAPTER TWELVE : COINAGE OF VĀSUDEVA		201
	(i) General	201
	(ii) Coins of Vāsudeva I	204
Type	(i) King at an altar and NANA	204
Type	(ii) King at an altar and three-headed and two armed OhpO	205
Type	(iii) King at an altar and three headed and four armed OhpO	207
Type	(iv) King at an altar and OhpO (without bull)	208
Type	(v) King at an altar and OhpO with side curls	209
Type	(vi) King at an altar with trident behind; OhpO with side curls	210
Type	(vi) (a) King at an altar with trident behind and OhpO	215
Type	(vi) (ii) King with long hair at altar with trident behind and OhpO with side curls	216
Type	(viii) Crudely minted cup shaped coins showing king at an altar having trident behind, and Brāhmi letters and OhpO	218
CHAPTER THIRTEEN : SUCCESSORS OF VĀSUDEVA		224
	(i) General	224
	(ii) Kanishka II	225
	(iii) Vāsudeva II	225

	(iv) Vaskushāṇa and Vāsashka	225
	(v) Coins of Kaneshko or Kanishka III	225
Type	(i) King at an altar with ApΔOXpO seated on throne	226
	(vi) Coins Mentioning Vāsu	229
Type	(i) King at altar and OhpO	229
Type	(ii) King at altar and APΔOXpO	230
	(vii) Miscellaneous Coins	232
Type	(iii) King facing right and Ardha-nārīśvara on reverse	234
	(iv) King seated on a throne and APΔOXpO	234
CHAPTER FOURTEEN : SUCCESSORS OF THE KUSHĀṆAS		235
	(i) General	235
	(ii) Coins of Kidāra-Kushāṇas	236
	(iii) Kushāno-Sassānian Coins	237
	(iv) Coins of Scythian Tribes	239
	(v) Puri Kushāṇa Coins	239
	(vi) Treasure Trove Finds	240
APPENDICES		241
	(i) Genealogy of the Kushāṇas	241
	(ii) Glossary	241
	(iii) Abbreviations	242
	(iv) Bibliography	243
	(v) The <i>Kharoshthī</i> alphabet on Coins	251
	(vi) Composite <i>Kharoshthī</i> Words	252
	(vii) Greek Alphabet on Coins	253
	(viii) <i>Kharoshthī</i> Legends	254
	(ix) Monograms on Coins	254
	(x) Index	255
	(xi) Plates	I-XXX

THE MAP KUSHĀNA EMPIRE



THE KUSHĀNA EMPIRE SCALE 0 50 100 200 400 MILES

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

I. GENESIS OF KUSHĀṆA COINAGE

History of Kushāṇa coinage forms an important chapter in the numismatic chronicles of the Indian sub-continent. The ancient Panjab—a part of which, now, is in India and another part in Pakistan; the Haryana; parts of Himachal Pradesh and parts of western Uttar Pradesh were annexed to the Kushāṇa empire in the early years of the rule of the Kushāṇas in the Indian sub-continent. Succeeding the Indo-Greek and Indo Parthian rulers of north west India, which now forms a portion of Pakistan, the Kushāṇa emperors originating in India with Kadphises I or Kujula Kadphises, naturally inherited the coinage of their predecessors and very normally continued their coin-types. These coin-types were already known to their subjects.

In Kushāṇa times, coinage was more a potent instrument for the expression of ideas. Beyond their essential role of economic exchange, coins could disseminate in great numbers the ideas conveyed by their symbolic motifs. Coinage has been through the ages a prerogative of the sovereign power; its value in exchange is a reflection of the economic solidarity and control of the state. Coins were a great essential in daily life, filtering downwards through the most influential upper strata of society. Coins played a role in daily transactions and magnified the ideals and basic values of the state. These happened to be minted for trade, especially foreign trade.

Gradual transformation of the small Kushāṇa kingdom of Bactria into an empire during the days of Kujula Kadphises and his son and successor Vima Kadphises greatly widened the socio-economic and politico-religious conceptions. The coinage reflected an unprecedented political condition in the empire. During the reign of Vima Kadphises, the empire stretched from Transoxiana and borders of the

Parthian empire (upto a locality to the immediate east of Mu-tu or Meru, now included in Turkmenistan, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics), to at least Mathura in the east and Shen-tu or the lower Indus country in the south-east. Bactria, Arachosia, Paroponisadai, major parts of north-western India, the lower Indus area, a part of the territory now in western Uttar Pradesh *etc.*, came to be included within the empire.

Establishment of a central authority afforded to the people, an opportunity for moving with freedom within the empire. Traders now had a vast internal market to sell their products. Kushāna rulers encouraged internal as well as external trade and their gaining control over the lower Indus area encouraged maritime trade with the Roman Orient. A large number of Roman coins travelled to the Kushāna empire through trade and commerce. The numismatic contact between the Roman and Kushāna empires, had started and is suggested by appearance of a bust of Augustus on a type of coin of Kujula Kadphises. The Imperial Kushānas in the process of reforming their coinage, could easily draw from the Roman weight standard. The Imperial Kushānas, like the Romans, also utilized their coinage as a medium of propaganda. Descriptive legends on reverse of the coins of Kanishka I and his successors and personification of ideas of nature on their coins is easily discernible.

During the rule of the Scytho-Parthians, the vitality of the Hellenistic-Bactrian school of art, which had witnessed minting of many Bactrian, Greek and Indo-Greek coins of great artistic quality was exhausted to a large extent. Iranian influences gradually became prominent in certain features of the style of execution of coin-designs. Male and female figures on many Scytho-Parthian coins have bulging eyes, an Iranian feature. The style of executing busts was no longer Hellenic or Hellenistic. The art of coinage of these regions became Hellenistico-Irano-Bactrian in character. This contemporary art tradition influenced the majority of coins of Kujula Kadphises.

The Roman elements had begun to be introduced in Gandhāra through channels of trade from about the period of early Kushānas.

In broad outlines, the coinage of Kushāṇas developed gradually, as more Roman than Greek or Parthian, both in style and fabric. A departure from the Indo-Greek coin tradition emerged with the Kushāṇa rulers patronising the religious syncretism as prevalent in the Roman Orient and in Rome itself.

II. EARLY KUSHĀṆA COINAGE

Early Kushāṇa coins were, like coins of the Indo-Greeks, Indo-Scythians or Indo-Parthians, essentially local in character. Coins struck with local types by Kujula Kadphises and Soter Megas formed early Kushāṇa coinage of the Panjab. Taxila was their most important local mint.

These local traits on Kushāṇa coins in the Panjab as also in other territories, were lost with the reformation of Kushāṇa currency by Vima Kadphises. All types of gold and copper coins of Vima Kadphises, Kanishka I, Huvishka and Vāsudeva I were meant for circulation throughout the empire.

Vima Kadphises had effected a major reformation in the coinage which became imperial in character and mints situated in different parts of the empire were striking coins meant for circulation throughout the empire. Gold coins of Vima were imperial in character.

These very features, are discernible in the gold and copper coins of Kanishka I and Huvishka. *Kharoshthī* inscriptions do not appear on the coins of Kanishka I, and Greek legend is also noticeable on a comparatively small number of pieces minted by him.

The vast majority of coins of Kanishka I and on all coins of Huvishka, Bactrian legends in cursive Greek characters, refer to the king on the obverse and to deities on the reverse. The forms of Greek letters, used for inscribing Greek and Bactrian legends on Kushāṇa coins are tolerably good upto the period of Huvishka. Later, these became slovenly and cursive. On the other hand, *Kharoshthī* letters in marginal

legends are on the whole well inscribed. Use of the language prevalent in Bactria for inscriptions on coins, meant for circulation throughout the empire, indicates that to the Imperial Kushānas, Bactria was the most important of all territories held by them. It appears from the choice of deities on reverse of the coins, Bactria was given preference.

Bactria was positively given preference over other parts of the empire and, therefore, on the majority of the coins of Kanishka I, and on all coins of his immediate successors, coin-legends were written in the Bactrian language. Bactria had a special place in the domain of the Imperial Kushānas.

The importance attached to Bactria did not mean that the coins were struck only in Bactria. Coins were struck from several mints in different parts of the empire including the Panjab. Taxila was the most important mint of this area.

R. Gobl wants to ascribe all Kushāna gold coins of Vima Kadphises, Kanishka I, and Huvishka to the mints of Bactria, but his statement is not based on any convincing evidence.

D. W. MacDowall, argues on the basis of types and denominations of copper coins that important mints can be distinguished for Vima Kadphises, for Kanishka I and Huvishka in Gandhāra. Even MacDowall failed to see a clear mint pattern for Kushāna gold coins. Coins of Vima, Kanishka I, Huvishka and Vāsudeva I were struck in different mints, some of which might have been in Gandhāra, Kashmir, and Kapisene. But data at our disposal does not warrant attribution of a particular type to a particular mint.

Stylistically the Kushāna obverse devices are based on the art of the Bactrian school, whereas the reverse types, especially of Vima Kadphises and his successors, imbibe mainly the characteristics of Bactrian, Gandhāra and Mathura schools. The origin of some of the stylistic features discernible in the devices on the reverse may be traced to the artists of the Roman empire.

Thus, the coins of Kushāṇas, belonging to Vima and his successors, indicate the creation of an imperial school of art, in which the Bactrian elements were prominent. Kushāṇa artists, employed in mints, obviously enjoyed the patronage of the officials, to whom Bactria was more important. So, Bactrian elements predominated the coinage.

III. PORTRAITURE ON COINS

A few important features of the Bactrian art of the Kushāṇa period, like oval-shaped faces with open eyes, beards indicated by deep incision, angular and linear treatment of standing figures, the semi-circular folds on the sleeves and angular folds on garments, are prominent on the representative coins of Vima-Kadphises, Kanishka I, and Huvishka. The royal figures on coins which appear especially standing, breathe the air of the art revealed by the remains of the dynastic sanctuaries. The royal portraits on coins also followed the same school; though some of Huvishka's portraits may be compared with the naive portraits on some Roman coins.

The royal figures on a great number of coins are robust, majestic and awe-inspiring. These conveyed the great prowess of the Kushāṇa emperors. The deities on the reverse indicate the syncretistic trends in religious movements and iconographic developments. New iconic types followed the creative faculty of the artists. Several deities on Kushāṇa coins are beautifully portrayed. Some of these representations are literally vibrant with agility and personality.

The royal figures and deities on coins of Kanishka I have often sharp features. But sometimes these are blunt, probably, due to inferior skill and defective minting technique and use of defective specimens. However, some of the reverse figures, which betray boldness in handling of form, indicate also rapidity of execution and a deliberate taste for the unfinished.

Traces of double striking on blurred faces of some Kushāṇa gold pieces and appearance of two distinct devices on two sides of

these coins, suggest that they were struck from two different dies simultaneously.

The reverse type on some Kushāna coins are found partly out of flan. However, a regular alignment of the obverse and reverse impressions on a great number of Kushāna coins suggests that care was often taken to put the upper and lower dies parallel to each other.

Kushāna gold coins reveal that only some of them are exactly circular in shape. Perhaps, the method followed by the mint masters was defective.

The treatment of the dress on coins is somewhat different from the garments worn by early Kushāna emperors on sculptures. The tunic is shortened and often mailed. Its lower ends are often curved. There are heavy ridges on the trousers, as well as on the upper garment. Some of these look like horizontal or semi-circular pipes. Again, ridges look like small buttons on some pieces. The head-dress of the king on some of these coins is indicated by dots only. This technique is not discernible on the early Kushāna coins. On the whole, the royal figures on the coins of Kanishka III and Vāsudeva II are tolerably well produced, even though they lack the majestic appearance of the figures of Vima Kadphises or Kanishka I on their coins.

The imperial portraits on Roman coins which often suggested the divine and super-human power of the king, might have inspired the Kushāna coins as rising from clouds or as associated with flames or a halo etc., all indicating the super-human power of the king, known as the son of God.

Kushāna royal portraits on their coins lack idealizing qualities of the portraits of the Indo-Greek princes. Aesthetically these are not expressive images. The composition of the royal figure on the coins of Vāsudeva I is somewhat more arid and compact than that of his predecessors. There is also a change in the costume of the king. The tunic, which is sometimes mailed, is more close fitting and shortened.

Heavy straight folders appear on his trousers and on the sleeves of his upper garment. A similar feature is noticeable in Bactrian sculptures.

It may be added that, even in the last phase of the rule of the Imperial Kushāṇas, their coinage reflected in a large measure the stylistic features of the sculptural art of their empire.

Aridity and compactness in the art of portraying royal figure, are more pronounced on the coins of Kanishka III and Vāsudeva II. However, the figures on a few of them indicate plasticity in modelling, and their *dvibhaṅga* pose, perhaps, anticipates the similar postures in which the Gupta kings were shown on their coins in later period.

Devices on coins of the Bactro-Greeks and early Indo-Greeks were in high relief. The relief became lower with the passage of time. Some of the coins had figures indicated mainly in outline. But, on the whole good intagliated dies were used upto the end of the Kushāṇa empire to produce coins with devices and legends shown in relief.

IV. KUSHĀṆA COINAGE

A mounmental contribution of the Kushāṇas was revival and large scale minting of gold, instead of silver, coins. Gold coinage of Vima Kadphises continued for a few generations succeeding him. Gold coinage added to the international value and prestige of the Kushāṇas. Economic power and commercial prosperity of the Kushāṇas is evident from a vast variety of gold coins. Major issues of silver coins of Kushāṇas are rare except a few mint-trial pieces, experimental issues, or forgeries.

The Imperial Kushāṇas struck a very large number of different varieties of gold and copper coins. These form one of the most brilliant and varied series of coins of the ancient period. The gold and copper coins of the Imperial Kushāṇas are the most diversified and interesting series of original coinage. Their value for reconstructing the cultural and political history of early Central Asia and

India can hardly be over estimated. Their great variety, their number and their historical importance serve as a useful background to reconstruct their continuous rule in India, as well as, outside it. The Kushāna coins have been found not only throughout the Kushāna empire, but in other parts of the Indian sub-continent situated outside the empire. The Kushāna gold coins must have been acceptable to peoples outside the Kushāna empire, due to the established value of the Kushāna gold coins in international market.

Source of gold for coinage has been a mystery. India, has never been a major producer of this metal. Herodotus and Hsuan-tsang have recorded tales of gold minting ants. Prosperity of the Kushāna empire depended on its trade with the west. Its merchants served as middlemen who used to take cargoes coming from China when they entered the Kushanshahr from the Tarim Basin. Trade in luxury goods is evident from the princely treasures of Begram or the finds of Roman pottery, bulk wine vessels called amphorae and bronze figurines in south India. Gold from Rome could be one source for minting gold coinage during the rule of the Kushānas. Much gold was brought to the Kushāna kingdom from the Oxus region, which occupied a very advantageous position for procuring gold from places outside the Kushāna empire. Gold was imported from Scythia, the Ural and Altai regions. A brisk trade with Suvarṇabhūmi (South-East Asia) also fetched much gold from Jāvā, Sumātrā, Champā, etc.

The Kushāna gold coinage virtually had a substantial impact on the sub-continent which had become accustomed to increasingly debased local silver issues. These coins proclaimed on obverse the charismatic power of the foreign ruler and on reverse the divine source of his powers. These coins showed deities of the west as supporters of the Kushāna monarchy.

V. DEITIES ON COINS

The Kushānas were innovative. An important innovation of Kushāna rulers was presentation on reverse of the coins a multitude

of deities, borrowed from several different religions. A bewildering number of deities belonging to Roman, Iranian and Indian pantheons, appear on reverse of the coins of Kanishka I and Huvishka.

Deities represented on reverse indicate greater plasticity, flexibility and roundness of form following greater influence from Gandhāra and Mathura. This difference is prominent on a comparison of the standing figure of Vima Kadphises and of Śiva. The introduction of semi-transparent garments and visibility of the body underneath the drapery of a figure is a direct influence of the Mathura School of Art. Somewhat sensuous treatment of female figures on certain later coins of the Imperial Kushāṇas has comparable examples in numerous sculptures of Mathura School or of the figures on the ivory objects found at Begram. The figures on obverse and reverse of many of the coins of Vima Kadphises, Kanishka I and Huvishka wear transparent upper-garment which envelope the thick garment underneath.

Names of these deities appearing on reverse of the coins are easily known from the labels written beside them in Greek characters. In turn, the deities, thus, reveal a broad cultural horizon and religious syncretism. This particular feature, it appears, was inspired by :

- (a) the up-to-date knowledge of the Roman coin-types accessible through international trade and some cults of the Roman Orient;
- (b) the state policy to emphasise on deities enhancing the right and might of the Kushāṇa emperors;
- (c) the earnest desire to express their faith and religious ideas current in Bactria; and
- (d) to propitiate other religions, as well as, manifesting their own tolerance for them.

The heterogenous religious elements in Kushāṇa coinage betray also an eclectic attitude of the Kushāṇas towards religion.

VI. DECLINE OF KUSHĀNA COINAGE

The imperial character of the Kushāna coinage developed by Vima Kadphises and his successors gradually declined and local character, which had been a predominant feature of the coinage of the Indian sub-continent, became prominent again.

There was a gradual degeneration of Kushāna coinage. The treatment of the figure on several pieces is flattened and lacking in physical details and artistic niceties. The cause of it was the employment of inferior die-engravers and defective mode of production. Figures became disproportionate, showing the head of the king as unusually large. The lower chest and abdomen of Śiva are unusually broad and sometimes rather flat, while the muscles on the upper chest are shown in a peculiar manner. The eyes are bulging. There are straight, horizontal and vertical folds on garments of the deity and the king. All these features are rather flat, rigid and frontal treatment of the figures, perhaps, has parallel examples in contemporary Bactrian sculptures.

Obviously, there was a change in Kushāna monetary policy. The practice of using coinage, like the Roman emperors, as a medium of propaganda was probably discarded sometimes in the reign of Vāsudeva I, whose period incidentally saw the end of direct maritime contact between the Roman and the Kushāna empire. The Kushāna rulers, perhaps, also became more sectarian in their religious policy than their predecessors.

Gold and copper coins of Vāsudeva I, bear like those of Huvishka and the majority of the pieces of Kanishka I, Bactrian legend in the Greek script. However, on a small number of coins of Vāsudeva I, we can see isolated *Brāhmī* letters and rarely also isolated *Kharoshthī* characters can be noticed on gold coins of Kanishko or Kanishka III and Vāsudeva II, which bear Bactrian legend.

The imperial character of Kushāna coinage, however, declined gradually, in the days of Kanishka III and Vāsudeva II. Their gold

coins can be attributed to different parts of their empire on the basis of their types, provenance etc. Coins of the last two monarchs of Kushāṇas substantiate this point. Gold coins of *Kaneshko Koshano* or Kanishka III show the standing figure of the king at an altar on the obverse and either enthroned Ardoksho, or Śiva with Bull or Nānā on lion on the reverse. Ardoksho and Śiva with bull appear on the reverse of coins of Vāsudeva II which have king at altar device on the obverse.

The coins of Kanishka III and Vāsudeva II with Ardoksho on the reverse are mainly found in the Panjab area of the Indian sub-continent, while their coins with Śiva on the reverse are reported principally from farther west.

Gold coins of Vāsudeva II bearing Śiva with bull and the *nandipada* symbol may be considered to have been in circulation in Kushanshahr upto Peshawar before the advent of Sassanians who imitated these devices without *Brāhmī* characters on their coins.

The number of deities represented on reverse of the coins decreased from the time of Vāsudeva I. Only *Oesho* (Śiva) and *Nānā* occur on coins of Vāsudeva I. Only *Nānā*, *Ardoksho* and *Oesho* (Śiva) appear on those of Kanishka III. The last two deities are portrayed on coins of Vāsudeva II.

The coin types of Kanishka III and Vāsudeva II, influenced through the coinage of their successors in the Panjab, certain Gupta coin devices. The coins of Kanishka III displaying Nānā on lion probably influenced the gold coins of Chandra Gupta I on the reverse of which a goddess on a lion is depicted.

After the Kushāṇas, the coinage of Vāsudeva II emerged as Kushāṇo-Sassanian coinage. A large variety of copies of the coins of Vāsudeva, some of fairly good style, others of barbarous execution, but none bearing intelligible legends, came into circulation. The Later or Lesser Kushāṇas imitated the various types of gold coinage of Vāsudeva and had issued them from Gandhāra. The Kushāṇo-Sassanian pieces,

the result of the Sassanian invasions of Kabul valley are found on the Sistan side and were probably struck in the fourth and fifth centuries. Even in Kashmir from sixth to the sixteenth centuries, its rulers continued to follow copper coinage, though very much debased, but which had origins in the copper coinage of the Kushānas.

The debased coins of Kidara Kushānas are later in date and are believed to have been issued by chiefs of the little Yueh-chih hordes in the Panjab and other parts of north western India during the fifth and sixth centuries. The coins of this class merged into the Kashmir coinage.

It is difficult to fix the date of the excessively rude coins from Puri and Ganjam. These are reminiscent of Kushāna types and may have been struck by rulers of Kalinga in the fourth or fifth century.

VII MONOGRAMS ON COINS

Monograms, alluding to mints or symbols or something else, had appeared on the coins of Indo-Greeks and Scytho-Parthians. Similarly, monograms or symbols continued to appear on the coins of Kujula Kadphises and his successors. The *nandipada* symbol occurs on some coins of Kujula Kadphises and Vima Kadphises. Coins of Vima Kadphises also often carry a four-pronged mark, which partly developed from the *nandipada* symbol, or one of its variants. Closely similar, a four-pronged monogram or its variants occur on coins of Kanishka I and Huvishka. The symbol used on the coins of Huvishka, in its many changed forms is found on the coins of Vāsudeva I. Coins of Kanishka III and Vāsudeva II, have some of the forms of the four pronged monogram which appears on the coins of Vāsudeva I.

The exact significance of a monogram is not clear. Perhaps, each mark or its variant, was sort of a personal monogram of the king concerned or of the chief of the mint. Such a surmise is supported by the fact that the three-pronged symbol known as the Soter Megas symbol is known to have appeared only on the coins of Soter

Megas. At times, two monograms or different forms of one and the same monogram might have been used by one ruler.

A few forms of the four pronged symbol used by the later Kushāṇas, were copied on the coins of the Imperial Guptas.

VIII. COINAGE OF THE SUCCESSORS

Some of the tribal rulers of the Panjab, who succeeded the Kushāṇas, had imitated the Kushāṇa coinage. A large number of copper coins, carrying on one side a male figure, Śiva, and on the other, devices mostly resembling those on the known Kushāṇa coins are attributed to the Kuṇindas. The module of these pieces, might have been suggested by Kushāṇa copper coins. The obverse showing Śiva holding a trident with an axe or shaft in his right hand, and a deer skin in the left hand, is comparable with the representation of the same deity on a large number of Kushāṇa coins.

The successors of the Kushāṇas, like Vasu, Mahi, Shilada, Shaka, etc., continued to have 'enthroned Ardoksho' and 'king at altar' as devices on their coins. Coins of some of these families are found in the northern Panjab. The two types 'king at altar' and 'enthroned Ardoksho' were imitated, in particular, by the successors of Kushāṇas in the Panjab.

Enthroned Ardoksho was used as one of [the most important Kushāṇa coin types during the last phase of the rule of the Imperial Kushāṇas and was copied and imitated extensively by the successors of the Kushāṇas, the group of Kidāra Kushāṇas, the Guptas, Hunas etc. These were also copied later on in Kashmir.

Copper coins of Yaudheyas dateable to third and fourth centuries A.D. had Kushāṇa influence, as well. The posture of the standing deity on the reverse, showing one hand on the hip and the other hand held out, is similar to the representation of Mao, Mithra and Helios, on several Kushāṇa copper coins.

Kārttikeya with his left hand on his hip and his right hand holding a spear and having a peacock on his left, as noticeable on the obverse of the Yaudheya coins has a general resemblance to that of Mahāsenā, on several Kushāna coins.

Yaudheyas also had restruck Kushāna copper coins. On the reverse of one such piece, on the upper part of one of the varieties, the four pronged Kushāna symbol can still be seen. A close examination of the coins of Yaudheyas suggests that these were tugged with gold, similar to gold coins of the Kushānas.

Sometimes, portions carrying obverse or reverse devices on Kushāna coins were chipped off. The cavity was filled with sheet of metal and restruck with Yaudheya coin devices. Thus, Yaudheya coins could conform to the weight standard which was lighter than the weight standard of the Kushāna copper coins. The Yaudheyas restruck as well as re-used Kushāna coins.

A large number of Kushāna copper coins appear to have remained in circulation even after the fall of the empire. Such coins bear a crudely portrayed figure of Śiva standing with a bull on one side plus a monogram or *Brāhmī* letters of fifth-sixth centuries A D. and a trident or a crude representation of fire altar with two attendants on the other side.

It is evident that the Kushāna coinage when judged from all the angles, found an important place in the development of the art and technique of coinage in India and Central Asia. Significant contributions were made to Indian coinage by the Kushānas.

CHAPTER TWO

LEGENDS ON KUSHĀṆA COINS

I. GENERAL

Kushāṇas had writings on their coins which are similar to those of their predecessors and are found both on obverse and reverse. Name of a king formally appears on obverse, whereas a deity on reverse is distinguished by its name recorded on that side. Coins of the early Kushāṇas such as Kujula Kadphises *etc.*, imitating their Greek and Parthian predecessors, record the name of a king with his titles on obverse in Greek script and repeat both the name and the titles on reverse in *Kharoshthī* script. Coins of the early Kushāṇa rulers were bi-lingual but their successors had used Greek script both on obverse and reverse.

II. COIN LEGENDS : KUJULA KADPHISES

The coins of Kujula Kadphises have on their obverse, the following legends in Greek script :

- | | | |
|---|---|---|
| (a) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΤΗΡΟΣΣΥ
ΕΡΜΑΙΟΥ | Basileos Sterossu
Ermaiou or Basileus
Soteris Ermaiou | (coin) of king
Hermaios, the
saviour |
| (b) ΚΟ ΖΟ ΥΔΟΥ
ΚΑΔΦΙΖΟΥ
ΚΟΨΟΝΟΥ | Kozoulou
Kadphizou
Koshonou | (coin) of Kozolo
Kadphises,
the Kushāṇa |
| (c) ΧΟΡΑΝΣΟΥ ΖΑΟΥ
ΚΟΖΟΛΑ
ΚΑΔΑΦΕΣ | Kh oshansu Zaou
Kozola Kadaphes | (coin) of Kozola
Kadaphes, the
Yavuga (leader)
of the Kushāṇas |
| (d) . . . ΝΙΥΥ ΟΗΑΝΥΙ
ΠΜΘΥΙΥ or
ΒΥΠΝΙ
ΒΥΠΝΕΙΝ for ΒΑ
ΙΑΕΙ ΒΑ ΙΑΕΙ (ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙ) | | |

On the coins of Kujula Kadphises, the last type of the legend is blurred as well as blundered and is, therefore, not intelligible.

Legends in *Kharoshthī* characters and in Prākṛit language found on the coins of Kujula Kadphises are -

<i>Legend</i>	<i>In Sanskrit</i>	<i>Meaning</i>
(a) Kujula Kasasa Kushana Yavugasa Dhrama-ṭhidasa	Kujula Kasasya Kushaṇa Yavugasya Dharma sthitasya	(coin) of Kujula Kasa, the leader of the Kushanas who is devoted to religion
(b) Khushanasa Yauasa Kujula Kaphsa Sacha- dhrama-ṭhidasa	Kushāṇasya Yavugasya Kujula Kaphsasya Satya-dharma- sthitasya	(coin) of Kujula Kaphsa, the leader of the Kushānas, who is devoted to true religion
(c) Maharajasa rajarajasa Devaputrassa (?) Kujula Kara Kapsasa	Maharājasya Rājarājasya devaputrasya Kujula Kara Kapsasya	(coin) of Kujula Kara Kapsa, great king of kings, son of heaven (?)
(d) Kujula-Kara Kapsasa Maharayasa rayatirayasa	Kujula Kara Kapasya Mahārā- jasya rājātirājasya	(coin) of Kujula Kara Kapa, great king, king of kings
(e) Maharayasa mahatasa Kushana Kujula Kaphsa	Maharajasya mahataḥ Kushāna Kujula Kaphasya	(coin) of Kujula Kara Kapa, the great Kushaṇa, the great king
(f) Maharajasa rajatirajasya Kayula Kaphsa	Mahārājasya rājātirajasya Kujula Kaphasya	(coin) of Kujula Kapa, great king, king of kings

Name of Kujula Kadphises is variously spelt and has been expressed on his coins, as :

- (i) Kujula Kadphises,
- (ii) Kujula Kasa,
- (iii) Kujula Kadaphes,
- (iv) Kujula Kaphsa, and
- (v) Kujula-kara Kaphsa

Kujula Kadphises has a long list of titles and designations appended to his name on his coins, and these are :

- (i) Rājādirāja;
- (ii) Mahārāja;
- (iii) Mahān (nominative of *mahataḥ*);
- (iv) Kushāṇa Yavuga;
- (v) Dharma-sthita;
- (vi) Satya-dharma-sthita;
- (vii) Devaputra; *and*
- (viii) Basileus

III. COIN LEGENDS : VIMA KADPHISES

Similarly, legends in Greek on obverse and in *Kharoshīhī* characters on reverse, on the coins of Vima Kadphises have been found. The legends, in Greek characters, are :

(i) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΟΟΗΜΟ ΚΑΔΦΙΧΗ	Basileus Ooemo Kadphises	(coin) of king, Vima Kadphises
(ii) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΚΩΤΗΡ ΜΕΓΑΧ ΟΟΗΜΟ ΚΑΔΦΙΧΗ	Basileus Basileon Soter Megas Ooemo Kadphises	(coin) of Vima Kadphises, the great king of kings, the saviour

The legends on reverse of the coins of Vima Kadphises, in *Kharoshīhī* characters, are :

(i) Maharajasa rajadirajasa sarva-loga-isvarasa mahisvarasa Hima Katphisasa tradata	Mahārājasya rājādirājasya sarvalokeśvarasya Maheśvarasya Vima Katphisasya trātuh	(coin) of the great king, king of kings, lord of the world, devotee of Maheś- vara, Vima Kadphi- ses, the defender
--	---	---

The name of Vima Kadphises on his coins is spelt as Ooemo Kadphises in Greek and Vima Katphisa in *Kharoshīhī* characters.

The titles used for Vima Kadphises, in Greek, are :

- (i) Basileus; *and*
- (ii) Basileon

In *Kharoshthi* legends, the titles used for Vima Kadphises are :

- (i) Mahārāja;
- (ii) Rājādhirāja;
- (iii) Sarvalokeśvara;
- (iv) Maheśvara; and
- (v) trātuḥ

IV. COIN LEGENDS : SOTER MEGAS

The legend in Greek on the coins of Soter Megas, is :

- (i) *Basileus Basileon*

In *Kharoshthi* characters, the legend is :

(i) Maharaja rajatiraja sarvalogaiśvara Maheśvara trata	Mahārājasya rājādhirājasya sarvalokeśvara or Maheśvara trātuḥ	(coin) of king, king of kings, the great king, lord of the world, devotee of Śiva, the protector
---	---	---

V. COIN LEGENDS : KANISHKA I

As a marked departure from his predecessors, coins of Kanishka, as well as of his successors, have only Greek script both on obverse and reverse. Legends on obverse are in Persian language which is termed as Khotanese-Śaka, according to Sten Konow.

The legends, in Greek, on the obverse, are :

(a) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΚΑΝΗΡΚΟΥ	Basileus Basileon Kaneshkou	(coin) of Kanishka, king of kings
(b) ΠΑΟΝΑΝΟ ΠΑΟ ΚΑΝΗΡΚΙ ΚΟΠΑΝΟ	Shaonano shao Kaneshki Koshano	Kanishka, the Kushāṇa, king of kings

The title *Shaonano*, is similar to the old Persian word *Kshāyathiyānam Kshāyathiyā*. In modern Persian, it is equivalent to *Shahan Shāh* or *Shāhānushāhi*.

On reverse of the coins of Kanishka appear the names of Greek, Persian and Indian deities, again in Greek script. These help in identifying the deity depicted on reverse.

The names of deities appearing on the reverse, are :

(a) APΔOXPO	Ardoksho	
(b) AφPO	Athsho	
(c) CAKAMANA BOΔΔO	Sakamana Boddo	Śākyamuni Buddha
(d) HAIIOΣ	Elios	
(e) φAPPO	Pharro	
(f) ΔPOOACΓO	Lrooaspo	
(g) MIYPO	Mihira	
(h) NANA, NANAIA	Nana, Nanaia	
(i) OAAO	Oado	
(j) OHPO	Oesho	Bhaveśa
(k) OPAA ΓNO	Orlagno	
(l) CAAHNI	Salene	

VI. COIN LEGENDS : HUVISHKA

The Greek legend found on obverse of the coins of Huvishka is limited to (b) type of legend as found on the coins of Kanishka and is :

PAONANO PAO	Shaonano Shao	Huvishka, the
OOHPKI KOPANO	Ooeshki Koshano	Kushāṇa, the king of kings

On some of his gold coins, his name is spelt as Ooeshko, instead of Ooeshki.

The largest number of deities appearing on reverse of the coins of Huvishka, are :

(a) ANIO	Anio	
(b) APΔOXPO	Ardoksho	
(c) AφPO	Athsho	
(d) BIZATO	Bizago	Viśakha
(e) φAPPO	Pharro	
(f) KOMAPO	Kumāra	Kumāra
(g) MAACHNO	Mahāsena	Mahāsena
(h) MANAOBATO	Manaobago	
(i) MAO	Mao	
(j) MIPO	Miro	
(k) NANAPAO	Nanashao	
(l) OANINΔA	Oaninda	
(m) OHPO	Oesho	Śiva
(n) CAPAΓO	Sarapo	
(o) PAOPHOPO	Shaoreoro	
(p) SKANAO	Skanda	Skanda

However, on a single coin in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, appears the *Brāhmī* legend, Ganeśo.

VII. COIN LEGENDS . VĀSUDEVA I

Similar to the coins of his two predecessors, the coins of Vāsudeva I have legends in Greek, on the obverse, as :

(a) PAONANO PAO	Shaonano Shao	Bazodeo (Vāsudeva),
BAZOΔHO KOPANO	Bazodeo Koshano	the Kushāna, the
		great king of kings

The number of deities appearing on the coins of Vāsudeva I, is reduced to two, as :—

(a) OHPO	Oesho	Śiva
(b) NANA	Nana	Nana

VIII. COIN LEGENDS : VĀSUDEVA'S SUCCESSORS

The legends on the coins of Vāsudeva II and Kanishka III are much corrupt, blurred and debased. However, it is possible to complete a clear legend on the basis of different coins, and we get the names and titles of Kanishka III and Vāsudeva II.

These legends, invariably in Greek, are :

(a) PAONANO PAO	Shao Nano Shao	(coin) of Kanishka,
KANHPKI KOPANO	Kaneshki Koshano	king of kings, the
		Kushāna
(b) PAONANO PAO	Shaonano Shao	(coin) of Vāsudeva,
BAZOΔHO	Bazodeo Koshano	the Kushāna, king
KOPANO		of kings.

On obverse of the coins of Vāsudeva II and Kanishka III appear some stray *Brāhmī* letters, on the left; near the right foot of the king; in the middle; between the kings feet; and on the right, outside the king's spear or trident.

On a unique copper coin, and on a few gold coins appear *Vasu* vertically written in *Brāhmī*. This is possibly the beginning of the use of *Brāhmī* legends on Kushāṇa coins. This unique coin is attributed to Vāsudeva II, the last Kushāṇa king of the Imperial dynasty.

The legend on reverse, again in Greek, is :

(a) ΑΡΔΟΧΡΟ	Ardoksho
(b) ΟΗΡΟ	Oesho

After Vāsudeva II, the coins found in the Panjab region have *Brāhmī* legends both on obverse and reverse and belong to the tribes of Śakas, Śiladas, the Gadaharas and the Kidāra Kushāṇas. Coins having Greek or Kushāṇa cursive script, again both on the obverse and the reverse, are generally met within the Balkh and Kabul region. These belong to the Kushāṇo-Sassanian series.

IX LEGENDS ON KUSHĀNO-SASSANIAN COINS

Kushāno-Sassanian coins are found in two series, based on the language used, and are :

(a) In the first series, the legend in cursive Kushāna script or corrupt Greek characters gives the name of the king with his title Shaonano Shao Kushano. On reverse appears the name of the deity Oesho.

(b) In the second series, Pahlavi is used along with the Greek legend, for the coins of Hormuzd, Shapur, Varahran and their titles as Shaonano Shao Koshano and Bagd (Divine). In Pahlavi legend are found the titles, Mazdism Bagi Laba Kushan Malkan Malka, which means, the "*Mazdean divine, king of kings of the Laba-Kushānas.*" This title means that the Sassanian rulers whose coins bear it, had continued to acknowledge the suzerainty of the Kushānas in those regions.

X. COIN LEGENDS : SCYTHIAN TRIBAL COINS

A few tribal coins reveal names of such tribes as Śaka, Śilada and Gadahara, who had used *Brāhmī* legends, but continued to use Greek legend in the margin, which however, is illegible. The legends on obverse in *Brāhmī* record the names of these tribes and their kings. Traces of Greek legend on reverse possibly had contained name of throned Ardoksho.

The use of *Brāhmī* on these coins strongly supports the association of Indians while issuing these coins. A striking feature of these coins is the representation of *Brāhmī* legend, in vertical form.

XI. COIN LEGENDS : KIDĀRA KUSHĀNA

The name *Kidāra* is found on the obverse of a number of coins along with the name of chiefs. It implies that these chiefs were related to Kidāra, who probably had founded the dynasty. These coins have legends in *Brāhmī* both on obverse and reverse. Besides their gold coinage, these rulers had issued silver coins, as well. The legend *Kidāra Kushāna* is written perpendicularly and the name of the chief starts with the word *Shāht*.

CHAPTER THREE

DEITIES ON KUSHĀṆA COINS

I. GENERAL

The deities shown on reverse of the coins of Kanishka and Huvishka, as well as, other Imperial Kushāṇa rulers reveal extraordinary facets of the dynasty; its broad cultural horizon and expression of religious syncretism. The detailed religious connotation of the deities symbolized on the coins is generally obscure. In certain cases, only the names of deities are known. So far, no congruent textual source to expand their meaning has been forthcoming. However, these deities cumulatively reflect, what one would expect: a dynastic pantheon of this period; the material abundance and prosperity of the rulers; their military triumph; their legitimacy to rule; and the divine sanction and support to the ruling house.

The Kushāṇas had extensive and varied religious affinities and their coins reflect the various ethnic or ideological communities within the polyglot Kushāṇa empire. Gods and goddesses depicted are named also on the coins. The divinities represented on these coins reflect their religious beliefs as well as of their subjects, *viz.*, the Yavanas, the Śakas, the Pahlavas, the Indians *etc.* A large number of Brāhmaṇical deities and Buddha have appeared on these coins. However, presentation of a Jaina deity on the coins is conspicuously absent, even though a large number of inscriptions refer to the strong position, the Jainas had held during the reign of the Kushāṇas especially at Mathura. Both Mathura and Taxila were important Jaina centres.

Some of these deities reveal that the dynastic pantheon of the Kushāṇas was drawn from Rome and Alexandria, from the Hellenized Orient, Iran and India. Any reason for this vastness could never be conclusively established. These deities could have been divine companions and supporters of Kushāṇa monarchy. The Kushāṇa coinage

had definitely functioned as a vehicle of royal propaganda, and especially was an expression of the ideology of the ruling house.

Like the Roman rulers, the Kushāṇas used the art of coinage as a medium of manifestation of the royal power. The appearance on Kushāṇa coins of such deities as Pharro, personifying the Iranian concept of glory and legitimacy of a ruler, or of a divinity called Shaoreoro, representing the imperial might, or of Orlagno, personifying victory, should indicate even the establishment of an imperial cult.

Kushāṇa moneyers had created new iconographic types. Some of the Zoroastrian concepts were the creation of Kushāṇa die cutters. Sometimes, even a natural phenomenon was personified; a bearded figure described as Oaxsho on Huvishka's coins apparently represented the river Oxus. Often the deities or their attributes betrayed the syncretistic trends in the religious thoughts and movements of the Kushāṇa period. Some coins of Huvishka show Ommo or Umā, holding a lotus, as the female consort of Oesho *i.e.* Śiva. Other coins show Nana standing by the side of Oesho, thus, equating Ommo or Umā with Nana.

The number of deities on Kushāṇa coins far exceeded that of the gods and goddesses represented on the Indo-Greek and Scytho-Parthian coins. Their number may be compared with that of the deities on Roman coins. The appearance of deities of various faiths was symptomatic of spirit of religious toleration fostered in the empire. Some of the deities on the coins of the Kushāṇas are also well represented in the sculptural art of their times.

Gods and goddesses of Iranian pantheon dominate the coins of Kanishka and Huvishka. These Iranian deities or ideas could have been known in Bactria, which bordered the Parthian empire and which was in the sphere of Iranian culture.

Archaeological discoveries suggest the popularity of Buddhism and Śaivism in Bactria and nearby territories in the Kushāṇa period. Traditional patrons of Buddhism were merchants, bankers *etc.* who

might have been mainly responsible for the flourishing state of Buddhism in Bactria.

It is not suggested that the deities on coins of Kanishka I, Huvishka and other rulers were known only in Bactria. In fact, several of these deities were popular in different parts of the empire outside Bactria. Again, the appearance of a few deities of the Roman empire on Kushāṇa coins and the impact of Roman coin types on some Kushāṇa coin devices may be explained on the basis of the hypothesis of Kushāṇa moneyer's knowledge of the Roman type and on that of contacts between the Kushāṇa territory and the Roman orient. Even sculptures and miniature cult-statues from the Roman empire, might have been made available to the Kushāṇa mint masters.

Jainism and Bhāgvatism, two of the important faiths preached in the Kushāṇa empire, are not known to have representation among the deities on Kushāṇa coins, even though icons belonging to these cults and of the Kushāṇa period have been found in certain localities, once included in the Kushāṇa empire. In Bactria, the most important area of the empire, either of these cults were popular. This fact indicates that in the matter of choosing reverse devices of coins, Bactria was given preference over other regions. Bactria was to the Kushāṇas most important of all the provinces of their empire.

The rarity of Buddhist and Jain deities betrays the feeling that these coins had not reflected the various ethnic or ideological communities within the empire. Solar deity and Śrī Lakshmī who had appeared on Śaka coins were replaced by Iranian deities. The depiction of Iranian deities was a marked departure from the immediate past. These deities predominate and apparently had been chosen from different religious levels. Some of these were based on the ethnical doctrines of Zoroastrianism, and others on Mazdaism, reflected by Mao and Nanaia, who were more popular in eastern Iran. These coins also reveal the religious beliefs of the ruling class, though they had not become part of the religious imagery of the empire.

The appearance of fewer deities on the coins of Vāsudeva I and

other successors, means that the utility of coinage as a medium of propaganda was probably discarded by Vāsudeva I, whose period saw the end of direct maritime contact between the Roman and the Kushāna empires. There was a gradual Indianization of these deities. Or, perhaps, the rulers became more sectarian in their religious policy and only Oesho, Nana, Ommo, Ardoksho survived the religious beliefs of the rulers.

V2,73

M5

II. THE DEITIES

204232

The deities represented on reverse of the coins, are:

a. Hellenistic and Roman deities

- (i) ΗΡΑΚΛΙΔΟ = Erakilo = Herakles = Hercules
- (ii) ΗΛΙΟC = Ehos = Helios = the Sun-god
- (iii) ΗΦΑΙΣΤΟ = Ephaistos = Hephaistos = Ephistos = Fire-god
- (iv) ΡΙΟΜ = Riom = Roma = City goddess of Rome
- (v) ΣΑΛΗΝΗ = Salene = Moon god
- (vi) ΣΑΡΑΠΤΟ = Sarapis = Serapo
- (vii) ΥΡΑΝΟ = WPOH = URON = Uranus = Varuṇa
- (viii) ΖΕΥC = Zeus

b. Iranian Deities

- (ix) ΑΡΔΟΧΟ = Ardoksho = Ardoksho = Ashish Vanguhi = the goddess of fortune
- (x) ΑΡΑΣΙΧΟ = Ashaeriksho = Ashaer-ksho = Ashavahista or Ardibahist = Truth god
- (xi) (a) ΑΡΔΑΣΙΧΟ = Arda-Viksho = Sun god

- (xi) A⊙PO=A⊙OPO=Athsho=Atishoa=Atar=the fire god
- (xii) ΔPOOACTO=Lrooaspo=Druvaspa=guardian of the health of beasts
- (xiii) MANAOBAΓO=MANAOBAGO=Vohu manah=Moon good
- (xiv) MAO=Mao=Mah=Moon god
- (xiv) (a) MAO-MIIPO=Moon-god and Sun-god
- (xv) MIIPO=MI⊙PO=MIOPO=ΜΣIPO=MIRO=MEIRO=MIRRO=MIORO=MIURO=Mithra=Mihira=Sun god
- (xvi) MOZDOOANO=Mozdoosano=Mosdocoano=Ahura Mazda=Mazdah
- (xvi) (a) WORMOZDO=Ahura Mazda
- (xvii) NANA=Nana
- (xvii) (a) NANAI A=Nanaia=Nana
- (xvii) (b) NANAPAO=Nanashao=Nana, the ruler
- (xvii) (c) PAONANA=Shaonana=the king Nana
- (xviii) OΔΔO=Oado=Vado or Vāta=the Wind god
- (xix) OANINΔA=Oanindo=Vanainiti—the female genus of stars, a goddess of victory
- (xx) OAXPHO=OAXSHO=Probably the god of the river Oxus
- (xxi) OPΔAΓNO=Orlagno or Oshlagno=Verthragna=Iranian War-god
- (xxii) φAPPO=PHARRO=Pharo=goddess of Lustre
- (xxiii) RISHTO or RISHNO=RIOM=Avestan Rasnu=righteousness or the goddess of Rome
- (xxiv) PAOPHOPO=SHAOREORO=Shaophoro=SHAREVAR=the genus of metals
- (xxv) ZERO or TEIRO=Ceres=Venus or Tir

c. Indian Deities

(xxvi) BOΔΔO=Boddo=Buddha

(xxvi) (a) CAKAMA=OΔYO BOY=ΓO BOYΔΔO=SAKAMANO
BODDO=Śakyamuni Buddha

(xxvi) (b) BA ΓO BOSDO=Bago Boddo=Buddha the deity or Bhāgavata

(xxvii) MAACHNO=Machino=Maasena=Mahāsena=Kārttikeya

(xxviii) OKPO=OHPO=OESHO=Śiva

(xxviii) (a) OESHO-NANA=Śiva and Nana

(xxviii) (b) OESHO-OMMO=Śiva-Uma

(xxix) CKANDO KOMARO BIZAΓO=Skand-Kumāra-Viśākha=
Kārttikeya

(xxx) BIZAΓO=Bizago=Viśākha

III. HELLENISTIC AND ROMAN DEITIES

(i) *Erakilo=Herakles* : Herakles, son of Zeus a Greek god is represented on reverse side of some copper coins of Kujula Kadphises. Herakles, according to the earlier Greek legends, was purely a human hero, and the conqueror of man and deities; afterwards, however, he appears as the subduer of monstrous animals, and was connected in various ways with astronomical phenomena.

On Kushāna coins, he is seen standing facing, with a club in his right hand and a lion's skin on his left arm. On the reverse of a gold coin and on some copper coins, he is represented as a bearded male figure standing naked, to front, with a club in right hand, and in left hand an apple with lion's skin hanging over the arm. On a single copper coin of Huvishka, this deity is found also crowning himself, with his right hand.

(ii) *Elios or Helios* : Helios, the Greek Sun-god, is represented on reverse of gold and copper coins of Kanishka as a deity with a

rayed halo round the head, wearing a long tunic, the right hand extending as if pointing to some object and the left hand resting on the hip.

Helios or Elios is represented on coins as a standing male deity with radiate nimbus; one hand is in peculiar two fingered gesture, and the other hand is resting on the hilt of a short sword. Wears a diadem, a long tunic, ankle-boots, and a mantle held by a single round clasp. He is identical with Miiro or Sun-god of the Iranians. The sun-god in *Bhaviśya-Purāṇa*, is called *Keli* and his empire is *Keli-loka*.

(iii) *Hephaistos-Ephaistos* : *Hephaistos* is the Greek god of fire and appears on gold coins of Kanishka. A unique coin of Kanishka naming the deity on reverse as Hephaistos though damaged is identical in form and content with Athsho, an Iranian deity, mentioned below. The deity appears as a standing bearded figure, with probably tongs; his left hand is on hip, and the right hand is holding a wreath.

(iv) *Riom or Roma* : *Riom* or *Roma* is a city goddess represented on gold coins of Huvishka. The name *Riom*, as read by Gardener was read by Cunningham as *Ride*, who equated it with *Riddhi*, the Indian goddess of fortune.¹ F.W. Thomas had read the name as *Rhea*.

Representation of city goddesses is known from the coins of Greeks and Scythians. The city of Pushkalāvati is represented on the coins of Diomedes, Epander, Philoxenus, Maues, Azilises, Zeionises etc. The goddess *Roma* was represented in the temples of Rome as clad in a long robe, wearing a helmet and is seen in a sitting posture strongly resembling the Greek goddess *Athene*, another city goddess. She was the genius of the city of Rome and was worshipped as such. On gold coins of Huvishka, *Roma* is represented as standing facing right, wearing a helmet and a long chiton and holding a spear and a shield.

¹ Numismatic Chronicle, Vol. 12, 3rd series, p. 147

(v) *Salene* : Salene is the moon-god of the Greeks and is distinguishable from their sun-god who has a rayed halo. The moon-god has a crescent behind the head. This god is the Hellenic counterpart of Mao, an Iranian god, mentioned below. Salene though represented as a goddess in mythology, is shown on coins as a male god. This god appears only on the Besileus type gold coins of Kanishka, in general, as a male standing figure diademed, clad in chiton and himation, with a lunar disk at shoulders. He wears a tunic, a mantle, and short boots and holds a long staff with rounded knob-head and ribbons. His right hand is advanced and left hand holds a long sceptre bound with a fillet. A sword is girt round his waist.

(vi) *Serapis* : Serapis was originally an Egyptian deity whose worship was introduced into Greece in the times of Ptolemis. Serapis also spelt as Serapo is a synthetic Greco-Egyptian divinity worshipped in Ptolemaic Alexandria and the East. He is equated with Zeus, Ammon, Helios, and Poseidon. He was, thus, the lord of the sea, land, sky and underworld. Serapis appears on reverse of a rare variety of coins of Huvishka, and is portrayed, in general, as a nimbate male seated on throne and heavy hair framing the face. He holds a staff in left hand and a noose in his right hand, and also holds a circlet or a torque. He wears a mantle held at chest, or a robe to ankles or is dressed in a long robe. His throne has four posts with curved legs and uses a foot-stool under the feet. He also carries a knobbed staff.

On some coins he is represented as carrying a short sceptre in left hand, while his right hand is extended. Noose in the hand of Serapis is the Indian *Pāśa* which is held by *Yama*.

(vii) *Uranus* : Uranus, identical with the Greek-god Uranus, appears on reverse of gold coins of Huvishka as a male figure facing left, bearded and nimbate with modius or a water vessel on head, sceptre in left hand and right hand extended.

(viii) *Zeus* : Zeus, heading the Greek pantheon of gods was supposed to dwell on the summit of mount Olympus, where he disposed off the affairs of both gods and man. He had several spouses

whose chief was Hera. He is considered to be the same as the Indian Zeus found represented on some copper coins of the Kushāṇas as standing to right with right hand advanced.

b. Iranian Deities

(ix) *Ap*△*oxpo* or △*oxpo*=Ardoxsho=Ardoksho, an Iranian goddess, is known as the daughter of Ahura Mazda. She is considered to be a prominent member of the Avestic pantheon. She is equated with Ashi, a female angel. Her full name is Ashish Vanguhi meaning *god-truth*. She helps all those who invoke her from far and near.

She is a female goddess of abundance or fortune, representing *Śrī-Lakshmi* of Indian pantheon, on reverse of the Gupta coins.

Cornucopiae is a characteristic attribution of Ardoksho. Ardoksho with Nana was the feminine embodiment of the principle of abundance and prosperity and both appear with a cornucopiae on the coins. She is represented on the coins as standing, nimbate, wearing a fillet, dressed in a double robe; and carries a cornucopiae with sheafs of grain emerging from her mouth.

A few scholars relate her to the great Iranian deity Anahita, taking Ardoksho as a local eastern Iranian goddess of water and moisture. Other scholars have identified Anahita with the Kushāṇa goddess Nana. Kushāṇa goddesses perhaps express different permutations of the principles of abundance. Her functions must have been close to those of the Greek Tyche, the Roman Fortune goddess and her representation on Kushāṇa coins corresponds to the Greek goddess Demeter or Tyche. Demeter is known in Greek mythology, as corn mother.

(x) *Apaeixpo*=*Ashaeixsho* : Of Iranian pantheon, Ashaeixsho is Avestic Asha Vahista, meaning truth, which is best. This god is an embodiment of truth for souls of the righteous; those who invoke him will not forfeit heaven. He is the smiter of death, of fiends and illness.

(x) (a) *Ardeixsho* : Arda-Vahishta is equated with, Sun-god, having raised hands and personifies Sun-light. Coins of this god are exceedingly rare. A coin of Huvishka shows him, as :

a male standing deity with a radiate nimbus. He is dressed in a short tunic and knee-boots, his mantle is held at his chest by a round clasp. The first two fingers of the right hand are in a strange hand gesture employed also by Helios and Muro. He is unarmed.

(xi) *AṠpo* or *AṠopo* = *Athsho* : Athsho is the Iranian fire-god. He is a male god and appears holding hammer, tongs, and wreath etc. This deity is derived from the classical image of Hephaistos. Flaming shoulders recall Kushāna period images of Agni from Mathura. In the Avesta, the deity is Atar, son of Ahura Mazda, a personification of fire and a full source of royal glory. His name has historically been used for royal fires. In Iran, as a deity, he served as a door-keeper to admit or reject souls into heaven. He is represented on the coins, as :

(i) A bearded male standing and wearing fillet and a device at forehead with fluttering ends. Flames emanate from his shoulders. He holds a fillet in one hand and the other hand rests on hips. He wears a long robe with sleeves, boots and a mantle.

(ii) A bearded male standing, wearing a band around his head; flames around his shoulders and head carries a tong and a hammer. Wears classically draped chlamys.

(xii) *Lrooaspa* = *Lrooaspo* = *Drooaspo* = *Druvaspa* : Lrooaspo is a male Iranian deity being the guardian of the health of beasts. Connected with Apam Napat according to western Mithraism, this god is accepted as a grandson of the waters. In Avesta, he has the epithet Aurvāt Aspa meaning possessing swift horse. Apam Napat was associated with Mitra and was concerned with the legitimate authority of the princes. Coins of both Kanishka and Huvishka depict this deity, as :

A bearded frontally standing male, wearing diadem tunic and boots, and is also nimbate. Behind him is a horse with its left foreleg or both the legs off the ground, and seems to be proffering something to horse.

(xiii) *Manaoba* : *Manaobago* : Manaobago is the four-armed seated moon-god. He is apparently a particular form of the Iranian moon-god. Gold coins of both Kanishka and Huvishka represent this deity, in general, as :

(a) Four armed male deity seated facing on a heavily cushioned throne having lion feet and wears a Macedonian helmet with tripartite crest ornament, a tunic, and a belt. He has a crescent behind his shoulders.

(xiv) *Mao* : Mao is a Zend name for moon-god. Mao or the lunar god is clearly masculine and martial in contrast with the western Asian lunar deities, who are mostly feminine. A variety of lunar gods and crescent shaped object on their head-dresses as presented on coins and sculptures show their special relation to Kushāṇa national name, Yueh-chih. Mao closely resembles the Greek god Salene. However, on a coin of Huvishka, Mao has been depicted as a female deity with a cornucopiae.

This Iranian male lunar deity is depicted on gold and copper coins of both Kanishka and Huvishka, in general, as :

(a) a male standing frontally, wearing a tunic a mantle and boots. A lunar crescent behind his shoulders. He holds a staff with a globular finial and his right hand makes a distinctive two-fingered gesture. He is usually armed with a sword which is missing on certain coins;

(b) a male deity with crescent behind shoulders, holding a sceptre in left hand and callipers in right hand;

(c) a male deity with crescent behind shoulders, holding a sword in left hand and a wreath in right hand;

(d) a male deity with a crescent behind shoulders, and a sword in left hand, and a sceptre and a wreath in right hand; *and*

(e) a female deity standing to left, nimbate and holding a cornucopiae in both hands.

(xiv) (a) *Mao-Miuro* : Coins of Huvishka, on their reverse have two male figures facing each other. The names of the two gods Mao and Miuro are written by the side of each god on a unique coin of

Huvishka. A combination of solar and lunar emblems is depicted on Kanishka's Reliquary flanking the emperor; Mao has a lunar crescent and holds a sword and a short staff. Miuro is radiate, and is armed with a sword; his right hand is in two fingered gesture. A diademed male deity to right has a crescent behind the shoulders and holds a sceptre bound with a fillet in the right hand, and has an elephant goad in his left hand. This deity is accompanied by another male deity, sun-god, who is radiate and has his right hand advanced and holds a sceptre bound with a fillet in his left hand.

(xv) *Miuro = Miro, Meiro, Mirro, Mioro Miuro* : Miuro is an Iranian Sun-god and appears on the copper coins of Kanishka and gold coins of Huvishka, in general, as a diademed standing male having a radiate nimbus; wearing a tunic, a mantle and short boots. He is armed with a short sword at left hip. In one variant, he carries a knobbed staff.

Miuro represents ancient Indo-Iranian solar deity Mitra or Mithra or Mihira. Miuro is close to the Pahlavi form Mihr. On Kushāna coins, this god is identical with the Greek god Helios. The legends are MIPO, MIOPO, MIYPO *etc.*

(xvi) *Mozdoano, Mosdoano, Mozdah* : Mozdoano is an Avestan name. It is the plural form of Mazdao. Mazdao is the author of the Mazdean religion. Mazdao is Ahura Mazda and is also known as Ormazd, the Supreme Creator. The name Mozdoano appears to have been derived from Mazdah vano; Mazdah, the triumphant; and is the supreme deity of the Zoroastrian-Iranian pantheon, and is considered to be the creator of heaven and earth and of all life. *Varuna* of *Rgveda* had his Avestan counter-part in Ahura Mazda. He appears on the coins of Kanishka with the Greek legend reading MAZDOHANO. On Kushāna coins Ahura Mazda has his earliest anthropomorphic representation.

This deity is represented, as an equestrian male facing right and riding a two headed horse. He is bearded and wears a forward pointing hat similar to Phrygian cap. His hair is in the form of a small

Parthian bun at the back of the neck. He carries a scarf over his arm, and carries a long staff with a single ring near its top. His foot is covered with a heavy boot or a cloth and points downward.

(xvi) (a) *Woromozdo* : or Ahura Mazda is represented on the coins of Huvishka. The legend reads WOROMOZDO, which is close to HORMOZDO or Ahura Mazda. This deity is shown as a bearded male standing to left, nimbate. He holds a pole in his left hand and a wreath in his right hand.

(xvii) *Nana* : The name is found on Kushāṇa gold and copper coins in different forms, viz, Nana, Nanaia, Nanapao, Paonana, Nano etc. Nana is a composite nature goddess holding a sceptre and has a crescent on her forehead. Nana is a common deity appearing on the coins of Kushāṇas and is represented, in general, as :

A haloed female dressed in a long robe and appears as both standing or sitting. She holds a staff ending with protome of horse or stag, and a bowl(?). Diademed, and atop her head is a prominent lunar crescent. On coins of Vāsudeva, a new monogram is added.

(xvii) (a) *Nanaia* : Nana called as Nanaia in the western version and Nana in the eastern version, is a composite nature goddess, also known as Artemis, the huntress, drawing an arrow from her quiver. At times equated with Iranian goddess Anahita, she is the goddess of fertility who makes the seed of all males pure. She is also a goddess of war, when she rides a chariot drawn by four horses. She can best be described as the goddess of vegetation, fertile water, generation and birth.

On some gold coins of Huvishka, the goddess Nanaia is associated with Śiva on reverse; she appears as a consort of Śiva, like Umā, another consort appearing on some of his coins.

(xvii) (b) *Nanapao, Nanashao* : Shao means a ruler and Nana here has the epithet of a ruler. Appearing both on the coins of Kanishka and Huvishka, this goddess is similar to Nana, described above.

(xvii) (c) *Paonana; Shaonana* : Nana as a king and with the legend Shaonana is represented only on the coins of Huvishka and is similar to Nana, mentioned above.

(xviii) *Oado = Vada or Vāta* : In Sanskrit *Vāta* means, wind and the Persian word *bad* has a similar meaning. *Oado* is equated with the wind-god. *Oado*, the wind-god had derivation from the Avestan god *Vāta* which in turn is derived from *Vāta* a god mentioned in the *Rgveda*. He appears as running on the copper [coins of] Kanishka. He is shown as:

(a) a male bearded figure running to left; a large cap: floats behind and around him; his head is radiate;

(b) similar to (a) above, except that the figure is stockier and lacks the super-natural radiations.

(xix) *Oaninda = Oanindo* : *Oanindo* is a female goddess of victory holding a wreath and a sceptre. This goddess is derived from the classical Nike, genius of victorious supremacy, long well known to Greco-Bactrian, Indo-Greek, and Śaka coins. Her name is close to Avestic Vanainti (Uparatat). Only coins of Huvishka have representation of this goddess, as a standing winged female figure; nimbate or otherwise holding a cornucopiae or a staff and a circlet with ribbons. She wears a classical dress.

(xx) *Oaxsho* : *Oaxsho* is an aquatic deity and probably is the god of the river Oxus. His form is reminiscent of the Poseidon coins of Maues. He appears only on the coins of Huvishka as a male deity standing facing left. He is diademed and has a nimbus and is bearded(?). In the left hand holds a large fork-tailed fish and has a staff in the right hand.

(xxi) *Orlagno or Oshlagno* : *Orlagno* as a god is the personification of victory and is an older form of the Pahlavi Varahran or Vrithragna derived from *Vrtraha* of the Vedas. He is the national lord of Iranians in arms who was the irresistible. He was called Barohvareno or bearing royal glory. He was worshipped by martial classes

and was known as god of victories during the Sassanian period. As a war god he holds a spear and a sword, and appears on the coins of Kanishka only, as diademed male standing frontally and wearing Indo-Scythian dress. He has a bird in his headdress with extremely long wings. He carries a spear in his left hand and a sword with bird like hilt.

(xxii) *Pharro* or *Pharo* : Pharro appears to correspond to the Persian word *farr*. Pharro personifies the Khvareno, the Iranian concept of the glory and legitimacy of kings. He bestows fire in a vessel of flames and has wealth in a purse. He appears on a Gandhāra sculpture and a Kushāṇa seal, also. The winged hat and flaming shoulders closely resemble those found on the coins representing Orlagno and Athsho, respectively. He holds fire, a sceptre, a sword etc. Pharro is represented on the coins both of Kanishka and Huvishka, in general, as a male standing frontally with his head in profile to right and wearing an armoured tunic, a mantle, low boots, and a helmet with small wing ornament over forehead. He holds a spear or a staff or hilt of sword; a bowl against chest. He is diademed and proffers a torque or circle with fluttering ribbons or a purse or fire. He has wings in his head-dress.

(xxiii) *Rishno* or *Rishto* : Rishno could be compared to the Avestan deity, Rashnu a personification of righteousness, who best wards off the foe as an attendant of Mithra. The Avestan Rosnu is a male and is comparable to *Kārttikeya*. Another possible comparison could be with Kushāṇa Shaoreoro. This coin type is similar to some of the standing Pallas Athene figures on earlier coins of this region. However, the figure of Riom, shows an impersonation of the great city of Rome. She was presented in the temples of Rome and in reality was the genius of the city of Rome and was worshipped as such from early times.

Appearing on a rare variety of gold coins of Huvishka, this goddess appears as standing and wearing a crested helmet, having armour and a long chiton. She holds a spear and a shield.

(xxiv) *Shaoreoro* : Shaoreoro is represented only on the coins of Huvishka. He is both the genius of imperial might and the god of metal. Stein has equated him with the Avestic name Kshathra Vairya meaning *Perfect Rule* or *Desirable Kingdom*. The name otherwise resembles the Pahlavi name Shahrevar, who presides over metals and is the giver of wealth. He could be identical with *Kubera*, even though, he is shown on the coins, as :

A male standing dressed in Roman mailed skirt, a cuirass, and a crested helmet. He is occasionally nimbate. He holds spear and a shield or a sword with his left hand resting on the ground.

(xxv) *Zero* : This goddess found represented on the gold coins of Huvishka has been variously spelt as Ziro, Zero. Its Iranian equivalent may be found in Zahra or Venus. Stein had read the legend as Teiro, having association with Tir, the fourth Zoroastrian month. Tir means an arrow. He identifies the deity with the Persian deity Tishtrya. The goddess is represented, as :

A female figure standing facing right, and holding a compound bow in the left hand and drawing an arrow from a quiver with the right hand. She is clad in a long chiton and himation. She can be compared to Greek Artemis, as the goddess is armed with bow and quiver.

c. Indian Deities

(xxvi) *Boddo* : Boddo or the Buddha has been represented on gold and copper coins of Kanishka. The Buddha has been represented in various postures on these coins. He appears standing as well as seated. When his right hand is advanced he is in the act of blessing or *varada mudrā*. In *vyākhyāna-mudrā*, he appears standing in gesture of explaining or preaching. A gold statue in the British Museum shows the seated Buddha, with his right hand on his breast, making the posture of argument or *vitarka-mudrā*. On some of the coins the seated Buddha, has his two hands joined together upon his breast, in *dharma-chakra pravartana mudrā*. He is also seen seated cross-legged on a sort of a throne, in *mahārājāsana*.

The dress of the Buddha is shown prominently in three pieces, viz., the *antaravāsaka* or the lower garment which hangs down to the ankles and is gathered round the loins with a girdle; the *uttarāsaṅga* or the upper garment which covers the breast and shoulders and the *samghāṭī* or a cloak worn over the two under garments. The garment folds obscure the sense of the underlying forms of the body and the *samghāṭī* folds about the neck in a heavy collar like fashion. His *ushnīsha* and *urnā* are prominent.

A coin found in the reliquary deposit of the stūpa of Ahinposh, near Jalalabad, Pakistan, depicts the Buddha, as :

A male standing facing, with a nimbus about his head and an aureole about body. He has a prominent *ushnīsha* and has elongated ears and holds the lap of *samghāṭī*, in his left hand. His right hand is probably in *abhaya mudrā*. His face is worn out.

It is unmistakably an image of the Buddha on Kushāṇa coins. These coins are the earliest known artistic representation of the Buddha.

The Bactrian legend in Greek characters, on the reverse of the coins can now be read more confidently with the help of a few newly noticed pieces. The portion of the legend to the right of the seated figure can be deciphered to interpret as Boddo.

(xxvi) (a) *Sakamano Bosdo* : The Buddha has been represented on copper coins of Kanishka as Śākyamuni Buddha, as evident from the legend, as :

A male standing facing having a nimbus. His garments reveal the underlying structure of his body. Legend starts from 11.00. The Buddha here is particularized as Śākyamuni.

(xxvi) (b) *Bago Bosdo* : A copper coin of Kanishka shows Buddha seated in *padmāsana* with his right hand in *abhaya mudrā*. The legend indicates, "Buddha, the deity." Could the legend mean *bhāgavat* in Sanskrit ?

(xxvii) *Maachno=Maaseno* : Maaseno or Mahāsena is an epithet of *Kārttikeya*, the Hīndu war-god, who is also known as *Skanda*, *Kumāra* or *Viśākha* and *Subrahmanya*. He is the son of Śiva, who is often represented on the Kushāna coins. Mahāsena represented only on the coins of Huvishka appears as a war god, holding a standard with a sword, as :

A standing male having a nimbus and wearing a tunic, a mantle. He has a short sword on his left hip. He carries in his right hand a standard with a bird, finial and ribbons.

(xxviii) *Okpo-Oesho* : Oesho or Śiva the most prominent brāhmanical deity represented on the coins of the Kushānas especially Vima Kadphises, Kanishka, Huvishka and Vāsudeva is depicted on the coins, in general, as :

A male, having one or three heads standing frontally and holding a trident, drum or vajra, or a wheel with six spokes, a vase and an *ankusa*. He also holds horns of a *mṛiga* (or an antelope). He is nimbate and has distinct *ushnīsha*. He wears a sacred thread, a string of beads or amulets over left shoulder, and has a lunar crescent.

Coins of Vima do not label the god, but being analogous with the inscribed types of his successors, he is safely identified as Oesho, that is Śiva, more so as the bull on all the coins substantiates this identification. On some of the coins tongue of flame arises from his head, as they do from the shoulder of the king on the obverse and, therefore, suggests that both the king and the deity share the same divine energy or power, possibly as *tejas*. The flaming head motif is repeated in representation of Śiva on the early issues of the Mitra kings of Pañchāla. On the coins of Vāsudeva II, a unique kind of radiance appears about the head of the deity in the Kushāno-Sassanian coins, the head of Oesho definitely produces flames.

(xxviii) (a) *Oesho-Nana* : Śiva is represented with his bull on the coins of Kujula Kadphises; on the coins of Vima Kadphises, he in general, has one head and two arms alongwith his other attributes; on the coins of Kanishka, he has only one head but four arms, at times,

as well. He is having three heads with four arms on a number of coins of Huvishka. On the coins of Vāsudeva he has three heads but two arms. Śiva is always represented as standing. This rare type available on coins only of Huvishka establishes Nana as a consort of Śiva, and is represented, as:

A four-armed deity standing enface; on the right half of the coin, a figure in profile holds a bow(?) and has the legend Nana. Oesho or the figure of Śiva holds no visible attributes.

(xxviii) (b) *Oesho-Ommo* : A few coins have on the reverse Śiva alongwith his consort Umā, whose name appears in the accompanying legend, as Ommo. Śiva with Umā was introduced by Huvishka on his coins. These coins demonstrate the remarkable range of Kushāṇa religious syncretism. Worship of Umā predates the Kushāṇa period, however, these unique coins would be the only instance of her symbolic appearance. She is represented as:

Two deities facing each other shown as Oesho on the right and robed female holding flower, on the left, with the legend OMMO.

(xxix) *Skando, Komaro (Maasena), Bizago* : In Śaivism the war-god who was son of Śiva, is variously known as Skanda, Kumāra, Viśākha and Mahāsena. He was also known as Kārttikeya but this name as well as the name Subrahmanya does not appear on the coins of the Kushāṇas. These deities are represented on the coins of Huvishka only, in general, as :

Two male figures stand frontally, looking at each other, on a small plinth. On left is Bizago, holding a trident in left hand and the right hand on the hip. He has a sword at left hip and a large jewel at chest. He wears a *dhoti*. Skando-Komaro, similarly garbed, holds a staff with knob and finial. Monograms

(b) A coin of Skanda-Kumāra-Viśākha type, also of Huvishka, shows:

Obverse: Bust of the king facing left, emerging from cloud; wearing round jewelled helmet; holding sceptre in the right and leaf of corn in the left hand. Legend around beginning at VII and ending at V; SHAONANO SHAO OOSHI KOSHANO

Reverse : Two male figures standing facing each other both nimbate. The figure on the left wears *dhoti*, headdress, necklace, armband and wristlet, club (*gada*) at the waist and holds a long staff surmounted by *nandipada* (may be *trifūla*). The figure on the right is bare headed, wearing, *dhoti* necklace and wristlets, right hand akimbo, holding *trifūla* in the left hand and having a club (*gada*) at the waist.

Both the figures are standing on some ornamented pedestal and in between them is a symbol. Legend to the left of the figure in two lines, one below the other, is CKANDO KOMAPO (the letter M between the heads of the two gods), to the right of the right figure BIZAGO. The coin is similar to a coin in the British Museum. A similar coin is in the cabinet of Patna University.

(c) Quarter dinars have similar representation except that Skando-Komaro holds his two hands on hips.

(d) Skando-Komaro, Massena, Bizago. Three male figures standing on a double plinth. Mahāsena frontally stands in the centre flanked on two sides by Skando-Komaro and Bizago.

Ambiguous Types

A few types of the coins of Huvishka show decline in their minting during his reign. These coin types are an evidence of misunderstanding the symbolic idiom or of utter carelessness. In certain cases it is not clear whether the type repeats the old type in a new form or is representing altogether a new deity. These ambiguous types are :

(i) a crude representation of Oesho as four armed figure with a meaningless legend.

(ii) representation of Ardoxsho but the accompanying legend reads as Mithra-Miuro.

(iii) representation of Ardoxsho labelled as Mao.

(iv) representation of Nana with the legend Odiio.

(v) a coin now in the British Museum with the legend Maecope.

(vi) representation of Ganeśa on a copper coin of Huvishka but the deity is holding a long bow showing him as an archer.

(vii) a copper coin having the legend in cursive Greek as Oosna shows the figure of a deity who could possibly be identified with Vishnu, though none of the attributes of this god are depicted on this coin.

METROLOGY OF KUSHĀṆA COINS

I. GENERAL

Bi-metallic coinage of gold and copper of Kushāṇas is extensively available even this day. The gold and copper coins of the Imperial Kushāṇas were struck in a range of distinct denominations which formed a clear and logical monetary system. Though the fully developed Kushāṇa coinage contained many important and novel features introduced by Vima Kadphises, it seems to have been based, in part at least, on earlier patterns and models.

Introduction of gold coinage by Vima Kadphises in the vast and extensive territories of the Indian sub-continent ruled by him is related to and possibly was a consequence of the influx of Roman gold through trade and commerce. India's trading activities with the Roman empire, reached their zenith from the period of Augustine to Nero. An important factor for this great spurt in Indo-Roman commerce was the great demand of luxury goods from India by the Roman aristocrats. Most probably, the beginning, the zenith and decline in Indo-Roman trade resulted in growth and decay of the Kushāṇa gold-coinage.

Vima Kadphises had introduced Kushāṇa gold coins. The coins of Vima were known as *dinār* or Roman denarius aureus. As the Kushāṇa gold *dinār* has approximately the same size and weight as the Roman gold aureus, the introduction of the denomination by Vima Kadphises may well have been suggested by the Roman gold coin. The average weight of a *dinār* is 122.6 grains or about 7.970 grammes. On the other hand, weight of a Roman aurei is 122.9 grains. As such, these can be related to each other. Other varieties of Kushāṇa gold coins are either double in weight *i.e.*, 246 grains or just one quarter of the weight of such a *dinār*, *i.e.*, about 30 grains. A number of quarter *dinārs* of Kushāṇas have been found.

The fully developed denominational system of Vima Kadphises did not survive unchanged. Due to a certain degree of inflation, the real values of the various denominations had decreased and the gold coinage was increasingly debased, and copper denomination progressively reduced in weight to keep pace with the economic developments. Some of these changes in the weight standard of coins can give invaluable evidence for the chronological sequence of distinct issues.

The weight of the gold coins of the Kushānas had almost remained constant. However, there was a tendency to reduce slowly, the percentage of pure gold content in Kushāna coins. The rate of reduction is so imperceptible that a view put forth by some scholars that gold coins (even copper coins) of Huvishka should be assigned on the basis of their weight alone to two different kings of that name, is not acceptable. Weight of the Kushāna gold coins after Vāsudeva I had remained almost constant very near the imperial monetary standard. But, gradually a decline followed in the standard as the quality of the metal deteriorated more and more.

There are important differences between the Roman and the Kushāna gold coinage. The Kushāna *dinār* did not precisely copy the weight standard of the current Roman aureus; the Kushāna authorities solved their economic difficulties by slightly debasing their coins, but maintaining the weight standard; the Romans, however progressively reduced the weight standard. There was never any exact parity between the Roman aureus and the Kushāna *dinār*.

The successors of the Kushānas had instead gone ahead with the reduction of gold content in their coins at a faster speed. Paucity of gold and its price might have been two important factors in this direction.

Alexandar Cunningham had long back showed that the average weight of the full denomination of gold pieces of Vima Kadphises, Kanishka, Huvishka and Vāsudeva I was about 123 grains. His

results were :

(a) 19 <i>dinārs</i> of Vima Kadphises	average weight	122.21 grains
(b) 21 <i>dinārs</i> of Kanishka	"	122.10 grains
(c) 18 <i>dinārs</i> of Huvishka	"	122.16 grains
(d) 21 <i>dinārs</i> of Vāsudeva I	"	123.03 grains

The small quarter *dinārs* of these four kings weigh 30.8 grains, on an average.

The double *dinārs* had weighed on an average, on the lowest limit at 237.6 grains and at the highest limit at 246.1 grains.

Gold coins of the Imperial Kushāṇas may be divided into three classes according to their average weight, as :

(a) Double <i>dinār</i>	246.4 grains.
(b) <i>dinār</i>	123 2 grains.
(c) Quarter <i>dinār</i>	30.8 grains.

Only few quarter *dinār* of Vima Kadphises have, so far, been discovered. Quarter *dinārs* of the Kushāṇas in weight range from the lowest limit of 27 grains to the highest limit of 30.8 grains. However, most of the quarter *dinārs* weigh more than 30 grains.

Only a few double-*dinārs* were issued by Vima Kadphises. Their weight ranges between 237.6 grains to 246.1 grains.

Dinārs issued by Vima Kadphises range in weight from 119.0 grains to 123.3 grains. The weight of *dinārs* issued by Kanishka ranges from 109.2 grains (Boddo type) to 123.4 grains. In case of Huvishka, these *dinārs* range in weight from 119.3 grains to 125 grains (Mahāsena type). The weight of *dinārs* issued by Huvishka ranges from 122.3 grains to 124.7 grains. Therefore, the lowest limit appears to be 109.2 grains and the highest limit is 125 grains. Average may be fixed at 123 grains. Average weight of a Kushāṇa *dinār* was much below the

weight of an Attic standard weighing little over 130 grains. An examination of the weights of Roman aurei and Kushāṇa *dinārs* shows no precise correspondence between the two coinages. It appears that standard of the Kushāṇa *dinārs* was determined by relative value of gold and silver during their time.

Kushāṇa and Roman coins seem to have been exchanged principally in large scale commercial transactions of international trade, but perhaps, these were never side by side in circulation in the same or adjacent territories.

II. COIN-DENOMINATIONS

Dinār : The use of the Roman word 'Dinerius' in its form *dinār* in early Indian inscriptions is well known. In the *Rājatarāngiṇī* while referring to Tormāna, Bṛihaspati and Kātyāyana in their *Smṛitis* refer to a *dinār* or a *suvarṇa*. The Gupta gold coins have been referred to as *dinārs* in inscriptions. Therefore, later Kushāṇa coins which were precursors of Gupta coins were known by the name *dinar*.

Kushāṇa : The word Kushana has also been used as a coin-denomination. In the Nasik inscription of Ushavadāta, son-in-law of Kshatrapa Nahapāna, an investment is traded as providing for some resident monks with *Kuṣaṇa-mūla*. Here, it refers to the gold coins of Kushāṇa emperors.

Suvarṇa : *Suvarṇa*, a famous term for gold coins, was known long before the advent of the Kushāṇas in India.

Nānaka : *Yājñavalkya Smṛiti* refers to *nānaka* also, as a coin-denomination. A commentator on this *smṛiti* writes that *Nānaka* denotes a coin with *Nānā* as their cognisance (Nanak tanka). Kushāṇa coins upto the reign of Vāsudeva I had Nana invariably as one of their deities.

Kedāra : Jayāditya, author of *Kāśikā* refers to the word *kedāra*. Could *kedāra* of *Kāśika* be the same as *Kidāra* of the little Yueh-chih or *Kidāra* of *Kidāra Kushāna* coins. Perhaps *Kidāra* is a coin-denomination named after the *Kidāra* dynasty.

III. WEIGHT STANDARD OF COPPER COINS

Immediately preceding the Kushānas, the silver coinage had suffered a serious debasement and, therefore, silver coinage was replaced, in quantum, by copper coinage. A very large number of copper coins were issued by the Kushāna rulers, with variations in their weight. From their study, Kushāna copper coins may be divided into three categories on the basis of their average weight :

- (a) Coins weighing 260 grains=one paṇa of 28 *māshās*;
- (b) Coins weighing 130 grains= $1/2$ paṇa of 14 *māshās*; and
- (c) Coins weighing 65 grains= $1/4$ paṇa of 7 *māshās*.

The unit of a copper coin in ancient India was called a *paṇa* and according to *Manusmṛiti* its weight like a *suvarṇa* or a gold coin was 144 grains or *māshās* or *rattis*. Normal weight of a *paṇa* was only 80 *rattis*. But sometimes, the weight of a *paṇa* might have even been more upto 100 *rattis* or 16 *māshās*. Several coins struck by the Kushānas weigh from 240 to 260 grains *i.e.* about 26 to 28 *māshās*. The *Agni Purāṇa* refers to a *paṇa* of 24 *māshās*. Variations in weight in each division of copper coins are generally explained as due to carelessness on the part of the mint authority.

Vima Kadphises also had introduced large copper coins and their sub-divisions constituted a uniform copper coinage throughout the Kushāna kingdom. The weight standard of the Kushāna copper denominations is not unrelated to that of some of the earlier coinages of north west India and Bactria. The three types of these copper coins were mainly large copper coins of about 17 grammes; a half of it of about 8 grammes or the medium; and the smalls of about 4 grammes.

The large copper coins of Huvishka cover a surprisingly wide range, though these can be arranged into three distinct groups.

Copper coins of Vima are of three varieties known as large, middle and small. Between the rule of Vima and Vāsudeva I, weight of copper tetradrachms was slightly reduced. Kanishka while slightly reducing the weight of a copper tetradrachm had added a hemi-drachm to the series of copper coinage. Huvishka in his earliest issues followed the weight standard of the coins of Kanishka, striking copper tetradrachms of 15 to 16 grammes. Copper coins of Vāsudeva I were struck on a still lower standard of 9 to 10 grammes. Neither Huvishka nor Vāsudeva I had struck copper hemi-drachms.

The weight of the better preserved coins of Vāsudeva I, mostly fall between 7 and 10 grammes. The weight standard of Vima Kadphises was retained.

The Kushānas may be given the credit for adjusting the weight of their copper currency to the changing ratio between gold and copper. Perhaps, their value was determined by gold standard, which came into use from the time of Vima Kadphises. The gradual reduction in the intrinsic value of gold in their coinage and the progressive reduction of the weight of their tetradrachms may be considered as the monetary policy of the Imperial Kushānas designed to solve some economic problems faced by them.

MONOGRAMS ON KUSHĀṆA COINS

I. GENERAL

Coins of the Kushāṇas have a series of marks¹, variously called as monograms or symbols *etc.*, which have neither been read nor interpreted, so far, and therefore, present an interesting problem. Once, interpreted and read, these will impart real valuable information. Their constant recurrence during successive reigns, signifies their importance not only to the people who used them, but also to those who had struck them and had issued them, on behalf of their overlord monarch. Their real purpose has not been guessed, as yet. It is impossible to be sure that valuable information will not some day be found from them. These marks have variously been interpreted as :

- (a) mint marks;
- (b) ornaments;
- (c) space filling devices;
- (d) auspicious signs;
- (e) monograms; and
- (f) dates, etc.

The symbols on the coins of Imperial Kushāṇas cannot possibly be explained as dates. The symbols are not composed of letters. Cunningham had even ventured to suggest a total absence of monograms on the coins of Kushāṇas. Except a few designs like three-pronged symbol, *nandipada* symbol, *svastika etc.*, none of these symbols is known to represent any auspicious or religious mark. The symbols are neither used for the purpose of filling space, as they apparently do nor fit in the coin-designs.

¹ See the Chart of Monograms

These symbols were not mint marks. Had these stood for the names of different mints? Even this idea lacks corroboration on a comprehensive study of the find spots of the coins of Imperial Kushānas both in Bactria and the Indian sub-continent. Probably, these monograms and symbols had not represented particular mints, nor were symbols of mint masters. Some of the symbols are common to the coins of Kushānas and the Guptas, who on the other hand were not contemporaries.

The symbols are basically composed of prints, lines and circles. The symbols appearing on the coins of Imperial Kushānas have to be taken, on the whole, as royal insignia or special marks adopted for different 'purposes and on different occasions by the kings. These are varied forms of one basic symbol.

An analysis of these symbols shows frequent association of a symbol with a particular monarch. These symbols, thus have to be named according to their association with a ruler. For example, the *nandipada* symbol is found on the coins of Vima Kadphises who was a devotee of Śiva. This symbol is supposed to be a component of the foot print of a *nandi*, the mount of Śiva, and *triśūla* (trident) which was Śiva's attribute. It occurs rarely on some coins of Kujula Kadphises. The different forms of one genetic symbol, occur on the coins of Vima Kadphises, Kanishka, Huvishka, and Vāsudeva I. For reason of such an association, a symbol is associated with a king and according to his name is called as Kadphises symbol, Soter Megas symbol, Kanishka symbol, Huvishka symbol or Vāsudeva symbol etc.

It is true that two or more letters forming one design are not found on the Kushāna coins. One, two or more letters, either in *Kharoshthi* or *Brāhmi* script are found on early and later Kushāna coins. The value of these letters is not known.

A few writers like Whitehead and Smith have accepted these marks as monograms. These marks do not look like any sign formed by one or two recognisable letters. An exception may be the *Kharoshthi* vowel *O* found on some coins of Kujula Kadphises. It is not possible

to trace out any letter in other designs.

It is very difficult to assign a motive for representation of such marks on Kushāṇa coins. The marks found on the coins of Vima Kadphises are found also on the coins of Kanishka. The same mark is also found on some of the coins of Huvishka. This mark goes through a minor transformation and becomes the special mark of Huvishka and is commonly found on his coins. The characteristic feature of the Huvishka mark is the horizontal bar which passes through the stem. The Huvishka mark is also found on some coins of Vāsudeva I. Gradually the mark is transformed into Vāsudeva mark differentiating it from the Huvishka symbol in regard to the lower part.

The marks show a trend of development from their original form to their final adaptation. These symbols help to confirm the genealogy of Kushāṇa rulers. Changes in the Kushāṇa coin symbols of different kings, has a bearing on the chronology of the Imperial Kushāṇas. Some symbols on Kushāṇa coins may have been significant as hereditary marks, conveying a genealogical notation similar to that of mediaeval heraldry. A symbol on the coins of Vima Kadphises, appears on the coins of Kanishka, and indicates that the latter was probably the heir and the eldest son of the former. Huvishka is thought to have been a younger son of Kanishka and brother of Vajheshka. His symbol bears a horizontal bar across the stem. The symbol on the coins of Vāsudeva I, also contains a horizontal bar but differs in its lower portion. Perhaps, Vāsudeva I was the younger son of Huvishka.

The Vāsudeva I symbol was copied by the die engravers of the reigns of Kanishka III, Vāsudeva II, Śaka-king Sita and the early Sassanian rulers.

II. KUJULA KADPHISES

On reverse of the 'Bust of Hermaeus and Herakles' type of coins of Kujula Kadphises are found *Kharoshthi* letters, viz., *O, Sam, Bu* and *Pa*. On obverse of "Bull and Camel" type are found *Kharoshthi* syllable '*Sasam*' and a *Kharoshthi* letter *tra*; on reverse of king

(Buddha) and Zeus type is found the *Kharoshṭhi* letter *pu* to left in the field.

Kharoshṭhi letter *pa* or *pu* could indicate Pushkalāvati, one of the mint cities of Kushāna times.

III. VIMA KADPHISES

Nandipada and Kadphises symbol are found on the coins of Vima Kadphises. "Enthroned king and Śiva type" coins have the Kadphises symbol on obverse and a *nandipada* on reverse. On the reverse of "Half length figure and Śiva type", both these symbols are found side by side. Similarly, the reverse of "Head in front and trident with battle axe type" has both the symbols side by side. Obverse of the coins of "King at altar and Śiva" type has the Kadphises symbol and reverse has the *nandipada* symbol.

IV. SOTER MEGAS

On both the obverse and reverse of the coins of Soter Megas is the symbol generally known as the Soter Megas symbol.

V. KANISHKA I

Kadphises symbol is found on reverse of all the coins of Kanishka. A slight variant of the Kadphises symbol is found on reverse of the coins of "King at altar and Śiva" type.

VI. HUVISHKA

A slightly modified form of the Kadphises symbol is found on the coins of Huvishka. The difference between the Kadphises symbol and the Huvishka symbol is a horizontal bar placed across the stem in the Huvishka symbol, which is absent in the Kadphises symbol.

On the reverse of the coins of "half length figure of king and deity" are found the Huvishka symbol and coins like 'Elephant rider' type have similar symbols. A few coins have *nandipada* symbol along with the Huviska symbol.

On some coins of 'King reclining on couch' type occur the Huvishka symbol by the side of the Kadphises symbol. On reverse of the coins of 'Cross-legged king and deity' type is found the Kadphises symbol. On reverse of the coins of 'King seated with both arms raised' type occurs a variant of the Huvishka symbol.

VII. VĀSUDEVA I

The Vāsudeva symbol also has the horizontal bar across the stem, but is different in its lower portion. Vāsudeva symbol invariably appears on 'King at altar and Śiva' type of gold coins of Vāsudeva I. Some coins have a slight variation in the lower part of their device. On the obverse of some coins is found the *nandipada* symbol. On the reverse of some coins is a symbol having slight modification of the Huvishka symbol which is also found on the coins of Huvishka himself.

Copper coins of the type, 'King at altar and Śiva' bear both on the obverse and reverse the Huvishka symbol. Some of the copper coins on their obverse have a variant of the Vāsudeva symbol.

VIII. VASUDEVA I AND HIS SUCCESSORS

The reverse of the coins of Kanishka III have *Brāhmī* letters, *tha*, *ru* and a variety of symbols. A coin bearing the legend Vasu has the Vāsudeva symbol on the reverse.

The *svastika* symbol is generally seen on the obverse of the Kushāṇo-Sassanian coins. The *triratna* symbol or *dharmachakra* symbol is also used sometimes. The *svastika* sign is generally found between the king's feet and other symbols to the right.

KUSHĀṆA SILVER COINAGE

I GENERAL

We know of a very large number of gold and copper coins of the Kushānas, silver coins attributable to them are negligible in number. Silver was widely known for minting coins in the ancient period, but paucity of silver Kushāna coins is an enigma. A small number of known specimens of silver coins of Kushānas should not indicate them as modern or ancient forgeries. The finds of Kushāna silver pieces are gradually, though very slowly, increasing in number.

Silver coins were very popular before Vima Kadphises and gold coins were rare, whether struck by kings of foreign origin, or by local kings, but as an anti thesis the Kushānas and Guptas had gold as the popular medium for striking coins and their silver coins are rarely found. Surprisingly, Śakas of Ujjain and western India, had issued only silver coins. Roman contacts and India's trade relations with the western countries and an analysis of internal and external sources of gold and silver, had determined the use of metal for coinage.

The paucity of known silver coins cannot be due to shortage of silver. It appears from the Hou Han-shu that Shen-tu *i.e.*, the lower Indus country, controlled by the Ta Yueh-Chih, *i.e.*, Kushānas produced gold and silver. The Kushānas were in a position to secure silver from mines in the territories now included in Afghanistan, the Punjab, Haryana and Rajasthan.

However, the silver coins must have been struck following some metrological norm. It appears that at the time of the advent of the Imperial Kushānas in the Indian sub-continent, three types of silver coin specimens were in circulation in different territories which were later annexed to the Kushāna territories. These were :

1. the Scytho-Parthian drachm
2. the indigenous *purāṇa* and
3. the imported Roman denarius.

It appears that at the time of the reformation of Kushāṇa coinage mint masters of Vima Kadphises introduced a composite weight standard for the silver coinage, based on the current drachm, *purāṇa* weight system and on the actual weights of the current denarius.

In this weight system, one drachm or dramma having the theoretical weight of about 43.2 grains or 2.798 grammes, could be taken as a *tripāda-purāṇa*. A *purāṇa* had the theoretical weight of about 57.6 grains or 3.732 grammes. A didrachm could be considered as a *adhyardha-purāṇa* or *kārshāpaṇa*, i.e., one and half *purāṇa* or silver *karshāpaṇa*. A *purāṇa* was one and one fourth *dramma*.

The exact nomenclature of the standard silver coins is not known, but, they could have been named as drachm or *dramma*, *kahāpaṇa* (*kārshāpaṇa*) or *purāṇa*. Stylistically, the silver pieces of the Kushāṇas of the post reform period, can be compared with their gold coins. The obverse devices of these silver coins were based on the art of the Bactrian school, and the reverse devices indicate mainly the characteristics of Bactrian, Gandhara and Mathura schools. These were the products of Kushāṇa imperial art having a predominance of Bactrian elements.

The deities on these pieces, like Śiva, with or without bull, Oesho with Nana and Sun God (Mioro=Mihira) bear almost the same stylistic and iconographic features or can be noticed in their numerous representations on their gold coins.

The Kushāṇa silver coins constituted a restricted currency and probably served only as provincial coinage. The paucity of Kushāṇa silver coins can be found in the territorial and utilitarian aspects of their monetary policy. Perhaps, a large number of local silver coins could have been in circulation, therefore, the Kushāṇas might not

have felt the necessity and utility of issuing great number of silver coins especially when they might have planned not to have a regular silver coinage for the whole empire.

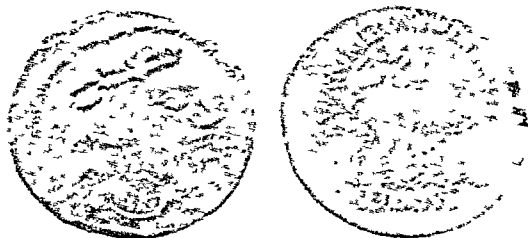
II EARLIEST KUSHĀNA SILVER COINAGE

The name of Miaos is found on a large number of silver coins. Who was this Miaos? He is considered to have reigned before the Kushāna monarch Kujula Kadphises. Miaos appears to have flourished before the advent of the Imperial Kushānas. Miaos, the earliest known Kushāna king or Governor had struck silver coins. These silver coins were struck before the commencement of copper or gold series of Kushāna coins. His coins appear to have been made of good silver and minted from dies following the hammer, punch and anvil process. The origin of the coins of Miaos should be attributed, at least in the present state of our knowledge, to a mint or mints in the Kuei-shuang or Kushāna territory of Ta-hsia, which was situated somewhere between Badakhshan and Wakhan and to the north of Chitral. The coins were die struck and followed the Attic weight standard. The same weight standard was followed when the so-called tri-drachms began to be struck in a part of Sogdiana, called north Bactria by several Soviet scholars.

The trading activities of the people of Ta-hsia should have helped the growth of the Miaos coinage as a regular currency of the area concerned. Imitation of his tetradrachms indicates popular demand of his coinage. With the extension of the Kushāna power to the Yueh-chih territory, during the period of Miaos, his tridrachms began to be minted there. His tetradrachms might have come into circulation in that region. As a media of exchange, these were imported into the Kabul or Kao-pu region, and the reverse type of the tetradrachms of Miaos influenced the coinage of the Indo-Parthian ruler Gondophares.

Miaos, probably began to mint silver tetradrachms, and obols on Attic standard in the Kuei-shuang territory of Ta-hsia (eastern Bactria) Later after his conquest of a part of Sogdiana to the north

of the Oxus (which many Soviet scholars describe as Northern Bactria), he could have struck in that territory coins of lesser weight apparently to relate his coinage to a higher weight standard current there.



The known varieties of his coins on the obverse display within reel and astragal border on the margin a bust portrait of a prince to right with receding forehead, long head and moustaches and wearing a diademed fellet around his head. It has the word *kossanou* meaning of *Kossana* or of *Kushāna*. The Greek legend on the reverse can be reconstructed as : "*Turannountos Miaos Sanab Kossanou.*"

The Greek legend on the reverse means : during the rule of the absolute ruler *Miaos*, the lord or king of *Kushāna*.

On another group of silver coins of *Miaos*, smaller in size and lighter in weight, are depicted on the obverse, a bust similar to that on the coins of the first group and on the reverse appears a female figure or a male (?) figure standing to front with the upper part of the body and the head turned to right or proper left and having both hands half raised. The figure wears a short tunic and trousers. The Greek legend on the reverse reads *Miaou* on the right and on the left as *(k)ossan;* *(k)oshsan,* *(k)oshano,* and *(ko)shsanou.*

The Attic weight standard had been adopted by the Bactrian Greeks for striking coins in Bactria to the north of the Hindu-Kush. The kingdom of *Miaos* lay to the north of the Hindu-Kush and incorporated at least the *Kuei-shuang* area of *Ta-hsia*, which was the same or largely so as eastern Bactria. This region had been familiar with the Attic weight standard and therefore *Miaos* had followed the same standard.

III. SILVER COINS : KUJULA KADPHISES

A few obols which are prototypes of the rude imitations of the obols of Eucratides I and weigh 11.2 grains or .725 grammes, had been struck somewhere to the north of the Hindu Kush and also in the territories on the Oxus. These coins have the legend Oko, Ozoulo, or Zao Koozoulo etc., which may mean of Kujula, or *yavuga* Kujula. These coins can be attributed to Kujula Kadphises.

These obols of Kujula were minted in Ta-hsia of eastern Bactria, to the south of the Kuei river (River Oxus), or in the Yueh-chih territory to the north of that river or in western Bactria (around Bactria). Kujula had possessed all these regions to the north or north-west of the Hindu-kush.

IV. SILVER COINS . VIMA KADPHISES

The silver drachms of Vima Kadphises excavated at a Scytho-Parthian and early Kushāna stratum at Sirkap, Taxila, suggest that the Imperial Kushānas had minted silver coins meant for circulation in the lower Indus country. Perhaps, these were issued immediately after Vima's conquest of the lower Indus country.

The silver coins of Vima Kadphises appear to have been struck from dies. Due to defect in engraving the dies or in the process of minting, the legend on the known specimens are partly out of flan and the letters are not always well engraved. However, the bust of the king is well executed and looks like his portrait on his gold and good copper coins. The figure of Nike is engraved with skill and imagination. The folds on her long semi-transparent drapery (*chiton*) are indicated by lines drawn artistically. The figure revealed from beneath the semi-transparent chiton, is well proportioned. Its posture imparts to it a sense of subtle movement.

The silver coins of Vima Kadphises yielded by the Sirkap excavations, offer numismatic corroboration to the statement of the Hou Han-shu. These coins struck on the model of a class of coins of the

group of Gondophares I and found together with them in a hoard, suggest that Vima Kadphises captured the lower Indus country from a successor of Gondophares I.

The intended full legend in Greek characters on the obverse can be constructed as : BASILEOS BASILEON MEGAS or (MEGALOS) OOEMO KAD (*phises*) and that in Kharoshthī on the reverse as: MAHARAJASA RAJATIRAJASA MAHATASA(?) KHUSHANASA VIMASA.

These silver coins of the Taxila hoard have been attributed to a mint located somewhere in the lower Indus territory or modern Sind. This fact is supported by the find of a silver coin of Sapadana in the excavations at Saedpur stupa near Tando-Mahammed Khan in Sind.

A silver coin, now in the British Museum which is die struck, shows a male figure sacrificing at an altar on the obverse and Śiva standing with his bull on the reverse. The legend on the obverse in Greek characters refers to OOEMO KADPHISES and the *Kharoshthī* inscription on the reverse refers to VIMA KAPISA.

The outlines of the obverse and reverse figures are quite sharp and the edge of the coin is fairly even. The obverse bears the four pronged symbol noticeable on a large number of gold and copper coins of Vima Kadphises.

V. SILVER COINS : KANISHKA I

Two silver coins of Kanishka I are known. One of which was unearthed in north Afghanistan¹, the other one is in the cabinet of the Indian Museum, Calcutta. It is die struck but its provenance is not known. The obverse of this coin shows the king as standing to front with his face turned to left. He holds a spear in his half raised left hand and is throwing incense on an altar by his right hand. The Bactrian legend refers to Kanishka. On the reverse appears four-armed Śiva standing to front, a four pronged symbol, and the legend Oesho.

¹ East and West, 1958, Vol. IX, p. 161

VI SILVER COINS. HUVISHKA

Four silver coins of Huvishka are known. One of these belonged to the Cabinet of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Bombay. The obverse has a half length figure of the king and a Bactrian legend refers to him. Nana and Oesho with legends referring to these deities and a four pronged symbol appear on the reverse.

Two silver coins of Huvishka, weighing 32 grains, are in the Berlin Museum. On their obverse, three-quarter length figure of king appears facing left, wearing a crested helmet, holding sort of a sceptre in right hand and an indistinct object in left hand. The seven *Kharoshthi* letters on the obverse reading *sha tatasva* make no sense. The Greek legend reads: OESHKI KOSHANO. It is a bilingual coin as in the Ganesha type of coin. A few *Brāhmi* letters also appear on the copper coins of Huvishka. The reverse of these silver coins have two deities facing one another, standing on a pedestal, and a monogram between them. The deities are NANA and OHPO.

These coins have been accepted as genuine silver coins. These are similar to those silver coins which are now preserved in Lahore Museum and listed in the Panjab Museum Catalogue by Whitehead. However, these are not from the same die and show a variety in the delineation of the obverse figure, and therefore, belong to the bilingual issues of Huvishka. The coin shows :

Obverse: Three quarter length figure of king to left; wearing a crested helmet holding a sort of a sceptre in right hand and an indistinct object (*ankusa?*) in left hand. *Kh.* legend from 7 to 12 : (-?) sha (-?) ta ta ya sa (?) and on the right 12 to 5 : (O) OHPKI KOPANO (O)

Reverse. Two deities facing one another standing on pedestal and between them monogram. Legend 1. NAN (A), right : OKPO.

The fourth silver coin had belonged to B. L. Dar. This coin is partly broken and bored near the top. It has a royal bust facing left and carrying an ear of corn and an *ankusa* on the obverse with part of a Bactrian legend. Its reverse has the Sun-god MIORO = MIHIRA with another Bactrian legend. Both the figures and the legend are blurred.

VII. SILVER COINS : VĀSUDEVA I

The Osaka Museum, Japan has a Kushāṇa silver coin.¹ Its obverse shows a male standing to front with the head to left; wearing a tunic, trousers and a peaked helmet and has a halo behind his head. His left hand holds a trident and right hand sacrifices at an altar, behind which appears another trident. The legend at 10 O' clock reads : *(Shao)nano Shao Bazo(Deo) (Koshano)*. On its reverse OESHO appears standing with his bull. This coin is attributable to Kushāṇa ruler Vāsudeva I. The figures are blurred and the legends are partly effaced.

Counterfeit Śaka and Kushāṇa coins are known to have been cast from moulds, but the above noticed silver coins are die struck and therefore, may be considered as genuine Kushāṇa coins.

Genuine Kushṇa coins are generally die-struck. Coins prepared from moulds which are in turn prepared from genuine coins are forgeries. In case the coins are not sharp in outlines, these are forgeries.

1. JAS, 1973, p.205

COINAGE OF KUJULA KADPHISES

I GENERAL

Kujula Kadphises or Kiu-tsiu-kio, who had lived to be over eighty years, is the first Kushāna ruler who issued coins in the Indian sub-continent. His joint issues with Hermaeus, the Indo-Greek ruler, depict on obverse a bust of Hermaeus with Greek-legend and on reverse mention in *Kharoshthi* letters the name of Kujula Kasas, the Kushāna, Yavuga or Jabgu, which in Turkish means a *chief*. Portrait of Kujula himself is not given on these issues. Therefore, a question arises as to how he could issue coins jointly with an Indo-Greek prince or should it be presumed that both of them had ruled together. This vexing point is not soluble, so far, for want of detailed evidence.

V273

M5

The Kabul valley was in possession of the Parthians for a few decades during the interval between the downfall of Hermaeus and the rise of Kujula Kadphises. The coins struck by Hermaeus during the concluding days of his reign, when his power was faltering, are those which bear his old age bust on obverse and standing Heracles on reverse. Kujula Kadphises first had his name on reverse and later put it on obverse also.

204232

The salient features of the coinage of Kujula Kadphises were inherited from the Indo-Greek coins through his Parthian predecessors. Like the Greeks in India, he followed the policy of bi-lingualism on his coins issued both in copper and silver. Bi-lingualism and bi-scriptualism are two prominent features of his coins bearing Greek legends on obverse and *Prākṛit* legend in *Kharoshthi* script on reverse. The shape of the coins is always round. The appearance of a bust and royal head on obverse and Greek deities on reverse, shows influence of Greek coinage. Deities like Heracles, Nike, Zeus appear on reverse of his coins. If he had personally any belief in Śaivism, it is probably

represented by a Bull which is the mount of Śiva and appears on reverse of his coins.

Kujula, without any other alteration, replaced the name of Harmæus and progressively introduced on these very types his name on obverse, as : ΚΟΖΟΥΛΟΥ ΚΑΔΦΖΟΥ *i.e.*, Kujula Kadphises, leader of the Kushāṇa race. He had apparently conquered the Greek domination and laid foundation of the Kushāṇa empire.

II. COINS OF KUJULA KADPHISES

Details of the rule of Kujula Kadphises are best known from his coins. Kujula Kadphises used different names and titles on his coins. His name is found as *Kujula Kaphsha*,—*Kadaphes*,—*Kau*,—*Kasa*, *Kujula Kara Kapa*, etc. He had appended a number of titles to himself. His imperial titles were derived from Greek titles like *Basileus Basileon* etc. He called himself, a *jabgu*, *i.e.*, a chief; *maharayasa* (*mahārājasya*) or the great king; *rayarayasa* (*rājarājasya*) or the king of kings; *devaputrasa* (*devaputrasya*) or the son of a deva or a god and *dharmathitasya* (*dharmasthitasya*) or the protector of law or steadfast in law. He had continued some of the posthumous silver tetradrachms of Hermaeus. Silver coins of north-western parts of the country had become heavily debased. These silver coins available in base metal are also barbarous in style. On their reverse, the male portrait head was taken from Roman coins. Kujula did not mint silver coins in large numbers. Only a few silver coins of Kujula Kadphises have been found. He himself had issued mainly copper coins.

The Indian issues of Kujula Kadphises, the first Kushāṇa monarch, show more or less the traditions of the late Scytho-Parthian period. Irano-Bactrian traditions may be detected in the rather crudely executed helmeted bust with staring or bulging eyes type of coins of Kujula Kadphises attributable to the Oxus territories. Even his *Bust-Pallas type* coins are crude copies or imitations of original Hellenic or Hellenistic types. These cannot be associated with any school of creative art. Nevertheless, the devices are of Hellenic or Hellenistic origin and in the crude copies of these devices, we may discern some influence of Bactrian art.

Another series of Kujula's coins showing a king facing to right and seated on a curule chair with his right hand stretched, and displaying a bust to right on the other side, are comparable to coins of Gondophares showing an enthroned male and on reverse the figure of standing Zeus with a sceptre. This type has been located at Taxila.

More examples of copying the coins of the predecessors especially Gondophares are found in *Camel-Bull* type minted at Pushkalāvati, modern Chārsaddā and Prang of the Hasthnagar group of villages in the Peshawar district, Pakstian. Kujula Kadphises had not disassociated himself from Bactria and this particular type confirms it. Two humped camels were found on the banks of the Oxus. They were in use for transport in the deserts. The bulls were domestic animals and were used for cultivation of lands, as well.

A unique coin of Kujula attributable to him closely imitates the *Bust-armed Pallas* type coin of Rajuvula and Gondophares I, and are often found to the east of the Jhelum.

Copper coins of Kujula Kadphises, show a seated male on obverse and Zeus standing with a sceptre on reverse. These coins mostly come from Taxila. Indo-Parthian pieces with a similar reverse design have also been assigned to Taxila. More than two thousand five hundred coins of Kujula have been found at Taxila¹

The weight of a copper coin was adjusted by him to that of a Roman silver denarius. The recorded weight of copper pieces of Kujula, suggests that these were struck on the weight standard adopted by the Indo-Greeks, and Scytho-Parthians, for silver coins meant for circulation to the south or south-east of the Hindu-kush. Gradual debasement of silver currency prompted use of weight standard of higher silver drachms and tetradrachms for coins in copper, a base metal.

¹ Marshall, Taxila, I, p. 67

Copper coins of Kushāṇas, early series, have a legend in *Kharoshthī* characters, reading as :

Mahārayasa (or *mahatasa*) *rayarayasa* (or *rayatirayasa*) *devaputrasa*
Kuyula Kara Kaphasa or *Kuyula Kara Kaphasasa* or *Kayala Kara Kapasa*
 or *Kujula Kara Kaphsasa* or *Kajula Kaphasa* or *Kujula Kara* or *Kuyula*
Kaphasa.¹

Kuyula appears to be the same as Kujula and Kapasa or Kaphasa is also the same as Kadphis(es), which was used as a title by Kujula's son Vima, as well.

The term *kara* has been related by F.W. Thomas to the term *kāla*, occurring in certain *Kharoshthī* documents of Chinese Turkestan.² T. Burrow thinks *kāla* may mean prince.³ Reference to the context, makes it appear as a title.⁴ This term is comparable with the word *ka'ra*, used in some Khotanese texts probably as a title. *Kara* appears in the term *kapaḥpayyo* (*Karalrango*) which is used as a title in the Kushāṇa inscription discovered at Surkh Kotal.⁵ W. B. Henning takes *karalrango* as meaning⁶ 'lord of the marches' and considers it same as Persian *kanārang*, a title of governors of provinces, bordering on the lands of the former Kushāṇa empire.

Kara cannot be equated with a *prince* but may perhaps be taken to mean *lord*. This title was used by Kujula Kadphises as a king and not as a prince. *Kara* may be a title as the unexplained word *kala* preceding Khushāṇas in the Niya *Kharoshthī* document No. 339.

¹ B.N. Mukherjee, *The Kushāṇa Genealogy*, p. 45

² *The Language of the Kharoshthī Documents from Chinese Turkestan*,
 T. Burrow, p. 82

³ *Ibid*

⁴ *Ibid*

⁵ BSOAS, 1960, XXIII, p. 58

⁶ *Ibid*. pp. 50-51

Kujula Kadphises had issued following six types of coins :

- (i) Bust of Hermaeus on obverse and Herakles on reverse.
- (ii) Head of Augustus on obverse and seated king on reverse,
- (iii) Zeus standing on obverse; and seated male figure, probably Buddha, on reverse, certain scholars opine that he never issued a coin showing the Buddha;
- (iv) Bull on obverse and double humped Bactrian camel on reverse,
- (v) Bust of king on obverse and Macedonian soldier, and
- (vi) Diademed bust of king on obverse, and Nike on reverse.

Of these six types, only two, namely, the *diademed head of Augustus and seated king* and '*seated Buddha and Zeus*' have historical importance. The former is suggestive of relations with Rome and the latter was subsequently associated with the coinage of Kanishka; with the difference that on the coins of Kanishka, Buddha figures on reverse are both in standing and in sitting postures.

The inaugural monetary issues of Kozoulo (Kujula) Kadphises have the bust of Hermaeus on the obverse and standing Herakles on reverse. It is one of the most striking types. This type may be divided into two series :

- (i) Hermaeus with his own name and bust appears on obverse of the coins and the name of Kujula Kadphises appears on their reverse,
- (ii) bust of Hermaeus appears on obverse of coins, but the name of Kadphises in Greek appears by the side of the bust. On their reverse the name of Kujula Kadphises appears in *Kharoshthi*

A variant of this type has the corrupt legend on the obverse: KOZOYAOY KAAΦIZOY KOPΣOAOY. On reverse is added a *Kharoshthi* letter in the field—*sam, bu* or *pa*; this feature is repeated on later Kushāna coinage, perhaps, to indicate sub-division of authority.

On type II, a diademed Roman style male head of Augustus is shown on obverse and a full length seated figure of Kujula Kadphises is seen wearing full trousers, high pointed hat and boots and carries a

sword on reverse. The titles on reverse pronounce him as a *jabgu* or chief and steadfast in true law.

Type III has Buddha or king seated on reverse in cross-legged position and Zeus standing on obverse. Seventy-eight specimens of this round type of copper coins were found at Sirkap, Taxila. The seated male figure is in the tradition of Maues-Azes I seated royal portraits.

Marshall is against the identification of this deity as Buddha shown on the coins of Kadphises I. According to him, the conical knobbed cap and the weapon in the raised right hand of the figure are not attributes of the Buddha. In his view, it is the figure of the king himself. Tarn thinks it to be the image of the Buddha. In fact, these coins lack the attributes of a Buddha image. Foucher and Coomarswamy hold that Buddha did not appear on coins before Kanishka I.

The *Bull and Camel* type is attributable to Kujula from the imperial epithets, viz., *Maharajasa* and *rajadirajasa Kujula Kara Kapasa* used for him. The camel on the coins of Kujula Kadphises has no rider.

The *Macedonian Soldier* type again in copper is extremely rare. It has a conventional head, turned to the right, wearing a peculiar helmet with two re-curved horns, and an armed soldier, wearing horns, and a helmet which resembles a *kausia*. This helmet device repeats on coins of Kanishka and on the image of the deity MANAOBAGO on the coins of Huvishka.

Another type having bust of the king on the obverse is represented by a rare silver coin found at Sirkap. Its identity with Kujula is not certain although the title *Kushanasa Yavugasa* seems to give little other choice. It has winged Nike on the reverse.

At Begram, Ghirshman uncovered another type represented by five silver drachms which are over-struck and appear to have in *Kharoshihi Kadju*. These two letters prompt us to assign these coins to Kujula. As stated above, Kujula Kadphises had issued mainly copper, but a very few silver coins.

Important coins of Kujula Kadphises, are, as follows :

Type I. Bust of Hermaeus and Herakles, copper, round :



1 *Obv* Diademed bust portrait of the Indo Greek king Hermaeus to right Greek legend from 700 ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΣΩ[ΤΗΡΟΣ] ΣΥ/ ΣΡΜΑΙΟΥ This legend, *Basileus Sterassu Ermaiou* means, (coin of) king Hermaeus, the Saviour.

Rev Herakles facing with lion's skin on left arm, club, in right hand, resting on ground, *Kh* legend *Kujula Kasasa* (or *Karasa*) *Kushana yavugasa dhramasthidasa* The legend rendered into Sanskrit reads *Kujula Kasasya Kushana yavugasya dharmasthitasya* and means Kujula Kasa, the Kushana yabgu (chief) or leader of the Kushanas who is steadfast in Law The language used is *Prakrit*

2 *Obv* Diademed bust of Hermaeus to right Greek legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΣΥ ΣΡΜΑΙΟΥ] i.e., *Basileus Sterassu Ermaiou* and means (coin of) king Hermaeus, the Saviour

Rev. Diademed Herakles facing, lion's skin on left arm, club, in right hand, resting on ground *Kh* legend in *Prakrit* *Kujula Kasasa* (or *Karasa*) *Kushana yavugasa dhramasthidasa* which in Sanskrit reads *Kujula Kasasya Kushana yavugasya dharmasthitasya* and means Kujula Kasa, the Kushana yabgu (chief) or leader of the Kushanas who, is steadfast in Law



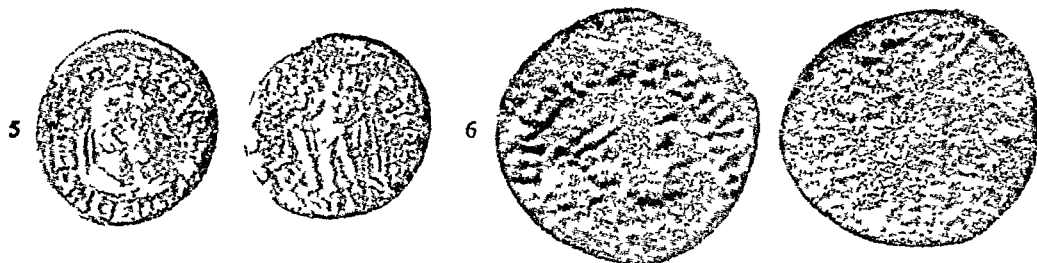
3 *Obv* Diademed bust portrait of Indo-Greek king Hermaeus to right Greek legend reconstructed ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΣΥ ΣΡΜΑΙΟΥ This legend, *Basileus Sterassu, Ermaiou*, means, coin of king Hermaeus, the Saviour

Rev : Herakles facing with lion's skin on left arm; club, in right hand, resting on ground; *Kh.* legend: *Kujula Kasasa (or Karasa) Kushāṇa yavugasa dhramaṭhidasa.* The legend rendered into Sanskrit reads : *Kujula Kasasya yavugasya dharmasthitasya* and means Kujula Kasa, the Kushāṇa yabgu (chief) or leader of the Kushāṇas, who is steadfast in Law. The language used is *Prākṛit.*

4. *Obv* : Diademed bust of Hermaeus to right. Greek legend: from 8.00 : KOP□[NAKOZOVAO K]AΔφIZOY.

Rev : Diademed Herakles facing; holds a club in his right hand and lion's skin in the left. *Kh.* legend in *Prākṛit*: *Kujula Kasasa Kushāṇa yavugasa dhra(dha)maṭhidasa,* reads in Sanskrit as : *Kujula Kasasya Kushāṇa yavugasya dharmasthitasya* and means Kujula Kasa, the Kushāṇa yabgu (chief) or leader of the Kushāṇas, who is steadfast in Law.

A variant of this type has the corrupt legend on the obverse : KOZOYΔOY KAΔφIZOY KOPΣOΔOY. The obverse portrait is definitely of Hermaeus. On reverse is added a *Kh.* letter in the field, either *sam, bu* or *pa* which feature is repeated on later Kushāṇa coinage.



5. *Obv* : Diademed bust of Hermaeus to right. Mutilated Greek legend varies on different coins and is KOZOYΔOY// KAΔφIZOY KOPΣOΔOY, which is Kozoulou Kadphizou Koshsonou and means (coin) of Kujula Kadphises, the Kushāṇa.

Rev : Herakles standing facing with right hand resting on club, and lion's skin over left arm, *Kh.* legend as in 4. above. *Kh.* letter *sam* in the field.

6. *Obv* : Diademed bust portrait of Hermaeus ; corrupt Greek legend : K□P□NAK□ZOVA□ which is Kozoulou Kadphizou Koshsonou and means (coin of) Kujula Kadphises, the Kushāṇa.

Rev : Herakles standing facing with right hand resting on club and lion's skin over left arm; *Kh.* legend: *Kujula Kasasa (or Karasa) Kushāṇa yavugasa dhramaṭhidasa.* The legend rendered into Sanskrit reads: *Kujula Kasasya Kushāṇa yavugasya dharmasthitasya* and means Kujula Kasa, the Kushāṇa yabgu (chief) or leader of the Kushāṇas, who is

steadfast in Law. *Kh* letter *saṃ* in the field. On other similar coins *Kh* letters are either *bu* or *pa*.

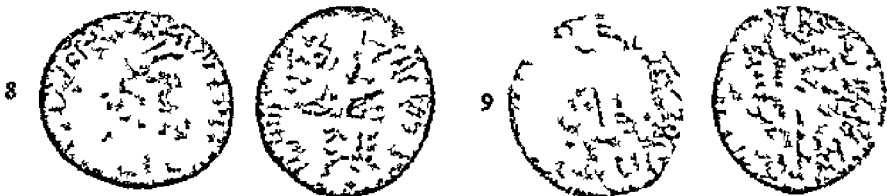


7 *Obv* Diademed bust of Hermaeus to right. Retrograde Greek legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΣΤΗΡΟΣ ΕΥ ΕΡΜΑΙΟΥ

Rev Diademed Herakles facing, holds a club in his right hand and lion's skin in the left. *Kh* legend in *Prakṛit* *Kujula Kasasa Kushana yabgu(?) gasa dhra(dha)mashidasa* and means *Kujula Kasa*, the *Kushāna yabgu* (chief) or leader of the *Kushanas*, who is steadfast in Law.

Type II Head of Augustus, copper, round

A full length seated figure on reverse is probably of *Kujula Kadphises* and he wears full trousers, high pointed hat, and boots and carries a sword. Whether this coin has the portrait of Augustus has been disputed. The style and the form of the portrait are so generalised that there can be no precise identification of it. However, this portrait which is either of Augustus or any other Roman ruler is the first of a series of examples of such individualization on *Kushāna Numismatics*. In Roman or *Kushana* coinage representation of the entire body of the ruler diminishes his individuality and the depiction depersonalized him and made him a remote and hieratic figure.



8 *Obv* Diademed head of a king facing right, Greek legend from 10 00 ΧΟΡΑΝΕΥ ΖΑΟΥ ΚΟΖΟΛΑ ΚΑΔΑΦΕΙΣ *ie the Yabgu*

of the *Kushāṇas*, *Kujula Kadphises*. Portrait head closely resembles Augustus, a Roman emperor.

Rev : The king dressed in Indo-Scythian costumes is seated on a curule chair facing right; right hand extended. In left field two Monograms; *Kh.* legend : *Kuyula Kaphasasa sachadhramaṭhidasa Kushanasa Yauasa i.e., Kujul Kaphsasa, steadfast in true law, the Kushāṇa Yabgu.*

9. *Obv* : Diademed head to right, possibly an imitation of Augustus as on his Roman coins. Greek legend: XOPANΣY ZAOOY KOZOAA KAAΔφEΣ, which means of the Jabgu of the Kushāṇas, Kujula Kadphes.

Rev : Male dressed in Indo-Scythian costumes seated on curule chair; to r. Mon. *Kh.* legend in *Prākṛit*; *Kuyula Kaphsasa sachadhramaṭhitasa khushṇasa yauasa i.e., Kujula Kadphises, steadfast in True Law, the Kushāṇa yabgu (chief).*



10. *Obv* : Diademed head to r., closely resembles that of Augustus. Legend from IX : XOPANCY ZAOOY φEΣ

Rev : Deity or king seated on a seat like curule chair; r. hand extended; l. hand holding some object; on l. monogram; *Kh.* legend from 8.00, *Kaphsasa sachadhramaṭhitasa Khushaṇasa yauasa, i.e., of Kujula Kadphises steadfast in true Law, the Kushāṇa yabgu (chief).*

Type III. Zeus and seated Buddha or King ; copper, round :



11. *Obv* : Standing deity to right possibly Zeus. Wears diadem, right arm extended and long sceptre in left hand. Letters of illegible Greek legend. *Kh.* letter *pu.*

Rev : Male figure seated in conventional cross-legged position with uncertain object in right hand. Illegible *Kh.* legend reconstructed reads: *Kuyula Kadaphasa Khushaṇasa.*

Seventy-eight specimens of this extremely rare type of coin were found at Sirkap, Taxila. The seated male figure is in the tradition of Mause-Azes I seated royal portraits.

We can now read the Bactrian legend (in Greek characters) on the reverse more confidently with the help of a few newly noticed pieces. The portion of the legend to the right of the seated figure can be read from inside as (S)r (?)go B and that to its left can be deciphered as *Oudo*.

The full legend is either (S) rgo *Boudo* or S(ogo) *Boudo*.

Type IV. Bull and Camel ; copper, round :



12. *Obv :* Bull standing facing right. Illegible Greek legend. Mon. above. To right *Kh. Pu*

Rev : A two humped camel faces right. Reconstructed *Kh. legend :* *Maharajasa rajadīrajasa Kayala Kara kaphasa.*

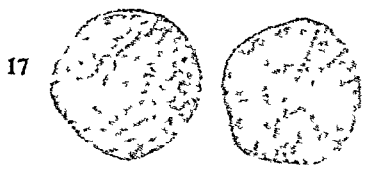
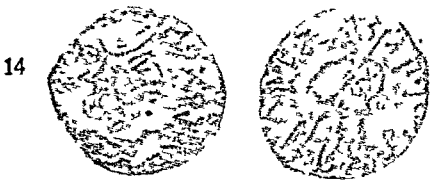
13. *Obv. :* A double humped Bull facing r.; Greek legend illegible.

Rev : A camel facing r.; *Kh. legend* from 7.00 reads : *Devaputrasa Kuyula Kara Kaphasa* and means : *of Devaputra Kuyula Kara Kaphasa.*

Imperial epithets on the coin, positively attribute it to Kujula. Representation of animals on a coin is according to the coinage tradition of the region. Azes I has been shown riding a camel on his coins, whereas on the coins of Kujula the animal appears as independent without any rider.

Type V. Macedonian Soldier; copper, round :

The Macedonian soldier type coin of Kujula Kadphises is extremely rare. The use of a helmet is repeated on the coins of Kanishka and on the image of the deity MANAOBAGO on the coins of Huvishka.



14. *Obv* : Bust of a helmeted king to right. Greek legend reconstructed : KOZOYAO KA . . . KOPEAN.

Rev : A soldier holding a spear and a shield faces right. *Kh.* legend : *Kuyula Kasasa Kushana Yavuasa.*

15. *Obv* : Bust of a king with helmet to right. Greek legend reconstructed: KOZOYAO KA . . . KOPEAN.

Rev : A soldier with a spear and a shield faces right. *Kh.* legend: *Kuyula Kasasa Kushana Yavuasa.*

16. *Obv* : Head of a king to r., wearing a peculiar helmet with two recurved horns. Legend from 7.00 to 6.00 : K . . . O KOZOYAO K(A) ; from 8.00 to 12.00 only traces of letters.

Rev : An armed soldier wearing a *kausia* like helmet to r. with spear in r. hand and shield. *Kh.* legend in *Prākṛit* language from. 5.00 : *Kuyula Ka (ph)sasa Kushana Yavugasa.*

17. *Obv.* : Head of king to r., wearing a peculiar helmet with two recurved horns. Legend from 8.00 to 6.00 : K . . . O KOZOYAO K (A) from 8.00 to 12.00 only traces of letters.

Rev : An armed soldier wearing a *kausia* like helmet to r. with spear in r. hand and shield. *Kh.* legend in *Prākṛit* language from. 5.00 : *Kuyula Ka(phi)sasa Kushana yavugasa.*

Type VI. Bust of King, silver, round :



18 *Obv.* Diademed bust of bearded king to left wearing low conical head-dress and ear flaps Illegible Greek legend

Rev. Winged Nike holding wreath and palm branch. *Kh.* letter *bhu* in right field *Kh* legend *maharajasa rajatirajasa Kushanasa (Yavugasa?)*

19 *Obv.* Bust of king to l wearing low conical head-dress, diadem, and ear flaps King bearded Illegible Greek legend

Rev. Winged Nike to l holding wreath and palm branch *Kh* letter *bhu* in r field *Kh* legend . *maharajasa rajatirajasa Kushanasa (Yavugasa?)*



20 *Obv.* Bust of king to left with conical head dress, partly legible Greek legend A XOP .

Rev. Nike standing facing left, holding wreath and palm branch. *Kh* letter *bhu* in r field, *Kh* legend . . sa maharajasa ja . . sa

These rare silver coins were found at Sirkap. Their identity with Kujula is not certain, although the title Kushanasa Yavugasa seems to give little other choice

Type VII. Ghirshman excavated at Begram, Afghanistan, in the New city, five silver drachms of the Parthian style. Each of these coins is from a different mould The coins, in general, conform to the following description :



21. *Obv* : Bust of diademed king facing left surrounded by circle of dots. Has short beard and heavy Parthian hair bun. Two ribbons falling behind the hair. Inscription perhaps over struck; in *Kh. ku dju*

Rev : Entirely over struck. Barbarous imitation of regular Arcasid motif of seated prince in profile. Inscription in Kushāna-Greek dubiously read as : OZOVΛAKA AΔAΓ [A].

22. *Obv* : Bust of diademed king facing left surrounded by circle of dots. Has short beard and heavy Parthian hair bun. Two ribbons falling behind the hair. Inscription perhaps over struck; in *Kh. ku dju*

Rev : Entirely over struck. Barbarous imitation of regular Arcasid motif of seated prince in profile. Inscription in Kushāna-Greek dubiously read as : [OZOV]ΛA KAZ [AΓA].

23. *Obv* : Bust of diademed king facing left surrounded by circle of dots. Has short beard and heavy Parthian hair bun. Two ribbons falling behind the hair. Inscription perhaps over struck; in *Kh. ku dju*

Rev : Entirely over struck. Barbarous imitation of regular Arcasid motif of seated prince in profile. Inscription in Kushāṇa-Greek dubiously read as : OZOVΛA KAAΔAΓ[A].

24. *Obv* : Bust of diademed king facing left surrounded by circle of dots. Has short beard and heavy Parthian hair bun. Two ribbons falling behind the hair. Inscription perhaps over struck; in *Kh. ku dju*

Rev : Entirely over struck. Barbarous imitation of regular Arcasid motif of seated prince in profile. Inscription in Kushāṇa-Greek dubiously read as : [OZ]OVΛA KAAΔAΓA.

25. *Obv* : Bust of diademed king facing left surrounded by circle of dots. Has short beard and heavy Parthian hair bun. Two ribbons falling behind the hair. Inscription perhaps over struck; in *Kh. ku dju*

Rev : Entirely over struck. Barbarous imitation of regular Arcasid motif of seated prince in profile. Inscription in Kushāṇa-Greek dubiously read as : OZOVΛA KAAΔAΓ[A].

COINAGE OF VIMA KADPHISES

I. GENERAL

Coinage of Vima Kadphises is in striking contrast to that of Kujula Kadphises. Vima Kadphises issued an extensive number of bilingual gold and copper coins of remarkable design and good workmanship. The king figures prominently on obverse of all the types, and Śiva alone or with his bull and a trident appears on reverse. His coins show an improvement characterized by an Indianization of motifs. The Bactrian camel is replaced by *nandi* or bull.

Vima Kadphises had effected a major reformation in his coinage. The local character of coins was replaced. On his coins, the king is shown in several postures with a Greek legend on obverse. A *Kharoshthi* inscription appears on reverse. These coins are considered to have been struck on the standard of Attic tetradrachms, didrachms and drachms. As usual, all the varieties of these coins were meant for circulation throughout the empire. The Kushāna coinage became imperial in character.

The coins depict an accomplished and powerful image of Vima. These are descriptive portraits of the king showing him as a heavy-set, aged man with a large nose, a wart on his left cheek, and a spade shaped beard with moustaches. He has a most formidable impressive and robust personality. These portraits, seemingly, are roughly of the same age level.

On obverse, the ruler is clothed with a long open coat reaching the knees and wearing boots and a tall cap. On reverse, there is but one deity or his symbols, not labelled, but identified by analogy with the later Kushāna coins, as Śiva.

The name of Vima Kadphises in Greek is found inscribed as ΟΟΗΜΟ ΚΑΔΦΙΧΗC and in *Kharoshthī* as Vima Kaṭhphīsa or Kapiśa. The bilingual legends are legible and in Greek the letters are: ΒΑCΙΑCΕΥC ΒΑCΙΑCΕΩΝ CΩΤΗΡ ΜΕΓΑC and in *Kharoshthī*: maharajasa rajadirajasa sarvaloga īśvarasa mahīśvarasa Vima Kaṭhaphīśasa, which means, *the great king, king of kings, lord of the world, the great lord, Vima Kaṭhalpiśa, the defender*. These coins are the most expressive statement of Kushāna art.

A few silver pieces of the Kushānas, which have a bust on one side, and Nike on the other and taken as issues of Kujula or Vima Kadphises were found in a jar at Sirkap, in Taxila. These four unique silver drachms, however, expressively bridge the numismatic transition between the two rulers Kujula and Vima Kadphises. These coins were actually meant for circulation of debased silver currency in the period immediately preceding the Kushāna rule.

So far, only few silver coins of this ruler have been found. These coins are an example of the expressive powers of distinctly Kushāna art. The forcefulness of the body seen en face, with its voluminous trousers and belly and over-sized head, outweighs any idealization which might accrue to the profile view of the head. The Kushānas were never able to escape from the conventional profile portrait on coins, although they freely adopted the frontal mode of presentation. This is a portrait of a barbarous prince expressing his awful majesty.

Copper coins of Vima Kadphises show the king standing at an altar on obverse and Śiva and a bull on reverse. So far, only a single type of copper coins of Vima Kadphises has been found. These coins were issued in three sizes, large, middle and small or didrachms, drachms, and hemidrachms.

Vima's gold coinage was motivated by the influx of large number of Roman gold coins as a result of Indo-Roman commercial transactions. Vima's gold coinage had followed the weight standard of the Roman aurei. His gold coins were minted all over the empire.

The weight standard of these coins has played a large role in discussions on Kushāṇa coinage. The relationship of a Kushāṇa coin to a Roman standard had never remained constant. The Kushāṇa standard of gold coins remained constant with the average at 122.9 grains fluctuating between 121.1 and 123.1 grains. The Roman standard had varied from 134 grains to 114 grains during successive reigns. Kushāṇa coins, however, had become progressively debased.

Coins of Vima do not label the deity shown on reverse, but the same being analogous with the inscribed types of the later Kushāṇa kings, this deity is easily identifiable as Oesho, *i.e.*, Śiva. The bull itself on all such coins substantiates this identification. On reverse of some of the coins, flames arising from his hand are similar to those arising from the shoulder of the king on obverse, and, therefore, could suggest that both king and deity share the same divine energy or power, possibly, *tejas*. The flaming head motif appears on the early coins of the Mitra kings of Pañchāla in the representation of Śiva. On the coins of Vāsudeva II, a unique kind of radiance appears around the head of the deity. The head of Oesho definitely produces flames on the Kushāṇo-Sassanian coins.

II. COIN TYPES : VIMA KADPHISES

Vima Kadphises had issued following types of coins :

- (i) Elephant rider on obverse and Śiva and Nandi on reverse; gold round;
- (ii) King in Biga on obverse and Śiva on reverse; gold round :
- (iii) Enthroned king on obverse and Śiva on reverse; gold round :
- (iv) King seated cross legged on obverse, and Śiva on reverse; gold round;
- (v) Bust portrait with high helmet; gold, round;
- (vi) Bust portrait with low cap and circlet on obverse and Śiva on reverse; gold round;
- (vii) Portrait in frame or a square on obverse and Śiva or trident on reverse, gold round; *and*
- (viii) King standing at altar on obverse and Śiva on reverse; copper round.

The last coin type appears only in copper except for one example of silver in the British Museum. It introduces the king sacrificing at a small round fire-altar which motif is the basic theme of Kushāna and Gupta coins. This is occasionally referred to as a Zoroastrian or Mazdean theme. It bears resemblance to the Parthian period bas-reliefs carved on a boulder [near the Darius relief at Bistun and to similar ones at Tang-i-Sarwak. In fact, it is revamping or reinformant of ancient Indo-Iranian beliefs. In Vedic literature sacrifice over a flame is an essential act of worship; burnt offerings appear on pedestals of Gandhara Buddhist carvings. This motif on Kushāna coins, inspired by Parthian symbolism, had emerged from Indian customs.

The portrait of Vima Kadphises on this coin closely resembles the portrait in stone of Kanishka at Mathura. It depicts a close correspondence between the art of the dynastic shrines of Mathura or Surkh Kotal and the symbolic spirit of the Kushāna coins.

III. COINS OF VIMA KADPHISES

The varied types of coins of Vima Kadphises, are :

Type I. Elephant Rider; gold, round :



26 *Obv.* : King facing seated on a throne-like *howdah*, on the back of an elephant who is walking to the left. He holds a long staff in his right hand; bearded head in profile and wears a tall rounded hat. Greek legend from 1.00 : •BACIAΔEYC BACIAEΩN CWTHP METAC OOHMO KAAΦICHC. Mon. in right field.

Rev. : Śiva and Nandi. *Kh.* legend: *Maharajasa rajadirajasa sarvaloga śivarasa mahiśvarasa Vima Kaṭhaphiśasa tradara* which means : Great King, the king of kings, Lord of the World, the Great Lord, Vima Kaṭhaphiśa,

the Saviour. Monogram in field to left. This specimen was found at Varanasi.

Type II. King in Biga; gold, round :



27. *Obv* : Bearded and diademed king in a biga to right is shown in profile. He wears a tall rounded hat and carries a club in right hand. Before him a diminutive charioteer, also in profile, with a whip. Greek legend from 1.00 : BACIΔEYK OOHM/O KAΔφICHC

Rev : Śiva, standing facing left holding a trident, a part of which is only seen in his right hand; lion's skin suspended from left fore-arm; *Nandīpada* on the left; monogram in the right field; circular *Kh.* legend: *Maharajasa rajadirajasa sarvaloga isvarasa mahisvarasa Vima Kaṭhphīśasa tradara* which means : the Great King, the King of Kings, Lord of the World, the Great Lord, Vima Kaṭhaphīśa, the Saviour.

Type III. Enthroned king; gold, round :

Coins of Types III, IV and V are an example of the expressive powers of Kushāṇa art. The heavy body with its voluminous trousers and belly and an over sized head, out-weigh any idealization which might accrue to the profile view of the head. The Kushāṇas were never able to escape from the conventional profile portrait on coins, although they freely adopted the frontal mode of presentation. This is an image of his barbarous and majestic presence.



28. *Obv* : A bearded king wearing crested round helmet with bill, seated frontally on low couch. His head is turned to left and his feet are on a low stool. Flames emanate from shoulders. Thunderbolt or a

twig in right hand Large knobbed club in field to right Greek legend from 1 00 ΒΑCΙΑΞΥC ΟΟΗ/ΜΟ ΚΑΔϕΙΧΗC Monogram in right upper field.

Rev Śiva, wearing a necklace, radiate, stands facing with head to left He has a long trident in right hand, and a bull facing right is seen behind him Śiva appears to be leaning on the bull *Nandipada* in right upper field *Kh* legend *maharajasa rajadirajasa sarvaloga iśvarasa mahiśvarasa Vima kaṣṭhaphiśasa tradara* which means the Great King, the King of Kings, Lord of the World, the Great Lord, Vima Kaṣṭhaphiśa, the Saviour

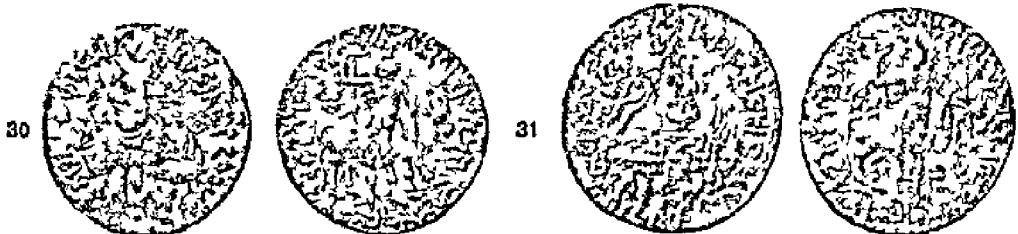
Type IV. King seated cross legged, Gold, round :



29 *Obv* : King is seen seated cross legged on a rocky prominence or cloud His head is in profile to right He wears a tall helmet with crest ornament and fillets fluttering behind the head Flames emanate from the shoulders Medium sized club in right hand Greek legend from 1 00 as in Type II above Monogram in the left field

Rev : Śiva wearing a necklace, radiate, stands facing with head to left, has a long trident in right hand, a bull facing right is seen behind him, Śiva appears to be leaning on the bull, Mon in the left upper field *Kh* legend *Maharajasa rajadirajasa sarvaloga iśvarasa mahiśvarasa Vima kaṣṭhaphiśasa tradata* which means Great King, the King of Kings, Lord of the World, the Great Lord, Vima Kaṣṭhaphiśa, the Saviour

Type V. Bust portrait with high helmet and Śiva with bull; gold, round-



30 *Obv* : Bust portrait of bearded king faces left and wears a high rounded hat Right hand holds a small, knurled club, left hand holds the

hilt of a sword or *anikuṣa*. The king has flaming shoulders, his body emerges from a rock or cloud-like shapes. Monogram in the right upper field. Greek legend from 1.00 : ΒΑCΙΑCΥC ΟΟΗ/ΜΟ ΚΑΔΦΙCΗC.

Rev : Śiva stands facing with head in profile to left holding a trident in right hand; animal pelt over left arm; vase in left hand. Śiva wears diaphanous garments indicated by symmetrical folds across legs; behind a bull in profile facing right and having head turned frontally. *Nandīpada* in left upper field. *Kh.* legend : *Maharajasa rajadirajasa sarvaloga iśvarasa mahiśvarasa Vima Kaṭhaphiśasa tradara* which means : Great King, the King of Kings, Lord of the World, the Great Lord, Vima Kaṭhaphiśa, the Saviour.

31. *Obv* : A mature diademed bust portrait of a bearded king faces right and emerges from a rock or cloud like shapes; wears tall rounded helmet with crest ornaments and fillets fluttering behind the head ; flaming shoulders; monogram in upper left field; Greek legend from 7.00 : ΒΑCΙΑCΥC ΟΟΗ/ΜΟ ΚΑΔΦΙCΗC.

Rev : Śiva stands frontally facing left; holds a trident in the raised right hand and a gourd or *kamaṇḍalu* in the left lower field; *Kh.* legend : *Maharajasa rajadirajasa sarvaloga iśvarasa mahiśvarasa Vima Kaṭhaphiśasa tradata*, which means Great King, the King of Kings, Lord of the World, the Great Lord, Vima Kaṭhaphiśa, the Saviour.

Type V (a). Bust portrait with high helmet and Śiva; gold, round :

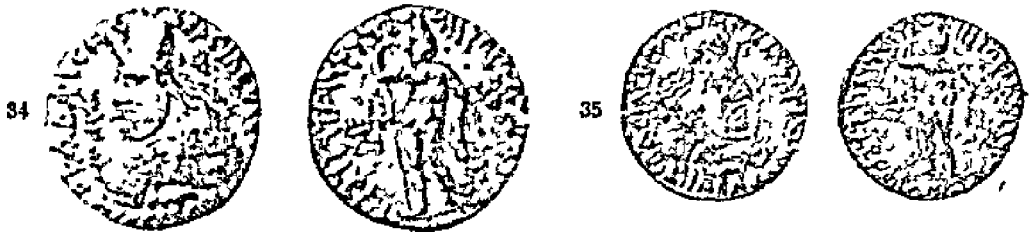


32. *Obv* : Bust of king facing left emerges from clouds and wears a diadem and helmet; holds a knurled club in his right hand and an *anikuṣa*(?) in the left hand; monogram in right upper field; Greek legend from 1.00 : ΒΑCΙΑCΥC ΟΟΗ/ΜΟ ΚΑΔΦΙCΗC.

Rev : Śiva faces left; hair arranged in spiral form; holds in right hand a trident with battle axe combined; in left hand a *kamaṇḍalu* or a gourd; lion's skin on left arm; monogram to left and *nandīpada* to right; *Kh.* legend : *Maharajasa rajadirajasa sarvaloga iśvarasa mahiśvarasa Vima Kaṭhaphiśasa tradata* which means Great King, the King of Kings, Lord of the World, the Great Lord, Vima Kaṭhaphiśa, the Great Saviour.

33. *Obv* : Portrait of a bearded robust king wearing a high rounded hat with a crest, faces left; holds a small knurled club in his right hand and hilt of a sword or an *ankuṣa* in the left hand; has flaming shoulders and body emerges from rock or cloud like shapes; Greek legend from 1.00 : BACIAΣYC OOH/MO KAΔφICHC.

Rev : Śiva stands frontally facing left; holds a trident in the raised right hand and a gourd or *kamaṇḍalu* in the left hand; *Kh. legend* : *Maharajasa rajadirajasa sarvaloga iśvarasa mahiśvarasa Vima Kaṭhaphiśasa tradata* which means Great King, the King of Kings, Lord of the World, the Great Lord, Vima Kaṭhaphiśa, the Saviour.



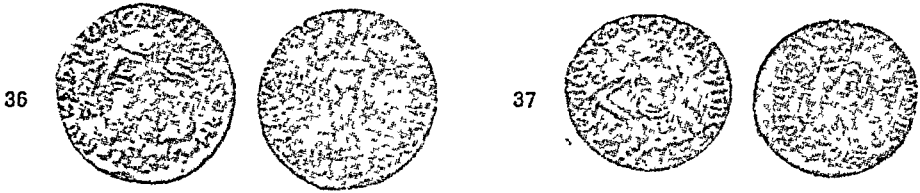
34. *Obv* : A diademed bust portrait of a bearded king faces left; wears tall round helmet with crest ornament and fillets fluttering behind the head; flaming shoulders; monogram in upper right field, Greek legend from 1.00 : BACIAΣYC OOH/MO KAΔφICHC.

Rev : Śiva stands frontally, head in profile to left; trident combined with a battle-axe held in the raised right hand; animal pelt over left arm and a *kamaṇḍalu* or a gourd in the left hand; is entirely nude except for the sacred thread over the left shoulder; *Kh. legend* : *Maharajasa rajadirajasa sarvaloga iśvarasa mahiśvarasa Vima Kaṭhaphiśasa tradata* which means Great King, the King of Kings, Lord of the World, the Great Lord, Vima Kaṭhaphiśa, the Saviour.

35. *Obv* : Bust portrait of a king faces right and wears himation held by clasp on right shoulder; wearing a circlet around the cap, bearing knob or bun at centre of forehead; monogram behind the head of the king in the upper left field; Greek legend from 8.00 : BACIAΣYC OOH/MO KAΔφICHC.

Rev : Śiva stands frontally facing left; holds a trident in the raised right hand and a gourd or *kamaṇḍalu* in the left lower field; *Kh. legend* : *Maharajasa rajadirajasa sarvaloga iśvarasa mahiśvarasa Vima Kaṭhaphiśasa* which means Great King, the King of Kings, Lord of the World, the Great Lord, Vima Kaṭhaphiśa, the Saviour.

Type VI. Bust portrait with low cap and circlet; gold, round :



36. *Obv* : Bust portrait of a bearded king faces left; wears low cap with a circlet around it, bearing a knob or bun at centre of forehead; fillets fluttering behind the head; holds in right hand a small knurled cap and hilt of a sword or an *añkusa* in the left hand; flaming shoulders; body emerges from rock like or cloud like shapes; *nandipada* in the right upper field; Greek legend from 12.00 : BACIAΣYC OOH/MO KΑΔφICHC.

Rev : Nude Śiva stands frontally, faces left; holds a trident in the raised right hand and a gourd or *kamaṇḍalu* in the left hand; *nandipada* in the right upper field; monogram in the left field; circular *Kh.* legend: *Maharajasa rajadirajasa sarvaloga isvarasa mahisvarasa Vima Kathphisasa tradata* which means Great King, the King of Kings, Lord of the World, the Great Lord, Vima Kathaphiśa, the Saviour.

37. *Obv* : Bust portrait of a diademed and bearded king faces right; wears low cap with a circlet around it; a knob or bun at centre of forehead; fillets behind the head; flaming shoulders; body emerges from rock like or cloud like shapes; monogram in the left upper field; Greek legend from 7.00 : BACIAΣYC OOH/MO KΑΔφICHC.

Rev : Śiva stands frontally facing left; holds a trident in the raised right hand; leans on a bull facing right; monogram in left upper field; circular *Kh.* legend: *Maharajasa rajadirajasa sarvaloga isvarasa mahisvarasa Vima Kathphisasa tradata* which means Great King, the King of Kings, Lord of the World, the Great Lord, Vima Kathaphiśa, the Saviour.

Type VII. Portrait in a frame or a square; gold, round :

The device of presenting the ornamented head of the king in a square frame has been variously interpreted. Some scholars have taken it as a portrait frame and others take it as an *alinda*, or a square framed window, from which the emperor is gazing.

This seems to be a portrait set into a simple incuse square. However, the diadem in one type and the fingers on the other establish

the king's body behind window. Mughal emperors also used to reveal only their face through a small window to a crowd of people.

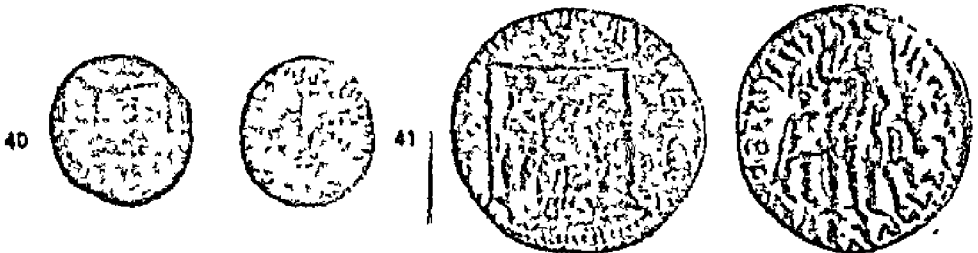


38. *Obv* : Within square frame bust of a king facing left; wears diadem and coat buttoned at neck; a twig like object or a branch(?) barsema held in right hand; above and below dotted circle and over top edge of frame monogram; Greek legend from 1.00 : BACIAEYC OOH; from 7.00 : MO KAAϕIHC

Rev : Śiva standing to front with head turned to left; radiate; hair tied in top knot; necklace or sacred thread around body and over left shoulder, holds a trident in right hand and leans with left arm on the hump of bull standing behind him and facing right; *Kh.* legend : *Maharajasa rajadirajasa sarvaloga iśvarasa mahiśvarasa hima lapisasa tratarasa : nandipada* in left upper field.

39. *Obv* : Within a square frame portrait of a king facing right; fingers on lower edge of square; a few letters of Greek legend legible from 1.00 : BACIAEYC OOH . . .

Rev : Trident and battle axe combined emblem of Śiva placed into a kind of stand or holder; monogram in the upper left field and *nandipada* in the upper right field; *Kh.* legend: *Maharaja rajadiraja Vima Kaṣṭhīśasa.*



40. *Obv* : Within a square frame bust portrait of a king facing right wearing a helmet and fillets out-flowing the square frame; Greek legend beginning from 5.00 : OH KAD. . . .

Rev : Trident and battle axe combined emblem of Śiva placed into a kind of stand or holder; monogram in the left middle field and

nandipada in the right field; *Kh.* legend : *Maharajasa rajadirajasa sarvaloga isvarasa Vima Kathphisa tradata* which means Great King, the King of Kings, Lord of the World, the Great Lord, Vima Kathaphisa, the Saviour.

41. *Obv* : Diademed head of king to left in a square frame; right hand holding a twig or a branch; Greek legend beginning from 1.00 : BACIAEYC OOH/MO KAΔϕICHC; monogram at the top centre; dotted border partially visible.

Rev : Śiva radiate standing frontally with head to left wearing the necklace, holding a trident or its shaft in his right hand; his left hand resting on the hump of the bull against which he is reclining ; *nandipada* in the upper left field, long circular *Kh.* legend : *Maharajasa rajadirajasa sarvaloga isvarasa mahisvarasa Vima Kathphisa tradata* which means the Great King, the King of Kings, Lord of the World, the Great Lord, Vima Kathaphisa, the Saviour.

Ashutosh Museum of Art,¹ Calcutta University, Calcutta, has a similar round gold coin of Vima Kadphises. It weighs 29.25 grains. Its description is as follows :

Obv : Diademed and helmeted head of a king to right in a raised square frame; ends of the diadem flowing out of the square, traces of an arch above. Traces of the Greek legend behind the king's head, very much blurred : BACIAEYC OOHMO KAΔϕICHC.

Rev : Combined trident and battle axe in the centre; monograms to the right and to the left : circular *Kh.* legend from 4.00 partly blurred and truncated: *Maharaja rajadiraja V(e)ima Kathaphisa*.

Three more similar coins are available. One is in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, (Smith, Catalogue, Vol. I, pl. XI, 6) and two are preserved in the Panjab Museum, Lahore (Whitehead, Catalogue, Vol. I, pl. XVII, 34).

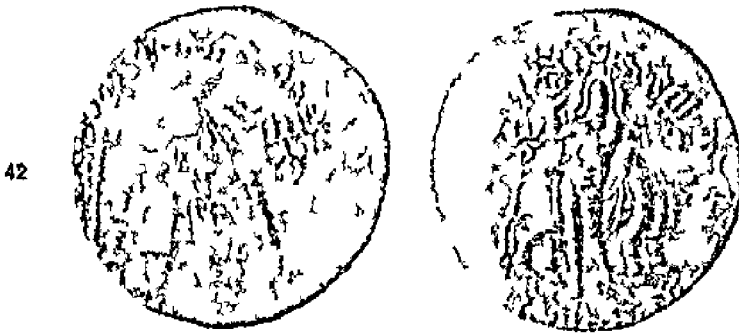
Type VIII. Standing king at altar; silver or copper, round :

This coin type appears only in copper except for one example of silver in the British Museum.² It introduces the king sacrificing at a small round fire altar which motif is the basic theme of Kushāṇa and Gupta coins. This is occasionally referred to as a Zoroastrian or Mazdean theme. It bears resemblance to the Parthian period bas-relief carved on a boulder near the Darius relief at Bisutun and to

¹JNSI, Vol. XXI, pp. 129 ff

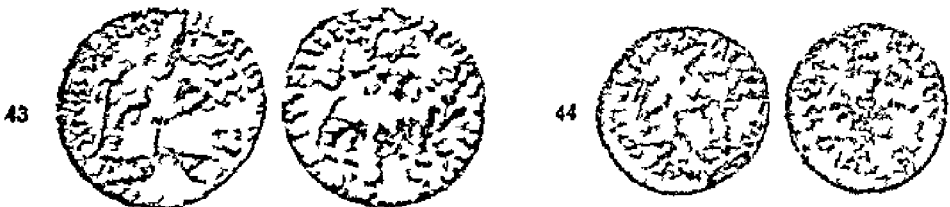
2. Sl. 44, below

similar ones at Tang i Sarwak In fact, it is revamping or reinforcement of ancient Indo-Iranian beliefs In Vedic literature sacrifice over a flame is an essential act of worship, burnt offerings appear on pedestals of Gandharan Buddhist carvings This motif on Kushāna coins inspired by Parthian symbolism had, in fact, emerged from Indian customs



42 *Obv.* The king stands frontally with his head in profile turned to left His right hand is held over a small altar and is making an offering in the same, he wears a heavy top coat with rolled lapels held with double clasp at chest, and worn over a tunic held at waist by a belt, he has a heavy beard and wears a high round cap with a crest ornament and fillets in the field to right is a large club with knobbed handle or a mace as seen on the statue of Kanishka, to left trident battle axe, monogram in upper field to right *Greek legend* from 12 00 ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΩΝ ΣΕΥΘΗΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟ ΟΟΗΜΟ ΚΑΔΦΙΣΗΣ which means, the King of Kings, the Great Saviour, Vima Kadphises

Rev. Śiva stands frontally leans against a bull, holds in his raised right hand a trident the left hand rests on the hump of a bull, *nandipada* in the left upper field circular *Kh legend* Maharajasa rajadirajasa sarvloga śvarasa mahīśvarasa Vima Kathphīsasa tridara which means the Great King, the King of Kings, Lord of the World the Great Lord, Vima Kathaphīsa, the Saviour



43 *Obv.* The bearded king stands facing left, sacrifices at an altar with his right hand left hand resting on the waist, wearing heavy boots,

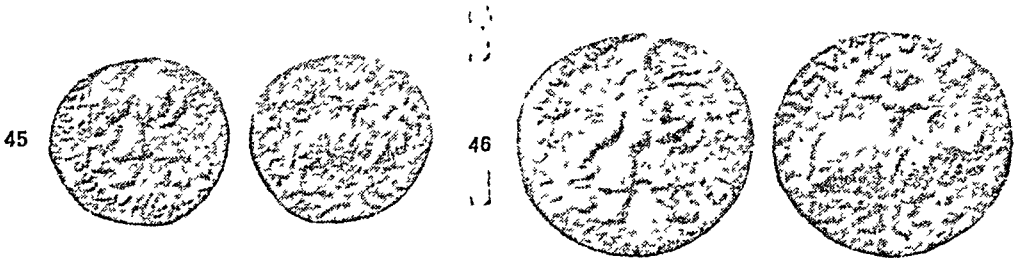
behind the altar in the left field trident with axe combined; fillets overflowing the shoulders; monogram in the right upper field and a club in the lower right field; Greek legend from 1.00 : ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ (CWTHP ΜΣΓ AC) ΟΟΗΜΟ ΚΑΔΦΙΧΗΚ, which means the Great King, King of Kings, the Great Saviour, Vima Kadphises.

Rev : Śiva stands facing left; hair tied in a top knot; holds a trident in the up-raised right hand; drapery hanging at his back; *nandipada* in the field; circular *Kh.* legend : *Maharajasa rajadirajasa sarvaloga isvarasa mahisvarasa hima kapisasa tradata* which means the Great King, the King of Kings, Lord of the World, the Great Lord, Vima Kaṭhaphiśa, the Saviour.

44. *Obv* : The king stands facing left wears diadem and helmet; sacrifices at an altar with his right hand; axe combined trident in the left field; and club in the right field; monogram in the right upper field; Greek legend from 12.00 : ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ (CWTHP) ΜΕΓ AC ΟΟΗΜΟ ΚΑΔΦΙΧΗΚ which means the King, the Great King, the Great Saviour, Vima Kadphises.

Rev : Śiva facing wears head-dress and drapery over shoulders; holds trident in raised right hand; behind him bull facing right; circular *Kh.* legend : *Maharajasa rajadirajasa sarvaloga isvarasa mahisvarasa hima kapisasa tradata* which means the Great King, the King of Kings, Lord of the World, the Great Lord, Vima Kaṭhaphiśa, the Saviour.

The portrait on this coin closely resembles the portrait in stone of Kanishka at Mathura. It depicts a close correspondence between the art of the dynastic shrines of Mathura, of Surkh Kotal and the symbolic spirit of the Kushāṇa coins.



45. *Obv* : King facing left sacrifices at an altar with his right hand; the head portion is lost; wears a diadem; left hand rests over the waist; axe combined trident in the left field; club and monogram in the right field; traces of Greek legend : (ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ) CWTHP ΜΣΓ AC ΟΟΗΜΟ ΚΑ (ΔΦΙΧΗΚ) which means the King of Kings, the Great Saviour, Vima Kadphises.

Rev Śiva facing holds a trident in the up raised right hand, has a bull behind him, monogram in the left upper field, traces of *Kh* legend *Maharajasa rajadirajasa sarvaloga isvarasa mahisvarasa hima kapiśasa tradata* which means the Great King the King of Kings, Lord of the World, the Great Lord, Vima Kathaphiśa, the Saviour

46 Obi The king stands facing left, wears a diadem and helmet, sacrifices at an altar with his right hand, axe combined trident in the left field, a club in the right lower field, the left hand rests on the waist, fillets over flowing the shoulders, monogram in the right upper field, traces of Greek legend . CWTHP ΜΣΓΑC OOHMO KAΔφI which means the King of Kings, the Great Saviour, Vima Kadphises

Rev Śiva facing wears head-dress and drapery over shoulders, holds trident in raised right hand, behind him bull facing right, circular *Kh* legend *Maharajasa rajadirajasa sarvaloga isvarasa mahisvarasa hima kapiśasa tradata* which means the Great King, the King of Kings, Lord of the World, the Great Lord Vima Kathaphiśa, the Saviour

COINS OF A NAMELESS KING

I. GENERAL

A few copper coins of Vima Kadphises bear the title ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΣΩΤΗΡ ΜΕΓΑΣ ΟΟΗΜΟ ΚΑΔΦΙΧΗC *i.e.*, Basileus Basileon Soter Megas Vima Kadphises which means the Great king of kings, the Great Saviour, Vima Kadphises. A large number of copper coins with the same title but not mentioning the name of Vima Kadphises or any ruler have also been found all over the Panjab, in Kandhāra, the Kabul Valley and upto Mathura. These copper coins have been styled as of a Nameless King. These coins mostly have on obverse a Greek legend, and their reverse have sometimes a *Kharoshṭhi* legend. The legends in Greek and *Kharoshṭhi* do not mention the name of the ruler either. In the absence of any name, these coins are classified as those of Soter Megas, which means the Great Saviour. The coins of Soter Megas, purport to be struck by an anonymous ruler calling himself the king of kings, the Great Saviour.

Who was this Soter Meges? Was he a Kushāṇa monarch? Could he be identified with Vima Kadphises? If so, the coins attributed to Soter Megas were the first attempt to alter certain traits of Kushāṇa coinage prior to a complete reorganisation of the Kushāṇa monetary system by Vima Kadphises. Are these coins to be reckoned as a separate series issued anonymously by some king whose name is otherwise unknown to us, or are these the currency of a monarch whose name we know, possibly from coins, as well as from inscriptions?

Paleography and fabric of these copper coins, connect them to Mīaus, as well as due to their similarity as coin types as evident by the use of 'reel and bead border' and 'horseman type.' A circular margin of reels and pellets if common to the coins of Mīaus is also common to the coins of the Nameless King and Vima Kadphises. However, the thickness

and weight of the coins of Soter Megas are different from that of Mīaus

These coins seem to be related to Vīma Kadphises by use of the nominative for the Greek legends of the titles. The title Basileus Basileon Soter Megas is common to both the rulers.

Vīma Kadphises holds a club up-right before his face whereas the Nameless King also holds a sceptre up right before his face.

Coins of both the kings have the same peculiar form of the *Kharoshthi* letter *ja* (*v*).

Another important letter *ṛ* in *Kharoshthi* occurs on many coins of this Nameless King. If it is the initial of a name, it has to be connected to Vīma Kadphises.

On one of these coins of the Nameless king, two Greek letters OH are clearly legible (see coin 50 below). Could these letters stand, if the other letters have not been lost for OOHMO i.e., Vīma?

The fabric of the coins which are mainly in copper, and the absence of the square form point to a period of the early Kushāna rulers and possibly he has been correctly presumed to be a contemporary of Vīma.

Since, the bust portraits on the coins of Vīma Kadphises and the Nameless King are not identical, these coins, it has to be presumed, belonged to two separate rulers.

Roman Ghirshman has published an illustration of a unique silver decadrachm having on the obverse a portrait of Vīma, as identified by the accompanying corrupt Greek legend, and showing a standing prince on its reverse, again identified as king Kanishka by Greek legend. Kanishka is seen holding a lance and the monogram behind him is similar to the monogram appearing on the coins of Soter Megas. He has, therefore, expressed the opinion, that Kanishka himself had issued coins as Soter Megas prior to his ascending the throne as emperor and therefore, he concludes that he was Viceroy of Vīma Kadphises.¹

II HIS IMPORTANT COINS

Mainly copper coins of this ruler are available. The coins of Soter Megas fall into the following groups:

¹ Ghirshman, *Melanges Massignon*, Vol II, also in *Cahiers d'histoire Mondiale*, III (1957), p. 639 ff.

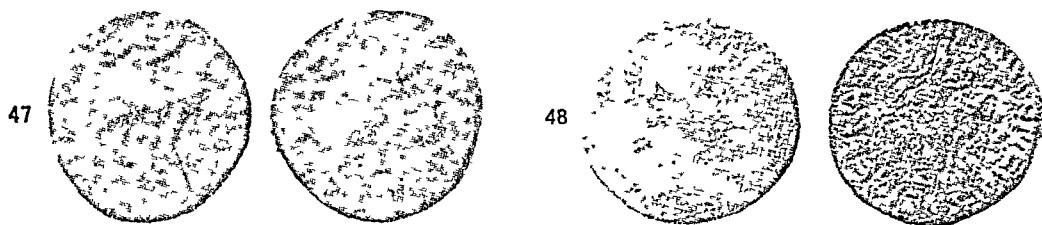
- i) with the Greek legend *Basileus Basileon Soter Megas* and with its literal transliteration into *Kharoshthī*.
- ii) Only with the Greek legend *Basileus Basileon Soter Megas* translated as 'of the king of Kings, the Great Saviour.'

The Nameless King issued probably a few coins of base silver, a single specimen of which is found in the British Museum (coin No. 47 below).

The Nameless King *Soter Megas* had followed the Attic drachm for his copper coins which show a diademed bust and a standing Zeus holding a sceptre and a thunderbolt and Greek legend. This type of coin is exclusively found at Mathura and south eastern Panjab.

Another type of copper coins of *Soter Megas* bearing a radiating bust to right holding a fillet and an equestrian male holding *ankuśa* and only Greek legend was struck on the standard of Attic didrachms and is found throughout the territory controlled by him including the Panjab.

The important coins of the Nameless King are :



47. *Obv* : The king rides a horse back, both the king and horse face right: right hand up-raised; ribbons or fillets over flowing the shoulders; monogram to right; Greek legend re-constructed reads : *ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ CWTHP ΜΕΓΑC* i.e., *Basileus Basileon Soter Megas* and means the King of Kings, the Great Saviour.

Rev : Zeus faces right and is clad in himation; ribbons or fillets over flow the shoulders; right hand raised and left hand holds a sceptre; to left a *Kh.* letter and to right an uncertain object; *Kh.* legend reconstructed reads : *Maharajasa rajadirajasa mahatasa tradatasa*, i.e., the Great King, King of Kings, the Great Saviour.

48. *Obv* : Bust of a helmeted king facing right; monogram behind the head.

Rev The king wearing peaked helmet faces right and rides a horse also facing right, two ribbons or fillets overflow the back, monogram below the mouth of the horse, Greek legend reconstructed reads ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΚΩΤΗΡ ΜΕΓΑΣ *i.e.* *Basileus Basileon Soter Megas* and means the King of Kings, the Great Saviour

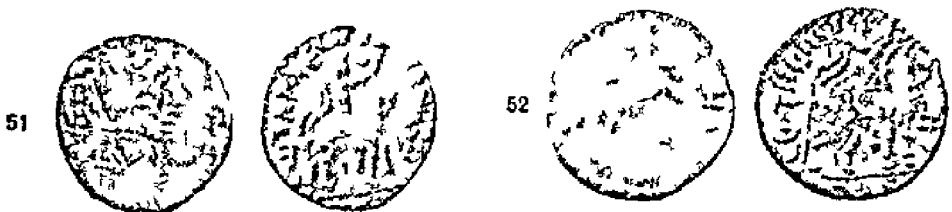


49 *Obv* Radiate and diademed bust of a helmeted king with fillets over flowing shoulders faces right and is clad in himation, one hand holds a lance bound with fillets, monogram behind the head, reel and pellet border

Rev The king faces right and rides a horse also facing right, has flowing fillets, monogram below the mouth of the horse, circular Greek legend reconstructed reads ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΚΩΤΗΡ ΜΕΓΑΣ *i.e.* *Basileus Basileon Soter Megas* and means the King of Kings, the Great Saviour

50 *Obv* Bust of a helmeted king with over flowing fillets, clad in himation faces right and holds an indistinct object in the raised left hand, Greek letters behind the head OH, reel and bead border

Rev King faces right and rides a horse also facing right, wears a high peaked helmet with two fillets over flowing Greek legend reconstructed reads ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΚΩΤΗΡ ΜΕΓΑΣ *i.e.* *Basileus Basileon Soter Megas* and means the King of Kings, the Great Saviour, monogram below the mouth of the horse



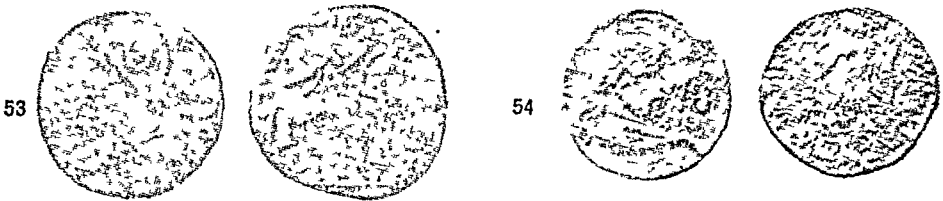
51 *Obv* Bust of a high necked king wearing a cap or a helmet faces right, behind the head monogram, indistinct reel and bead border

Rev The king with raised right hand rides a horse and both face right, over flowing fillets behind the head, the hooves of the horse are based on a

straight line; below the straight line a rocky or wavy base; monogram before the horse mouth; circular Greek legend reconstructed reads: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΩΝ CWTHP ΜΕΓΑC *i.e.* *Basileus Basileon Soter Megas*, and means the King of Kings, the Great Saviour.

52. *Obv* : Bust of king wearing crested helmet faces left; a lance in the right hand; monogram in the right field; reel and bead border.

Rev : The king wearing a helmet with head back drawn and fillets over flowing the shoulders rides a horse also facing right; the hooves of the horse resting on a straight line below which another wavy line; monogram before the horse; traces of a circular Greek legend reconstructed reads as: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΩΝ CWTHP ΜΕΓΑC *i.e.*, *Basileus Basileon Soter Megas* and means the King of Kings, the Great Saviour.



53. *Obv* : The king wearing a himation and a crested helmet faces left; monogram behind the head in the right field; *Kh.* letter in the left field.

Rev : The helmeted king riding a horse with over flowing fillets holds an indistinct object in the raised right hand and faces right; the horse also faces right and stands on a straight line; monogram in the right lower field; traces of circular Greek legend reconstructed reads : ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΩΝ CWTHP ΜΕΓΑC *i.e.*, *Basileus Basileon Soter Megas* and means the King of King, the Great Saviour.

54. *Obv* : Bust of a diademed and helmeted king faces right; two over flowing fillets behind the head; monogram before the mouth.

Rev : Zeus standing faces left and holds in right hand a thunder bolt resting over an altar(?); sceptre in the left hand; Greek legend reconstructed reads as : ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΩΝ CWTHP ΜΕΓΑC *i.e.*, *Basileus Basileon Soter Megas* and means the King of Kings, the Great Saviour.

Another copper coin of the Nameless King is preserved in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. Its detailed are :

54(a). *Obv* : A horseman wearing a diadem and a hat, faces right;

holds a short weapon in his right hand, monogram in front of the horse, blurred legend re-constructed reads : ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΩΝ CWTHP ΜΕΓΑΧ

Rev : Standing Zeus, faces right, holds a long sceptre, right arm extended, in his front a plant like object springing from a ball; *Kh*, letters *ν* (or *η*) in left field; *Λh* legend mostly illegible : *maharajasa rajadīrajasa mahatasa tratarasa*.

The British Museum also has a coin of the Nameless King with details as below :

54(b) *Ob* : Bust of a helmeted king, faces right, radiate and diademed, a lance, bound with fillet, in the right hand, monogram behind the head

Rev : King rides a horse-back, both face right; diademed; holds an *ankusa* in the right hand; Greek legend : ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΩΝ CWTHP ΜΕΓΑΧ; monogram on the right.

COINAGE OF KANISHKA

I. GENERAL

Kanishka, the most famous ruler of the Kushāṇas, had further introduced changes in the coinage. His gold coinage differs mostly from that of Vima Kadphises, his predecessor. Prosperity of the Kushāṇa empire, so remarkably attested by the gold coins of Vima Kadphises, appears to have further multiplied under Kanishka. The greater variety of devices on reverse furnish a direct evidence of economic prosperity. The name denarius was adopted in the Sanskrit language as *dināra* for a gold coin. So also *dramma* was adopted for a silver coin from the Greek coin denomination *drachma*.

Kanishka never issued the double stater or *dināra* type gold coins which were issued by his predecessor. His coins are of one type, but in two sizes. These show only two modest royal portrait types. Kanishka progressively discarded the legends in Greek and *Kharoshthi* on his coins; he instead used the Bactrian language chiefly current in middle Iran and found in inscriptions from Surkh Kotal, as well. He implanted the Iranian title *Shaonano shao*. Titles like *Mahārāja rājātirāja* and the Greek title ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ became a rarity. He gave Iranian names to the deities appearing on reverse of his coins. It was neither *Sūrya*, as written in Sanskrit, nor ΗΑΙΟ<, as found in Greek, but ΜΙΡΟ as in Bactrian language. Similarly, it was MAO for Chandra or <A^HNH.

The most characteristic feature of his coins is the variety of deities on reverse of his coins. Names and figures of Brāhmaṇical, Buddhist, Greek and Persian deities are engraved on his coins. The script is Greek but written in the Bactrian language or Khotanese—Śaka as designated by Sten Know. The most remarkable departure from his predecessors was discontinuance of the practice of issuing

bi-scriptural and bi-lingual coins. This great thrust in eliminating Greek and *Prākṛit*, the language of his subjects, must have had a stupendous effect on them. Was it unilateral?

Kanishka introduced a spear on his coins. In contemporary Rome, a spear was the prime symbol of imperial authority. It was treated as a sacred object and used in the administration of justice. A long spear and a long sword are the basic offensive weapons. There are instances of armed Kushāna kings shown as worshippers. Moreover, the tradition introduced by Kanishka as expressed on his coins is as well evident in contemporary sculptures.

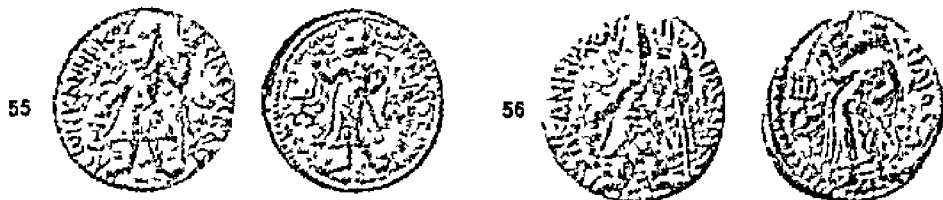
Kanishka, on most of his coins holds an *aṅkuṣa* or an elephant goad in the hand with which he performs a sacrifice over the fire altar, almost as though this weapon was in some way necessary for the performance of the ritual. A goad is an instrument of warfare. Vima Kadphises and Huvishka have been shown on their coins as triumphant elephant riders. Huvishka also had carried a goad. However, the goad successively disappeared from Kushāna coinage.

II. COINS OF KANISHKA

Following¹ types of coins of Kanishka have been found :

a. HELLENISTIC DEITIES

Type : 1. King at an altar and ΗΑΙΟ<; gold, round :



55. *Obv* : Bearded king, radiate, standing and facing left; wearing a peaked helmet with fillets over flowing the back, sacrifices over a small altar with the right hand; flames emanate from the right shoulder; a spear

¹Arranged according to the alphabetical order of the deities shown on the reverse

in left raised hand; dressed in a long tunic, *salwār* and with some kind of anklets and boots; wears a belt with a buckle; Greek legend from 1.00 : ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΚΑΝΗΡΚΟΥ *i.e.*, Basileus Basileon Kaneshkoy, which means *Kanishka, the King of Kings*.

Rev : Helios or Sun-god, standing to left has radiate nimbus; over flowing fillets above the shoulders; extended right hand is up raised; left hand rests on the hilt of a short sword; wears diadem, long tunic, boots, and a mantle held by a single round clasp at the chest; legend in Greek : ΗΛΙΟ< *i.e.*, HELIOS or *the Sun-god*; monogram in the middle of the left field; beaded border.

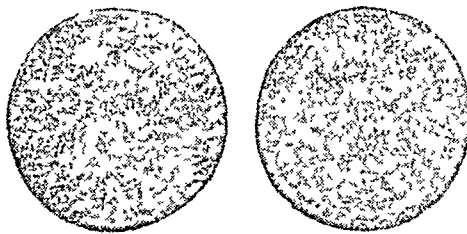
Type I. (a). King at an altar and ΗΛΙΟ<; copper, round :

56. *Obv* : Bearded standing king faces left; wears a peaked helmet with fillets over flowing the back; sacrifices over a small altar with his right hand; flames emanate from the left shoulder; a spear in left raised hand; dressed in a long heavy coat, *salwār* and boots; wears a belt with a double unit buckle; Greek legend from 1.00 : ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΚΑΝΗΡΚΟΥ *i.e.*, Basileus Basileon Kaneshkoy, which means *Kanishka, the King of Kings*.

Rev : Helios or Sun-god standing and facing left has a radiate nimbus; over flowing fillets above the shoulders; extended raised right hand in peculiar two finger gesture and left hand rests on the hilt of a short sword; wears a diadem, a long tunic, ankle boots, and a mantle held by a single round clasp at the chest; represents the deity Helios; legend in Greek : ΗΛΙΟ< *i.e.*, HELIOS or *the Sun-god*; monogram in the middle of the left field; beaded border.

Type II. King at an altar and ΗΦΑΙ<ΤΟ<; gold, round :

57

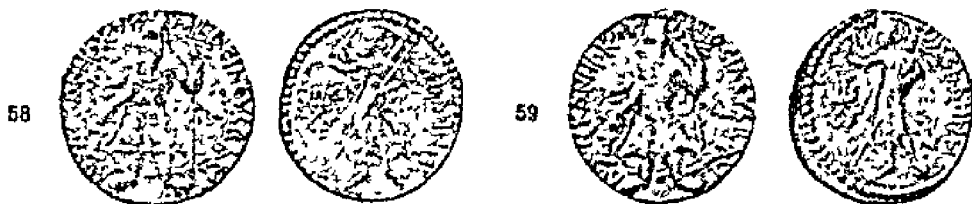


57. *Obv* : Bearded king standing, faces left; wears a head dress and sacrifices over a small altar with his right hand; left hand up raised holds a spear; dressed in a long tunic, *salwār* and a mantle; Greek legend

from 1.00 : ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΚΑΝΗΡΚΟΥ *i.e.*, Basileus Basileon Kaneshkoy, which means *Kanishka, the King of Kings*.

Rev : A standing male faces left; holds a diadem with a fillet in right extended hand; left hand rests on the waist; wears a long robe with sleeves, boots and a mantle; Greek legend on the right : ΗΦΑΙΣΤΟΣ *i.e.*, EPHAISTOS or *the Fire-god* : monogram in the left field, beaded border; damaged

Type III. King at an altar and <AAHNH; gold, round :



58. *Obv* : Standing and bearded king faces left and wears a peaked helmet with fillets over flowing the shoulders; sacrifices over a small altar with his right hand; flames emanate from the right shoulder; holds a spear in the left raised hand, dressed in a long tunic and *salwār* and a mantle held by a clasp at the chest; armed also with a sword; wears a belt; Greek legend from 1.00 : ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΚΑΝΗΡΚΟΥ *i.e.*, Basileus Basileon Kaneshkoy, which means *Kanishka, the King of Kings*.

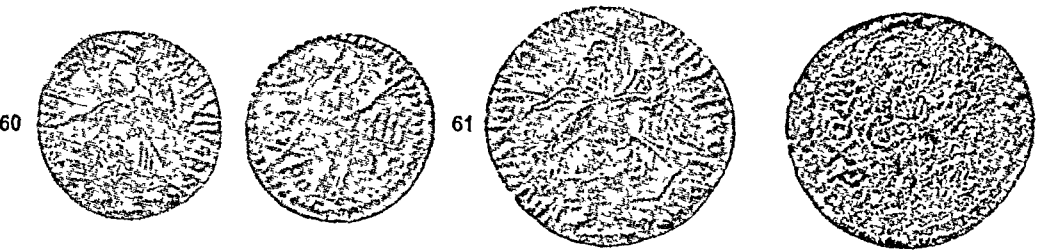
Rev : A male standing faces left and wears a tunic, a mantle, and boots; right raised hand extended; left hand holds a long staff with rounded knob-head and over flowing ribbons; lunar disk at shoulders, Greek legend on the right : <AAHNH *i.e.*, SALENE or *the Moon-god*; monogram in the left middle field; incomplete beaded border.

59. *Obv* : Standing and bearded king faces left and wears a helmet with fillets over flowing the shoulders; sacrifices over a small altar with the right hand; flames emanate from the right shoulder; spear with ribbons in the raised left hand; dressed in a long tunic and *salwār* and boots; Greek legend from 1.00 : ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΚΑΝΗΡΚΟΥ *i.e.*, Basileus Basileon Kaneshkoy which means *Kanishka, the King of Kings*.

Rev : A standing male faces left; extended right hand raised; a lunar disk at shoulders; left hand, holding a long staff with rounded knob-head and ribbons, rests at the waist; Greek legend on the right: <AAHNH *i.e.*, SALENE or *the Moon-god*; monogram in the middle left field; incomplete beaded border.

b. IRANIAN DEITIES

Type IV. King at an altar and $\text{AP}\Delta\text{OX}\rho\text{O}$; gold, round :



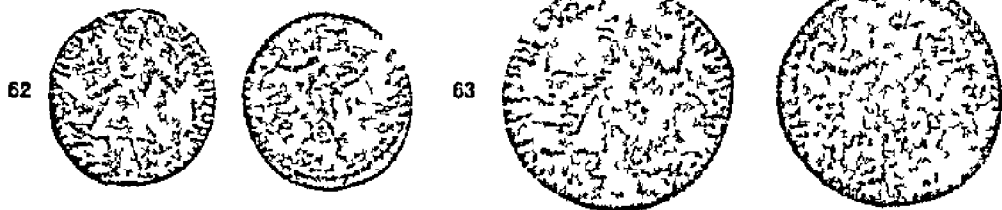
60. *Obv* : Standing and bearded king wearing a round helmet with crest ornament faces left; sacrifices over an altar with his right hand which also holds an *añkuśa*; brim of cap adorned by square shape patterns; has a prominent wart; a spear in his raised left hand; flames emanate from the shoulders; dressed in a long tunic, *salwār* and a mantle with a design, held by a clasp at the chest; armed with a sword hanging down the waist; Bactrian legend in Greek characters from 7.00 : $\text{pAONANO pAO KA/ NHpKI KOpANO}$, i.e., *Shahenshah Kaneshki, the Kushāna* or King of Kings, Kanishka, the Kushāna.

Rev : A female stands to right; nimbate; hair tied with a fillet which also hangs down the shoulders; dressed in double robe; holds cornucopia with sheafs of grain in right hand; legend on the left, read from outside: $\text{AP}\Delta\text{OX}\rho\text{O}$ i.e., *ARDOKSHO, the Goddess of Abundance*; monogram in the right field; beaded border.

61. *Obv* : Standing king, wearing a low helmet and diadem, faces left; sacrifices with his right hand over an altar, an elephant goad or an *añkuśa* also in the right hand; long beard; fillets over flowing the shoulders; clad in a heavy coat, trousers and a cloak or mantle held at the chest with a clasp; wears boots, and a belt tied with a buckle at the waist; a spear in the raised left hand; sword hangs down the waist; Bactrian legend in Greek characters from 7.00 : $\text{pAONANOpAO KA/NHpKI KOpANO}$ i.e. *Shahenshah Kaneshki, the Kushāna* or King of Kings, Kanishka, the *Kushāna*.

Rev : A female, nimbate, wearing modius faces right; clad in chiton and himation; holds a cornucopia with sheafs of grain emerging from its end in the right hand; legend on the left, read from outside: $\text{AP}\Delta\text{OX}\rho\text{O}$ i.e., *ARDOKSHO* or *the Goddess of Abundance*; monogram in the right lower field; beaded border.

Type V. King at an altar and AOpO, gold, round :

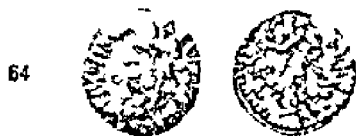


62 *Obv* Bearded and standing king faces left, wears a low round cap, of uncertain design, tied with ribbons which over flow the shoulders, sacrifices over a low altar with the right hand which also holds an elephant goad or an *ankusa*, flames emanate from the right shoulder, a spear in the raised left hand, dressed in a long tunic, *salwar*, and a mantle, a sword hanging down from the front of the waist, Bactrian legend in Greek characters from 7 00 ρ AONANOpAO KA/NHpKI KOpANO, *i e.*, *Shahenshah Kaneshki, the Kushana* or King of Kings, Kanishka, the Kushana

Rev . Bearded male standing, faces left, wears fillets around the head which flutter over the shoulders, flames emanate from shoulders, holds a fillet in extended right hand, left hand rests on waist, wears a long robe, with sleeves, boots and a mantle tied at the chest, legend to the right AOpO *i e.* , ATSHHO or *the Fire-god*, monogram in the left field, beaded border

63 *Obv* . Bearded and standing king wearing a peaked and crested helmet, with fillets over flowing the shoulders, faces left and sacrifices over a small altar with his right hand holding an elephant goad or an *ankusa*, spear having a knobbed end in his raised left hand, wears a long tunic, *salwar* and boots, and a mantle, legend from 7.00 . ρ AONANO ρ AO KA/NHpKI KOpANO, *i e.* , *Shahenshah Kaneshki, the Kushana* or King of Kings, Kanishka, the Kushana

Rev . A long bearded male, faces left, ribbons tied round the forehead, with some kind of device at forehead, flutter over the shoulders, flames emanate from shoulders, a fillet in the extended right hand, the left hand rests on hips, wears a long robe with sleeves and tied at the chest, boots and a mantle, legend on the right AOpO *i e.* , ATSHHO, *the Fire god*, beaded border

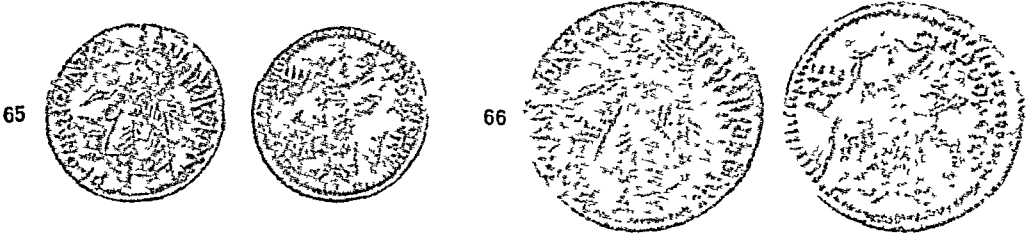


64 *Obv* . Bust of a king emerging from rocks in profile, faces left,

holds a staff in the left hand; wears a low, forward pointing cap with crest ornament, a circular spot at its side, and thin bill; ribbons over flow the shoulders; a wart visible near the moustaches; Bactrian legend in Greek characters from 1.00 : $\rho\text{AONANOpAO KA/NH}\rho\text{KI KO}\rho\text{ANO}$ i.e., *Shahenshah Kaneshka, the Kushāna* or King of Kings, Kanishka, the Kushāna.

Rev : A long bearded male, faces left; ribbons tied around the forehead; flames emanate from the shoulders; fillet in the extended right hand, the left hand rests on hips; wears a dress tied at the chest with a clasp, another dress for the lower portion and boots; legend on the right $\text{A}\Theta\rho\text{O}$ i.e., *ATHSHO, the Fire-god*; monogram in the left lower field; beaded border. It is a quarter-dinar.

Type VI. King at an altar and $\Delta\rho\text{OOA}<\square\text{O}$; gold, round :



65. *Obv* : Standing and bearded king, wears a round crested helmet which has a side device similar to that on the helmets worn by the Macedonian Soldier type of coins of Kujula Kadphises; sacrifices with his right hand, which also holds an *ankuṣa*, over an altar; flames emanate from shoulders; fillets over flow the back; spear with a sharp end in the raised left hand; dressed in a long tunic which has a wavy design, *salwār* and a mantle also designed, held by a clasp at the chest; a sword hangs down the waist in the right field; Bactrian legend in Greek characters beginning from 7.00 : $\rho\text{AONANOpAO KA/NH}\rho\text{KI KO}\rho\text{ANO}$ i.e., *Shahenshah Kaneshki, the Kushāna*, or King of Kings, Kanishka, the Kushāna.

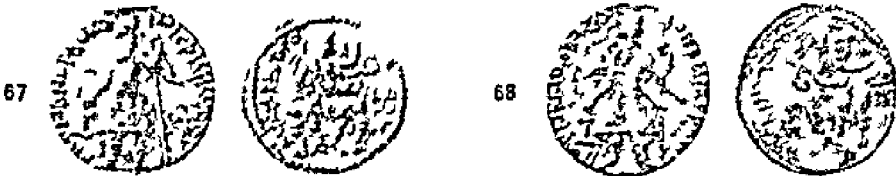
Rev : A bearded male standing frontally, faces right; a wreath in right raised hand; wears a diadem, tunic and boots; behind him facing right a horse whose left fore-leg is off the ground; legend on the right: $\Delta\rho\text{OOA}<\square\text{O}$ i.e., *DROOASPO (LROOASPO) or the Guardian of the Health of the Beasts*; monogram behind the back of the male figure; beaded border.

66. *Obv* : Standing, bearded and moustached king wearing a round diademed helmet tied with ribbons over flowing the back, faces left and

sacrifices at a round altar with his right hand which also holds an *ankusa*, raised left hand holds a spear with a sharp pointed end, flames emanate from the right shoulder, clad in a designed heavy coat and trousers and a mantle tied with a clasp at the chest, sword hangs in the right field from the waist, Bactrian legend in Greek characters from 700 $\text{PAONANOPAO KA/NHPKI KOPANO}$ i.e., *Shahenshah Kaneshki*, the *Kushana* or King of Kings *Kanishka*, the *Kushana*

Rev Standing bearded and diademed deity faces right, holds a wreath or a diadem in the raised right hand, forehead tied with a fillet which also over flows the back, behind a saddled horse who is trotting with the left foreleg raised, legend on the right $\Delta\text{POOA}<\Pi\text{O}$ or DROOASPO (LROOASPO), monogram in the left field, beaded border

Type VII. King at an altar and MANAOBAGO, gold, round



67 *Obv* Standing and bearded king wearing a helmet faces left, sacrifices over a low altar with his right hand which also holds an elephant goad or an *ankusa*, flames emanate from the shoulders, holds in his left raised hand a spear, dressed in a long designed tunic, *salwar* and a designed mantle held at the chest with a clasp, flowing fillets behind the head, Bactrian legend in Greek characters from 700 $\text{PAONANOPAO KA/NHPKI KOPANO}$, i.e., *Shahenshah Kaneshki*, the *Kushana* or King of Kings *Kanishka*, the *Kushana*

Rev A male *en face* with head in profile to right, sits on a heavily cushioned throne with lion's feet, wears a tunic, belt and boots, fillets tying the forehead over flow the shoulders, wears a *Macedonian Soldier* type helmet, has a tripartite crest ornament, lunar crescent attached to shoulders, holds in four arms upper left a sceptre, lower left a *chakra* with hub and twelve gems, upper right a circlet or a torque, lower right a diadem, legend from 700 on the left MANAOBAGO i.e., MANAOBAGO or the *Moon-god*, monogram in the right lower field, beaded border

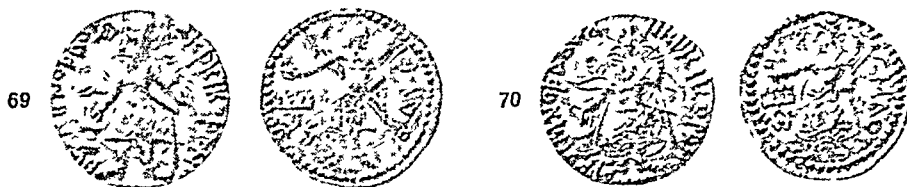
68 *Obv* Standing and bearded king wearing a helmet, faces left, offers oblations into an altar with his right hand which also holds an *ankusa*, fillets tying the forehead over flow the shoulders, a spear in his

raised left hand; wears a knee long heavy coat, *salwār*, boots and a mantle; Bactrian legend in Greek characters from 7.00 : ρ ΑΟΝΑΝΟ ρ ΑΟ ΚΑ/ΝΗρΚΙ ΚΟρΑΝΟ.

Rev : A male seated on a heavily cushioned throne with lion's feet, wearing a tunic and boots, faces right; wears a Macedonian Soldier type helmet with a tripartite crest ornament; lunar crescent attached to shoulders; fillets tying the forehead over flow the shoulders; holds a *chakra* with hub and twelve gems in the left raised hand; lower right hand holds a diadem; blurred legend on the left : ΜΑΝΑΟΒΑΓΟ *i.e.*, ΜΑΝΑΟΒΑΓΟ or *the Moon-god*; monogram in the right field; beaded border.

Four arms of ΜΑΝΑΟΒΑΓΟ are like those of ΟΕΣΗΟ-Śiva. The powers of a deity are enhanced with the two additional arms. The lunar crescent at the shoulders of this deity could mean that the source of the deity is *Vohu Manah*. The iconographic significance of this figure seems to be centered upon the right to rule, since it carries the torque and a diadem and a *chakra*. It is difficult to relate this deity to religious and literary sources.

Type VIII. King at an altar and MAO; gold, round :



69. *Obv* : Standing and bearded king, radiate, wearing a helmet having beaded design at the brim, faces left and sacrifices at an altar with his right hand which also holds an *ankuśa*; fillets tying the helmet over flow the shoulders; flames emanate from shoulders; holds a spear in the raised left hand; dressed in a tunic, *salwār* and a designed mantle with prominent boots; Bactrian legend in Greek characters from 7.00 : ρ ΑΟΝΑΝΟ ρ ΑΟ ΚΑ/ΝΗρΚΙ ΚΟρΑΝΟ.

Rev : male standing frontally with head in profile to left is dressed in a tunic, a mantle and boots; lunar crescent behind the shoulders; holds a staff with globular finial in left arm; right hand makes a two fingered gesture; legend on the right : ΜΑΟ *i.e.*, *the Moon-god*; monogram in the left lower field; beaded border.

70. *Obv* : Standing and long bearded king, radiate, wearing a helmet, having design at its brim, faces left and sacrifices at an altar with his

right hand holding also an *ankusa* fillets over flow the shoulders from which flames emanate, holds a spear in the raised left hand dressed in a tunic, *sahwār* and a designed mantle with prominent boots, Bactrian legend in Greek characters from 7 00 $\rho\text{AONANO}\rho\text{AO KA/NH}\rho\text{KI KO}\rho\text{ANO}$ *i e*, *Shahenshah Kaneshki, the Kushana* or King of Kings Kanishka, the Kushana

Rev A male standing frontally head in profile to left wears a head gear with beaded design at the fore head, lunar crescent behind shoulders dressed in a tunic, a mantle having a design and boots, left arm holds a staff with globular finial, right extended hand makes two fingered gesture, legend on the right MAO, *i e*, *the Moon god*, monogram in the left lower field, beaded border

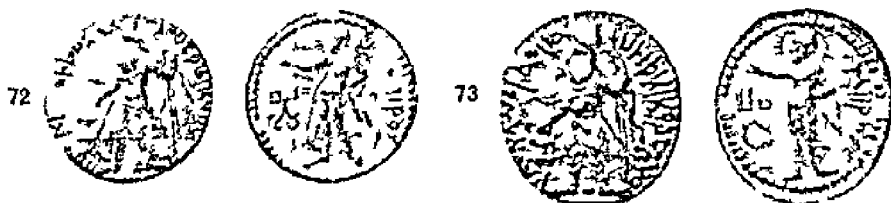
Type VIII (a) Bust of a King and MAO, gold, round



71 *Oby* Bust showing the portrait of an elderly robust bearded king facing to the left and wearing a crested helmet, a clasp below the beard Bactrian legend in Greek characters from 1 00 truncated on the right $\rho\text{AONANO}\rho\text{AO KANH}\rho\text{/KI KO}\rho\text{ANO}$

Rev A male standing frontally, dressed in a tunic, a mantle and boots faces left, lunar crescent behind shoulders, holds a staff with a globular finial in the left hand, right extended hand in the left upper field makes a distinctive two fingered gesture, legend on the right MAO *i e*, *the Moon god*, monogram in the left lower field, beaded border

Type IX King at an altar with MIIPO, gold, round



72 *Oby* Standing and bearded king wearing a conical shaped helmet, offering oblations into an altar with right hand which also holds an

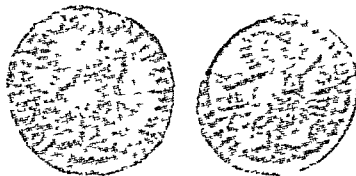
añkuṣa, faces left; fillets over flowing the shoulders; holds a spear in the raised left hand; wears a tunic, a designed mantle and *salwār* and boots; Bactrian legend in Greek characters from 7.00 : pAONANOpAO KA/NHṣKI KOpANO i.e., *Shahenshah Kaneshki, the Kushāna* or King of Kings, Kanishka, the Kushāna.

Rev : Diademed male standing frontally, faces left; nimbate and radiate or Sun-rays in a circle around the head; wears a tunic and a mantle and short boots; wears a low cap tied with a ribbon; fillets over flowing the shoulders; extended right hand makes a peculiar two fingered gesture; armed with a short sword held in the left hand which rests on the waist; legend on the right : MIIPO i.e., MIIRO or *the Sun-god*, monogram in the left field; beaded border.

73. *Obv* : Bearded king facing left wears a round helmet and offers oblations into an altar with his right hand which also holds an *añkuṣa*; radiate; fillets over flowing the shoulders; a spear in the raised left hand; wears a tunic, a designed mantle, designed trousers and boots; Bactrian legend in Greek characters 7.00 : pAONANOpAO KA/NHṣKI KOpANO i.e., *Shahenshah Kaneshki, the Kushāna* or King of Kings, Kanishka, the Kushāna.

Rev : Diademed male stands and faces left; nimbate and radiate or Sun-rays in a circle around the head; wears a tunic and a mantle and short boots; wears a law cap tied with fillets over flowing the shoulders; extended right hand makes a peculiar two fingered gesture; armed with a short sword held in the left hand which rests on the waist; legend on the right : MIIPO i.e., MIIRO or *the Sun-god*; monogram in the left field; beaded border.

74



74. *Obv* : Bearded king wears a conical shaped helmet; offers oblations into an altar with his right hand which also holds an *añkuṣa*; stands facing left; fillets over flowing the shoulders; a spear in the raised left hand; wears a long heavy coat, trousers and boots; Bactrian legend in Greek characters from 1.00 : pAONANOpAO KANHṣKI KOpANO; from 1.00 most of the letters are truncated.

Rev : Diademed male standing to left; nimbate and radiate or Sun-rays in a circle around the head; wears a tunic and short boots; wears a

low cap having beaded brim, left hand rests on the waist and holds an object, extended right hand makes a peculiar two fingered gesture, legend on the right ΜΙΡΟ *i e*, ΜΙΡΟ or *the Sun god*, monogram in the left lower field beaded border

Type IX (a) King at an altar and ΜΣΙΡΟ, gold, round



75 *Obv* Bearded king wearing a conical shaped helmet, offering oblations into an altar with right hand which also holds an *ankusa* faces left, fillets over flowing the shoulders, holds a spear in the raised left hand wears a long heavy coat, trousers and boots Bactrian legend in Greek characters from 700 $\rho\text{AONAN}\text{O}\rho\text{A}\text{O}$ $\text{K}\text{A}/\text{N}\text{H}\rho\text{K}\text{I}$ $\text{K}\text{O}\rho\text{A}\text{N}\text{O}$ *i e* *Shahenshah Kaneshki the Kushāna* or King of Kings Kanishka the Kushana

Rev Sun god radiate, having halo of Sun rays, wearing a cap stands facing left knobbed staff in the left hand, a sword hangs down the waist, right hand extended wears a heavy coat designed trousers and boots, legend on the right ΜΣΙΡΟ *i e*, ΜΕΙΡΟ or *the Sun god* monogram in the left lower field beaded border

Type IX (b) ΜΙΡΟ on obverse and NANAPAO on reverse, gold, round

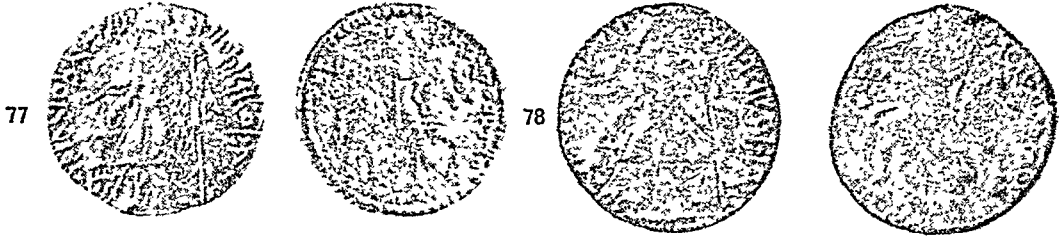


76 *Obv* Sun god wearing a long coat, a mantle trousers and short boots stands facing left, halo of Sun rays behind the head, right extended hand makes a two fingered gesture and holds an uncertain object, left hand rests on the waist, legend on the right ΜΙΡΟ *i e*, ΜΙΡΟ or *the Sun god*, monogram in the left field, beaded border

Rev NANAPAO nimbate and diademed faces right, head surmount

ted by a crescent; fillets over flowing the shoulders; holds a sceptre ending in fore-part of a horse and patera in the right hand; a bowl(?) before the waist; sword hangs down the waist in the left field; legend on the left : NANApAO *i.e.*, NANASHAO or *Nana, the Ruler*; monogram in the left field; beaded border.

Type X. King at an altar and MO(ΔOOANO; gold, round :



77. *Obv* : Standing and bearded king, faces left and offers oblations into an altar with his right hand which also holds an *aṅkuśa*; a spear in left raised hand; wears a round helmet with beaded brim tied with ribbons also over flowing the shoulders; fillets over flow the shoulders; dressed in a long heavy coat, a mantle and *salwār* and boots; Bactrian legend in Greek characters from 7.00 : pAONANOpAO KA/NHρKI KOpANO *i.e.*, *Shahenshah Kaneshki, the Kushāna* or King of Kings, Kanishka, the Kushāna.

Rev : A bearded male *en face* rides a two headed horse; wears a hat tied at the forehead with ribbons which over flow the shoulders; diademed; hair in a small Pārthian bun at the back of the neck; in the right hand holds a long raised staff, having a single ring near the top; right visible foot covered with a heavy boot; a sword hangs down the right portion of the waist; Bactrian legend in Greek characters on the right : MO(ΔOOANO *i.e.*, MOZDOOANO or *Mazdah Vano*; monogram in the left upper field; beaded border.

78. *Obv* : Standing and bearded king faces left and offers oblations into an altar with his right hand; in the left raised hand a spear with a round knob at its top; armed with a sword hanging down the waist; only part of the helmet is visible; fillets over flowing the shoulders; dressed in a heavy coat, a mantle and *salwār* and boots; Bactrian legend in Greek characters from 7.00 : pAONANOpAO KA/NHρKI KOpANO *i.e.*, *Shahenshah Kaneshki, the Kushāna* or King of Kings, Kanishka, the Kushāna.

Rev : A male facing right rides a two headed horse whose left foreleg is raised; bearded and wearing a hat tied with ribbons over flowing the shoulders; hair in a small Pārthian bun at the back of the head; in the

right hand holds a long staff, having a single ring near its top; Bactrian legend in Greek characters on the right : MO(ΔOOANO *i.e.*, MOZDOO-ANO or *Mazdah Vano*; monogram in the left upper field; beaded border.



79. *Obv* : King radiate stands facing left and offers oblations into an altar with his right hand; wears a helmet tied at the brim with a ribbon which is over flowing the back; wears a designed tunic, a mantle and *salwār* and boots; in the left raised hand holds a spear with a knob at its top; Bactrian legend in Greek characters from 7.00 : $\rho\text{AONAN}\text{O}\rho\text{A}\text{O}$ $\text{K}\text{A}/\text{N}\text{H}\rho\text{K}\text{I}$ $\text{K}\text{O}\rho\text{A}\text{N}\text{O}$ *i.e.*, *Shahenshah Kaneshki, the Kushāna* or King of Kings Kanishka, the Kushāna.

Rev : A bearded male faces right and rides a two headed horse whose left fore-leg is raised; wears a hat tied with ribbons at the forehead; ribbons over flow above the shoulders; diademed; in the right hand holds a long raised staff or trident; wears a heavy coat and boots; a sword hangs down the right part of the waist; Bactrian legend in Greek characters on the right : MO(ΔOOANO *i.e.*, MOZDOOANO or *Mazdah Vano*; monogram in the left upper field, beaded border.

Type XI. King at an altar and NANA; gold, round :

80. *Obv* : Standing and long bearded king faces left and offers oblations into an altar with the right hand which also holds an *ankusa*; a long spear in the raised left hand; a sword hangs down the waist in the left field; wears a tunic, a mantle tied at the chest with a double clasp, designed trousers and boots; Bactrian legend in Greek characters from 7.00 : $\rho\text{AONAN}\text{O}\rho\text{A}\text{O}$ $\text{K}\text{A}/\text{N}\text{H}\rho\text{K}\text{I}$ $\text{K}\text{O}\rho\text{A}\text{N}\text{O}$ *i.e.*, *Shahenshah Kaneshki, the Kushāna* or King of Kings, Kanishka, the Kushāna.



Rev : A standing female faces right; diademed; atop head a prominent

lunar crescent; halo around head; wears a crown tied with a ribbon which over flows the back; dressed in a designed robe; a staff ending with a protome of horse or stag in the right hand; a bowl(?) in the left hand; legend on left read from outside : NANA *i.e.*, NANA or *the Goddess of Fertility*; monogram in the right lower field; beaded border.

This coin has been found at Begram.

81. *Obv* : Standing and bearded king faces left and offers oblations over an altar with the right hand which also holds an *aikusa*; a long spear in the raised left hand; wears a long heavy coat tied at the chest with a clasp, trousers and boots; Bactrian legend in Greek characters from 7.00 : ρΑΟΝΑΝΟρΑΟ ΚΑ/ΝΗρΚΙ ΚΟρΑΝΟ *i.e.*, *Shahenshah Kaneshki, the Kushāna* or King of Kings, Kanishka, the Kushāna.

Rev : A standing female faces right; diademed; atop head a prominent lunar crescent; halo around head; wears a crown tied with a ribbon which also over flows the back; dressed in a robe; holds a staff ending with a protome of horse or stag in the right hand; a bowl(?) in the left hand; legend on the left : NANA; monogram in the right field; beaded border.

Type XI(a). King at an altar and NANAIA; gold or copper, round :



82. *Obv* : Standing and bearded king faces left and offers oblations over an altar with his right hand; wears a long conical helmet ribbons of which are over flowing the shoulders; a long spear in the raised left hand; dressed in a heavy coat, *salwār* and boots; Greek legend from 1.00 : ΒΑCΙΑΞΥC ΒΑCΙΑΞΩΝ ΚΑΝΗρΚΟΥY *i.e.*, *Basileus Baseleon Kaneshkoy* which means Kanishka, the King of Kings.

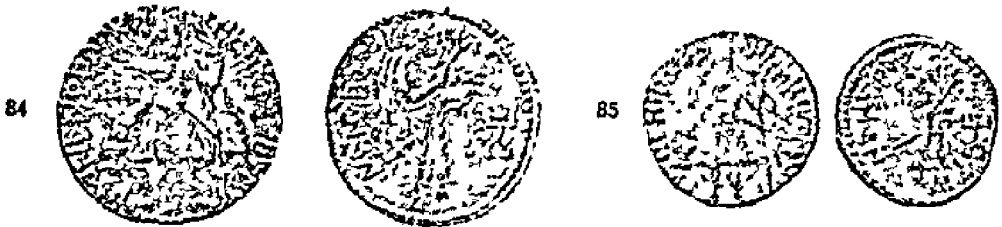
Rev : A standing female, faces right; diademed; atop head a prominent lunar crescent; halo around head; wears a crown tied with a ribbon which also over flows the back; dressed in a long robe; a staff ending with a protome of horse or stag in left hand; a bowl(?) in right hand; legend on the left : NANAIA *i.e.*, NANA or *the Goddess of Fertility*; monogram in the right field; beaded border.

83. *Obv* : Standing and bearded king faces left and offers oblations with his right hand over an altar; wears a long conical helmet ribbons of

which are over flowing the shoulders; a long spear in the raised left hand; dressed in a heavy coat, *salmār* and boots; Greek legend from 1.00: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΚΑΝΗΡΚΟΥ *Basileus Basileon Kaneshkoy* which means Kanishka, the King of Kings.

Rev: A standing female, faces right; diademed; atop head a prominent lunar crescent; halo around head; wears a crown tied with a ribbon which also over flows the back; dressed in a long robe; a staff ending with a protome of horse or stag in the right hand; a bowl(?) in the left hand; legend on the left: ΝΑΝΑΙΑ *i.e.*, NANA or the Goddess of Fertility; monogram in the right field; beaded border.

Type XI(b). King at an altar and ΝΑΝΑΡΑΟ; gold, round:



84 *Obv*: Standing and bearded king faces left and offers oblations over an altar with the right hand which also holds an *ankusa*; a long spear in the raised left hand; a sword hangs down the waist in the left field; wears a designed tunic, a mantle tied at the chest with a clasp, designed trousers and boots; Bactrian legend in Greek characters from 7.00: ΠΑΟΝΑΝΟΡΑΟ ΚΑ/ΝΗΡΚΙ ΚΟΡΑΝΟ *i.e.*, *Shahenshah Kaneshki*; the Kushāna or King of Kings, Kanishka the Kushāna.

Rev: A standing female faces right; diademed; atop head a lunar crescent; halo around head; wears a crown tied with a ribbon which also over flows the back; dressed in a designed long robe; a staff ending with a protome of horse or stag in the right hand; a bowl(?) in the left hand; legend on the left: ΝΑΝΑΙΑ: *i.e.*, NANA or the Goddess of Fertility; monogram in the right field; beaded border.

85. *Obv*: Standing and bearded king faces left and offers oblations over an altar with the right hand which also holds an *ankusa*; a spear in the raised left hand; a sword hangs down the waist in the left field; wears a heavy coat and trousers; Bactrian legend in Greek characters from 7.00: ΠΑΟΝΑΝΟΡΑΟ ΚΑ/ΝΗΡΚΙ ΚΟΡΑΝΟ *i.e.*, *Shahenshah Kaneshki*, the Kushāna or King of Kings, Kanishka, the Kushāna.

Rev: A standing female, faces right; diademed; atop head a lunar crescent; wears a crown tied with a ribbon which also over flows the back;

dressed in a long robe; a bowl(?) in left hand; legend on the left NANApAO *i.e.*, NANASHAO or *Nana, the Ruler*; monogram in the right field; beaded border.

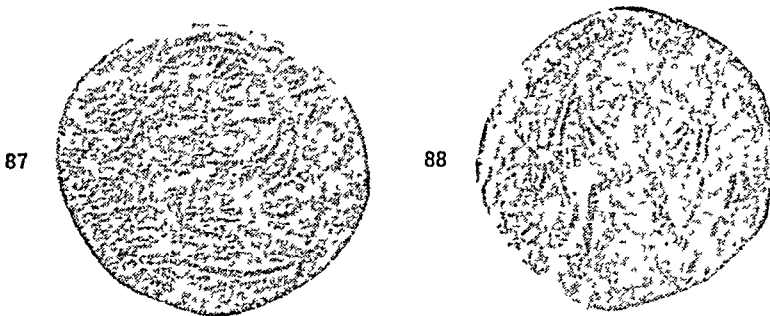
Type XII. Bust of a king and NANA and OHPO; gold, round :



86. *Obv* : Bust of a king facing left; radiate and diademed; wears a round helmet and embroidered coat; ribbons around the helmet over flow the shoulders; holds a kind of a sceptre in right hand; left hand held at the chest; Bactrian legend in Greek characters from 7.00 : $\rho\text{AONANOpAO KA/NH}\rho\text{KI KO}\rho\text{ANO}$, *Shahenshah Kaneshki, the Kushāna* or King of Kings, Kanishka, the Kushāna.

Rev : Within a beaded border deities NANA (on the left) and OHPO *i.e.*, Śiva (on the right) face each other, legends by their side; monogram, in the middle, between them; beaded border.

Type XIII. King at an altar and OADO: copper, round :



87. *Obv* : Bearded and standing king, faces left; offers oblations with his right hand into an altar; a spear in the left hand; Bactrian legend in Greek characters : $\rho\text{AO KANH}\rho\text{KI}$ *i.e.*, *Shao Kaneshki* or King Kanishka.

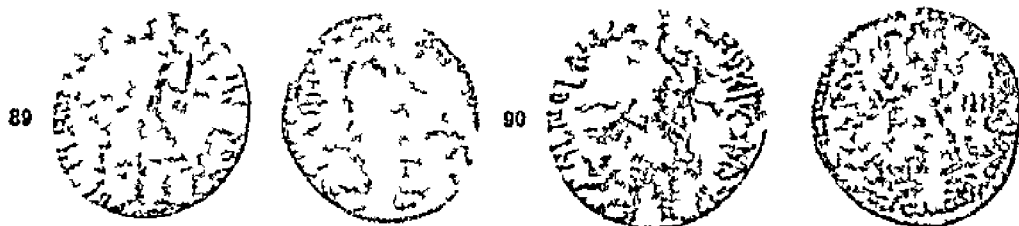
Rev : A male bearded figure of Wind god running to left; radiate; loose hair; holds in both raised hands ends of his garment floating behind and around him; legend on the right : OADO *i.e.*, OADO or *the Wind-god*; monogram in the left field.

88. *Obv* : A standing and bearded king faces left and offers with his

right hand oblations into an altar, holds a spear in his left hand

Rev A male bearded figure running to left holds in both hands ends of his cape which floats around him head is radiate, legend on the right OADO *ie*, OADO or the *Wind god* monogram in the left field, circular beaded border partly seen

Type XIV King at an altar and OpAAΓNO, gold, round



89 *Obv* A bearded and standing king faces left, wears a helmet, brim of which is tied with ribbons which also over flow the shoulders, offers oblations over a round altar with his right hand which also holds an elephant goad or an *ankusa*, a spear in his raised left hand wears a long heavy coat, trousers a mantle and boots a sword hangs down from his waist Bactrian legend in Greek characters from 7 00 ρAONANO $\rho\text{AO KA/NHPKI KO\rho\text{ANO}}$ *ie*, *Shahenshah Kaneshkt, the Kushana* or King of Kings, Kanishka, the Kushana

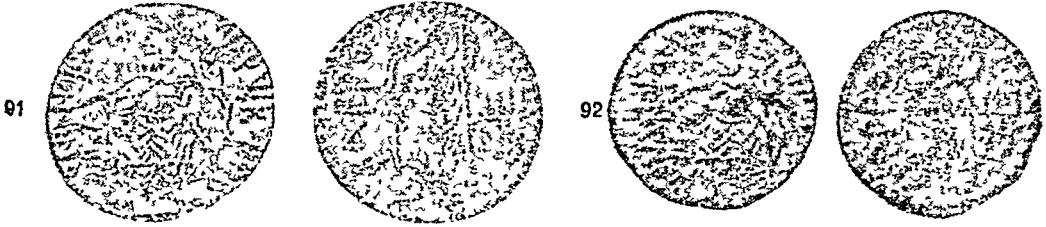
Rev A male stands frontally with his head to right, a bird in his head dress with extremely long wings, a spear held in the raised right hand, a sword hangs down the waist in the left field, diademed, wears a long heavy coat, trousers and boots, legend on the left read from inside $\text{OpAA}\Gamma\text{NO}$ *ie*, OSHLAGNO or the *Iranian War god*, monogram in the right field, beaded border

90 *Obv* A bearded and standing king faces left, wears a helmet brim of which is tied with ribbons which also over flow the shoulders, offers oblations into a round altar with his right hand which also holds an elephant goad or an *ankusa*, a spear in his raised left hand, wears a long heavy coat, trousers a mantle and boots, a sword hangs down from his waist, Bactrian legend in Greek characters from 7 00 $\rho\text{AONANO}\rho\text{AO}$ $\text{KA/NHPKI KO\rho\text{ANO}}$ *ie*, *Shahenshah Kaneshkt, the Kushana* or King of Kings, Kanishka, the Kushana

Rev A male stands frontally with his head to right, a bird in his head with extremely long wings, from the lower part of the head ribbons over flow the back, a spear held in the raised right hand, a sword hangs down the waist in the left field, diademed, wears a long heavy coat, trousers and boots, legend on the left read from inside $\text{OpAA}\Gamma\text{NO}$ *ie*,

OSHLAGNO, or the *Iranian War-god*; monogram in the right field; beaded border.

Type XV. King at an altar and φAPPO; gold, round :



91. *Obv* : A bearded and standing king faces left; wears a helmet, brim of which is tied with ribbons which also over flow the shoulders; offers oblations into a round altar with his right hand which also holds an elephant goad or an *an̄kusa*; a spear in his raised left hand; wears a long heavy coat, designed trousers and designed mantle and boots; a sword hangs down from his waist; Bactrian legend in Greek characters from 7.00 : ρΑΟΝΑΝΟρΑΟ ΚΑ/ΝΗρΚΙ ΚΟρΑΝΟ *i.e.*, *Shahenshah Kaneshki, the Kushāna* or King of Kings, Kanishka, the Kushāna.

Rev : A male standing frontally, has his head in profile to right; diademed and nimbate; wears a tunic, a mantle, boots and a helmet with small wing ornament over forehead; in the left hand holds a spear with a knobbed head; a bowl in right hand against the chest; legend on the left : φΑΡΡΟ *i.e.*, PHARRO or the *God of Fire*; monogram in the right field; beaded border.

92. *Obv* : A bearded and standing king faces left; wears a helmet, beaded brim of which is tied with ribbons which also over flow the shoulders; offers oblations into a round altar with his right hand which also holds an elephant goad or an *an̄kusa*; a spear in his raised left hand; wears a tunic, designed trousers and designed mantle and boots; a sword hanging down from his waist; Bactrian legend in Greek characters from 7.00 : ρΑΟΝΑΝΟρΑΟ ΚΑ/ΝΗρΚΙ ΚΟρΑΝΟ *i.e.*, *Shahenshah Kaneshki, the Kushāna* or King of Kings, Kanishka, the Kushāna.

Rev : A male standing frontally has his head in profile to right; diademed and nimbate; wears a designed tunic, a mantle, boots and a helmet with small wing ornament over the forehead; in the left hand holds a spear with a knob head; a bowl in right hand against the chest; legend on the left φΑΡΡΟ *i.e.*, PHARRO or the *God of Fire*; monogram in the right field; beaded border.



93 *Obv* A bearded king stands facing left and offers oblations in a round altar with the right hand, wears a round helmet tied with designed fillets ribbons of which over flow the shoulders, a spear-cum battle axe in the raised left hand, wears a designed tunic, designed trousers and heavy boots, Bactrian legend in Greek characters from 700 ρ AONANOpAO KA/NH ρ KI KO ρ ANO i e, *Shahenshah Kaneshki, the Kushāna, or King of Kings, Kanishka, the Kushana*

Rev A male deity stands frontally facing right, radiate, a long sceptre with knob head in the raised left hand and a bowl or purse in the right hand held near the waist, wears a round helmet, bound with designed fillets two ribbons over flow the back, wears a designed tunic, a mantle and boots, legend on the left ϕ APPO i e PHARRO or *the God of Fire*, monogram on the right, beaded border

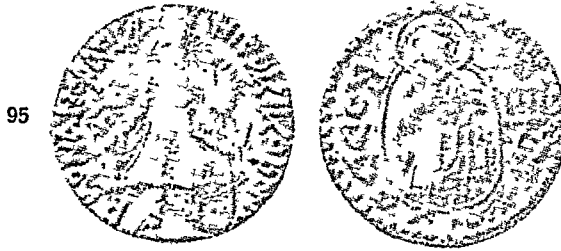


94 *Obv* A bearded king stands facing left and offers oblations in a round altar with the right hand, wears a round helmet tied with fillets, ribbons of which over flow the shoulders, a spear cum battle axe in the raised left hand, wears a designed tunic, designed trousers and heavy boots, Bactrian legend in Greek characters from 700 ρ AONANOpAO KA/NH ρ KI KO ρ ANO i e, *Shahenshah Kaneshki, the Kushana, or King of Kings Kanishka the Kushana*

Rev A male deity stands frontally facing right, radiate, a long sceptre with knob head in the raised left hand and a bowl or purse in the right hand held near the waist, hair bound with fillets, two ribbons of which over flow the back, wears a designed tunic a mantle and boots, legend on the left ϕ APPO i e, PHARRO or *the God of Fire*, monogram on the right, beaded border

c. INDIAN DEITIES

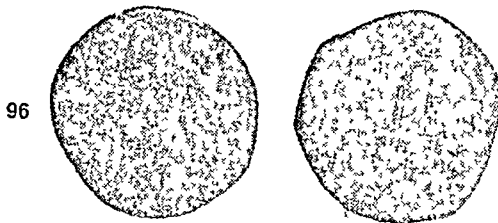
Type XVI. King at an altar and BOΔΔO; gold, round :



95. *Obv* : A bearded king stands facing left and offers oblations over a round altar with the right hand which also holds an *aṅkuṣa*; wears a peaked helmet tied with a designed fillet, ribbons of which over flow the shoulders; a spear in the raised left hand; wears a long heavy coat, designed trousers, a mantle and heavy boots; a sword hangs down from the waist in the right field; Bactrian legend in Greek characters from 7.00 : $\rho\text{AONANO}\rho\text{AO KA/NH}\rho\text{KI KO}\rho\text{ANO}$ i.e., *Shahenshah Kaneshki, the Kushāna* or King of Kings Kanishka, the Kushāna.

Rev : A male standing *en face*, with nimbus around the head and aureole about body; a prominent *ushṇīṣha* and elongated ears; left hand holds lap of *saṃghāṭī*; right hand probably in *abhaya mudrā*; face worn out; legend on the left to be read from outside : $\text{BO}\Delta\Delta\text{O}$ i.e., *BODDO* or the *Buddha*; monogram in right field; beaded border.

Type XVI (a). King at an altar and the Buddha; copper, round :



96. *Obv* : A bearded king standing and facing left offers oblations with his right hand; left raised hand holds a spear (not seen); wears a conical shaped helmet and a long heavy coat with trousers; only a few letters of the legend legible which should be : $\rho\text{AONANO } \rho\text{AO KA/NH}\rho\text{KI KO}\rho\text{ANO}$.

Rev : *Buddha en face*, seated on a throne with legs crossed; illegible legend on the left.

Type XVI (b) King at an altar and *CAKAMABOYΔΔO*; copper, round :



97 *Obv.* A bearded king stands facing left and offers oblations over an altar with right hand, wears a helmet, a spear with a knob head in the left raised hand, wears a long heavy coat, trousers, a mantle and boots, Bactrian legend in Greek characters only a part of which is legible *PAONANOPAO KA/NHPKI KOPANO* i.e., *Shahenshah Kaneshki*, the *Kushana* or King of Kings, Kanishka, the Kushana.

Rev. A male standing *en face* with the two hands in uncertain gesture at the chest, nimbate, wears a long robe, trousers, and boots, legend reads alternately from right to left and left to right from 11 00 : *CAKAMABO/YOΔΔO* i.e., *SHAKAMANO BOSODO* or *Sakyamani Buddha*, beaded border

XVI (c) King at an altar and *BAΓOB/OYΔO*, copper, round :

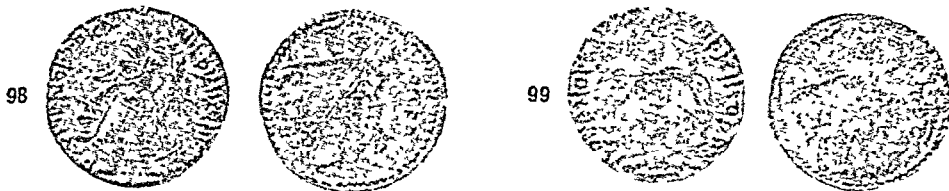
97a *Obv.* : A bearded king stands frontally and faces left, offers oblations into an altar with his right hand, wears a round cap, a long heavy coat, *salwar* and boots, a sceptre in the raised left hand, Bactrian legend in Greek characters on the left with only the following legible letters, . . . *NHPKI*.

Rev. A deity seated in *padmasana* on a throne and facing, right hand in *varada mudra*, left hand rests on the legs, radiate and nimbate, *ushmsha*; elongated ears, legend from 7 00 : *BA ΓOB/OYΔO*, i.e., *BAGOBOSDO*, which means *Buddha*, the deity or *Bhagavat*, beaded border

This coin has been reproduced by Gardner in his *Catalogue of the Coins of the Greek and Scythic Kings of Bactria and India*, pl. XXXII, No. 14 on the basis of *Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, 1879, pl. IX, No 1.¹

1. Since a photograph of this coin could not be available, it is not reproduced

Type XVII. King at an altar and OHPO; gold, round :

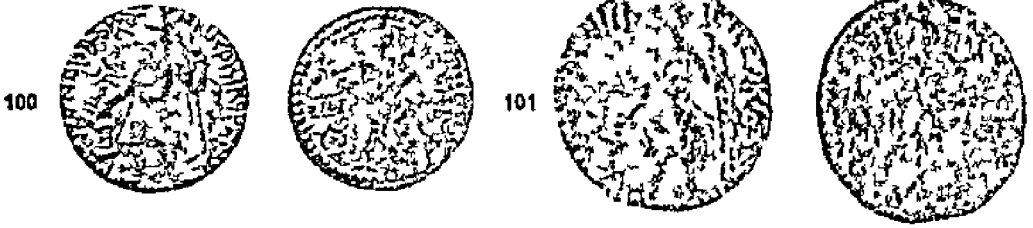


98. *Obv* : A bearded and standing king faces left and offers oblations into an altar with the right hand which also holds an elephant goad or an *aṅkuṣa*; a spear with a knobbed head in the left raised hand; wears a low, forward pointing cap with crest ornaments, circular spot at its side, and thin bill; wart visible near the king's moustaches; fillets over flow the shoulders; wears a designed tunic, a mantle, designed *salwār* and boots; Bactrian legend in Greek characters from 7.00 : $\rho\text{AONANOpAO KA/NH}\rho\text{KI KO}\rho\text{ANO}$ i.e., *Shahenshah Kaneshki, the Kushāna* or King of Kings, Kanishka, the Kushāna.

Rev : A male wearing a *dhotī* stands frontally and faces left; diademed and radiate; has four arms : upper right has a drum, lower right has a *kamaṇḍalu* and *aṅkuṣa*; upper left has a trident, lower left holds by horns a *mṛiga* (an antelope or stag); *ushnīsha*; wears a *yajñopavīta* or beaded necklace; legend on the right: OHPO i.e., OESHO or *Śiva*; monogram on the left; beaded border.

99. *Obv* : A bearded and standing king faces left and offers oblations over an altar with his right hand which also holds an elephant goad or an *aṅkuṣa*; a spear with a knobbed head in the left raised hand; wears a round cap bound with a designed fillet tied with ribbons which over flow the shoulders; wart visible near the moustaches; wears a designed tunic, a mantle, designed *salwār* and boots; Bactrian legend in Greek characters from 7.00 : $\rho\text{AONANOpAO KA/NH}\rho\text{KI KO}\rho\text{ANO}$ i.e., *Shahenshah Kaneshki, the Kushāna* or King of Kings, Kanishka, the Kushāna.

Rev : A male wearing a designed *dhotī* stands frontally and faces left; diademed and radiate; has four arms : upper right has a drum, lower right has a *kamaṇḍalu* and *aṅkuṣa*; upper left has a trident, lower left holds by horns a *mṛiga* (an antelope or stag); *ushnīsha*; wears a *yajñopavīta* or a beaded necklace; legend on the right : OHPO i.e., OESHO or *Śiva*; monogram on the left; beaded border.



100 *Obv* · A bearded and standing king faces left and offers oblations over an altar with the right hand which also holds an elephant goad or an *ankusa*, a spear in the left raised hand, wears a low, forward pointing cap having circular spot at its side, and thin bill, wart visible near the moustaches, wears a designed *salwar* and boots, fillets over flow the shoulders, Bactrian legend in Greek characters from 700. $\rho\text{AONANOpAO KA/ NH}\rho\text{KI KOpANO}$ *i e*, *Shahenshah Kaneshki the Kushāna* or King of Kings, Kanishka the Kushāna, part of beaded border visible

Rev · A male wearing a *dhoti* stands frontally and faces left, diademed and radiate, has four arms upper right has a drum, lower right has a *kamaṇḍalu* and *ankusa*, upper left has a trident, lower left holds by horns a *mṛiga* (an antelope or stag), *ushnisha* wears a *jaynopavita* or a beaded necklace, legend on the right $\text{OH}\rho\text{O}$ *i e*, OESHO or *Śiva*, monogram on the left, beaded border

101 *Obv* A bearded and standing king faces left and offers oblations into an altar with the right hand which also holds an elephant goad or an *ankusa* a spear in the left raised hand, wears a low cap bound with a designed fillet, ribbons of which over flow the shoulders, wears a designed tunic, a mantle, designed *salwar* and boots, a sword hangs down the waist in the left field, Bactrian legend in Greek characters from 700 $\rho\text{AONANOpAO KA/ NH}\rho\text{KI KOpANO}$ *i e*, *Shahenshah Kaneshki, the Kushāna* or King of Kings, Kanishka, the Kushāna part of beaded border visible

Rev A male wearing a *dhoti* stands frontally and faces left, diademed and radiate has four arms upper right has a drum, lower right has a *kamaṇḍalu* and *ankusa*, upper left has a trident, lower left holds by horns a *mṛiga* (an antelope or stag), *ushnisha*, wears a *jaynopavita* or beaded necklace, legend on the right $\text{OH}\rho\text{O}$ *i e*, OESHO or *Śiva*, monogram on the left, beaded border

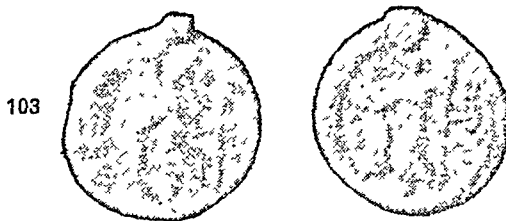
Type XVII (a). Upper part of king and OHpO; gold, round :



102. *Obv* : Upper part of a bearded king emerging from clouds, faces left; diademed and nimbate; a double clasp below the beard; holds ear of corn and a standard surmounted by a bird; wears a low forward pointing cap with crest ornaments, circular spot at its side and thin bill; a wart visible near the moustaches; truncated Bactrian legend in Greek characters from 1.00 : pAONANOpAO KA/NH̄pKI KOpANO *i.e.*, *Shahenshah Kaneshki, the Kushāna* or King of Kings, Kanishka, the Kushāna.

Rev : A male wearing a *dhotī* stands frontally and faces left; diademed and radiate; has four arms; upper right has a drum, lower right has a *kamaṇḍalu* and *aikuśa*, upper left has a trident, lower left holds by horns a *mṛiga* (an antelope or stag); *ushnīsha*; legend on the right : OHpO *i.e.*, OESHO or *Śiva*; monogram on the left, beaded border.

Type XVII (b). King at an altar and OHpO; silver round :



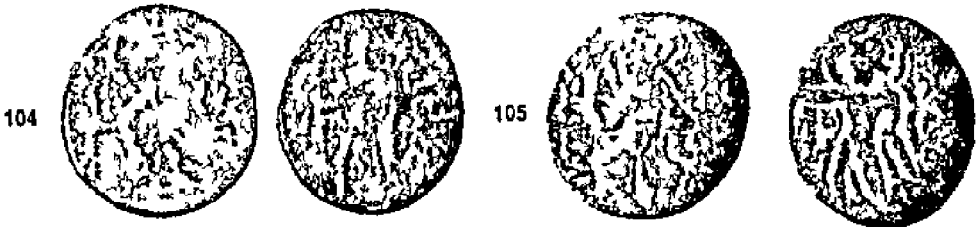
103. *Obv* : A blurred silver coin showing a standing king facing left; offering with his right hand oblations into an altar; sceptre in the left raised hand; wears a head dress, a long heavy coat and trousers.

Rev : A male figure standing frontally has an indistinct object in the extended right hand and a trident in the raised left hand; wears a long robe; legend on the right : OHpO *i.e.*, OESHO or *Śiva*; monogram in the left lower field; other details are not clear.

Type XVII (c) King seated on a throne and a deity, probably Śiva, copper, round

103a *Obv.* The king¹ with beard and moustaches stands to front with his face turned to left, wears trousers and a long coat which is covered by a transparent over garment, wears boots and a peaked helmet surmounted by a cap as his head gear, a spear in his raised left hand, offers oblations on an altar with his slightly raised right hand, an uncertain object can be seen in the upper left field and by the side of the right arm of the king Bactrian legend in Greek characters from 7 00 ρΑΟΝΑΝΟ ρΑΟ ΚΑ/ ΝΗρΚΙ ΚΟΡΑΝΟ *ie*, *Shahenshah Kaneshki the Kushāna* or King of Kings Kanishka, the Kushāna

Rev. Within a border of dots four armed Śiva stands to front, wears a lower garment (*dhoti*), his matted hair is tied in a knot over his head which has a halo behind it, his up-raised upper right arm holds a drum (*damaroo*) and his extended lower right hand holds a vase (*Kamandala*), his up raised upper left hand clasps a trident and the slightly raised lower left hand touches an antelope standing on its hind legs and having its front legs raised above the ground, Bactrian legend in Greek letters ΟΗΡΟ *ie*, ΟΕSHO or Śiva monogram in the lower right field



104 *Obv.* King seated frontally upon a wide throne with a square back and sides, right hand in gesture of *abhaya mudra* (?), wears wide-brimmed hat and voluminous trousers, other details are not clear

Rev. A male figure standing frontally holding an indistinct object in the raised right hand, traces of indistinct letters on the right, other details are not clear

105 *Obv.* King seated frontally upon a wide throne with square back and sides, right hand in gesture of *abhaya mudra*, wears a wide brimmed hat and voluminous trousers, traces of a nimbus

Rev. A male figure standing frontally with right hand extended, left hand holding an object possibly a sword, traces of nimbus, wears probably a *dhoti*, indistinct letters on the right

¹ This coin is reproduced in Pl LX(f) of AR, ASI, 1925-26 Its photograph could not be available, therefore, it is not reproduced

III. KANISHKA'S SUCCESSORS : VĀSISHKA and KANISHKA II :

Who had succeeded Kanishka? It is an interesting problem. Epigraphic evidence reveals the names of Vāsishka (Isapur, Mathura, inscription of the year 24), Vāsashka (Sanchi inscription of the year 28), Huvishka, Kanishka son of Vajheshka (=Vāshesha of Ara Inscription of year 41) and Vāsudeva. The Ara inscription, issued during the reign of a king Kanishka, in the year 41, shows that his reign overlaps that of Huvishka, who had ruled from the year 28-60. To solve the puzzle, it has been suggested that this Kanishka was Kanishka II, and was the son of Vajheshka.

Numismatic evidence is lacking in help, as coins of Vāsishka or Kanishka son of Vajheshka are conspicuous by their absence. Kanishka of Ara inscription has been taken as Kanishka II, son of Vajheshka = Vāsishka. Kanishka II, is presumed to have ruled, if at all, conjointly with Huvishka and assumed the title *mahārāja, rājātirāja, Devaputra Kaisara Kanishka*. This Kanishka has been called in the Ara inscription *Kaisara* imitating the contemporary Roman emperors.

No coin of Kanishka II has so far been definitely identified. However, it has been presumed that many coins of Kanishka found in North-Western India (now Pakistan) Khotan and Kashgar, belong to Kanishka II and not to Kanishka I. A few coins have their fabric and style on the reverse very clear and similar to that of Vāsudeva and their obverse legend is KANHṠKO. One of these coins, slightly cup-shaped, shows a king standing at an altar on the obverse and a goddess holding a noose and sceptre, seated on a lion on the reverse.¹ This could be attributed to Kanishka II (?)

¹ NS, XLVI, 1931-33, p. 308.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

COINAGE OF HUVISHKA

I. GENERAL

Huvishka or *Ooeshki* of coins, and *Hushka* of *Kalhana's Rājatarāṅgīni*, is known to have succeeded Kanishka I. He had a long and continuous reign as attested by his inscriptions and a large variety of gold and copper coins left behind by him.

Huvishka had issued as many or more coins in volume and definitely more coin-types than the combined issues of Vima Kadphises, Kanishka and Vāsudeva I. The coins of Huvishka are notable for the variety of delineation of the deities on the reverse; one and the same deity has been shown in different positions and with different attributes. *Ardoksho* is shown in 9 forms; *Maṃ* in 11; *Mirro* in 21; *Nana* in 14 and *Pharro* in 18 forms. Similarly, the obverse forms are no less remarkable for their variety.

Gold coins of Huvishka are very common. His was a reign of great prosperity. The *king at altar* type common with Kanishka was abandoned and instead such types as the royal bust appearing above clouds or rocks and *king riding an elephant etc.*, patronized by Vima Kadphises were reintroduced. Huvishka's coins present him as a powerful monarch of barbaric splendour with an appreciable amount of religious liberalism. His portrait on a few well preserved gold coins reveals a man with regular features, acquiline nose, large deep set eyes and a look of firm determination.

Huvishka's profile bust portrait is very common; its variations are bewildering and can easily be classified according to age from youth to maturity and from maturity to old age. On gold coins, the obverse invariably shows his bust wearing garments decked with jewels as well as an ornamental head-dress, with a sceptre in one hand.

On the obverse of his copper coins, he is presented in various forms like riding an elephant or reclining on a couch, *etc.* On the reverse, following the coinage of Kanishka, the figures of deities belonging to various pantheons like Roman, Greek, Indian and Persian are represented. Comparatively, he had added and introduced more divinities like *Skanda-Kumāra, Viśākha, Gaṇeśa, Mahāsenā, Umā, Serapis, Roma* or personified *Rome, Heracles, Uron, Shaoreoro, Uranus, Oanindo etc.* The descriptive legends occurring by their side, help to identify them.

Gold coins of Huvishka are divided into two series on the basis of their legends. These legends are in a script very similar to that of Kanishka. At times the die-cutters appear to have blundered or given wrong descriptions especially of the deities on the reverse of the coins or made a mess of Greek letters. The legends on his coins are :

i) *Shaonano Shao Ooeshki Koshano* meaning Shahenshah Huvishka, the Kushāṇa.

ii) *Shaonano Shao Oeshko Koshano Shao*, meaning Shahenshah Huvishka, Kushāṇa, Shah.

Huvishka's coinage is characterised by varied obverse as well as reverse devices. But, the king sacrificing at an altar is conspicuous by its absence. On a very few coins, the old tradition of bi-scriptualism is maintained by introducing Greek and *Brāhmī* legends as on the *Gaṇeśa* type of copper coin.

A unique example on a gold coin shows the king wearing an Indian regal turban made of intertwining rolls of cloth. To the turban are attached streamers and an animal, possibly a lion. The turban of Huvishka is almost similar to that of Jehangir, as shown on his coins. Could the reason be that both had their origins in Central Asia? In general, the king on his coins is mostly shown as clean shaven, but on this type wearing a turban, he has grown a beard and has well groomed moustaches and whiskers. The flying animal, possibly a lion, seems to be attached to the streamers behind the head. Perhaps, the king is holding a lion-standard. Was lion associated in any way with the royal emblem?

The name of the king is given as Ooeshki. Even though, it has been surmised that there were two Huvishkas based on the abundance of his gold coins; the vast varieties of obverse and reverse types of his gold coins; and the problem of Kanishka of the Ara inscription; but the present coin belongs to Huvishka I.

The most peculiar type of a coin shows the king himself as *Mahāsena* holding a standard surmounted by a bird which is the emblem of the god *Kārttikeya*.

On a number of gold coins Huvishka is shown as riding an elephant and holding a sceptre and an elephant goad. A coin of this type is in the British Museum¹ and another coin was published by Mr. M.F.C. Martin.² A coin of this type was also offered to the Bharat Kala Bhavan, Varanasi in 1947.³ Only a photograph of it is now available. The coin itself is not available. Its description is :

Obv : King riding an elephant facing right; a sceptre in the right hand and *ankusa* (goad) in the left, King wears a round and jewelled cap with fillet hanging down; legend around beginning at 7 o'clock : SHAONANO SHAO OOESHKI KOSHANO SHAO

Rev : Draped female deity to right, nimbate, holding cornucopia in both hands; monogram on right below cornucopia; legend on left read from outside : ΑΡΑΟΧΡΟ.

Vima Kadphises had issued coins showing the king riding an elephant. Huvishka revived this type, which could suggest, as his inaugural issues, a token of further conquest of India. The enlarged size of the king, however reduces the elephant to a dwarf size.

The faces of Vima Kadphises, Kanishka and Huvishka have a prominent wart on the left cheek near the ear. Some of the earlier Parthian kings also had warts on their foreheads. This either could have been a kind of inherited imperfection or a dynastic *lakshana*.

¹ Gardner, P.C., Catalogue, pl. XXVII, No. 12

² N. S., XLIV, p.8

³ JNSI, Vol XIII, p. 148.

Was it a feature singled out by the artist to imprint a size of legitimacy or inherited right to rule? A wart does not appear on the coins of Vāsudeva or any of his successors.

With the right to rule, a beard on the face of Huvishka, disappears. Instead a few coins of Huvishka have heavy side burns or (*galamucha*).

Emergence of the bust of the king from a rock like or cloud like form found on the coins of Kanishka had continued even during the reign of Huvishka on his coins.

If the flaming shoulder was almost a common feature on the coins of Kanishka, this feature though occurring on a few coins, was not common to all the types of coins issued by Huvishka. King shown in a reclining position on some of the coins can be interpreted as an informal royal pose. Gradually the spellings of the king's name changed from OOERKO to OOERKI.

A gold coin showing *Ahura Mazda* on reverse is in the Patna University. It is die struck and is, therefore genuine. It shows :

Obv : Half length bust of a fully armed king, nimbate, faces left; wears a coat with an open collar, a necklace, a check-piece, and a crown with a plaque in the centre; holds a sceptre in the left hand and a club like object in the right; Greek legend blurred and truncated.

Rev : Bearded and old Ahura Mazda; wears an underwear, a coat and a *chādar*; holds a sceptre in left hand and a garland in the right; monogram below the right hand; circular legend, beginning at 10.00 : WOR on the left and from 1.00 : O MOZDO on the right. See serial 235 below.

Another coin of a similar type in Patna Museum is from a mould, and, therefore, probably a forgery. This coin is also of gold, weighs 120 grains, and its size is .8” :

Obv : As above but the figure is hazy in outlines; letters of the legend are better preserved and more complete.

Rev : Same as above. Beard of Ahura Mazda is pointed, legend is the same as on the above coin, complete and distinct; beaded border

not so distinct as on the above coin and the flan shows more blank space at the rim. See serial 236 below.

A coin of Huvishka now preserved in the Indian Museum Calcutta shows on its reverse the deity HARIHARA.

Excavations at Sonkh, near Mathura, have revealed an important copper coin, the legend of which clearly mentions the name of the king as *Huvishkasya*.

An important coin in the Lucknow Museum depicts Śiva on the obverse, standing against an elephant.

A very large number of copper coins of Huvishka are available. An analysis of weights of these copper coins of Huvishka apparently brings out three distinct chronological groups on the basis of a striking decrease of their weight standard and also a change in the use of monogram on them. However, these three separate stages in the issue of copper coins of Huvishka could also mean their issue from three different mints. Many of his copper coins repeat the designs as found on his gold coins. A detailed study of these copper coins brings out the following obverse types as more prominent amongst his copper coins :

1. King represented as riding an elephant.
2. King radiate seated on a throne, right leg raised and resting on seat, left leg hanging down.
3. King seated cross legged on a cushion in Indian fashion.
4. King seated with both arms raised.
5. King seated with legs hanging down. His right hand is at his side and the left hand holds a short sceptre in front of his face.
6. Half length figure of king and Ahura Mazda.
7. King in prayer before a goddess. Cunningham had noticed a copper coin, showing a kneeling figure presumably the king in obeisance before NANA who is indicated according to him by her long staff with animal protome.¹

¹NC. 1892, 3rd Series, p. 117-118.

II. COINS OF HUVISHKA

The representative coin types of Huvishka are :

a. HELLENISTIC DEITIES :

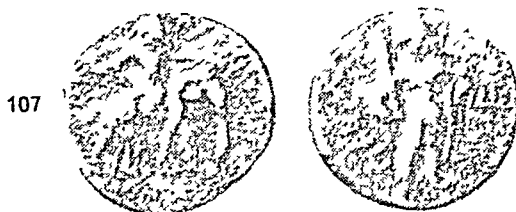
Type I. Bust of king and hPAKIΛO; gold, round :



106. *Obv* : A king seated cross legged, faces left; diademed and nimbate; wears a round helmet with a circular device; side burns or ear-flaps and a prominent wart; holds in right hand a mace with apparently a bird insignia at its top; a spear in the left hand; flames rising from shoulders; wears a jewelled yoke and tunic with rolled lapels and double clasp; Bactrian legend in Greek characters from 7.00 : $\rho\text{AONANOpA/O}$ OOhpKI , *i.e.*, *Shahenshah OOeshiki* or King of Kings, Huvishka.

Rev : A naked and bearded male stands facing left; stocky and muscular figure; right hand holds a large knurled club, which rests on the ground; lion's skin over left arm; an apple in left hand; legend on the right : $\text{hPAKI}\Lambda\text{O}$ *i.e.*, ERAKILO or *Herakles*; monogram in the left field; beaded border.

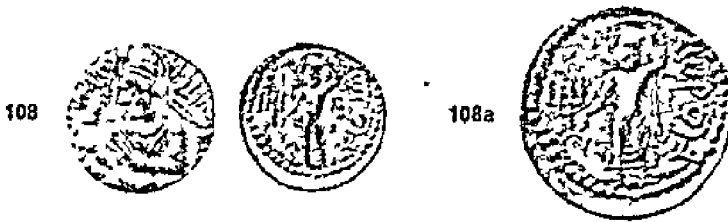
Type I (a). King riding an elephant and hPAKIΛO; copper, round :



107. *Obv* : A male figure, probably the king, rides an elephant; both face right; right hand of the king rests on the upper back portion of the elephant; left hand holds an *ankusa* (?); letters of any legend not traceable.

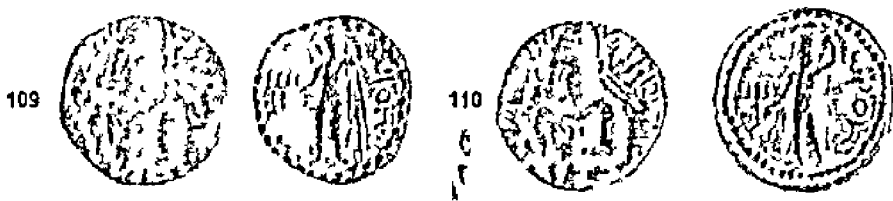
Rev : A standing male faces right and holds a club against the right shoulder; the lower edge of the club rests against the hip; an indistinct object in the left hand; legend on the left : $(\text{hp})\text{AIK}\Lambda(\text{O})$ *i.e.*, ERAKILO or *Herakles*; monogram on the right.

Type II. Bust of king and WPON or WPOH; gold, round :



108. *Obv* : Profile bust of king to left emerging from rock like or cloud like forms; wears a round bejewelled helmet with a circlet around the forehead, tied with two ribbons which over flow the back; flaming shoulders; heavy side burns and a prominent wart; wears a jewelled yoke and tunic, carries a mace in the right hand and an *ankuṣa* in the left; traces only of a circular legend.

Rev : A male bearded deity stands frontally and faces left; wears modius and himation; carries a water-pot over the head; right hand with stretched palm in *varada mudrā* (?), a long sceptre in the left raised hand; legend on the right : WPON *l e*, WRON or URANUS or *Varuṇa*; monogram on the left, beaded border.

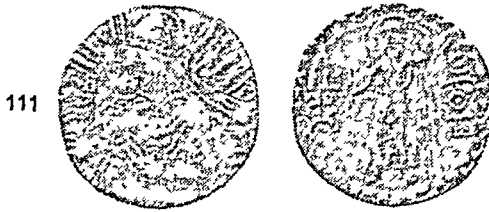


109. *Obv* : Profile bust of a middle aged king facing left; wears a bejewelled tunic and a dome shaped helmet with angular protrusion at the back; two ribbons over flow the shoulders; heavy side burns; holds a mace in the right hand and an *ankuṣa* (?) in the left hand; legend blurred.

Rev : Nimbate and bearded male figure wearing a crown or carrying a water pot standing frontally and facing left; a long staff in the up-raised left hand; right hand extended down-ward holds a wreath; legend on the right : WPON *l e.*, WRON or URANUS or *Varuṇa*; monogram on the left; beaded border.

110. *Obv* : Profile bust of a middle aged king faces left; wears a bejewelled tunic and a dome shaped helmet with angular protrusion at the back; two ribbons over flow the shoulders; heavy side burns, holds a mace in the right hand and an *ankuṣa* (?) in the left hand; legend blurred.

Rev : Nimbate and bearded male figure carrying a waterpot standing frontally, faces left; a long staff in the up raised left hand; right hand extended downward; legend on the right : WPON *i.e.*, WRON or URANUS or *Varuṇa*; monogram on the left; beaded border.



111. *Obv* : Profile bust of a middle aged king faces left; wears a tunic and a cylindrical helmet having at the back an angular protrusion from which two ribbons over flow the shoulders; heavy side burns; holds a mace in the right hand and an *aṅkuśa* (?) in the left hand; legend blurred.

Rev : Nimbate and bearded male figure wearing a crown or carrying a water-pot stands facing left; a long staff in the up-raised left hand; right hand extended down-ward as if in *varada-mudrā*; legend on the right : WPOH *i.e.*, WRON or URANUS or *Varuṇa*; monogram on the right; beaded border.

Type III. Youthful portrait of king and <APA□O; gold, round :



112. *Obv* : Profile bust of a youthful king faces left; wears a bejewelled helmet having top crest; a circular jewelled band around the forehead; jewelled fillets over flow the shoulders; heavy side burns; holds a mace in the right hand and an *aṅkuśa* in the left hand; a beaded necklace; wears a tunic; legend from 7.00 : (pAO)NANOpA/O OYOHKI *i.e.*, SHAONANO SHAO OYOEKI, *Shahenshah Huvishka* or King of Kings, Huvishka.

Rev : A standing male faces left; a fillet around hair; diademed and clad in himation; holds knobbed staff in the left arm; makes a single finger gesture with the right hand, fore-arm of which is extended; legend on the right : <APA□O *i.e.*, SARAPO or the *Lord of Sea, Sky, Land and the Under World*; monogram in the left lower field; beaded border.

Type III (a). Youthful portrait of king and <APAΓO seated on a throne; gold, round :



113. *Obv :* Profile bust of a youthful king emerging from rock like forms, faces left; wears a helmet with rolls of jewels and a diadem; a circular jewelled band around the forehead; bejewelled fillets over-flow the shoulders; heavy side burns; holds a mace in the right hand and an *ankusa* in the left hand; wears a beaded necklace and a tunic; legend from 7.00 : ρ AONANOpAO OOHpKI KOpANO *i.e.*, SHAONANO SHAO OOESHKI KOSHANO or *Shahenshah Huvishka, the Kushāna*, which means King of Kings, Huvishka, the Kushāna.

Rev : A male figure seated *en face* on a throne with four posts having curved legs; radiate and nimbate; heavy hair framing the face; holds a wreath in the right hand; in the raised left hand a spear; wears a jacket held at chest by two clasps, another robe upto ankles; feet resting on a foot-stool; legend on the right : <APAΓO *i.e.*, SARAPO or the *Lord of Sea, Sky, Land and the Under-World*; monogram in the left field; beaded border.

Type IV. Bust portrait of king and ZHPQ; gold, round :

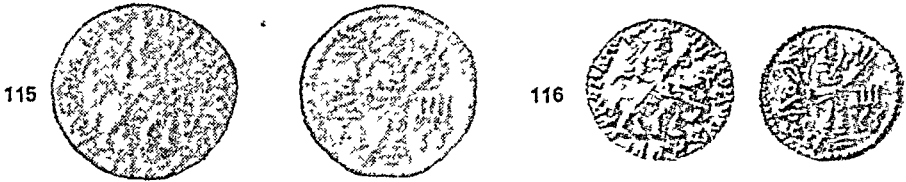


114. *Obv :* Profile bust of a king, faces left; wears a round bejewelled helmet with circular devices and side crest; nimbate; ribbons from below the head over flow the shoulders; wears a jewelled yoke and a tunic with breast open; buttons of the tunic are visible; in the right hand a mace and a long spear in the left hand; flaming shoulders; Bactrian legend in Greek characters from 7.00 : ρ AONANOpAO OO/(hpKI) KOpANO *i.e.*, SHAONANOSHAO OOESHKI KOSHANO or *Shahenshah Huvishka, the Kushāna*, or King of Kings Huvishka, the Kushāna.

Rev : A female standing to right, holds a compound bow in her left hand; drawing an arrow from quiver with right hand; wears a head-dress and a long robe; confusing legend on the left : ZHPO *i.e.*, ZIRO=ZERO or Zeus=Venus; monogram on the right; beaded border.

b. IRANIAN DEITIES

Type V. King riding an elephant and APΔOXpO; gold, round :



115. *Obv* : King rides an elephant and holds a sceptre in his right hand; both face right; an *ankuśa* or elephant goad in the left hand; wears a round and jewelled cap tied with a fillet, ribbons of which over flow the shoulders; Bactrian legend in Greek characters from 7.00 : $\rho\text{AONANOpAO/OOHpKO KO}\rho\text{ANO pAO}$ *i.e.*, SHAONANO SHAO OOESHKO KOSHANO SHAO or *Shahenshah Huvishka, the Kushāṇa Shāh*, which means, the King of kings, Huvishka, the Kushāṇa king.

Rev : A standing female deity, radiate and nimbate, faces right; holds a cornucopia in both hands; wears a designed long Greek robe; hair tied with a fillet, a ribbon of which over flows the back; legend on the left read from outside : $\text{AP}\Delta\text{OXpO}$ *i.e.*, ARDOXSHO or the *Goddess of Fortune*; monogram on the right; beaded border.

116. *Obv* : King rides an elephant and holds a sceptre in his right hand; both face right; an *ankuśa* or elephant goad in the left hand; wears a round and jewelled cap tied with a fillet, ribbons of which over flow the shoulders; Bactrian legend in Greek characters from 7.00 : $\rho\text{AONANOpAO/OOHpKO KO}\rho\text{ANO pAO}$ *i.e.*, SHAONANO SHAO OOESHKO KOSHANO SHAO or *Shahenshah Huvishka, the Kushāṇa Shāh*, which means, the King of kings, Huvishka, the Kushāṇa king.

Rev : A female deity, radiate and nimbate, faces right, holds a cornucopia in both hands; wears a designed long Greek robe; hair tied with a fillet, ribbon of which overflows the back; legend on the left read from outside : $\text{AP}\Delta\text{OXpO}$ *i.e.*, ARDOXSHO or the *Goddess of Fortune*; monogram on the right; beaded border.



117. *Obv* : King rides an elephant and holds a sceptre in his right hand, both face right; an *ankuṣa* or elephant goad in the left hand; wears a round and jewelled cap tied with a fillet, ribbons of which over flow the shoulders; Bactriarn legend in Greek characters from 7.00 : $\rho\text{AONANO}\rho\text{AO}/\text{OOHPKO KOPANO } \rho\text{AO}$ i.e., SHAONANO SHAO OOESHKO KOSHAO SHAO or *Shahenshah Huvishka, the Kushāna Shah*; which means, the King of kings, Huvishka, the Kushāna king.

Rev : A female deity, radiate and nimbate, faces right; holds a cornucopia in both hands; wears a designed long Greek robe; hair tied with a fillet, a ribbon of which over flows the back; legend on the left read from outside : $\text{APAOX}\rho\text{O}$ i.e., ARDOXSHO or the *Goddess of Fortune*; monogram on the right; beaded border.

Type VI. Bust of king and APAOXρO; gold, round :



118. *Obv* : Profile bust of a king facing left; nimbate; holds a mace in the right hand and a spear with a banner in the left hand; wears a triangular shaped helmet having a jewelled brim at the fore-head and a crest ornament; ear-flaps attached to the helmet; bejewelled jacket open at the breast; a necklace and an armet (*bazoo-band*); shoulders having bejewelled bands; Bactrian legend in Greek characters from 7.00 : $\rho\text{AONANO } \rho\text{AO OOHpKI KOPANO}$ i.e., SHAONANO SHAO OOESHKI KOSHANO or *Shahenshah Huvishka, the Kushāna* which means, the King of kings, Huvishka the Kushāna.

Rev : A graceful female figure stands and faces right; wears an upper robe, a Greek dress covering the body and the feet; head-dress tied with a ribbon; holds cornucopia with both the hands; legend on the left read from outside : $\text{APAOX}\rho\text{O}$ i.e., ARDOXSHO or the *Goddess of Fortune*; monogram on the right; beaded border.

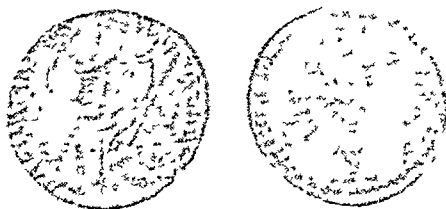
119



119. *Obv* : Profile bust of a king facing left; nimbate; holds a mace in the right hand and a spear with a banner in the left hand; wears a bejewelled round helmet having a rim at the fore-head and a crest ornament; bejewelled fillets over flow the shoulders; side burns or ear-flaps attached to the helmet; bejewelled jacket open at the chest; a necklace and an armband (*bazooband*); Bactrian legend in Greek characters from 7.00 : $\rho\text{AONANO}\rho\text{AO OO/HPKI KO}\rho\text{ANO}$ i.e., SHAONANO SHAO OOESHKI KOSHANO or *Shahenshah Huvishka, the Kushāna* which means, the King of kings, Huvishka, the Kushāna.

Rev : A female figure stands facing right; wears an upper robe covering the complete body and the feet; hair tied with a ribbon; holds cornucopia with both the hands; legend on the left, read from outside : $\text{APAOX}\rho\text{O}$ i.e., ARDOXSHO or the *Goddess of Fortune*; monogram on the right; beaded border.

120



120. *Obv* : Bust of a king facing left; nimbate; holds a mace in the right hand and a spear with a banner in the left hand; wears a triangular shaped helmet having a jewelled brim at the fore-head and a crest ornament; ear-flaps attached to the helmet; bejewelled jacket open at the chest; a necklace and an armband (*bazooband*); shoulders having bejewelled bands; Bactrian legend in Greek characters from 7.00 : $\rho\text{AONANO}\rho\text{AO OOHpKI KO}\rho\text{ANO}$ i.e., SHAONANO SHAO OOESHKI KOSHANO or *Shahenshah Huvishka, the Kushāna* which means, the King of kings, Huvishka, the Kushāna.

Rev : A female figure stands facing left; wears an upper robe covering the complete body and the feet; head-dress tied with a ribbon; holds cornucopia with the right hand; legend on the right, read from inside : $\text{APAOX}\rho\text{O}$ i.e., ARDOXSHO or the *Goddess of Fortune*; monogram on the right; beaded border.



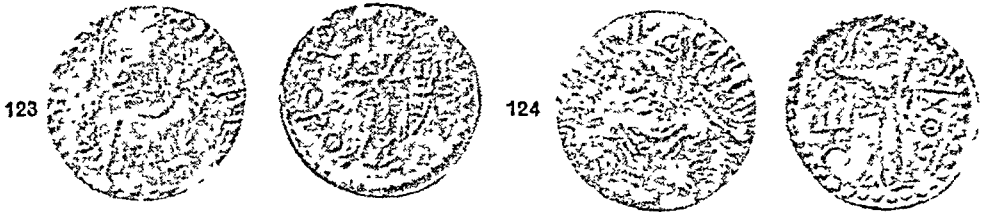
121. *Obv* : Bust of a king facing left; nimbate; holds an ear of corn in the right hand and a spear in the left hand; wears a round helmet having jewels and a crest ornament; ear flaps attached to the helmet; wears a bejewelled jacket and an armlet (*bazooband*), shoulders having bejewelled bands; Bactrian legend in Greek characters from 7.00 : $\rho\text{AONANOpAO } \text{OO/HpKI KOpANO}$ i.e., SHAONANOSHAO OOESHKI KOSHANO or *Shahenshah Huvishka, the Kushāna* which means the King of kings, Huvishka, the Kushāna.

Rev : An elderly female figure stands facing right; wears an upper robe of Greek type covering the complete body and the feet; head-dress tied with a ribbon; holds cornucopia with the raised left hand; legend on the left read from inside: APAOXpO i.e., ARDOXSHO or the *Goddess of Fortune*; monogram on the right; beaded border.



122. *Obv* : Profile bust of king facing left emerges from rock like or cloud like forms, wears a round helmet with circular device at the side and a crest ornament; an angular protusion at the back of the helmet from which hang over the shoulders two ribbons; holds a mace in the right hand and an *ankusa* in the left hand; wears a jacket; Bactrian legend in Greek characters from 7.00 : $\rho\text{AONANOpAO } \text{O/OhpKI KOpANO}$ i.e., SHAONANOSHAO OOESHKI KOSHANO or *Shahenshah Huvishka, the Kushāna* which means, the King of kings, Huvishka, the Kushāna.

Rev : A male (?) stands facing right; nimbate, head-dress tied with a fillet, ribbons of which over flow the back; wears a Greek type long robe; both hands carry a cornucopia with sheafs of grain emerging from its mouth; feet visible below the dress; circular legend on the left, read from inside : APAOXpO i.e., ARDOXSHO or the *Goddess of Fortune*; monogram on the right; beaded border.



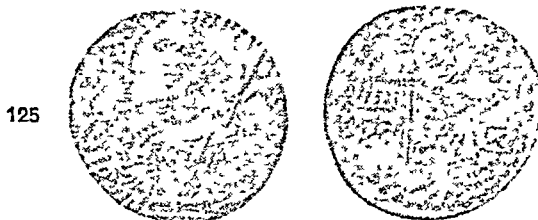
123. *Obv* : Profile bust of king, facing left, wears a round bejewelled helmet with circular device at the side and a crest ornament at the forehead; ribbons over flow the back; holds a mace in the right hand and an *añkuṣa* in the left hand; wears a tunic; truncated Bactrian legend in Greek characters from 7.00 : $\rho\text{AONANOpAO OOHpKI (KOpANO)}$ *i.e.*, SHAONANOSHAO OOESHKI KOSHANO or *Shahenshah Huvishka, the Kushāṇa* which means the King of kings, Huvishka, the Kushāṇa.

Rev : A male (?) stands facing right; nimbate; head-dress tied with a fillet; wears a long Greek type robe; both hands carry a cornucopia with sheafs of grain emerging from its mouth; legend on the left, read from out side : $\text{Op}\Delta\text{OpO}$ *i.e.*, ORDOSHO or ARDOXSHO or the *Goddess of Fortune*; monogram on the right; beaded border.

124. *Obv* : Blurred profile bust of king facing left; wears a round bejewelled helmet; rim of the helmet tied with a ribbon, portions of which hang over the back; holds an ear of corn in the right hand and *añkuṣa* in the left hand; wears a loose jacket; blurred Bactrian circular legend in Greek characters.

Rev : A male (?) stands facing right; nimbate; head-dress tied with a fillet; wears a long robe; left hand carries a cornucopia with sheafs of grain emerging from its mouth, right extended hand holds a wreath; feet visible below the dress; legend on the right, read from outside : ΔOXpO *i.e.*, DOXSHO or ARDOXSHO or the *Goddess of Fortune*; monogram on the left; beaded border.

Type VII. Bust of king and ApASIXpO ; gold, round:



125. *Obv.* Bust of a diademed and nimbate king facing left, holds a mace in the right hand and a spear in the raised left hand; wears a

bejewelled helmet with a crest ornament, heavy side burns or ear flaps attached to the helmet, ribbon attached to the angular protrusion at the back of the helmet over flows the shoulders, flames emanating from shoulders, face emerging from cloud like or rock like formation, wears a full sleeved jacket having a clasp at the chest, Bactrian legend in Greek characters from 700 $\rho\text{AONAN}\rho\text{A}\text{O O(O)HKI (K}\rho\text{A}\text{NO)}$ i.e., SHAONANOSHAO OESHKI (KOSHANO) or *Shahenshah Huvishka*, the *Kushāna*, which means the King of Kings, Huvishka, the Kushāna

Rev Standing male deity having radiate nimbus, faces left, right extended hand has first two fingers in a gesture pose, left hand at the waist, wears a cap tied with fillets, wears a short tunic and knee boots, mantle held at chest by round clasp, legend on the right read from inside $\text{A}\rho\text{A}\Sigma\text{IX}\rho\text{O}$ i.e., ASHAEIXSHO or the *Sun god*, monogram on the left, beaded border

Type VIII. Bust of king and AΘρO; gold, round :



126 *Obv* King nimbate, faces left, wears a circular bejewelled helmet with round devices, rim tied with ribbons which over flow the shoulders, jewelled fillet below the brim of the helmet, jewelled ear flaps, jewelled fillets over the shoulders, wears a necklace and an armlet (*bazoband*), holds an ear of corn in the right hand and a spear in the left hand, wears a jacket fastened with two buttons at the chest, body emerges from a rock like form, Bactrian legend in Greek characters from 700 : $\rho\text{AONANO p/AO OhpKI (K}\rho\text{A}\text{NO)}$ i.e., SHAONANOSHAO OESHKI KOSHANO or *Shahenshah Huvishka*, the *Kushāna* which means, the King of Kings, Huvishka, the Kushana

Rev : A bearded and aged male stands facing right, a band around the head, flames around the shoulders and the head, a hammer in the right hand and a pair of tongs in the left hand, wears classical chlamys and boots, legend on left $\text{A}\Theta\text{ρO}$, i.e., ATSHO or the *Fire God*, monogram on the right, beaded border

127. *Obv* King nimbate, faces left, wears a circular bejewelled helmet with round devices, rim tied with ribbons over flowing the shoulders,

jewelled fillets above the shoulders; ear flaps; an armlet (*bazooband*); holds an ear of corn in the right hand, a spear in the left hand; wears a jacket open in front; body emerges from a rock like form; Bactrian legend in Greek characters from 7.00 : $\rho\text{AONAN}\text{O}\rho\text{A}\text{O}$ ($\text{O}\text{H}\rho\text{K}\text{I}\text{K}\text{O}\rho\text{A}\text{N}\text{O}$) i.e., $\text{SHAONANOSHAO OESHKI KOSHANO}$ or *Shahenshah Huvishka, the Kushāna* which means King of Kings, Huvishka, the Kushāna.

Rev : A bearded and aged male stands facing right; a band round the head; flames around the shoulders and the head; a hammer in the right hand, a pair of tongs in the left hand; wears classical chlamys and boots; legend on the left : $\text{A}\text{O}\rho\text{O}$ i.e., *ATHOSHO* or the *Fire God*; monogram on the right; beaded border.

Type IX. Bust of king and horse riding $\wedge\text{POOA}<\square\text{O}$; gold, round :



128. *Obv* : Bust of king wearing a bejewelled circular helmet with side devices, faces left; rim of the helmet tied with ribbons which over flow the back; ear flaps; holds an ear of corn in the right hand and a spear in the left hand; flames emanate from the shoulders; wears a jacket tightened at the chest with two buttons; a necklace and an armlet (*bazooband*); traces only of circular blurred legend.

Rev : A bearded male standing frontally, faces right; wears a diadem, tunic and boots; nimbate; position of hands not clear; a circular band around the head; horse behind the deity faces right and has the left fore-leg and the left rear leg off the ground; saddled horse; legend beginning at 9.00 : $\wedge\text{POOA}<\square\text{O}$ i.e., LROOASPO , which means *Guardian of the Health of the Beasts* : monogram in the right lower field; beaded border.

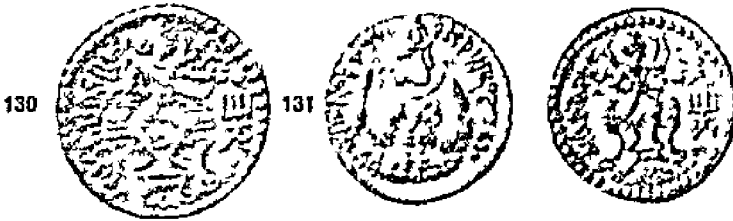
Type X. Bust of king and MANAOBA $\square\text{O}$; gold, round :



129. *Obv* : Bust portrait of king facing left; diademèd; wears a round helmet, having a side ornament and at the rim, a beaded fillet, portion of

which hangs on the back; prominent *galamucha* or side burns and moustaches; holds a mace in the right hand and an *ankusa* in the left hand; wears a jacket and a necklace; Bactrian legend in Greek characters from 7 00 : $\rho\text{AONANOpAO O/OhpKI KO}\rho\text{ANO}$ i.e., SHAONANOSHAO OOESHKI KOSHANO or *Shahenshah Huvishka, the Kushāna*, which means the King of Kings, Huvishka, the Kushāna.

Rev : A male deity on a cushioned throne having curved legs, faces right; wears a round helmet; crescent behind shoulders; has in his three hands : a sceptre, a wreath and fire and fourth hand rests on hip; feet rest on a stool; legend on the left : MANAOBA/TO i.e., MANAOBAGO or the *Moon God*; monogram in the right lower field, beaded border.



130. *Obv* : Bust portrait of king facing left; diademed; wears a round helmet, having a side ornament and at the brim a beaded fillet, portion of which hangs on the back; prominent *galamucha* or side burns and moustaches; holds a mace in the right hand, an *ankusa* in the left hand; wears a tunic and a necklace; Bactrian legend in Greek characters from 7.00 : $\rho\text{AONANOpAO O/HpKI KO}\rho\text{ANO}$ i.e., SHAONANOSHAO OESHKI KOSHANO or *Shahenshah Huvishka, the Kushāna*, which means the King of Kings, Huvishka, the Kushāna.¹

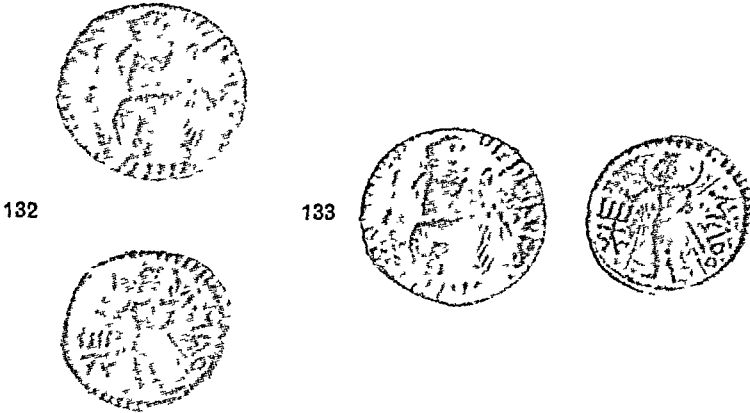
Rev : A male deity on a cushioned throne having curved legs, faces right; wears helmet; crescent behind shoulders; has in his three hands a sceptre, a wreath and fire and the fourth hand rests on the hip; feet rest on a stool, legend on the left : MANAOBA/TO i.e., MANAOBAGO or the *Moon-god*; monogram on the right; beaded border.

131. *Obv* : Bust portrait of king, faces left; diademed; wears a round helmet, having a side ornament and at the brim, a beaded fillet, portion of which hangs on the back; prominent *galamucha* or side burns and moustaches; holds a mace in the right hand and an *ankusa* in the left hand; wears a tunic and a necklace; body emerges from rock like form; Bactrian legend in Greek characters from 7.00 : $\rho\text{AONANOpAO O/OhpKI KO}\rho\text{ANO}$ i.e., SHAONANOSHAO OOESHKI KOSHANO or *Shahenshah Huvishka, the Kushāna*, which means the King of Kings, Huvishka, the Kushāna.

¹ Photograph of the obverse of this coin being not available, is not reproduced.

Rev : A male deity on a cushioned throne having curved legs, faces right; wears helmet, crescent behind shoulders; has in his three hands a sceptre, a wreath and fire and fourth hand rests on the hip; feet on a stool; legend on the left : MANAOBA/ΓO *i.e.*, MANAOBAGO, or the *Moon-God*; monogram on the right; beaded border.

Type XI. Bust of king and MAO; gold, round :



132. *Obv* : Bust portrait of king facing left; wears helmet and a tunic; heavy side burns; short mace with ovaloid top and a long thin handle in the right hand, an *anikuṣa* in the left hand; Bactrian legend in Greek characters from 7.00 : pAONANOpAO OOhpKI KOPa(NO) *i.e.*, SHAONANO SHAO OOESHKI KOSHANO or *Shahenshah Huvishka, the Kushāna*, which means the King of kings, Huvishka, the Kushāna.

Rev : A standing male deity faces left; crest behind shoulders; right arm out-stretched; a long staff with knobbed head in left hand; a sword hangs at the left side; legend on the right: MAO *i.e.*, the *Moon-god*; monogram in the left field; beaded border.

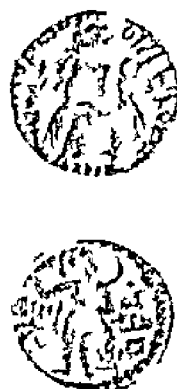
133. *Obv* : Bust portrait of king facing left; wears a bejewelled helmet and a tunic; heavy side burns; short mace in the right hand and an *anikuṣa* in the left hand; Bactrian legend in Greek characters from 7.00 : pAONANOpAO O/OhpKI KOPANO *i.e.*, SHAONANOSHAO OOESHKI KOSHANO or *Shahenshah Huvishka, the Kushāna*, which means the King of kings, Huvishka, the Kushāna.

Rev : A standing male deity, faces left; crest behind shoulders; right arm out-stretched; a long staff with knobbed head in left hand; a sword hangs at the left side; legend on the right : MAO *i.e.*, the *Moon-god*; monogram on the left; beaded border.

134



135



134 *Obv* Bust portrait of king facing left, wears a bejewelled helmet and a tunic, heavy side burns, short mace with ovaloid top and a long thin handle in the right hand, an *ankusa* in the left hand, rock like formation below the bust, traces of Bactrian legend in Greek characters from 700 ρ AONANOpAO OOH/pKI KOpANO *ie*, SHAONANO SHAO OOESHKI KOSHANO or *Shahenshah Huvishka, the Kushāna*, which means the King of kings Huvishka the Kushāna

Rev A standing male deity, faces left, crest behind shoulders, right arm out stretched and a long staff with knobbed head in left hand, a sword hangs at the left side, legend on the right. MAO *ie*, the *Moon-god* monogram in the left field, beaded border

135 *Obv* Bust portrait of king facing left, wears helmet and a loose tunic, heavy side burns, short mace with ovaloid top and a long thin handle in the right hand, an *ankusa* in the left hand, rock like formation below the bust, Bactrian legend in Greek characters from 700. ρ AONANOpAO O/OhpKI KOpANO *ie* SHAONANOSHAO OOESHKI KOSHANO or *Shahenshah Huvishka, the Kushāna* which means the King of Kings, Huvishka, the Kushāna

Rev A standing male deity, faces left, crest behind shoulders, right arm outstretched left hand at the waist, a sword hangs at the left side, legend on the right MAO *ie*, the *Moon god* monogram in the left field, beaded border

136



137



136 *Obv* Bust portrait of king facing left, wears oval shaped helmet

and a tunic; heavy side burns; short mace in the right hand; an *añkuša* in the left hand; traces of Bactrian legend in Greek characters from 7 00 : pAONANOpAO O/OhpKI KOPANO *i.e.*, SHAONANOSHAO OOESHKI KOSHANO or *Shahenshah Huvishka, the Kushāna*, which means the King of Kings, Huvishka, the Kushāna.

Rev : A standing male deity, faces left; crest behind shoulders; right arm out-stretched; left hand at waist; a sword hangs at the left side; legend on the right : MAO *i.e.*, the *Moon-god*; monogram in the left field; beaded border.

137. *Obv* : Bust portrait of king facing left; wears helmet with a round device on the side and a tunic; bejewelled fillet, below the helmet, also over flows the back; heavy side burns; short mace in the right hand, an *añkuša* in the left hand; Bactrian legend in Greek characters from 7.00 : pAONANOpAO O/OhpKI KOpANO *i.e.*, SHAONANOSHAO OOESHKI KOSHANO or *Shahenshah Huvishka, the Kushāna*, which means the King of Kings, Huvishka, the Kushāna.

Rev : A standing male deity, faces left; crest behind shoulders; right arm out-stretched and a long staff with knobbed head in left hand; a sword hangs at the left side; wears a transparent mantle, designed trousers and boots; legend on the right : MAO *i.e.*, the *Moon-god*; monogram on the left; beaded border.



138 : *Obv* : Bust portrait of a king in full regal dress, faces left; nimbate; wears a circular bejewelled helmet having a crest ornament; wears a coat of mail; holds an ear of corn and spear in the right and left hands respectively; wears a necklace and an armband (*bazooband*); ear flaps and moustaches; shoulders covered by jewelled fillets; jacket open at the front; emerges from clouds; Bactrian legend in Greek characters from 7.00 : (p)AONANOpAO OO/hPKI KOp(ANO) *i.e.*, SHAONANOSHAO OOESHKI KOSHANO or *Shahenshah Huvishka, the Kushāna*, which means the King of Kings, Huvishka, the Kushāna.

Rev : Standing deity faces left; crescent behind shoulders; wears a round cap, chiton and chlamys, knee-boots; wreath with ribbon in right extended hand and a staff in the raised left hand; a sword hangs down the waist on the right; legend on the right : MAO *i.e.*, the *Moon-god*; monogram on the left; beaded border.



139. *Obv* : Bust of king emerging from clouds in full regal dress, faces left; nimbate; wears a bejewelled round helmet having a crest ornament; wears a coat of mail; holds a mace and a spear in the right and left hands respectively; a necklace and an armlet (*bazooband*); ear flaps and moustaches; shoulders covered by jewelled fillets; jacket buttoned at the front; emerges from clouds; Bactrian legend in Greek characters from 7.00 : (p)AONANOPAO OOHpKI KOPANO *i.e.*, SHAONANO SHAO OOSHKI KOSHANO or *Shahenshah Huvishka, the Kushāṇa*, which means the King of Kings, Huvishka, the Kushāṇa.

Rev : A male standing frontally, has his head in profile to left; crescent behind the shoulders; wears a hat, coat, long trousers and boots; a wreath with ribbons in the right extended hand; left hand at the waist; a sword on the left; legend on the right: MAO *i.e.*, the *Moon-god*; monogram on the left; beaded border.

140. *Obv* : Bust portrait of king in full regal dress, faces left; nimbate; wears a circular bejewelled helmet having crest ornament; wears a coat of mail; holds a mace and a spear in the right and left hands respectively; a necklace and an armlet (*bazooband*); ear flaps and moustaches; shoulders covered by jewelled fillets; jacket clasped at the front; emerges from clouds; Bactrian legend in Greek characters from 7.00 : pAONANO pAO OOHpKI KOPANO *i.e.*, SHAONANOSHAO OOSHKI KOSHANO or *Shahenshah Huvishka, the Kushāṇa*, which means the King of Kings, Huvishka, the Kushāṇa.

Rev : Standing deity faces left; crescent behind shoulders; hair tied with a ribbon; wears a chiton and knee-boots; right hand extended and the left hand at the waist; a sword hangs down the waist; legend on the right : MAO *i.e.*, the *Moon-god*, monogram on the left; beaded border.



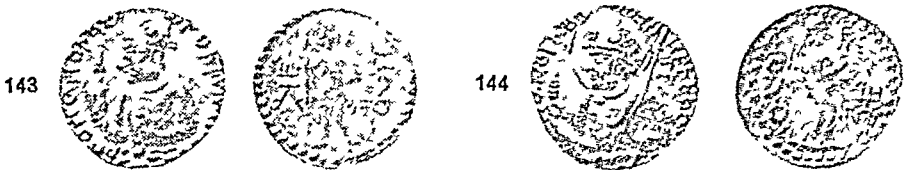
141. *Obv* : Bust portrait of a king in full regal dress, faces left; nimbate; wears a circular bejewelled helmet having a crest ornament;

wears a coat of mail; holds, mace and a spear in the right and left hands respectively; a necklace and an armband (*bazooband*); ear flaps and moustaches; shoulders covered by ornaments; jacket clasped at the front; emerges from clouds; Bactrian legend in Greek characters from 7.00 : (p)AONANOpAO OO/hpKI KOpANO *i.e.*, SHAONANOSHAO OOESHKI KOSHANO or *Shahenshah Huvishka, the Kushāna*, which means the King of Kings, Huvishka, the Kushāna.

Rev : Standing deity faces left; crescent behind shoulders; wears a round cap, chiton and knee-boots; wreath with ribbons in right extended hand and a staff in the raised left hand; a sword hangs down from the waist; legend on the right : MAO *i.e.*, the *Moon god*; monogram on the left; beaded border.

142. *Obv* : Bust portrait of king in full regal dress, faces left; nimbate; wears a bejewelled helmet having a crest ornament; wears a coat of mail; holds a mace and a spear in the right and left hands respectively; ear flaps and side burns with moustaches; shoulders covered by jewelled fillet; jacket clasped at the front; emerges from clouds; Bactrian legend in Greek characters from 7.00 : (p)AONANOpAO O/OhpKI KOp(ANO) *i.e.*, SHAONANO SHAO OOESHKI KOSHANO or *Shahenshah Huvishka, the Kushāna*, which means the King of Kings, Huvishka, the Kushāna.

Rev : A male deity in *tribhaṅga* pose, faces left; crest behind the shoulders; wears a chiton, trousers, boots and a mantle; right hand extended with fingers in gesture pose and the left raised hand holds a spear; legend on the right : MAO *i.e.*, the *Moon-god*; monogram on the left; beaded border.

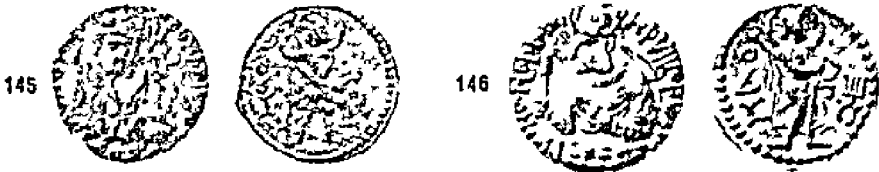


143. *Obv* : Bust portrait of king emerging from clouds, faces left; wears a bejewelled round helmet with crescent in front and angular protrusion at the back; heavy side burns; wears a necklace and a tunic; holds a mace in the right hand, and *aṅkuśa* in the left hand; Bactrian legend in Greek characters from 7.00 : pAONANOpAO/OYOhpKI KOSHANO *i.e.*, SHAONANOSHAO OYOESHKI KOSHANO or *Shahenshah Huvishka, the Kushāna*, which mean the King of Kings, Huvishka, the Kushāna.

Rev : Male deity standing frontally, faces left; crest behind shoulders; holds a sceptre in the right hand and the left hand at the waist; clad in chiton and mantle, legend on the right : MAO *i.e.*, the *Moon-god*, monogram on the left; beaded border.

144. *Obv* : Bust portrait of a king emerging from rock like forms in full regal dress, faces left; nimbate; wears a bejewelled and crested helmet with a round device on sides and an angular protrusion at the back; fillets cover the shoulders; a necklace and an armlet (*bazooband*); clad in a bejewelled tunic; holds in the right hand a mace and a spear with ribbons in the left hand; Bactrian legend in Greek characters from 7.00 : (pAON)ANOpAO O/OhpKI KOpANO *i.e.*, SHAONANOSHAO OOESHKI KOSHANO or *Shahenshah Huvishka*, the *Kushāna*, which means the King of Kings, Huvishka, the *Kushāna*.

Rev : A standing male deity, faces right; hair tied with ribbons, over flowing the shoulders; wears a long Greek robe covering the feet; right raised hand holds a pitcher; legend on the left : MAO *i.e.*, the *Moon-god*, monogram on the right; beaded border.



145. *Obv* : Bust portrait of king emerging from clouds in full regal dress, faces left; nimbate; wears a bejewelled and crested helmet with a round device on the sides, wears a necklace and an armlet (*bazooband*); jacket fastened with two buttons at the chest; holds in the right hand a mace and a spear in the left hand; truncated Bactrian legend in Greek characters from 7.00 : (pAONANOpAO)/OOhpKI KOp(ANO) *i.e.*, SHAONANO SHAO OOESHKI KOSHANO or *Shahenshah Huvishka*, the *Kushāna*, which means the King of Kings, Huvishka, the *Kushāna*.

Rev : A standing male faces right; nimbate; raised hair in three tufts at the top; holds in the right raised hand a spear having over-flowing ribbons; left raised hand also holds an indistinct object; upper part of the body nude; wears a half skirt and knee-boots; legend on the left : MAO *i.e.*, the *Moon-god*; monogram on the right, beaded border.

146. *Obv* : Bust portrait of king emerging from rock like forms, faces left; wears a round helmet with circular device at the side, two ribbons tying the brim of the helmet at its back over flow the shoulders, heavy side burns (*galamucha*) and moustaches, wears a necklace and a tunic; holds a mace in the right hand and an *ankusa* in the left hand; Bactrian legend

from 7.00 : pAONANOpAO OO/hpKI KOpANO; *i.e.*, SHAONANO SHAO OOESHKI KOSHANO or *Shahenshah Huvishka, the Kushāṇa* which means, the King of Kings, Huvishka, the Kushāṇa.

Rev : A standing male deity faces right; wears a hat tied with ribbons at its back; nimbate; lunar crescent; holds a wreath in the right hand and knob-headed staff in the left; wears a chlamys, boots and a mantle; legend on the left: MAO *i.e.*, the *Moon-god*; monogram on the right; beaded border.



147. *Obv* : Bust portrait of king emerging from rock like forms, faces left; wears a helmet with a round device at the side and two ribbons tied to the angular protrusion over-flow the back; heavy side burns (*galamucha*); holds a mace in the right hand and an *aṅkuśa* in the left hand; truncated Bactrian legend from 7.00 possibly reads : pAONANOpAO OOHpKI KOpANO *i.e.*, SHAONANOSHAO OOESHKI KOSHANO or *Shahenshah Huvishka, the Kushāṇa* which means the King of Kings, Huvishka, the Kushāṇa.

Rev : A standing male deity faces left; hair in a tuft; lunar crescent; right hand stretched and left at the waist; wears a long coat, mantle and boots; legend on the right : MAO *i.e.*, the *Moon-God*; monogram on the left; beaded border.

148. *Obv*: Bust portrait of king, faces left; wears a bejewelled *mukuṭa* having a crescent at the fore-head and an angular protrusion at the back from which are suspended bejewelled ribbons; heavy side burns; wears a necklace and a tunic; holds a mace in the right hand and an *aṅkuśa* in the left hand; truncated Bactrian legend from 7.00 : (pA)ONANOpAO OO/(pKI KOpANO) : *i.e.*, SHAONANO SHAO OOESHKI KOSHANO or *Shahenshah Huvishka, the Kushāṇa* which means, the King of Kings, Huvishka, the Kushāṇa.

Rev : A standing male deity faces left; crescent behind shoulders; hair tied with a ribbon; holds a spear in the right raised hand; left hand at the waist from which a small sword is suspended; wears an upper robe and boots; legend on the right : MAO *i.e.*, the *Moon-god*; monogram on the left; beaded border.



149 *Obv* Bust portrait of a king facing left, wears a bejewelled *mukuṣa*, heavy side burns, from an angular protrusion at the back are suspended bejewelled ribbons, wears a necklace and a tunic, holds a mace in the right hand and an *ankuṣa* in the left hand, Bactrian legend from 7 00 ρ AONANOpAO O/OhpKI KOpA (NO) *i e*, SHAONANOSHAO OOESHKI KOSHANO or *Shahenshah Huvishka*, the *Kushāna* which means, the King of Kings, Huvishka the Kushāna

Rev A standing male deity, faces left, crescent behind the shoulder; right hand at the waist and the left hand holds a knob headed spear, a sword hangs down the waist on the right, wears a long coat, a mantle and boots, legend on the right MAO *i e*, the *Moon god* monogram on the left, beaded border

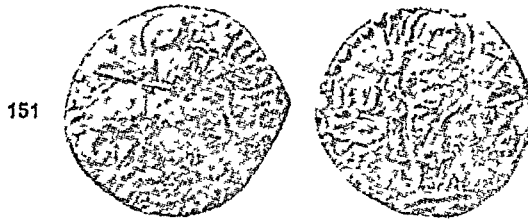
Type XII Huvishka seated cross legged and MAO, copper, round.



150 *Obv* King seated cross legged on rocky formation, faces left, a staff in the left raised hand, right hand at the waist, Bactrian legend from 7 00 ρ AO(NANOpAO OOhpKO KOpANO) *i e*, SHAONANO SHAO OOESHKO KOSHANO or *Shahenshah Huvishka*, the *Kushana*, which means the King of Kings, Huvishka, the Kushāna

Rev A standing male dressed in a long coat, faces left, crest behind the shoulders, right hand extended and left hand at the waist, wears a long coat, trousers and boots, legend on the right MAO *i e*, the *Moon god* monogram on the left, beaded border

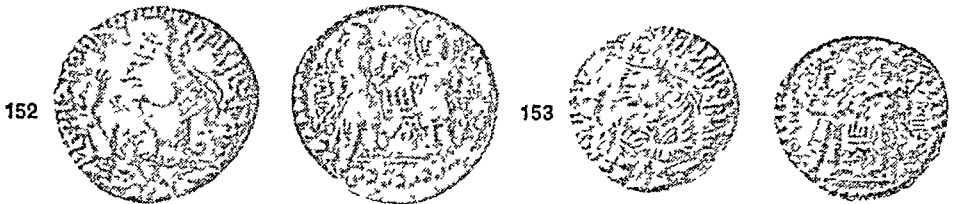
Type XIII. King riding an elephant and MAO : copper, round :



151. *Obv* : King rides an elephant, both face left; an *aṅkuśa* in the right hand and another indistinct object in the left hand; legend blurred except at 1.00 OOHpKI

Rev : A standing male faces left; lunar crescent behind the shoulders; low hair; wears a long robe; a tree like object in the left field; left hand on the waist; legend on the right : MAO *i.e.*, the *Moon-god*; monogram on the left; beaded border.

Type XIV. Bust of king with galamucha and MAO-MIIPO; gold, round :



152. *Obv* : Bust portrait of king, faces left; wears a round bejewelled helmet; at the back of the helmet angular protrusion tied with two ribbons which over flow the shoulders; heavy side-burns; wears a necklace; jewelled yoke and tunic; bust emerging from rock like shapes; holds a mace in the right hand, an *aṅkuśa* in the left hand; Bactrian legend in Greek characters from 7.00 : pAONANOpAO O/OHPKI KOpANO *i.e.*, SHAONANO SHAO OOESHKI KOSHANO or *Shahenshah Huvishka, the Kushāna*, which means King of Kings Huvishka, the Kushāna.

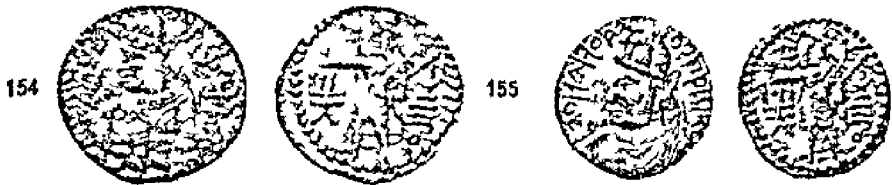
Rev : Two standing male figures face each other; MAO wears a knee long robe and holds a sword in the right hand; MIIPO is radiate and also wears a knee long robe; right extended hand in two fingered gesture; a sword hangs down the waist; both stand on a pedestal; legend on the left MAO and on the right MIIPO *i.e.*, MAO-MIIRO or the *Moon-god* and the *Sun-god*; monogram between them; beaded border.

153. *Obv* : Bust portrait of king, faces left; wears a round bejewelled helmet; at the back of the helmet angular protrusion tied with two

ribbons which over flow the shoulders, heavy side burns, wears a necklace jewelled yoke and tunic, bust emerging from rock like forms, holds a mace in the right hand, an *ankuša* in the left hand Bactrian legend in Greek characters from 700 $\rho\text{AONANOpAO O/OHPKI KO}\rho\text{ANO}$ *i e*, SHAONANOSHAO OOESHKI KOSHANO or *Shahenshah Huvishka*, the *Kushana*

Rev Two standing male figures face each other; MAO on the left and MIPO on the right, MAO wears a knee long robe and holds a sword in the right hand MIPO is radiate and also wears a knee long robe, right extended hand in two fingered gesture, a sword hangs down the waist, both stand on a pedestal, legend on the left MAO and on the right MIPO *i e*, MAO MIPO or the *Moon god* and the *Sun god*, monogram between them, beaded border

Type XV Bust portrait of a king and MIPO, gold, round



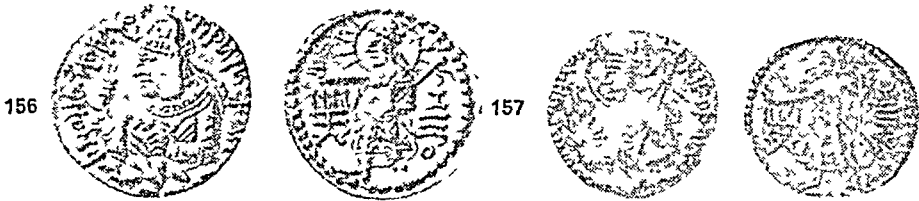
154 *Obv* Profile bust portrait of king emerging from rock like forms faces left, wears a bejewelled helmet with a crescent in the front and at the back an angular protrusion from which over flow ribbons on the shoulders, heavy side burns (*galamucha*), wears a necklace and a tunic with folds, holds a mace in the right hand, another object in the left hand, Bactrian legend in Greek characters from 700 $\rho\text{AONANOpAO O/OpHki KO}\rho\text{ANO}$ *i e* SHAONANOSHAO OOESHKI KOSHANO or *Shahenshah Huvishka*, the *Kushana* which means the King of Kings, Huvishka, the Kushana

Rev A standing male deity, faces left, hair tied with a beaded fillet, radiate, right extended hand in two finger gesture, and left hand holds a knob headed staff, wears a tunic, mantle and boots, legend on the right MIPO or MIRO *i e*, the *Sun god* monogram on the left, beaded border

155 *Obv* Profile bust portrait of king emerging from rock like forms, faces left, wears a bejewelled helmet with a crescent in the front and at the back an angular protrusion from which over flow ribbons on the shoulders, side burns (*galamucha*) or ear flaps, wears a necklace and a tunic with folds, Bactrian legend in Greek characters from 700 $\rho\text{AOHAbOpAO OOHpki KO}\rho\text{(ANO)}$ *i e* SHAONANOSHAO

OOESHKI KOSHANO or *Shahenshah Huvishka, the Kushāna*, which means King of Kings, Huvishka, the Kushāna.

Rev : A male standing deity faces left; hair tied with a beaded fillet; radiate; right extended hand in two finger gesture and left hand holds a knob headed staff; wears a designed tunic, mantle and boots; legend on the right **MIPO** or **MIRO** *i.e.*, the *Sun-god*; monogram on the left; beaded border.

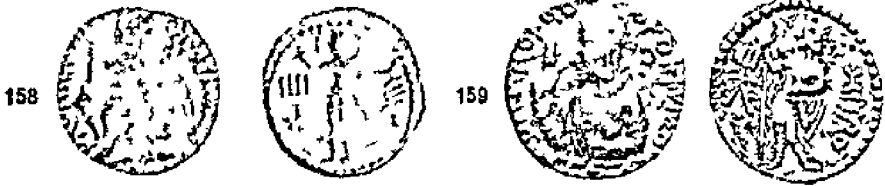


156. *Obv* : Profile bust portrait of king emerging from rock like forms, faces left; wears a bejewelled helmet with a crescent in the front and at the back an angular protrusion from which over flow ribbons on the shoulders; heavy side-burns (*galamucha*); wears a necklace and a tunic with folds; a mace in the right hand and another object in left hand; Bactrian legend in Greek characters from 7.00 : **PAOhAhO PAO O/OHhPKI KOpanO** *i.e.*, **SHAONANOSHAO OOESHKI KOSHANO** or *Shahenshah Huvishka, the Kushāna*, which means the King of Kings, Huvishka, the Kushāna.

Rev : A male standing deity, faces left; hair tied with a beaded fillet; radiate; right extended hand in two finger gesture and left hand holds a knob headed staff; wears a lower garment, a mantle and boots; legend on the right **MIPO** or **MIRO** *i.e.*, the *Sun-god*; monogram on the left; beaded border.

157. *Obv* : Profile bust portrait of king emerging from rock like forms, faces left; wears a bejewelled helmet, crest in the front and at the back an angular protrusion from which over flow ribbons on the shoulders; side-burns (*galamucha*) or ear flaps; wears a necklace and a designed jacket buttoned in the front; holds a mace in the right hand and a spear in the left hand; Bactrian legend in Greek characters from 7.00 : **PAOhAhO PAO OOHhPKI KOpanO** *i.e.*, **SHAONANOSHAO OOESHKI KOSHANO** or *Shahenshah Huvishka, the Kushāna*, which means the King of Kings Huvishka, the Kushāna.

Rev : A male standing deity faces left; hair tied with a ribbon; radiate; right extended hand in two finger gesture and left raised hand holds a spear; wears a long robe, mantle and boots; legend on the right : **MIPO** or **MIRO** *i.e.*, the *Sun-god*; monogram on the left; beaded border.



158. *Oby* : Blurred bust portrait of king, faces left; wears rounded and crested helmet; broad sunken cheeks, bulbous nose; shoulders covered with fillets; wears a tight fitting tunic; holds a mace in the right hand and *ankuṣa* in the left hand; Bactrian legend in Greek characters from 7.00 : $\rho\text{A}\text{O}\text{hA}\text{h}\text{O}$ $\rho\text{A}\text{O}$ $\text{O}/\text{O}\text{h}\text{pKI}$ *i.e.*, SHAONANOSHAO OOESHKI KOSHANO or *Shahenshah Huvishka, the Kushāna*, which means King of Kings Huvishka, the Kushāna.

Rev : A standing male deity facing left; lunar crescent behind the shoulders; right raised hand in two finger gesture; left hand at the waist holding a sword; wears a mantle and under garments and boots; legend on the right : MIPO or MIRO *i.e.*, the *Sun-god*; monogram on the left; beaded border.

159 *Oby* : Profile bust portrait of king, faces left; wears a bejewelled and crested helmet with an angular protrusion at the back from which over flow fillets, side burns (*galamucha*); wears a necklace and a tight fitting tunic, holds a mace in the right hand and an *ankuṣa* in the left hand, Bactrian legend in Greek characters from 7.00 : $\rho\text{A}\text{O}\text{hA}\text{h}\text{O}\text{p}\text{A}\text{O}$ $\text{O}(\text{p})\text{O}\text{h}\text{pKI}$ $\text{KO}(\text{p}\text{A}\text{N}\text{O})$ *i.e.*, SHAONANOSHAO OOESHKI KOSHANO or *Shahenshah Huvishka, the Kushāna*, which means the King of Kings Huvishka, the Kushāna.

Rev : Standing male deity, faces left; radiate; holds a staff in the right raised hand and a sword in the left hand resting at the waist; wears a heavy robe upto the knees; legend on the right : MIPO or MIRO *i.e.*, the *Sun-god*, monogram on the left; beaded border.



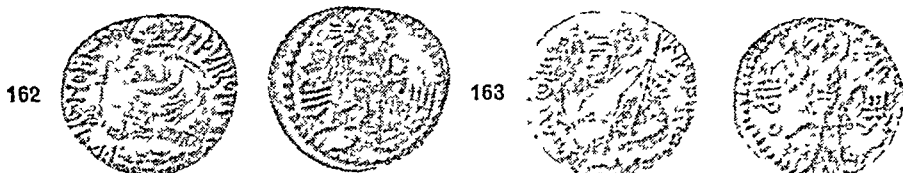
160 *Oby* : Profile bust portrait of king, emerging from rock like forms, faces left; wears a bejewelled and crested helmet with an angular protrusion at the back from which over flow fillets, heavy side-burns, (*galamucha*), wears a necklace and a tight fitting tunic; holds a mace in

the right hand and an *ankuśa* in the left hand; Bactrian legend in Greek characters from 7.00 : $\rho\text{A}\text{O}\text{h}\text{A}\text{h}\text{O}\rho\text{A}\text{O}$ $\text{O}\text{O}/\text{h}\rho\text{K}\text{I}$ $\text{K}\text{O}\rho\text{A}\text{N}(\text{O})$ *i.e.*, SHAONANOSHAO OOESHKI KOSHANO or *Shahenshah Huvishka, the Kushāna*, which means the King of Kings Huvishka, the Kushāna.

Rev : Standing male deity, faces left; radiate; right extended hand in two finger gesture; left hand holds a sword resting at the waist; wears a long robe and a mantle; legend on the right : MIPO or MIRO *i.e.*, the *Sun-god*; monogram on the left; beaded border.

161. *Obv* : Profile bust portrait of a king, emerging from rock like form, faces right; wears a round crested helmet brim of which is tied at the back with two ribbons which over flow the shoulders; heavy side burns; wears a tight fitting tunic; a mace in the right hand and an *ankuśa* in the left hand; Bactrian legend in Greek characters from 7.00 : $\rho\text{A}\text{O}\text{N}\text{A}\text{N}\text{O}\rho\text{A}\text{O}$ $\text{O}\text{O}\text{h}\rho\text{K}\text{I}$ $\text{K}\text{O}\rho(\text{A}\text{N}\text{O})$ *i.e.*, SHAONANOSHAO OOESHKI KOSHANO or *Shahenshah Huvishka, the Kushāna*, which means the King of Kings, Huvishka, the Kushāna.

Rev : Standing male deity, faces left; radiate; right extended hand in two finger gesture; left hand holds a sword resting at the waist; wears a long robe and a mantle; legend on the right : MIPO or MIRO *i.e.*, the *Sun-god*; monogram on the left; beaded border.



162. *Obv* : Profile bust portrait of a king emerging from rock like forms, faces left; wears a round crested helmet with a side device and brim of which is tied at the back with two ribbons over flowing the back; heavy side-burns; wears a necklace and a tight fitting tunic; a mace in the right hand, another object in the left hand; Bactrian legend in Greek characters from 7.00 : $\rho\text{A}\text{O}\text{N}\text{A}\text{N}\text{O}\rho\text{A}\text{O}$ $\text{O}/\text{O}\text{h}\rho\text{K}\text{I}$ $\text{K}\text{O}\rho\text{A}\text{N}\text{O}$ *i.e.*, SHAONANOSHAO OOESHKI KOSHANO or *Shahenshah Huvishka, the Kushāna*, which means the King of Kings, Huvishka, the Kushāna.

Rev : A standing male deity, faces right; radiate; wears a hat tied at the back with two ribbons which over flow the back of the figure; holds a wreath in the right hand; wears under-garments and over them a mantle and boots; legend on the left MIPO or MIRO *i.e.*, the *Sun-god*; monogram on the right; beaded border.

163. *Obv* : Profile bust portrait of king emerging from cloud like

forms faces left, nimbate, wears a bejewelled round helmet, ear flaps and shoulder fillets wears a bejewelled jacket buttoned in the front, holds a mace in the right hand and a spear in the left hand, Bactrian legend in Greek characters from 700 $\rho\text{A}\text{O}\text{hA}\text{h}\text{O}\rho\text{A}\text{O}$ $\text{O}\text{O}/\text{h}\rho\text{K}\text{I}$ $\text{K}\text{O}\rho\text{A}\text{N}\text{O}$ i.e., SHAONANO SHAO OESHKI KOSHANO or *Shahenshah Huvishka*, the *Kushāna*, which means the King of Kings, Huvishka the Kushāna

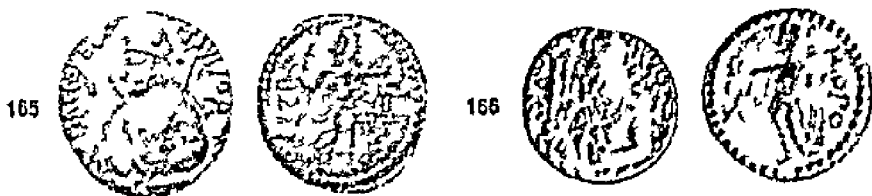
Rev A standing male deity faces right nimbate, hair tied with a ribbon, holds a spear in the right raised hand and another object in the left hand, wears an upper garment and knee long lower garment and boots, legend on the left, read from outside MIPO or MIRO i.e. the *Sun god* monogram on the right, beaded border



164 *Obv* Profile bust portrait of a king emerging from rock like forms, faces right wears a round crested helmet brim of which is tied at back with a fillet over flowing the shoulders, wears a tight fitting tunic and a necklace, a mace in the right hand and an *ankusa* in the left hand, Bactrian legend in Greek characters from 700 $(\rho\text{A}\text{O})\text{NAN}\text{O}\rho\text{A}\text{O}$ $\text{O}/\text{O}\text{H}\rho\text{K}\text{I}$ $\text{K}\text{O}\rho(\text{A}\text{N}\text{O})$ i.e. SHAONANO SHAO OESHKI KOSHANO or *Shahenshah Huvishka the Kushana* which means the King of Kings, Huvishka, the Kushāna

Rev A standing male deity, faces right, radiate, wears a hat tied at the back with two ribbons which over flow the shoulders, the round hat hides the face and the hair, holds a wreath in the right hand, wears under garments and over them a mantle and boots, legend on the left MIPO or MIRO i.e., the *Sun god* monogram on right, beaded border

Type XV(a) Bust portrait of king and MIOPO, gold, round



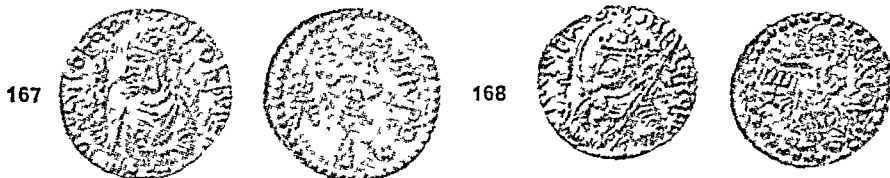
165 *Obv* Profile bust portrait of king emerging from cloud like forms, faces left, nimbate wears a bejewelled round helmet, brim of which

is tied at the back with ribbons over-flowing the shoulders; ear flaps; wears a bejewelled jacket; holds a mace in the right hand and a spear in the left hand; Bactrian legend in Greek characters from 7.00 : (pAONANO) pAO OO/HpKI KO(p)ANO *i.e.*, SHAONANOSHAO OOESHKI KOSHANO or *Shahenshah Huvishka, the Kushāna*, which means the King of Kings, Huvishka, the Kushāna.

Rev : A standing male deity, faces right; radiate; holds a spear in the right raised hand; wreath in the left : extended hand; wears a lower garment; legend on the left : MIOPO or MIORO *i.e.*, the *Sun-god*; monogram on the right; beaded border.

166. *Obv* : Profile bust portrait of king with a long nose and a long face, faces left; wears a pot shaped helmet; ribbons over flowing the shoulders; wears a tight tunic and a necklace; holds a mace in the right hand and an *añkuśa* in the left hand; truncated legend from 7.00 : pAONANOpAO O/OHPKI KO(p)ANO *i.e.*, SHAONANOSHAO OOESHKI KOSHANO or *Shahenshah Huvishka, the Kushāna*.

Rev : A male deity standing in a *tribhañga* pose, faces left; radiate; wears a pendant; an apron over the shoulders, ends of which are hanging from behind the right extended hand, in which holds a wreath; a sword in the left hand, resting at the waist; legend on the right : MIOPO or MIORO *i.e.*, the *Sun-god*; monogram on the left; beaded border.

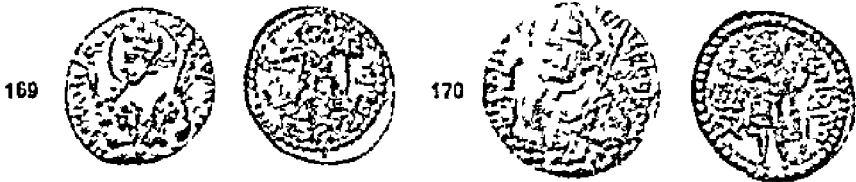


167. *Obv* : Profile bust portrait of king, faces left; wears a bejewelled and crested helmet, having angular protrusion at the back from which over flow the ribbons; heavy side-burns (*galamucha*) and moustaches; wears a necklace and a tight fitting tunic; holds a mace in the right hand and an *añkuśa* in the left hand; Bactrian legend in Greek characters from 7. 00 : pAONANOpAO O(p)OhpKI KO(p)ANO *i.e.*, SHAONANO SHAO OOESHKI KOSHANO or *Shahenshah Huvishka, the Kushāna*, which means the King of Kings, Huvishka, the Kushāna.

Rev : A male stands frontally and faces left; radiate; hair in a small bun at the forehead; holds a spear in the right raised hand and the left hand rests at the waist; wears an upper garment and a mantle and boots; legend on the right : MIOPO or MIORO *i.e.*, the *Sun-god*; monogram on the left; beaded border.

168. *Obv* : Profile bust portrait of king, faces left; wears conical shaped, bejewelled and crested helmet tied at the back with an angular protrusion; ear flaps, a wart and moustaches; wears a necklace and a tight tunic; holds a mace in the right hand and a spear in the left hand; Bactrian legend in Greek characters from 7.00 : $\rho\text{AONANOpAO O}(\rho)$ $\text{OhpKI KO}(\rho\text{ANO})$ i.e., SHAONANOSHAO OOESHKI KOSHANO or *Shahenshah Huvishka, the Kushāna*, which means the King of Kings Huvishka, the Kushāna.

Rev : Standing male, faces left; radiate; wears ear pendants and a mantle over upper and lower garments and boots; right extended hand in two finger gesture; left hand at the waist from which hangs down a sword; legend on the right : MIOPO or MIORO i.e., the *Sun-god*; monogram on the left; beaded border.



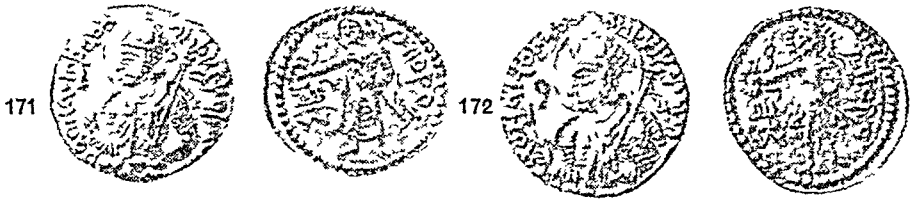
169. *Obv* : Profile bust portrait of king in full regal dress, faces left; nimbate; wears a round bejewelled helmet from the back of which overflow ribbons; ear flaps; wears a necklace and a tunic, having rolled lapels, open at the chest; super-natural emanations from shoulders; holds a mace in the right hand and a spear in the left hand; Bactrian legend in Greek characters from 7.00 : $\rho\text{AONANOpAO OO/hpKI KO}(\rho\text{A}(\text{NO}))$ i.e., SHAONANOSHAO OOESHKI KOSHANO or *Shahenshah Huvishka, the Kushāna*, which means the King of Kings, Huvishka, the Kushāna.

Rev : A male standing frontally, faces left; radiate; right extended hand holds a wreath and left raised hand holds a spear; wears a mantle over under-garments; legend on the right : MIOPO or MIORO i.e., the *Sun-god*; monogram on the left; beaded border.

170. *Obv* : Profile bust portrait of king, in full regal dress, faces left; nimbate; wears a crested and bejewelled helmet from the back of which overflow ribbons; bejewelled fillets over the shoulders; ear flaps; wears a necklace and a tunic; holds a mace in the right hand and a spear in the left hand; Bactrian legend in Greek characters from 7.00 : $\rho\text{AONANOp(AO/OOhp)KI KO}(\rho\text{AN}(\text{O}))$ i.e., SHAONANOSHAO OOESHKI KOSHANO or *Shahenshah Huvishka, the Kushāna*, which means the King of Kings, Huvishka, the Kushāna.

Rev : A male, standing frontally, faces left; radiate; right extended

hand holds a wreath and left raised hand holds a spear; wears a mantle over under-garments; legend on the right : MIOPO or MIORO *i.e.*, the *Sun-god*; monogram on the left; beaded border.



171. *Oby* : Profile bust portrait of king in full regal dress, faces left; nimbate; wears a round, crested and bejewelled helmet, with circular side device, from the back of which over flow ribbons; ear flaps; bejewelled fillets over shoulders; wears a necklace and a tunic having rolled lapels and open at the chest; holds a mace in the right hand and a spear in the left hand; Bactrian legend in Greek characters from 7.00 : $\rho\text{AONANO } \rho\text{AO O/(O)hpKI KOp(ANO)}$ *i.e.*, SHAONANOSHAO OOESHKI KOSH-ANO or *Shahenshah Huvishka the Kushāna*, which means the King of Kings, Huvishka, the Kushāna.

Rev : A male standing frontally, faces left; radiate; unkempt long hair; right extended hand holds a wreath and left hand holds a sword and rests at the waist; wears a mantle over under-garments; legend on the right; MIOPO or MIORO *i.e.*, the *Sun-god*; monogram on the left; beaded border.

172. *Oby* : Profile bust portrait of king, in full regal dress, faces left; nimbate; wears a crested and bejewelled helmet from the back of which over flow ribbons; ear flaps and moustaches; side-burns (*galamucha*) wears a bejewelled tunic; holds a mace in the right hand and a spear in the left hand; Bactrian legend in Greek characters from 7.00 : $(\rho\text{AO})\text{NANO } \rho\text{A(O/O) HpKI KOpA(NO)}$ *i.e.*, SHAONANOSHAO OOESHKI KOSH-ANO or *Shahenshah Huvishka, the Kushāna*, which means the King of Kings, Huvishka, the Kushāna.

Rev : A standing female deity, faces right; diademed and nimbate; wears a cap or a helmet tied with a ribbon, portion of which over-flows the back; wears a Greek attire; holds cornucopia in both hands; legend on the left : MIOPO or MIORO *i.e.*, the *Sun-god*; monogram on the right; beaded border.



173 *Obv* Profile bust portrait of king in full regal dress, faces left, nimbate, wears a crested and jewelled helmet, ear flaps and moustaches, wears a necklace and a tunic closed at the front with two buttons, jewelled fillets on shoulders, holds a mace in the right hand and a knob-headed spear with fluttering ribbons in the left hand, Bactrian legend in Greek characters from 700 (p)AONANOPAO O/OhpKI KOPANO, *i e*, SHAONANOSHAO OESHKI KOSHANO or *Shahenshah Huvishka*, the *Kushāna*, which means the King of Kings, Huvishka, the Kushāna

Rev A male standing frontally faces left, radiate, right extended hand holds a torque and left hand holding a sword rests at the waist, wears knee long under garments, legend on the right MIOPO or MIORO *i e*, the *Sun god* monogram on the left, beaded border

Type XV(b) King squatting or in easy position and MIOPO, copper, round.



174 *Obv* Helmeted and nimbate king lounging on a low bench, *en face*, resting the left elbow on a cushion and right foot on the bench, right in-curved hand resting at the waist, an object suspended from the bench, legend on the right reads BAKOKOPA¹

175 *Obv* King seated frontally in a squatting position with head to right, wears a forward pointing cap having two ribbons over flowing the back, right hand resting on the right leg and left hand raised, possibly holding a staff wears a tunic, no trace of legend

Rev Male standing deity, faces left, radiate, wears a cap, extended right hand holds a wreath, left hand resting at the waist, holds a sword

¹ Same as NC, 1892, pl IX

hanging down; blurred legend on the right; the deity is MIOPO or MIORO *i.e.*, the *Sun-god*; monogram in the left lower field; beaded border.

Type XV(c). Bust of king and MIPPO; gold, round :



176. *Obv* : Profile bust portrait of king, emerging from rock like forms with bulbous nose, faces left; nimbate; wears a round helmet tied at the back from which over flow beaded ribbons; ear flaps and moustaches; side burns (*galamucha*); wears a tunic; holds a mace in the right hand; Bactrian legend in Greek characters from 7.00 : (pAONANO pAO OO)hpKI Ko(pANO) *i.e.*, SHAONANOSHAO OESHKI KOSHANO or *Shahenshah Huvishka, the Kushāna*, which means the King of Kings, Huvishka, the Kushāna.

Rev : A male standing frontally, faces left; radiate; right hand extended and left hand rests at the waist from which hangs down a sword; wears a mantle over under-garments; legend on the right : MIPPO or MIRRO *i.e.*, the *Sun-god*; monogram on the left; beaded border.

This gold coin was found at Barabanki, U.P.



177. *Obv* : Profile bust portrait of king, faces left; wears oval shaped helmet having an angular protrusion at the back; heavy side-burns (*galamucha*); wears a tunic, fillets over shoulders; holds a mace in the right hand and an *ankusa* in the left hand; blurred Bactrian legend in Greek characters from 7.00 : (pAONANOpAO OO)hpKI Kop(ANO) *i.e.*, SHAONANO SHAO OESHKI KOSHANO or *Shahenshah Huvishka, the Kushāna*, which means the King of Kings, Huvishka, the Kushāna.

Rev : A male standing frontally, faces left; radiate; wears a low cap; right extended hand in two finger gesture and left hand holding a sword at the waist; wears a mantle over under-garments; legend on the right : MIPPO or MIRRO *i.e.*, the *Sun-god*; monogram on the left; beaded border.

Type XV(d) Bust of king and MOPO, gold, round.



178 *Obv* Profile bust portrait of king in full regal dress, faces left, nimbate, wears a bejewelled and crested helmet having an angular protrusion at the back from which over flow fillets, ear flaps and moustaches, wears a necklace and a tunic partly open at the chest, holds a mace in the right hand and a spear in the left hand, truncated Bactrian legend in Greek characters from 7 00 (pA)ONANOPAO O/(OOhpKI KO)p(ANO) *i e*, SHAONANOSHAO OOESHKI KOSHANO or *Shahenshah Huvishka the Kushāna*, which means the King of Kings, Huvishka, the Kushāna

Rev A standing male, faces left, dishevelled long hair, right extended hand holds a wreath and left raised hand holds a spear, legend on the right MOPO or MORO *i e*, the *Sun god*, monogram on the left, beaded border

179 *Obv* Profile bust portrait of king, faces left, wears a round crested and bejewelled helmet having a protrusion at the back tied to which ribbons over flow the back, heavy side burns (*galamucha*) wears a necklace and a tunic flames emanating from shoulders, holds a mace in the right hand and *ankusa* in the left hand, blurred Bactrian legend in Greek characters from 7 00 (pAONANO pAO/OOhpKI KOPANO) *i e*, SHAONANOSHAO OOESHKI KOSHANO or *Shahenshah Huvishka, the Kushana*, which means the King of Kings, Huvishka, the Kushāna

Rev A male standing frontally, faces left, radiate, right extended hand holds an object and left hand holding a knob-headed spear rests at the waist from which also hangs down a sword, wears a mantle over under garments legend on the right MOPO or MORO *i e*, the *Sun god*, monogram on the left, beaded border

Type XVI King seated cross legged and NANA or NANO, gold, round



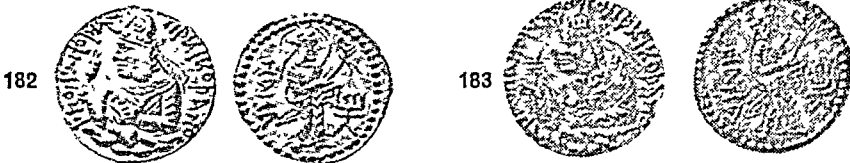
180 *Obv* King seated cross legged upon rocky forms, faces right,

wears a helmet having fluttering ribbons at the back, right hand resting on the waist and left hand holding a staff with fluttering ribbons; diademed and wearing a mantle; Bactrian legend in Greek characters from 7.00 : pAONANOpAO O/OhpKO KopANO pA(O) i.e., SHAONANOSHAO OOESHKO KOSHANO SHAO or *Shahenshah Huvishka, the Kushāṇa Shah* which means the King of Kings, Huvishka, the Kushāṇa king.

Rev : Standing NANA, diademed and nimbate, faces right; crescent on head; wears a head-gear tied with a ribbon portion of which over flows the back; a sword at the waist; holds a protome in the right hand and a bowl in the left hand; dressed in a long robe; legend on left : NANA; monogram on the right; beaded border.

181. *Obv* : King seated cross-legged upon rocky forms, faces right; wears a helmet having fluttering ribbons at the back; right hand resting on the waist and left hand holding a staff with fluttering ribbons; diademed and wearing a mantle; Bactrian legend in Greek characters from 7.00 : pAONANOpAO OOhpKo KopANO pA(O) i.e., SHAONANO SHAO OOESHKO KOSHANO SHAO or *Shahenshah Huvishka, the Kushāṇa Shah*, which means the King of Kings, Huvishka, the Kushāṇa king.

Rev : Standing NANA, diademed and nimbate, faces right; crescent on head; wears a head-gear tied with a ribbon, portion of which over flows the back; a sword at the waist; holds a protome in the left hand; dressed in a long robe; legend on left : NANA; monogram on the right; beaded border.



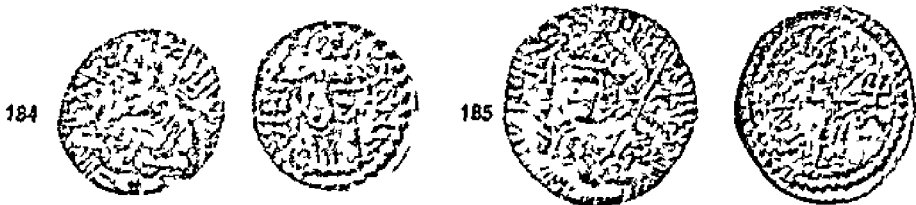
182. *Obv* : Profile bust of king, faces left; wears a bejewelled and crested round helmet with circular device at side; having at its back an angular protrusion from which hang down ribbons on the shoulders; heavy side-burns (*galamucha*) and moustaches; wears a necklace and a tunic; holds a mace in the right hand and an *aṅkuṣa* in the left hand; emerging from rock like shapes; Bactrian legend in Greek characters from 7.00 : pAONANO pAO (OO)HpKI KopANO i.e., SHAONANOSHAO OOESHKI KOSHANO or *Shahenshah Huvishka, the Kushāṇa* which means the King of Kings, Huvishka, the Kushāṇa.

Rev : Standing NANA, faces right; diademed and nimbate; crescent on head; wears a head-gear tied with a ribbon portion of which over flows the back; a sword at the waist; holds a protome in the right hand and a

bowl in the left hand, dressed in a long robe; legend read from outside : NANA; monogram on the right; beaded border.

183. *Obv* : Profile bust of king, faces left; wears a bejewelled and crested round helmet, with circular device at side, having at its back an angular protrusion from which hang down ribbons on the shoulders; heavy side-burns (*galamucha*) and moustaches; wears a necklace and a tunic, holds a mace in the right hand and an *ankusa* in the left hand; emerging from rock like forms, Bactrian legend in Greek characters from 7 00 : $\rho\text{AONAN}\rho\text{AO OOH}\rho\text{KI KOPANO}$ i.e., SHAONANOSHAO OOESHKI KOSHANO or *Shahenshah Huvishka, the Kushāna*, which means the King of Kings, Huvishka, the Kushāna.

Rev : Standing NANA, faces right; diademed and nimbate; crescent on head, wears a head-gear tied with a ribbon portion of which over flows the back; sword at the waist; holds a protome in the right hand and a bowl in the left hand; dressed in a long robe; legend read from outside : NANA; monogram on the right, beaded border.



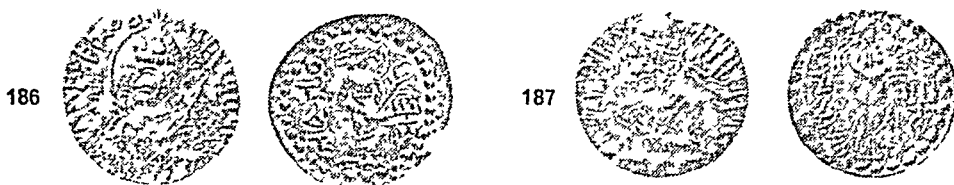
184. *Obv* : Profile bust of king, faces left; wears a bejewelled and crested round helmet with circular device at side; having at its back an angular protrusion from which hang down ribbons on the shoulders; heavy side-burns (*galamucha*) and moustaches; wears a necklace and a tunic; holds a mace in the right hand and an *ankusa* in the left hand; emerging from rock like forms; Bactrian legend in Greek characters from 7 00 : $\rho\text{AONAN}\rho\text{AO OOH}\rho\text{KI KOPANO}$ i.e., SHAONANOSHAO OOESHKI KOSHANO or *Shahenshah Huvishka, the Kushāna*, which means the King of Kings Huvishka, the Kushāna.

Rev : Standing NANA, faces right; diademed and nimbate; wears a head-gear tied with a ribbon portion of which over flows the back; a sword at the waist; holds an indistinct object in the right hand, dressed in a long robe; legend on the right: NANA; monogram on the right; beaded border.

185. *Obv* : Bust of king in full regal dress, faces left; nimbate; wears a bejewelled and crested helmet having at the back an angular protrusion from which hang down fillets; bejewelled ear flaps and heavy side-burns; shoulders having fillets, wears necklace and tunic, clasped at the front, holds mace in the right hand and a spear having fluttering ribbons in

the left hand; emerges from rock like forms; Bactrian legend in Greek characters from 7.00 : $\rho\text{AONANOpAO O(O)HpKI KO}\rho\text{ANO}$ *i.e.*, SHAONANOSHAO OOESHKI KOSHANO or *Shahenshal Huvishka, the Kushāna*, which means the King of Kings, Huvishka, the Kushāna.

Rev : Standing female deity faces right; nimbate; wears a headgear tied with ribbons over flowing the shoulders; crescent at the top; holds a protome in the right hand and a bowl in the left hand; wears long garments covering the feet; legend on the left : NANO *i.e.*, NANA; monogram on right; beaded border.



186. *Obv* : Bust of king in full regal dress, faces left; nimbate; wears a bejewelled and crested helmet with beaded border and having at the back an angular protrusion from which hang down fillets; bejewelled ear flaps; shoulders having fillets; wears necklace and tunic; holds a mace in the right hand and a spear having fluttering ribbons in the left hand; Bactrian legend in Greek characters from 7.00 : $(\rho\text{AO})\text{NANOpAO O/OHpKI KO}\rho\text{ANO}$ *i.e.*, SHAONANOSHAO OOESHKI KOSHANO or *Shahenshal Huvishka, the Kushāna* which means the King of Kings, Huvishka, the Kushāna.

Rev : Standing female deity, faces right; nimbate; wears a head-gear tied with ribbons over flowing the back; crescent at the top; holds a protome in the right hand; wears a long robe; legend on the left : NANO *i.e.*, NANA; monogram on the right; beaded border.

187. *Obv* : Bust of king having long nose, faces left; nimbate; wears a bejewelled and crested round helmet, having at the back an angular protrusion from which hang down ribbons; heavy side-burns (*galamucha*); shoulders having fillets; wears necklace and tunic; holds a mace in the right hand and an *añkuśa* in the left hand; emerges from rock like forms; Bactrian legend in Greek characters from 7.00 : $(\rho\text{AONANOpAO OO})\text{HpKI KO}\rho\text{ANO}$ *i.e.*, SHAONANOSHAO OOESHKI KOSHANO or *Shahenshal Huvishka, the Kushāna*, which means the King of Kings, Huvishka, the Kushāna.

Rev : Standing female deity, faces left; nimbate; hair tied with ribbons over flowing at the back; crescent at the top; holds a wreath in the right hand and a bowl in the left hand; wears a long robe; legend on the right : NANO *i.e.*, NANA; monogram on left; beaded border.

188



188. *Obv* : Bust of king in regal dress, faces left, nimbate; wears a bejewelled and crested helmet having at the back an angular protrusion from which hang down fillets; bejewelled ear flaps and having side-burns (*galamucha*); shoulders having fillets; wears necklace and a tunic; clasped at the front, holds a mace in the right hand and a spear having ribbons in the left hand; emerges from rock like forms; Bactrian legend in Greek characters from 7.00 to 12.00 truncated : (pAONANO pAO OO)HpKI KOpANO *i.e.*, SHAONANOSHAO OOESHKI KOSHANO or *Shahenshah Huvishka, the Kushāna*, which means the King of Kings, Huvishka, the Kushāna.

Rev : Standing female deity, faces left; nimbate; hair tied with ribbons over flowing at the back; crescent at the top; holds a wreath in the right hand, a bowl in the left hand; wears a long robe; legend on the right: NANO *i.e.*, NANA; monogram on left; beaded border.

189



189. *Obv* : Bust of a youthful king in regal dress, faces left; nimbate; wears a bejewelled and crested helmet having at the back an angular protrusion from which hang down fillets; heavy [side burns (*galamucha*), shoulders having fillets; wears necklace and tunic open at the front; holds a mace in the right hand and a spear having fluttering ribbons in the left hand; emerges from rock like forms; Bactrian legend in Greek characters from 7.00 : pAONANOpAO O/OHpKI KOpANO *i.e.*, SHAONANOSHAO OOESHKI KOSHANO or *Shahenshah Huvishka, the Kushāna*, which means the King of Kings, Huvishka, the Kushāna.

Rev : Standing female deity faces right; radiate; wears a head-gear tied with ribbons which over flow the back; draws an arrow with right hand from quiver, holds a bow in the left hand, wears long armoured over-garment with rolled hem at bottom and a long skirt, legend on the left, read from outside : NANA *i.e.*, NANA; monogram on the right; beaded border.

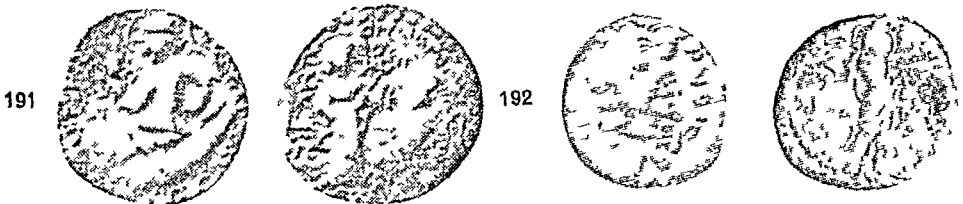
Type XVI (a). Bust portrait of king and NANA seated on lion; gold, round :



190. *Obv* : Profile bust of a robust king, faces left; wears a bejewelled and crested helmet with circular device at side and having at its back an angular protrusion from which hang down ribbons on the shoulders; ear flaps, heavy side burns (*galamucha*) and moustaches; wears a necklace and a tunic; holds a mace in the right hand and a spear in the left hand; emerging from rock like forms; Bactrian legend in Greek characters from 7.00 : $\rho\text{AONAN}\text{O}\rho\text{A}\text{O}$ (OO) $\text{H}\rho\text{K}\text{I}$ $\text{K}\text{O}\rho\text{A}\text{N}\text{O}$ *i.e.*, SHAONANOSHAO OOESHKI KOSHANO or *Shahenshah Huvishka, the Kushāna*, which means the King of Kings, Huvishka, the Kushāna.

Rev : NANA sits frontally on lion, head in profile to right; nimbate; wears a helmet with a lunar crescent at top; a staff with animal protome in right hand, left holds an indistinct object (a bowl ?); left fore-leg of the lion raised; legend on the right : NANO *i.e.*, NANA; monogram on the left; beaded border.

Type XVI (b). King seated on cushion and NANA; copper, round;



191. *Obv* : King seated on a cushion, faces left; nimbate; wears a round cap and Indo-Scythian dress; left elbow resting on a small cushion, a mace in the right hand; truncated circular legend.

Rev : Standing female deity, faces right; wears a head dress and long robe covering the feet; holds a staff in the right hand; in front on kness a male figure, possibly king himself, in *añjali mudrā* or worshipping; truncated legend from 9.00 and from 12.00; monogram on left; beaded border.

192. *Obv* : King reclining on a low cushioned couch is looking intently turning his head to right; diademed and ends of the diadem

flowing to left; right knee tucked up; partly blurred Bactrian legend in Greek script beginning at 1.00 : $\rho\text{A}(\text{NANOpA}(\text{O} \text{O}(\text{h}\rho\text{K}\text{I}) \text{KOpANO}$ i.e., SHAONANOSHAO O OESHKI KOSHANO or *Shahenshah Huvishka, the Kushāna*, which means the King of Kings, Huvishka, the Kushāna.

Rev : Standing female deity, faces right; nimbate; an encircling garland from over head to hips; wears a long robe; holds something in the left hand; legend read upwards on the left : NANA; faint traces of a monogram on the right; beaded border.

Type XVI (c) Bust portrait of king and NANAPAO or PAONANA; gold, round;



193. *Obv* : Profile bust of king, faces left; wears a bejewelled and crested round helmet with circular device at side and having at its back an angular protrusion from which hang down ribbons on the shoulders; heavy side burns (*galamucha*) and moustaches; wears a necklace and a tunic; holds a mace in the right hand and an *ankusa* in the left hand; emerging from rock like shapes, Bactrian legend in Greek characters from 7.00 : $\rho\text{A}(\text{NANOpA}(\text{O} \text{O}(\text{h}\rho\text{K}\text{I}) \text{KOpANO}$ i.e., SHAONANOSHAO O OESHKI KOSHANO or *Shahenshah Huvishka, the Kushāna* which means the King of Kings, Huvishka, the Kushāna.

Rev : Standing female deity, faces right; diademed and nimbate; wears a head-gear tied with a ribbon, portion of which over flows the back; a sword at the waist; holds a protome in the right hand and a bowl in the left hand; dressed in a long robe; legend on left : NANAPAO i.e., NANASHAO, which means *Nana, the King*; monogram on the right; beaded border.

194. *Obv* : Profile bust of king, faces right; wears a bejewelled and crested round helmet with circular device at side and having at its back an angular protrusion from which hang down fillets on the shoulders; heavy side burns (*galamucha*) and moustaches; wears a necklace and a tunic; holds a mace in the right hand and an *ankusa* in the left hand; emerging from rock like shapes; Bactrian legend in Greek characters from 7.00 : $(\rho\text{A}(\text{NANOpA}(\text{O} \text{O}(\text{h}\rho\text{K}\text{I}) \text{KOpANO}$ or SHAONANO SHAO O OESHKI KOSHANO or *Shahenshah Huvishka, the Kushāna*, which means the King of Kings, Huvishka, the Kushāna.

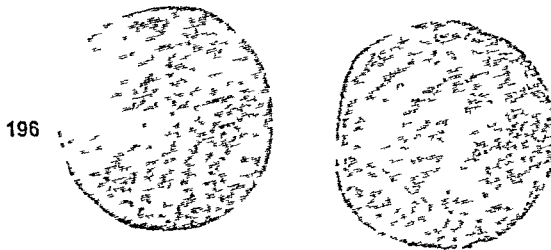
Rev : Standing female deity, faces right; diademed and nimbate; wears a head-gear tied with a ribbon, portion of which over flows the back; a sword at the waist; holds a protome in the right hand and a bowl in the left hand; dressed in a long robe; legend on left : NANApAO *i.e.*, NANASHAO, which means Nana, the Ruler; monogram on the right; beaded border.



195. *Obv* : Profile bust of king, faces left; wears a bejewelled and crested helmet with circular device at side and having at its back an angular protrusion from which hang down ribbons on the shoulders; heavy side burns (*galamucha*) and moustaches; bejewelled fillets on shoulders; wears a necklace and tunic, holds a mace in the right hand and a spear having fluttering ribbons in the left hand; emerging from rock like shapes; Bactrian legend in Greek characters from 7.00 : pAONANOpAO O/OH(pKI KOpANO) *i.e.*, SHAONANOSHAO OOESHKI KOSHANO *i.e.*, *Shahenshah Huvishka, the Kushāna*, which means the King of Kings, Huvishka, the Kushāna.

Rev : Standing NANA, faces right; diademed; wears a head-gear tied with a ribbon, portion of which over flows the back; holds a protome in the right hand and a bowl in the left hand; dressed in a long robe; legend read from outside : pAONANA *i.e.*, SHAONANA which means, the Ruler, Nana; monogram on the right; beaded border.

Type XVII. King riding an elephant and OADΔO; copper, round :



196. *Obv* : King seated astride an elephant; both face right; holds *ankuśa* and a spear; the elephant is shown in a natural pose; traces of Greek legend.

Rev : Male bearded figure running to left, holds in his two hands, two ends of some object, which flows over the head; traces of the legend : OADΔO *i.e.*, OADO or the *Wind-god*; beaded border.

A coin having elephant rider on obverse rarely has *Wind-god* on reverse.

Type XVIII. Bust of king and OANINΔO, gold, round :

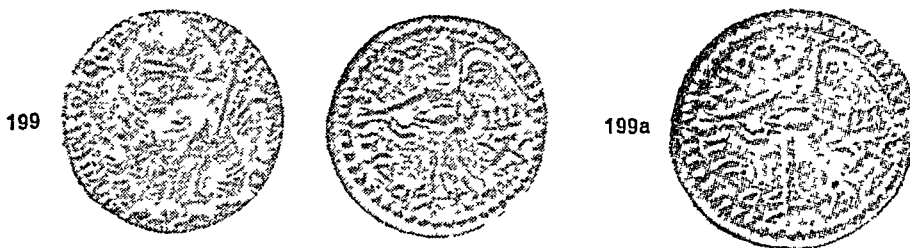


197 *Obv* : Bust of king in full regal dress, faces left, nimbate, wears a bejewelled and crested helmet having at the back an angular protrusion from which over flow ribbons, heavy side burns, flaming shoulders, wears necklace and a tunic, clasped at the front, holds a mace in the right hand and a spear in the left hand, emerges from rock like shapes, Bactrian legend in Greek characters from 7.00 : $\rho\text{AONAN}\text{O}\rho\text{A}\text{O}$ OOHPKI KOPANO or $\text{SHAONANOSHAO OOSHKI KOSHANO}$ or *Shahenshah Huvishka, the Kushāna*, which means the King of Kings, Huvishka, the Kushāna

Rev Standing winged female deity or *NIKE*, faces left; holds a wreath in the extended right hand and a long staff in the left hand, hair tied with a ribbon, wears classical style dress, legend on the left, read from outside. $\text{OANIN}\Delta\text{O}$ i.e., OANINDO which means, *Goddess of Victory*, monogram on the right, beaded border.

198. *Obv* . Bust of king, in full regal dress, faces left; nimbate; wears a bejewelled and crested helmet having at the back an angular protrusion from which over flow ribbons, bejewelled ear flaps and moustaches, flaming shoulders, wears necklace and a tunic, clasped in front, holds a mace in the right hand and a spear having fluttering ribbons in the left hand, emerges from rock like shapes, Bactrian legend in Greek characters from 7 00 : $\rho\text{AONAN}\text{O}\rho\text{A}\text{O}$ OOHPKI KOPANO or $\text{SHAONANOSHAO OOSHKI KOSHANO}$ or *Shahenshah Huvishka, the Kushāna*, which means the King of Kings Huvishka, the Kushana

Rev . Standing winged female deity or *NIKE*, faces left, nimbate, holds a wreath in the extended right hand, wears classical style dress, legend on the right : $\text{OANIN}\Delta\text{O}$ or OANINDO i.e., the *Goddess of Victory*, monogram on the left, beaded border.



199. *Obv* : Bust of king, in full regal dress, faces left; nimbate; wears a bejewelled and crested helmet having at the back an angular protrusion from which over flow ribbons; moustaches; flaming shoulders; wears necklace and a tunic, clasped at the front; holds a mace in the right hand and a spear in the left hand; emerges from rock like shapes; Bactrian legend in Greek characters from 7.00 : $\rho\text{AONANOpAO OOHpKI KO}\rho\text{ANO}$ *i.e.*, SHAONANOSHAO OOESHKI KOSHANO or *Shahenshah Huvishka, the Kushāna*, which means the King of Kings, Huvishka, the Kushāna.

Rev : Standing winged female deity or NIKE, faces left; holds a wreath in the extended right hand and a long staff in the left hand; nimbate; wears classical style dress; legend on the left, read from outside : OANINAO or OANINDO *i.e.*, the *Goddess of Victory*; monogram on the right; beaded border.



200. *Obv* : Bust of king, in full regal dress, faces left; nimbate; wears a bejewelled and crested helmet having at the back an angular protrusion from which over flow ribbons; moustaches; flaming shoulders; wears necklace and a tunic, clasped at the front; holds a mace in the right hand and a spear in the left hand; emerges from rock like shapes; Bactrian legend in Greek characters from 7.00 : $\rho\text{AONANOpAO OOHpKI KO}\rho\text{ANO}$ *i.e.*, SHAONANOSHAO OOESHKI KOSHANO or *Shahenshah Huvishka, the Kushāna*, which means the King of Kings, Huvishka, the Kushāna.

Rev : Standing winged female deity or NIKE, faces left; holds a wreath in the extended right hand and a long staff in the left hand; nimbate; wears classical style dress; legend on the left, read from outside : OANINAO or OANINDO *i.e.*, the *Goddess of Victory*; monogram on the right; beaded border.

Type XIX. Bust of king and OAXpO; gold, round :



201. *Obv* : Profile bust of king, faces left; nimbate; wears a bejewelled helmet, having side devices; helmet tied at the back with ribbons over flowing shoulders; bejewelled ear flaps and side-burns (*galamucha*); holds a mace in the right hand and a spear having fluttering ribbons in the left hand; wears a necklace, an arm-let (*bazoo-band*) and a tunic clasped with two buttons in the front; emerges from rock like forms; Bactrian legend in Greek characters from 7.00 : $\rho\text{AONANOp}/(\text{A})\text{O OOhpKI KO}(\rho\text{ANO})$ i.e., SHAONANOSHAO OOSHKI KOSHANO or *Shahenshah Huvishka, the Kushāna*, which means King of Kings, Huvishka, the Kushāna.

Rev : Standing bearded male, faces left; nimbate; wears a head gear tied at the back with ribbons fluttering behind; diademed; a long staff in the right hand and a fork-tailed large fish in the left hand; wears upper garments reaching almost the ankles; legend on right, read from inside : OAXpO i.e., OAXSHO or the *God of the River OXUS*; monogram on the left; beaded border.

Type XX. Bust of king and OΔHIO (NANA); gold, round :



202. *Obv* : Profile bust of an elderly king, faces left; wears a round bejewelled helmet having a fillet at its brim, back portion of which is tied with two ribbons which over flow the shoulders; long nose, bulbous face and side-burns (*galamucha*); body emerges from two rock shaped forms; holds a mace in the right hand and an *ankusa* in the left hand; wears a necklace and a tunic; blurred Bactrian legend (reconstructed) in Greek characters from 7.00 : $\rho\text{AONANOp}\rho\text{AO OOhpKI KO}(\rho\text{ANO})$ i.e., SHAONANOSHAO OOSHKI KOSHANO or *Shahenshah Huvishka*,

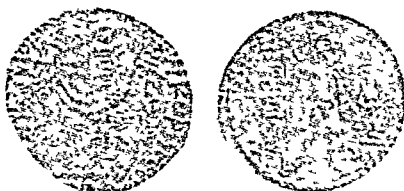
the Kushāna, which means King of Kings, Huvishka, the Kushāna.

Rev : A standing female faces right; nimbate and diademed; hair tied with a ribbon, portion of which over flows the back; holds a knob-headed staff with fluttering ribbons in the right hand and a bowl in the left hand; wears a long robe and a mantle; legend on the left : ΟΔΙΙΟ *i.e.*, ΟΔΙΙΟ; monogram on the right; beaded border.

The characteristics of the deity conform with NANA.

Type XXI. Bust of king wearing a turban and φAPPO; gold, round :

203



203. *Obv :* Profile bust of a bearded king, faces right; nimbate; wears a turban with attached streamers and flying animal (?) on left; has full grown whiskers, or side-burns (*galamucha*) and moustaches; holds a mace in the right hand and a staff with globe like finials tied with ribbons and surmounted by bird(?) facing right, in the left hand; wears a necklace and a coat of mail with a cloak; emerges from rock like forms; Bactrian legend in Greek characters from 7.00 : (pAONANO)pAO (OOhp)KI KOpANO *i.e.*, SHAONANOSHAO OOESHKI KOSHANO or *Shahenshah Huvishka, the Kushāna, which means King of Kings, Huvishka, the Kushāna.*

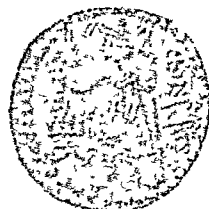
Rev : Male standing frontally, head in profile to right; nimbate; wears a helmet with small wing ornament over fore-head; holds a spear with fluttering ribbons in the right hand, proffers fire in a vessel in left hand; wears an upper garment, a knee long skirt and boots; legend on the left : φAPPO *i.e.*, PHARRO or the *Fire-god*; monogram on the right; beaded border.

Type XXI(a). Bust of king and φAPPO facing left; gold, round :

204



205



204. *Obv :* Profile bust of king, faces left; nimbate; wears a conical

shaped, crested and bejewelled helmet; ear flaps, side-burns (*galamucha*) and moustaches; holds a mace in the right hand and a spear in the left hand; wears a necklace and a tunic clasped at the front with buttons, fillets over the shoulders; emerges from rock like forms; Bactrian legend in Greek characters from 7.00 : (pAONA)NOpAO O/OhpKI KO(pANO) *i.e.*, SHAONANOSHAO OOESHKI KOSHANO or *Shahenshah Huvishka, the Kushāna*, which means King of Kings, Huvishka, the Kushāna.

Rev : Standing male, faces left; nimbate; wears a helmet with small wing ornament, a coat and a chlamys; holds fire in right hand and a long sceptre in the left hand; legend on the right : φAPPO *i.e.*, PHARRO or the *Fire-god*; monogram on the left; beaded border.

205. *Obv* : Profile bust of king, faces left; nimbate; wears a conical shaped, crested and bejewelled helmet; ear flaps and side-burns (*galamucha*); moustaches; holds a mace in the right hand and a spear in the left hand; wears a necklace and a tunic clasped at the front with buttons; fillets over the shoulders; emerges from rock like forms; Bactrian legend in Greek characters from 7.00 : (pAONANO)pAO O/OhpKI KOpANO *i.e.*, SHAONANOSHAO OOESHKI KOSHANO or *Shahenshah Huvishka, the Kushāna*, which means King of Kings, Huvishka, the Kushāna.

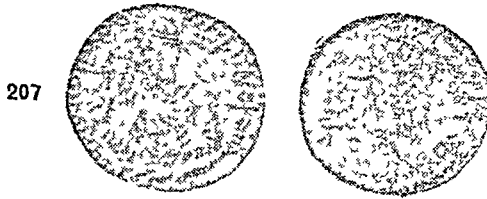
Rev : Standing male, faces left; nimbate; wears a helmet with small wing ornaments, a coat and a chlamys; holds fire in right hand and a long sceptre in the left hand; legend on the right : φAPPO *i.e.*, PHARRO or the *Fire-god*; monogram on the left; beaded border.

206



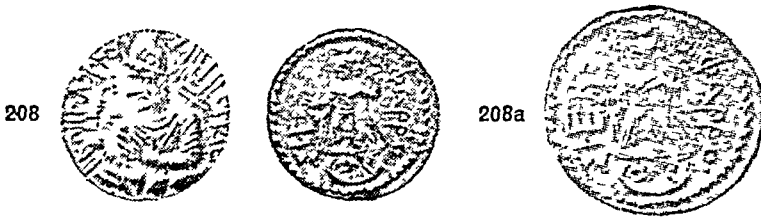
206. *Obv* : Profile bust of king, faces left; nimbate and diademed; wears a round, crested and bejewelled helmet; moustaches and side-burns (*galamucha*); holds a mace in the right hand and an *ankusa* in the left hand; wears a necklace and tunic; Bactrian legend in Greek characters from 7.00 : pAONANOpAO OOOhpKI KOpA(NO) *i.e.*, SHAONANO SHAO OOESHKI KOSHANO or *Shahenshah Huvishka, the Kushāna*, which means King of Kings, Huvishka, the Kushāna.

Rev : A male standing in *tribhaṅga* pose; hair tied in a tuft at the forehead, faces left; holds fire in the right raised hand and left hand resting at the waist; legend on the right : φAPPO *i.e.*, PHARRO or the *Fire-god*; monogram on the left; beaded border.



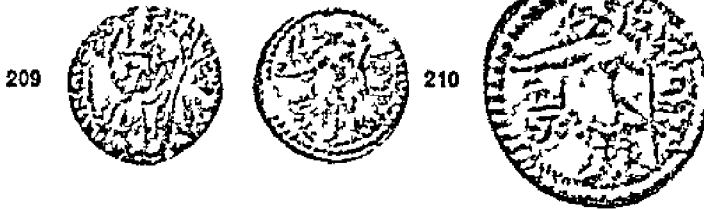
207. *Obv* : Profile bust of king, faces left; nimbate and diademed; wears a round, crested and jewelled helmet; ear flaps and side-burns (*galamucha*); holds a mace in the right hand and an *aiṅkuśa* in the left hand; wears a necklace and a tunic; fillets over the shoulders; Bactrian legend in Greek characters from 7.00 : ρ AONANOpAO O/OhpKI KOpANO *i.e.*, SHAONANOSHAO OoESHKI KOSHANO or *Shahenshah Huvishka, the Kushāṇa*, which means King of Kings, Huvishka, the Kushāṇa.

Rev : Male standing frontally, faces left; nimbate; wears a helmet with small wing ornament over fore-head, tunic, mantle and low boots; holds a torque in the extended right hand and a spear in the left raised hand; legend on the right : ϕ APPO *i.e.*, PHARRO or the *Fire-god*; monogram on the left; beaded border.



208. *Obv* : Profile bust of king, faces left; nimbate; wears a round, crested and jewelled helmet; side burns (*galamucha*) and moustaches; holds a mace in the right hand and an *aiṅkuśa* in the left hand; wears a necklace and a tunic; fillets over the shoulders; Bactrian legend in Greek characters from 7.00 : ρ AONANOpAO OOhpKI KOpANO *i.e.*, SHAONANOSHAO OoESHKI KOSHANO or *Shahenshah Huvishka, the Kushāṇa*, which means King of Kings, Huvishka, the Kushāṇa.

Rev : A male standing in center of a wheel like shape, faces left; nimbate and diademed; wings in the head-dress; wears a coat and chlamys; makes two fingered gesture with the right hand and holds a long staff in the left hand; legend on the right : ϕ APPO *i.e.*, PHARRO or the *Fire-god*; monogram on the left; beaded border.



209 *Obv* Profile bust of king, faces left, nimbate and diademed, wears a crested and bejewelled helmet, ear flaps and side burn (*galamucha*), holds a mace in the right hand and a spear having fluttering ribbons in the left hand, wears a necklace and a tunic open at the front, filets over the shoulders, Bactrian legend in Greek characters from 7 00 $\rho\text{AONAN}\text{O}\rho\text{A}\text{O}$ $\text{O}\text{O}\eta\text{pKI}$ KOSHANO or *Shahenshah Huvishka, the Kushana*, which means King of Kings, Huvishka, the Kushāna

Rev Standing male faces left, nimbate and diademed, wings in the head dress, wears coat and chlamys holds fire in right hand and a long sceptre in the left hand, legend on the right ϕAPPO *ie*, PHARRO or the *Fire-god*, monogram on the left, beaded border

210 *Obv* Profile bust of king, faces left, diademed and nimbate, wears a conical shaped, crested and bejewelled helmet, ear flaps holds a mace in the right hand and a standard in the left hand, wears a necklace and a tunic, flames rise from shoulders, emerges from rock like forms, Bactrian legend in Greek characters from 7 00 ($\rho\text{AONAN}\text{O}\rho\text{A}\text{O}$ $\text{O}\text{O}\eta\text{pKI}$)KOPANO *ie*, SHAONANOSHAO OOSHKI KOSHANO or *Shahenshah Huvishka, the Kushana*, which means King of Kings Huvishka, the Kushāna

Rev Standing male deity, faces left, winged head dress, holds fire in right hand and left hand grasps a sword at the waist, wears a coat, and high boots, chlamys, legend on the right ϕAPPO *ie*, PHARRO or the *Fire god* monogram on the left, beaded border



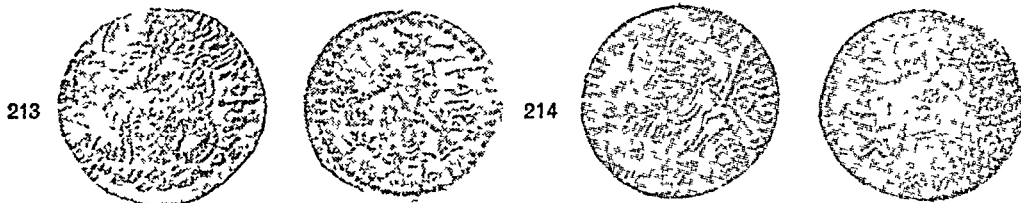
211 *Obv*. Profile bust of king, faces left, nimbate, wears a conical shaped, crested and bejewelled helmet, ear flaps, holds a mace in the right hand, Bactrian legend in Greek characters from 7 00 $\rho\text{AONAN}\text{O}\rho\text{A}\text{O}$

OOhpKI KOpANO *i.e.*, SHAONANOSHAO OOESHKI KOSHANO or *Shahenshah Huvishka, the Kushāna*, which means King of Kings, Huvishka, the Kushāna.

Rev : Standing male deity, faces left; winged head-dress; wears a coat, chlamys and high boots; holds fire in the right extended hand and a sceptre in the left hand; a sword at the waist; legend on the right : φAPPO *i.e.*, PHARRO or the *Fire-god*; monogram on the left; beaded border.

212. *Obv* : Profile bust of king, faces left; diademed and nimbate; wears a round shaped, crested and bejewelled helmet; ear flaps and moustaches; holds in the right hand a mace and a spear having fluttering ribbons in the left hand; wears a necklace, an arm-let (*bazooband*) and a tunic clasped with buttons; Bactrian legend (re-constructed) in Greek characters from 7.00 : (pAONANO)pAO OOhpKI KOpANO *i.e.*, SHAONANOSHAO OOESHKI KOSHANO or *Shahenshah Huvishka, the Kushāna*, which means King of Kings, Huvishka, the Kushāna.

Rev : Standing male deity, faces left; nimbate; wings in head-dress; wears a cloak, coat, chlamys and high-boots; holds fire in right hand and left hand grasps a sword at the waist; legend on the right : φAPPO *i.e.*, PHARRO or the *Fire-god*; monogram on the left; beaded border.



213. *Obv* : Profile bust of king, faces left; diademed and nimbate; wears a crested, bejewelled and tall-pointed helmet; ear flaps; bearded and moustached; holds in the right hand a mace and a spear having fluttering ribbons in the left hand; wears a necklace, an arm-let (*bazooband*) and a tunic clasped at the front with buttons; flaming shoulders; Bactrian legend in Greek characters from 7.00 : pAONANOp/(A) O OOhpKI KO(pANO) *i.e.*, SHAONANOSHAO OOESHKI KOSHANO or *Shahenshah Huvishka, the Kushāna*, which means King of Kings, Huvishka, the Kushāna.

Rev : Standing male deity, faces left; winged head-dress; flaming shoulders; wears a long coat and a mantle; holds fire in a bowl in the right hand and left hand grasps a sword at the waist; legend on the right : φAPPO *i.e.*, PHARRO or the *Fire-god*; monogram on left; beaded border.

214. *Obv* : Profile bust of king, faces left; diademed and nimbate; wears a crested, bejewelled and tall pointed helmet; ear flaps and side-

burns (*galamucha*), holds a mace in the right hand and a spear in the left hand, wears a necklace and a tunic, Bactrian legend in Greek characters from 7 00 (pAO)NANOpAO O/OhpKI KOpANO *ie*, SHAONANOSHAO OOESHKI KOSHANO or *Shahenshah Huvishka the Kushana* which means King of Kings, Huvishka, the Kushana

Rev Standing male deity faces left, diademed and nimbate, winged head dress, holds a purse in the right hand and a knob headed spear having fluttering ribbons in the left hand, wears a designed under garment and a mantle, tree like decoration before the face and the back, legend on the right φAPPO *ie*, PHARRO or the *Fire god* monogram on the left, beaded border

215



216



215 *Obv* Profile bust of a bearded king faces left, diademed, wears a crested and bejewelled helmet, side burns (*galamucha*), a wart and moustaches, holds a mace in the right hand and an *ankusa* in the left hand, wears a necklace and a tunic, fillets over shoulders, Bactrian legend in Greek characters from 7 00 pAONANOpAO O/OhpKI KOpANO *ie*, SHAONANOSHAO OOESHKI KOSHANO or *Shahenshah Huvishka the Kushāna*, which means King of Kings, Huvishka, the Kushāna

Rev Standing male, faces right, diademed and a lunar crescent at the top, wears a helmet under garments and a mantle, holds indistinct object in right hand and a long sceptre in the left hand, legend on the left φAPPO *ie*, PHARRO or the *Fire god* monogram on the right, beaded border

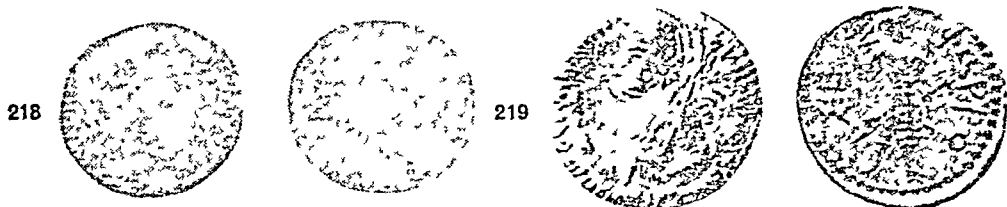
216 *Obv* Profile bust of king, faces left, wears a round shaped helmet, side burns (*galamucha*) and moustaches, holds a mace in the right hand and an *ankusa* in the left hand, wears a necklace and a tunic, fillets over shoulders, emerges from rock like forms, Bactrian legend in Greek characters from 7 00 pAONANOpAO O/OhpKI KOpANO *ie*, SHAONANOSHAO OOESHKI KOSHANO or *Shahenshah Huvishka, the Kushana*, which means King of Kings, Huvishka, the Kushana

Rev Standing male, faces right, nimbate, small wing ornament over fore head, wears tunic mantle and low boots, holds a bowl in right hand against chest and a long sceptre in the left hand, legend on the left φAPPO *ie*, PHARRO or the *Fire-god*, monogram on the left, beaded border



217. *Obv* : Profile bust of king, faces left; nimbate; wears a crested and bejewelled helmet; side-burns (*galamucha*), a wart and moustaches; holds a mace in the right hand and a spear having fluttering ribbons in the left hand; wears a necklace, and armband (*bazooband*) and a tunic clasped at the front with buttons; fillets over shoulders; emerges from rock like forms; Bactrian legend in Greek characters from 7.00 : ρ AONANOpA/O OOhpKI KO ρ ANO *i.e.*, SHAONANOSHAO OOESHKI KOSHANO or *Shahenshah Huvishka, the Kushāna*, which means King of Kings Huvishka, the Kushāna.

Rev : Standing male, faces right; diademed and nimbate; wings in head-dress; holds in right hand fire in a vessel and a long knob-headed sceptre with fluttering ribbons in the left hand; legend on left : ϕ APPO *i.e.*, PHARRO or the *Fire-god*; monogram on the right; beaded border.



218. *Obv* : Profile bust of king, faces left; wears a helmet; side-burns (*galamucha*) and moustaches; holds a mace in the right hand and an *aṅkuṣa* in the left hand; wears a necklace and a tunic; fillets over shoulders; Bactrian legend in Greek characters from 7.00 : ρ AONANOpAO O/OhpKI KO ρ ANO *i.e.*, SHAONANOSHAO OOESHKI KOSHANO or *Shahenshah Huvishka, the Kushāna*, which means King of Kings, Huvishka, the Kushāna.

Rev : Standing male, faces right; diademed and nimbate; wears a helmet with small wing ornaments, a coat and a chlamys; holds a bowl(?) in right hand resting at stomach and a long sceptre in the left raised hand; legend on the left : ϕ APPO *i.e.*, PHARRO or the *Fire-god*; monogram on the left; beaded border.

219. *Obv* : Profile bust of king, faces left; wears a bejewelled helmet; side-burns (*galamucha*) and moustaches; holds a mace in the right hand and a spear with fluttering ribbons in the left hand; wears a buttoned tunic;

emerges from a rock like form, Bactrian legend in Greek from 700: $\rho\text{AONANOpAO OOhpKI KO}\rho(\text{ANO})\iota e$, SHAONAOSHAO OOSHKI KOSHANO or *Shahenshah Huvishka, the Kushana*, which means King of Kings, Huvishka, the Kushana

Rev: Standing male deity, faces right, diademed and nimbate, head winged, clad in a coat, holds a sceptre in the raised right hand and an elephant goad or *ankusa* in the left hand, legend on the right ϕAPPO *i e*, PHARRO or the *Fire-god*, monogram on the left, beaded border

Type XXI (b). King riding an elephant and ϕAPPO ; copper, round :



220 *Obv*: A male riding an elephant, faces right, elephant also faces right; right hand at the waist, left hand not visible, left fore leg of the elephant is raised to indicate as if walking, blurred and truncated legend (reconstructed) from 700. ($\rho\text{AONA})\text{NOpAO O/OhpKI KO}(\rho\text{ANO})\iota e$, SHAONANOSHAO OOSHKI KOSHANO or *Shahenshah Huvishka, the Kushana*, which means King of Kings, Huvishka, the Kushana

Rev: A blurred figure of a standing male, faces left, right hand extended and shown as if holding something, left raised hand holds a spear(?), wears a long coat, heavy trousers and boots, no trace of the legend, beaded border

This coin was excavated at Taxila.

Type XXI (c). Bust of king and ϕAPO ; gold, round :



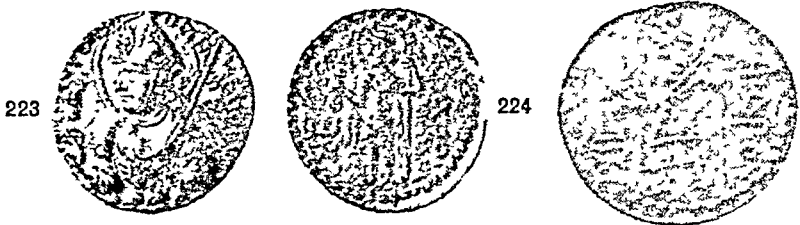
221. *Obv*. Profile bust of king, faces left, nimbate, wears a tall-pointed, and bejewelled helmet, ear flaps, sideburns (*galanucha*) and

moustaches; holds a mace in the right hand and a spear in the left hand; wears a necklace and a buttoned tunic; fillets over the shoulders; emerges from rock like forms; Bactrian legend in Greek characters from 7.00 : (pAONANOpAO O/O)hpKI KOpAN(O) *i.e.*, SHAONANOSHAO OOESHKI KOSHANO or *Shahenshah Huvishka, the Kushāna*, which means King of Kings, Huvishka, the Kushāna.

Rev : Standing male, faces left; diademed and nimbate; wears a helmet, a coat, a lower garment and a mantle; holds fire in right hand and a long sceptre in the left hand; legend on the right : φAPO *i.e.*, PHARO or the *Fire-god*; monogram on the left; beaded border.

222. *Obv* : Profile bust of king, faces left; nimbate; wears a round shaped, crested and bejewelled helmet; ear flaps, side-burns (*galamucha*) and moustaches; holds a mace in the right hand and a spear in the left hand; wears a necklace and a tunic clasped at the front with buttons; fillets over the shoulders; emerges from rock like forms; Bactrian legend in Greek characters from 7.00 : pAONANOpAO/OOhpKO KOp(ANO) *i.e.*, SHAONANOSHAO OOESHKO KOSHANO or *Shahenshah Huvishka, the Kushāna*, which means King of Kings, Huvishka, the Kushāna.

Rev : Standing male, faces left; diademed and wears a coat and a chlamys; holds fire in the right extended hand and a sword in the left hand resting at the waist; legend on the right : φAPO *i.e.*, PHARO or the *Fire-god*; monogram on the left; beaded border.



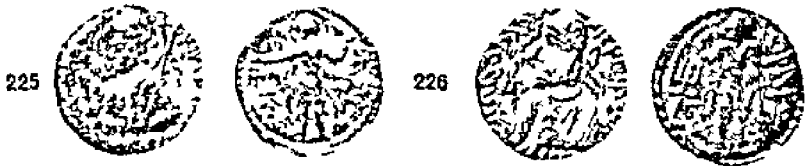
223. *Obv* : Profile bust of king, faces left; nimbate; wears a tall pointed, crested and bejewelled helmet; ear flaps, side burns (*galamucha*) and moustaches; holds a mace in the right hand and a spear in the left hand; wears a necklace and a buttoned tunic; fillets over the shoulders; emerges from rock like forms; Bactrian legend in Greek characters from 7.00 : (pAONAN)OpAO O/OhphpKo (KOpANO) *i.e.*, SHAONANOSHAO OOESHKO KOSHANO or *Shahenshah Huvishka, the Kushāna*, which means King of Kings, Huvishka, the Kushāna; the legend apparently is mis-spelt.

Rev : Standing male, faces left; wears a helmet with small wing ornaments, a coat and a chlamys; holds a purse in right hand and a long

sceptre with fluttering ribbons in the left hand; legend on the right : ϕ ΑΡΟ *i.e.*, PHARO or the *Fire-god*, monogram on the left; beaded border.

224 *Obv* : Profile bust of king, faces left, diademed and nimbate, wears a conical shaped, crested and bejewelled helmet; ear flaps, side-burns (*galamucha*) and moustaches; holds a mace in the right hand and a spear in the left hand, wears a necklace and a tunic; fillets over the shoulders, emerges from rock like forms, (reconstructed) Bactrian legend in Greek characters from 7 00 : ρ ΑΟΝΑΝΟ ρ ΑΟ Ο/ΟΗ ρ ΚΙ ΚΟ ρ ΑΝΟ *i.e.*, SHAONANO SHAO OOESHKI KOSHANO or *Shahenshah Huvishka, the Kushāna*, which means King of Kings, Huvishka, the Kushāna.

Rev : Standing male, faces left; diademed and nimbate; wears a helmet with small wing ornament, a coat and a chlamys; holds a purse in right hand and a long sceptre in the left raised hand; legend on the right : ϕ ΑΡΟ *i.e.*, PHARO or the *Fire-god*, monogram on the left; beaded border.



225 *Obv* : Profile bust of king, faces left; nimbate, wears a crested and bejewelled helmet, ear flaps, side-burns (*galamucha*) and moustaches; holds a mace in the right hand and a spear in the left hand; wears a necklace and a buttoned tunic; fillets over the shoulders; emerges from rock like forms, Bactrian legend in Greek characters from 7.00 : ρ ΑΟΝΑΝΟ ρ ΑΟ ΟΟ/Η ρ ΚΙ ΚΟ ρ ΑΝΟ *i.e.*, SHAONANOSHAO OOESHKI KOSHANO or *Shahenshah Huvishka, the Kushāna*, which means King of Kings, Huvishka, the Kushāna.

Rev : Standing male, faces left; nimbate; wears a helmet, under garments and a mantle, holds fire in extended right hand and a long sceptre in the left hand, legend on the right : ϕ ΑΡΟ *i.e.*, PHARO or the *Fire-god*, monogram on the left; beaded border.

226. *Obv* : Profile bust of king, faces left; nimbate; wears a round helmet having a circular device on the sides, has long whiskers, a wart and moustaches; holds a mace in the right hand and an *ankusa* in the left hand; wears a necklace and a tunic, fillets over the shoulders, emerges from rock like forms; Bactrian legend in Greek characters from 7.00 : (ρ ΑΟ)ΝΑΝΟ ρ ΑΟ Ο/ΟΗ ρ ΚΙ ΚΟ ρ (ΑΝΟ) *i.e.*, SHAONANO SHAO OOESHKI KOSHANO or *Shahenshah Huvishka, the Kushāna*, which means King of Kings, Huvishka, the Kushāna

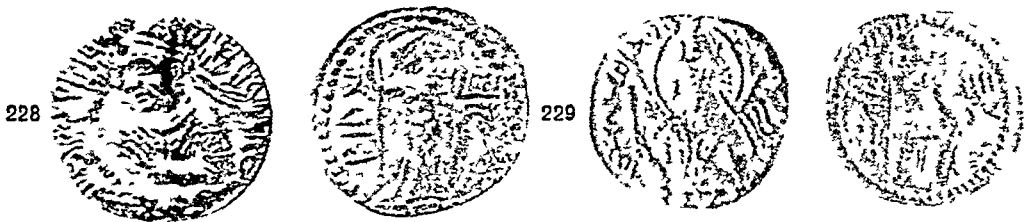
Rev : Standing male, faces left; nimbate; wears under garments and a mantle; holds a knob-headed staff in the right hand and at the waist a long sceptre in the left hand; legend on the right : ϕ APO *i.e.*, PHARO or the *Fire-god*; monogram on the left; beaded border.

Type XXII. Bust of king and PION or PIPNO; gold, round :



227. *Obv* : Profile bust of king, faces left; nimbate; wears a tall, pointed, crested and bejewelled helmet; ear flaps, side-burns (*galamucha*) and moustaches; holds a mace in the right hand and a spear in the left hand; wears a necklace and a buttoned tunic; fillets over the shoulders; emerges from rock like forms; Bactrian legend in Greek characters from 7.00 : ρ AONANOpAO O/OhpKI (KOpANO) *i.e.*, SHAONANOSHAO OOESHKI KOSHANO or *Shahenshah Huvishka, the Kushāna*, which means King of Kings, Huvishka, the Kushāna.

Rev : Standing female, faces right; wears helmet, body armour and long chiton; holds a spear in the right hand and a shield in the left hand; legend on the left PION *i.e.*, RION or the personified *Goddess of Rome*; monogram on the right; beaded border.



228. *Obv* : Profile bust of an aged king, faces left; long bulbous nose; nimbate; wears a crested and bejewelled helmet; ear flaps, side-burns (*galamucha*) and moustaches; holds a mace in the right hand and an *añkuša* in the left hand; wears a necklace, an armband (*bazooband*) and a buttoned tunic; fillets over shoulders; emerges from rock like forms; (reconstructed) Bactrian legend in Greek characters from 7.00 : ρ AON-ANOpAO O/OhpKI KOpANO *i.e.*, SHAONANOSHAO OOESHKI KOSHANO or *Shahenshah Huvishka, the Kushāna*, which means King of Kings, Huvishka, the Kushāna.

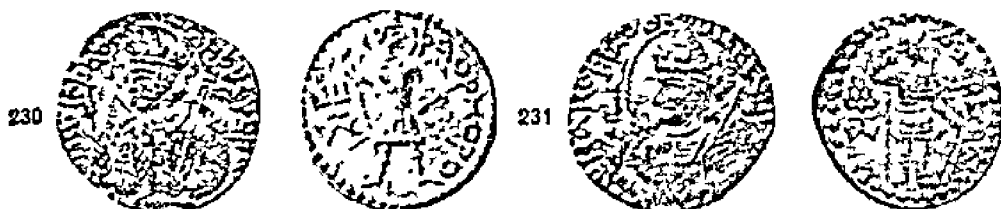
Rev : Standing female, faces right; wears a crested helmet, body armour and long chiton; holds a spear in the right hand and a shield in the left hand; legend on the left : PION or RION *i.e.*, the personified *Goddess of Rome*; monogram on the right; beaded border.

229. *Obv* : Profile bust of king, faces left; nimbate; wears a tall pointed, crested and bejewelled helmet; ear flaps and side-burns (*galamucha*); holds a mace in the right hand and a spear having fluttering ribbons in the left hand; wears a necklace and a buttoned tunic; fillets over shoulders; emerges from rock like forms; Bactrian legend in Greek characters from 7.00 : $\rho\text{AONAN}\rho\text{A}\text{O}$ $\text{O}/\text{O}(\text{hpKI K}\rho\text{A}\text{NO})$ *i.e.*, SHAONANOSHAO OESHKI KOSHANO or *Shahenshah Huvishka*, the *Kushāna*, which means King of Kings, Huvishka, the *Kushāna*.

Rev : Standing female, faces right; wears crested helmet, body armour and long chiton; holds a spear in the right raised hand and a shield like object in the left hand; legend on the left : PIPNO *i.e.*, RISHNO or the personified *Goddess of Rome*; monogram on the right, beaded border.

RISHNO type coin has symbolic relationship with SHAOREORO.

Type XXIII. Bust of king and $\rho\text{AOPhOPO}$; gold, round :



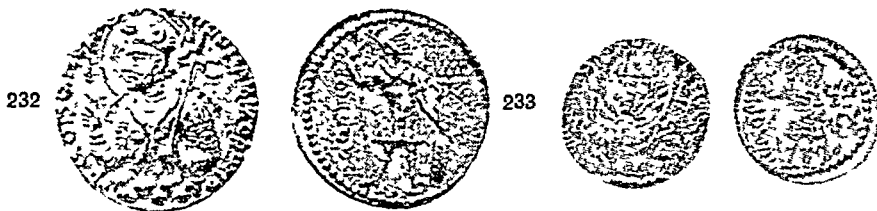
230 *Obv* : Profile bust of king, faces left; nimbate; wears a crested and bejewelled helmet, ear flaps, side burns (*galamucha*) and a buttoned tunic; fillets over shoulders; emerges from rock like forms; Bactrian legend in Greek characters from 7.00 : $\rho\text{AONAN}\rho\text{A}\text{O}$ $\text{O}/\text{O}(\text{hpKI K}\rho\text{A}\text{NO})$ *i.e.*, SHAONANO SHAO OESHKI KOSHANO or *Shahenshah Huvishka*, the *Kushāna*, which means King of Kings, Huvishka, the *Kushāna*.

Rev : Standing male, faces right, nimbate; wears a crested helmet, Roman military dress of mailed skirt and cuirass; holds a spear in the raised right hand and in the left hand a sword with animal-head shaped hilt; legend on the right : $\rho\text{AOPhOPO}$ *i.e.*, SHAOREORO or the *Genus of Metals*; monogram on the left; beaded border.

231. *Obv* : Profile bust of king, faces left; nimbate; wears a tall, pointed, crested and bejewelled helmet; ear flaps, side-burns (*galamucha*) a wart and moustaches; holds a mace in the right hand and a spear in the

left hand; wears a necklace and a buttoned-tunic; fillets over shoulders; emerges from rock like forms; Bactrian legend in Greek characters from 7.00 : (pA)ONANOPAO O/OhpKI (KOPANO) *i.e.*, SHAONANOSHAO OOESHKI KOSHANO or *Shahenshah Huvishka, the Kushāna*.

Rev.: Standing male, faces left; nimbate; wears a crested helmet, Roman military dress of mailed skirt, and cuirass; holds a spear in the right raised hand and a shield, resting on the ground at his feet, with the left hand; legend on the right; pAOPHOPO *i.e.*, SHAOREORO or the *Genus of Metals*; monogram on the left; beaded border.



232. *Obv.* Profile bust of king, faces left, nimbate; wears a tall pointed, crested and bejewelled helmet; ear flaps and moustaches; holds a mace in the right hand and a spear having fluttering ribbons in the left hand; wears a necklace, an armlet (*bazooband*) and buttoned tunic; fillets over shoulders; emerges from rock like forms; Bactrian legend in Greek characters from 7.00 : pAONANOPAO OOhpKI KOPANO *i.e.*, SHAONANOSHAO OOESHKI KOSHANO or *Shahenshah Huvishka, the Kushāna*, which means King of Kings, Huvishka, the Kushāna.

Rev.: Standing male, faces left; nimbate; wears a crested helmet, Roman military dress of mailed skirt, and cuirass; holds a spear in the right raised hand and a shield resting on the ground at his feet with the left hand; legend on the right; pAOPHOPO *i.e.*, SHAOREORO or the *Genus of Metals*; monogram on the left; beaded border.

233. *Obv.*: Profile bust of king, faces left; nimbate; wears a tall, pointed, crested and bejewelled helmet; ear flaps, side-burns (*galamucha*), a wart and moustaches; holds a mace in the right hand a spear in the left hand; wears a necklace and a buttoned-tunic; fillets over shoulders; emerges from rock like forms; Bactrian legend in Greek characters from 7.00 : pAONANOPAO O/OhpKI KOPANO *i.e.*, SHAONANOSHAO OOESHKI KOSHANO or *Shahenshah Huvishka, the Kushāna*, which means King of Kings, Huvishka, the Kushāna.

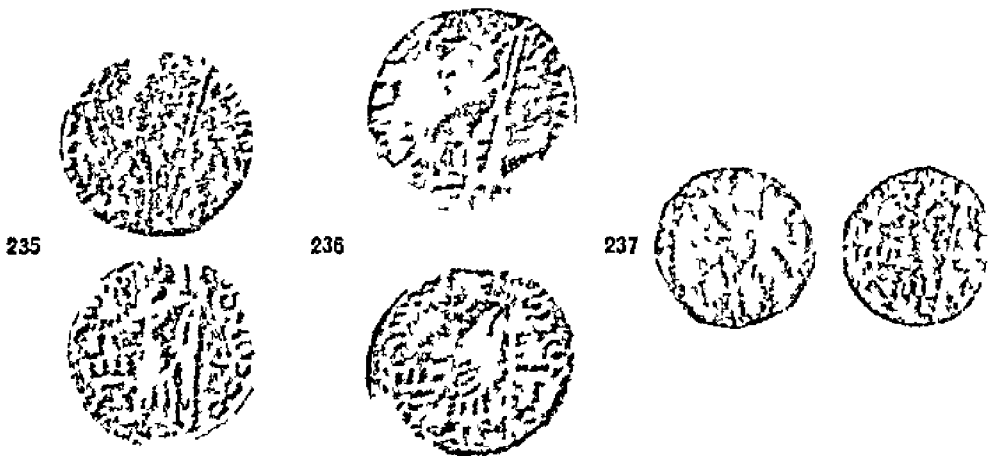
Rev.: Standing male, faces left; nimbate; wears a crested helmet; Roman military dress of mailed skirt, and cuirass; holds a spear in the right raised hand and a shield resting on the ground at his feet with the left hand; legend on the left : pAOPHOPO *i.e.*, SHAOREORO or the *Genus of Metals*; monogram on the left; beaded border.



234 *Obv* : Profile bust of king, faces left, nimbate; wears a tall pointed crested and jewelled helmet; ear flaps, side-burns (*galamucha*), a wart and moustaches; holds a mace in the right hand and a spear in the left hand, wears a necklace and a buttoned-tunic; fillets over shoulders, emerges from rock like forms, Bactrian legend in Greek characters from 7.00 : (pAONA)NOpAO O/OhpKI KO(pANO) *ie*, SHAONANOSHAO OOESHKI KOSHANO or *Shahenshah Huvishka, the Kushāna*, which means King of Kings, Huvishka, the Kushāna

Rev : Standing male, faces left; nimbate, wears a crested helmet, Roman military dress of mailed skirt, and cuirass; holds a spear in the right raised hand and brandishes a shield in the left hand, legend on the right · pAOPhOPO *ie*, SHAOREORO or the *Genus of Metals*, monogram on the left, beaded border.

Type XXIV. Bust of king and WOPMOZΔO; gold, round :



235 *Obv* : Profile bust portrait of an elderly king, blurred, facing left; nimbate, wears a close fitting head-dress and a buttoned tunic, ear-flaps, holds a mace in the right hand and a spear in the left hand, circular legend blurred and truncated.

Rev : A standing male deity, faces left; nimbate, pointed beard; wearing a sleeved ankle long coat and an upper *chādar*; holds a

wreath in the right extended hand and a knob-headed sceptre in the left raised hand; legend from 10.00 : WOP and from 1.00 : OMOZΔO *i.e.*, WOROMOZDO or *Ahura Mazda*; monogram on the left. (See page 127 above)

236. *Obv* : Profile bust portrait of king facing left; nimbate, wears a *mukuṣa*, necklace and a buttoned tunic; ear flaps and side-burns; holds a mace in the right hand and a spear in the left hand; circular truncated legend, reconstructed as : pAONANOpAO O/OhpKI KOpANO *i.e.*, SHAONANOSHAO OOESHKI KOSHANO or *Shahenshah Huvishka, the Kushāna*, which means King of Kings, Huvishka, the Kushāna.

Rev : A standing male deity, faces left; nimbate; pointed beard; wearing a sleeved ankle long coat and an upper *chādar*; holds a wreath in the right extended hand and a knob-headed sceptre in the left raised hand; legend from 10.00 : WOP and from 1.00 : OMOZΔO *i.e.*, WOROMOZDO or *Ahura Mazda*; monogram on the left. (See page 127 above)

237. *Obv* : Profile bust portrait of king facing left; nimbate; wears a round jewelled helmet, a necklace and a buttoned tunic; ear flaps; a mace in the right hand and a spear with fluttering ribbons in the left hand; fillets over shoulders; circular legend completely blurred.

Rev : Heavily bearded standing male figure, faces left; nimbate; holds a wreath in the right extended hand and a sceptre in the left raised hand; wears a sleeved ankle long coat and a *chādar* under it; legend from 10.00 : WOP and from 1.00 : OMOZΔO *i.e.*, WOROMOZDO or *Ahura Mazda*; monogram on the left.

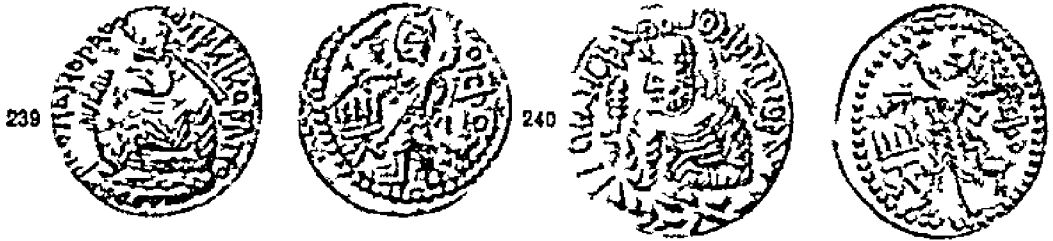
Type XXV. Bust portrait of king and MAA<hNO ; gold, round:



238. *Obv* : profile bust of king emerging from rock like forms, faces left; wears a round bejewelled and crested helmet; from the angular protrusion at the back of the helmet over flowing fillets; heavy side-burns (*galamucha*); wears a necklace and a tunic; holds a mace in the right hand and an *ankuṣa* in the left hand; Bactrian legend in Greek characters from 7.00 : pAONANOpAO O/OhpKI KOpANO *i.e.*, SHAONANOSHAO OOESHKI KOSHANO or *Shahenshah Huvishka, the Kushāna*, which means King of Kings, Huvishka, the Kushāna.

Rev Standing male deity, *en face* nimbate and diademed, clad in coat, clasped with two buttons at the front, a tunic or *samghast*, and a mantle, holds in right hand a standard surmounted by a bird finial and fluttering ribbons, left hand resting at the waist holds a sword, legend on the right MAA<hNO or MAASENO *i e*, *Mahāsena* or the *War god* monogram on the left, beaded border

Type XXVI. Bust portrait of king and Ohpo, gold, round,



239 *Obv* Profile bust of king, emerging from rock like forms, faces left, wears a round bejewelled and crested helmet, from the angular protrusion at the back of the helmet over flowing ribbons, long whiskers, a wart and moustaches, wears a necklace and a tunic, holds a mace in the right hand and an *ankusa* in the left hand, Bactrian legend in Greek characters from 700 ρ AONANOPAO O/OhpKI KOPANO *i e*, SHAONANOSHAO OESHKI KOSHANO or *Shahenshah Huvishka*, the *Kushāna*, which means King of Kings, Huvishka, the Kushana

Rev Standing four armed male, faces left, nimbate and lunar crescent above the head, wears a knee long *dhoti*, an upper garment and beaded sacred thread, holds (1) a *damaroo* in the raised right hand (2) a *kamaṇḍalu* and an *ankusa* in the lower right hand, (3) in the raised left hand a trident or thunder bolt and (4) a stag or an antelope in the lower left hand, legend on the right Ohpo *i e*, OESHO or the *God Śiva* monogram on the left, beaded border

240 *Obv* Profile bust of king, emerging from rock like forms, faces left, wears a round bejewelled and crested helmet, behind over flowing ribbons, heavy side burns (*galamucha*), wears a tunic, holds a mace in the right hand and an *ankusa* in the left hand, Bactrian legend in Greek characters from 700 ρ AONANOPAO O/OhpKI KOPANO *i e*. SHAONANOSHAO OESHKI KOSHANO or *Shahenshah Huvishka* the *Kushāna*, which means King of Kings, Huvishka, the Kushana

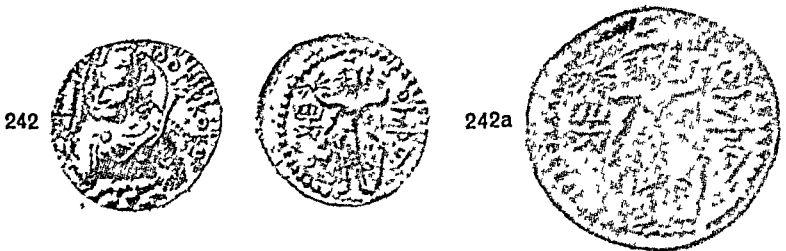
Rev Standing four armed male, faces left, nimbate and lunar crescent above the head, wears a knee long *dhoti*, an upper garment and beaded sacred thread, holds (1) a *damaroo* in the raised right hand (2) a *kamaṇḍalu* and an *ankusa* in the lower right hand, (3) in the raised left hand a trident

or thunder bolt and (4) a stag or an antelope in the lower left hand; legend on the right : OhpO *i.e.*, OESHO or the *God-Siva*; monogram on the left; beaded border.



241. *Obv* : Profile bust of king, emerging from rock like forms, faces left; wears a round bejewelled and crested helmet; behind over flowing ribbons; heavy side-burns (*galamucha*); wears a tunic; holds a mace in the right hand and an *aṅkuśa* in the left hand; Bactrian legend in Greek characters from 7.00 : pAONANOpAO O/OhpKI KOpANO *i.e.*, SHAONANOSHAO OOESHKI KOSHANO or *Shahenshah Huvishka, the Kushāṇa*, which means King of Kings, Huvishka, the Kushāṇa.

Rev : Three headed male stands *en face*; nimbate; wears a *dhotī* tightly covering the legs; holds in the upper right hand (1) a wheel or *chakra* with six spokes, (2) in the lower right hand an antelope (3) in the raised left hand a trident and (4) in the lower left hand a *damaroo*; legend on the left : OhpO *i.e.*, OESHO or the *God-Siva*; monogram on the right; beaded border.



242. *Obv* : Profile bust of king, emerging from rock like forms, faces left; wears a round bejewelled and crested helmet; behind over flowing fillets; ear flaps and heavy side-burns (*galamucha*); wears a necklace and a tunic; holds a mace in the right hand and an *aṅkuśa* in the left hand; Bactrian legend in Greek characters from 7.00 : (pAONANOpAO /OOphp KOpANO *i.e.*, SHAONANOSHAO OOESHKI KOSHANO or *Shahenshah Huvishka, the Kushāṇa*, which means King of Kings, Huvishka, the Kushāṇa.

Rev Three headed male stands *en face* wears a *dhoti* tightly covering the legs, holds in the upper right hand (1) a wheel or *chakra* with six spokes, (2) in the lower right hand a vase (3) in the raised left hand a trident and (4) in the lower left hand a *damaroo* or club(?), legend on the left OhpO *i e* OESHO or the *God Śna* monogram on the left, beaded border



243 *Obv* Profile bust of king emerges from rock like forms faces left, wears a tall, pointed and bejewelled helmet, behind over flowing fillets, ear flaps, heavy side burns (*galamucha*) and a wart, wears a necklace and a buttoned tunic, holds a mace in the right hand an *ankusa* in the left hand, reconstructed Bactrian legend in Greek characters from 700 $\rho\text{AONANOPAO O/OhpKI'KOPANO } i e$, SHAONANOSHAO O OESHKI KOSHANO or *Shahenshah Huvishka, the Kushāna*, which means King of Kings, Huvishka the Kushana

Rev A three headed male(?) standing, *en face*, *tribhāṅga* pose, lunar crescent at the head, wears only a *dhoti* as a lower garment, holds (1) in the raised right hand a *chakra* with six spokes (2) in the lower right hand a vase (3) in the raised left hand a trident and (4) in the lower left hand a club (?), legend on the right OhpO *i e*, OESHO or the *God Śna* monogram on the left beaded border

244 *Obv* Profile bust of king, emerging from rock like forms, faces left, wears a round and bejewelled helmet, behind over flowing fillets, side burns (*galamucha*) wears a tunic, holds a mace in the right hand and an *ankusa* in the left hand, reconstructed Bactrian legend in Greek characters from 700 $\rho\text{AONANOPAO O/OhpKI KOPANO } i e$, SHAONANOSHAO O OESHKI KOSHANO or *Shahenshah Huvishka, the Kushana*, which means King of Kings, Huvishka, the Kushana

Rev A standing male, wearing a *dhoti* faces left, crude representation of OESHO type, holds a wreath in the extended right hand and a spear in the left hand, meaningless legend on the right, monogram on the left, beaded border

245

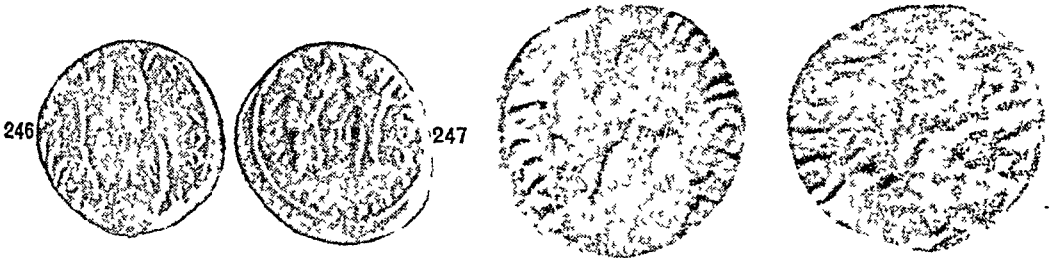


245. *Obv* : Half length figure of king facing left, emerging from clouds; wearing a round and crested helmet; flames emerging from shoulders; holding a club in the right hand before the face and an indistinct object in the left hand; Greek legend : $\rho\text{AONANOpAO OOhpKI KOpANO}$ i.e., SHANONAOSHAO OESHKI KOSHANO or *Shahenshah Huvishka, the Kushāṇa*, which means King of Kings, Huvishka, the Kushāṇa.

Rev : Four armed standing male, faces left; nimbate; hair tied in a bun at the top; wears an upper garment; holds in upper right hand a small drum, in lower right hand a vase with mouth downwards, in upper left hand a trident and in lower left hand an antelope; Greek legend to right : OhpO i.e., OESHO or the *God-Siva* : to left monogram; beaded border.

This Coin is from Orissa.

Type XXVI (a). Bust of king and OhpO-NANA; silver, round :

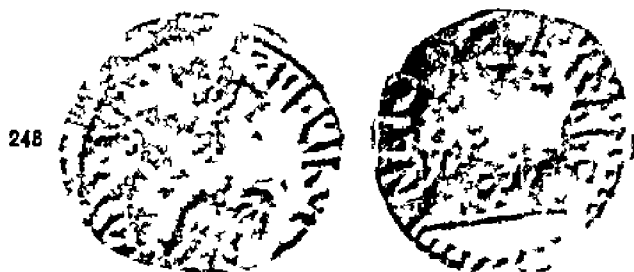


246. *Obv* : Draped half length figure of king to left, rising from clouds, faces left; wears a round, high crested helmet to which a diademed fillet is tied; holds a mace or a club in the right hand; reconstructed corrupt Bactrian legend in Greek characters from 7.00 : $\rho\text{AONANOpAO OOhpKI KOpANO}$ i.e., SHAONANOSHAO OESHKI KOSHANO or the *Shahenshah Huvishka, the Kushāṇa*, which means King of Kings, Huvishka, the Kushāṇa.

Rev : Within circular and part of dotted border, two deities stand facing each other; goddess NANA on the left wears chiton and left hand extended holds cornucopia or a sceptre; OhpO i.e., OESHO or the *God-Siva* on the right with four hands; two hands extended and one perhaps holding a club; between the figures, a monogram;

247 *Obv* Three quarter length figure of king, facing left, wears a crested helmet, holding a mace or a club in the right hand and an indistinct object (*ankusa*) in left hand, reconstructed Greek legend from 7 00 ρ AONANOpAO OYOhpKI KOpANO *ie*, SHAONANOSHAO OESHKI KOSHANO or the *Shahenshah Huvishka*, the *Kushāna* which means King of Kings Huvishka, the Kushāna

Rev Two deities facing one another stand on a pedestal having between them a monogram, attributes of the deities are not clear, legend on right NAN(A) and on left OhpO *ie*, OESHO or the *God Śiva* This Coin is in the Berlin Museum



248 *Obv* Three quarter length figure of king facing left, wears a crested helmet holds a mace in the right hand left hand not visible, legend from 7 00 ρ AONANO(pAO) (O)OhpKI KOpAN(O) *ie*, SHAONANOSHAO OESHKI KOSHANO or *Shahenshah Huvishka the Kushāna*, which means King of Kings, Huvishka, the Kushāna

Rev Two indistinct and blurred deities, stand(?) facing each other, attributes of the deities are not clear, but are identifiable by the legend besides them, legend on the, right read from inside OhpO *ie*, OESHO or the *God Śiva*, legend on the left, read from outside NANA, a tree like object can be identified

Type XXVI (b) Bust of king and OhpO NANA gold, round



249 *Obv* Male blurred bust emerges from cushions faces left, wears a round helmet and a tunic, diademed, holds a mace in the right hand and an indistinct object in the left hand Bactrian legend in Greek characters from 7 00 (p)AONANOpAO O/OhpKI KOpA(NO) *ie*,

SHAONANOSHAO OOESHKI KOSHANO or *Shahenshah Huvishka*, the *Kushāṇa*, which means King of Kings, Huvishka, the *Kushāṇa*.

Rev : Two deities facing each other stand, on a pedestal; details not clear; a female deity on the left NANA holds a cornucopia in the left hand, right hand resting at the waist; four armed deity on the right : OhpO *i.e.*, OESHO 'or the *God-Siva* has indistinct objects in the two raised hands; the lower right hand has a vase or *kamaṇḍalu*; the lower left hand not visible; wears a *dhotī*; monogram behind the two deities; beaded border.

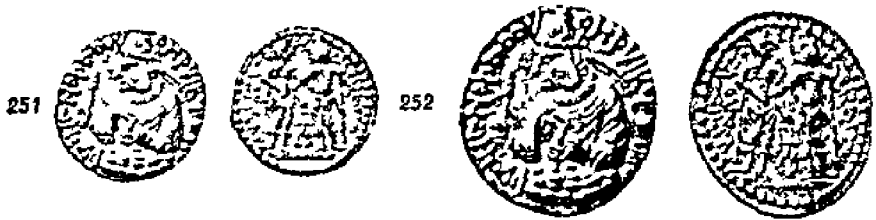
Type XXVI (c). Bust of king and OhpO-OMMO; gold, round :



250. *Obv* : Profile bust of king, faces left; diademed; wears a crested and bejewelled helmet; having angular protrusion at the back which has fluttering ribbons over flowing the shoulders; side-burns (*galamucha*) or long whiskers; a wart and moustaches; wears a necklace and a tunic; holds a mace in the right hand and an indistinct object in the left hand; emerges from cushions : Bactrian legend in Greek characters from 7.00 : pAONANOpAO OOhpKI KOpANO *i.e.*, SHAONANOSHAO OOESHKI KOSHANO or *Shahenshah Huvishka*, the *Kushāṇa*, which means King of Kings, Huvishka, the *Kushāṇa*.

Rev : Two standing deities face each other; a monogram between them; on the left stands OMMO *i.e.*, the *Goddess Umā*; faces right; wears a helmet; diademed; holds a cornucopia in the right hand; OhpO *i.e.*, OESHO or the four armed *God-Siva* stands on the right and faces left. nimbate; holds in the raised right hand a *damaroo*, in the lower right hand a vase in the raised left hand a trident and in the lower left hand an antelope; beaded border.

Type XXVII. Bust portrait of king and <KANAO-KOMARO-BIZAGO; gold, round :



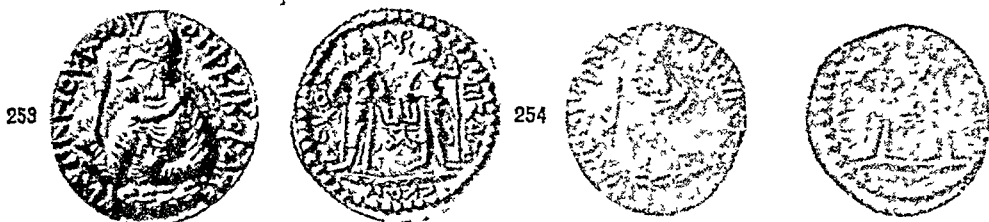
251 : *Obv* : Profile bust of king, facing left and wearing round helmet with circular device at side; crest ornament and pronged symbol at forehead; heavy side-burns (*galamucha*) or long whiskers and prominent wart; wears a necklace and a yoke and loose tunic; carries in right hand a short mace and in left hand an *ankusa*; bust emerges from cushions, Bactrian legend in Greek characters from 7.00 : $\rho\text{AONANOpAO O/OhpKI KO}\rho\text{ANO}$ i.e., SHAONANOSHAO OESHKI KOSHANO or *Shahenshah Huvishka, the Kushāna*, which means King of Kings, Huvishka, the Kushāna.

Rev : Two male deities stand frontally on a platform decorated with rinceu pattern and look at each other; on the right stands BIZAGO i.e., BIZAGO or the *God-Visākha*; holds a trident in the raised left hand; right hand rests on the hip; a sword at his left hip; wears a *dhoti*; having a large jewel at the chest; <KANAO KOMARO i.e., SKANDO KOMARO or the *God-Skanda-Kumāra* which means *Kārttikeya*, faces right and looks at *Visākha*, wears a *dhoti* as a lower garment; holds a knob-finial staff in the right hand; left hand at the waist from which hangs down a sword; monogram between the two deities; beaded border.

252. *Obv* : Profile bust of king facing left and wearing rounded helmet with circular device at side; crest ornament and pronged symbol at forehead; heavy side-burns (*galamucha*) or long whiskers and prominent wart; wears a necklace and a yoke and loose tunic; carries in right hand a short mace and in left hand an *ankusa*; bust emerges from cushions; Bactrian legend in Greek characters from 7.00 : $\rho\text{AONANOpAO O/OhpKI KO}\rho\text{ANO}$ i.e., SHAONANOSHAO OESHKI KOSHANO or *Shahenshah Huvishka, the Kushāna*, which means King of Kings, Huvishka, the Kushāna.

Rev : Two male deities stand frontally on a platform decorated with rinceu pattern and look at each other; on the right stands BIZAGO i.e., BIZAGO or the *God-Visākha*; holds a trident in raised left hand; right hand rests on the hip; a sword at his left hip; wears a *dhoti*; having a large jewel at the chest; <KANAO KOMARO i.e., SKANDO KOMARO or

the *God-Skanda-Kumāra* which means *Kārttikeya*, faces right and looks at *Viśākha*; wears a *dhotī* as a lower garment; holds a knob-finial staff in the right hand; left hand at the waist from which hangs down a sword; monogram between the two deities; beaded border.



253. *Obv* : Profile bust portrait of king, faces left; wears a round and bejewelled helmet with circular device at side, crest ornament and pronged symbol at forehead; heavy side-burns (*galamucha*) or long whiskers and a prominent wart; wears a jewelled yoke and loose tunic; holds in right hand a mace and in left hand an *aṅkuśa*; bust emerges from cushions; flaming shoulders; Bactrian legend in Greek characters from 7.00 : ρ AONANOPAO O/OhpKI KOPANO *i.e.*, SHAONANO SHAO OOESHKI KOSHANO or *Shahenshah Huvishka, the Kushāna*, which means King of Kings, Huvishka, the Kushāna.

Rev : Two male deities stand frontally on a platform decorated with rinceau pattern and look at each other; on the right stands BIZAGO *i.e.*, BIZAGO or the *God-Viśākha*; holds a trident in the raised left hand; right hand on the hip; a sword at his left hip; wears a *dhotī* and a necklace; prominent navel; legend below the platform : <KAN, on the left : ΔO KOM, at top : AP(O) *i.e.*, SKANDO KOMARO or the *God Skanda Kumāra*, meaning *Kārttikeya*; stands facing right and looking at *Viśākha*; wears a *dhotī* as a lower garment; holds a knob-finial staff in the right hand; left hand at the waist from which hangs down a sword; monogram between the two deities; beaded border.

254. *Obv* : Profile bust of king, faces left; wears a round helmet with circular device at side; crest ornament and pronged symbol at forehead; heavy side-burns (*galamucha*) or long whiskers and a wart; wears a jewelled yoke and loose tunic; holds in right hand a mace and in left hand an *aṅkuśa*; emerges from cushions; Bactrian legend in Greek characters from 7.00 : ρ AONANOPAO O/OhpKI KOPANO *i.e.*, SHAONANO SHAO OOESHKI KOSHANO or *Shahenshah Huvishka, the Kushāna*, which means King of Kings, Huvishka, the Kushāna.

Rev : Two male deities stand frontally on a platform and look at each other; on the right stands : BIZAGO *i.e.*, BIZAGO or the *God Viśākha*; holds a trident in the raised left hand; right hand on the hip; a

sword at his left hip, wears a *dhotī*, legend: <KANΔO (below the platform) KOMAPO on the left *ie*, SKANDO KOMARO or the *God Skanda Kumara*, meaning *Kārttikeya*, stands facing right and looking at *Viśākha*, wears a *dhotī* as a lower garment, holds a knob finial staff in the right hand, monogram between the two deities, beaded border



255. *Obv* : Profile bust of king facing left and wearing round helmet with circular device at side, crest ornament and pronged symbol at forehead, heavy side-burns (*galamucha*) or long whiskers and prominent wart, wears a necklace, a jewelled yoke and a loose tunic, carries in right hand a short mace and in left hand an *ankusa*, bust emerges from cushions, Bactrian legend in Greek characters from 7.00 : PAONANO PAO O/OhpKI KOPANO *ie*, SHAONANOSHAO O OESHKI KOSH ANO or *Shahenshah Huvishka*, the *Kushāna*, which means King of Kings, Huvishka, the *Kushāna*

Rev : Two male deities stand frontally on a platform decorated with rinceau pattern and look at each other; on the right stands BIZATO *ie*, BIZAGO or the *God Viśākha*, holds a trident in the raised left hand, right hand rests on the hip, a sword at his left hip, wears a *dhotī*, having a large jewel at the chest; <KANΔO KOMAPO *ie*, SKANDO KOMARO or the *God-Skanda Kumāra*, meaning *Kārttikeya*, faces right and looks at *Viśākha*, wears a *dhotī* as a lower garment, holds a knob finial staff in the right hand, left hand at the waist from which hangs down a sword, monogram between the two deities, beaded border.

Type XXVII. (a). Bust portrait of king and <KANΔO KOMAPO-
MAA<hNO-BIZATO; gold, round :



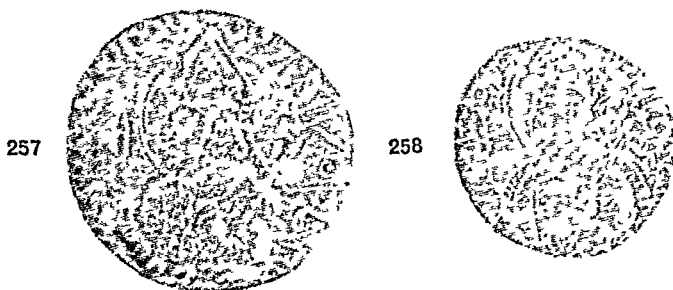
256 *Obv* : Profile bust of king emerging from cushions, faces left,

wears a round, bejewelled and crested helmet; over flowing fillets; heavy side-burns (*galamucha*) or long whiskers : wears a tunic and a necklace; holds a mace in the right hand and an *aṅkuṣa* in the left hand; Bactrian legend in Greek characters from 7.00 : $\rho\text{AONAN}\rho\text{A}\text{O}\ \text{O}/\text{O}\eta\rho\text{KI}\ \text{K}\rho\text{A}\text{N}\text{O}$ *i.e.*, $\text{SHAONANOSHAO}\ \text{OOESHKI}\ \text{KOSHANO}$ or *Shahenshah Huvishka, the Kushāṇa*, which means King of Kings, Huvishka, the Kushāṇa.

Rev : Three male figures stand on a double plinth, both levels decorated with floral patterns; above a concave roof; on proper left is $\text{<KAN}\Delta\text{O}\ \text{KOM}\rho\text{A}\text{O}$ *i.e.*, $\text{SKAN}\Delta\text{O}\ \text{KOM}\rho\text{A}\text{R}\text{O}$ or the *God Kārttikeya* having right hand at the hip and the left hand holding an indistinct object; wears a cap and long garments: partially looks at the central figure; $\text{MAA}<\text{hNO}$ *i.e.*, MAASENO or the *God Mahāsena* (this inscription is between beaded border and aedicule), *en face*, horned and nimbate; wears *chlamys*; sword at waist; facing the central figure, the male deity on the right : BIZATO *i.e.*, BIZAGO or the *God Viśākha*; holds trident in left hand; right hand on hip; wears *dhōṭī*; monogram on the left; beaded border.

III. COINS FROM MUNI KI RETI, RISHIKESH

A hoard of gold coins was unearthed at Śivananda Ashrama, Muni Ki Reti, near Rishikesh, District Tehri Garhwal, Uttar Pradesh. These have been published in JNSI, XXXVII, pl. VII. Since their obverse is only published, reverse is not described below :¹



257. *Obv* : Profile bust portrait of king, faces left; wears a tall, pointed, crested and bejewelled helmet; nimbate; ear-flaps and side-burns or heavy whiskers; wears a necklace and a buttoned tunic; holds a mace

1. Sl. Nos. 257 to 261

in the right hand and a sceptre with fluttering ribbons in the left hand, fillets over shoulders emerges from cushions, Bactrian legend in Greek characters from 700 $\rho\text{AONANOpAO} / \text{OOhpKI KO}\rho\text{ANO}$ *ie*, $\text{SHAONANOSHAO OOESHKI KOSHANO}$ or *Shahenshah Huvishka*, the *Kushāna*, which means King of Kings, Huvishka, the Kushāna

258 *Obv* Profile bust portrait of king, faces left, wears a tall pointed crested and bejewelled helmet, nimbate, ear flaps and side burns or heavy whiskers, wears a necklace and a buttoned tunic, holds a mace in the right hand and a sceptre with fluttering ribbons in the left hand fillets over shoulders Bactrian legend in Greek characters from 700 $(\rho\text{AONANOpA})\text{O} / \text{OOhpKI KO}\rho\text{ANO}$ *ie*, $\text{SHAONANOSHAO OOESHKI KO}\rho\text{SHANO}$ or *Shahenshah Huvishka*, the *Kushāna*, which means King of Kings, Huvishka, the Kushāna

259



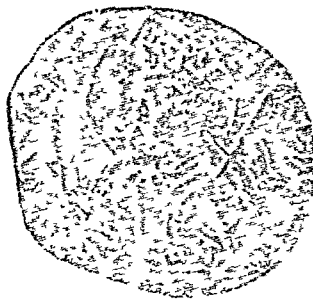
260



259 *Obv* Profile bust portrait of king faces left, wears a tall pointed crested and bejewelled helmet, nimbate, ear flaps and side burns or heavy whiskers, a necklace and a buttoned tunic, holds a mace in the right hand and a sceptre with fluttering ribbons in the left hand fillets over shoulders, emerges from cushions, Bactrian legend in Greek characters from 700 $(\rho\text{AONANOpAO}) / \text{OOhpKI (KO}\rho\text{ANO)}$ *ie*, $\text{SHAONANOSHAO OOESHKI KOSHANO}$ or *Shahenshah Huvishka* the *Kushāna*, which means King of Kings, Huvishka, the Kushāna

260 *Obv* Profile bust portrait of king, faces left, wears a tall pointed, crested and bejewelled helmet, nimbate, heavy whiskers, wears a necklace and a buttoned tunic, holds a mace in the right hand and a sceptre with fluttering ribbons in the left hand, fillets over shoulders, emerges from cushions, Bactrian legend in Greek characters from 700 $\rho\text{AONANOpAO O} / (\text{OhpKI KO}\rho\text{ANO})$ *ie*, $\text{SHAONANOSHAO OOESHKI KOSHANO}$ or *Shahenshah Huvishka*, the *Kushāna*, which means King of Kings, Huvishka, the Kushāna

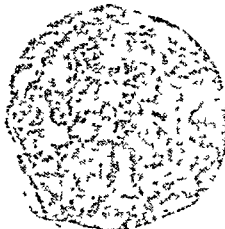
261



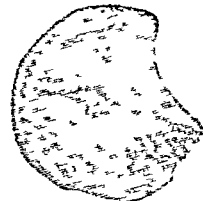
261. *Obv* : Profile bust portrait of king, faces left; wears a tall, pointed, crested and bejewelled helmet; nimbate; ear-flaps and side burns; wears a necklace and a buttoned tunic; holds a mace in the right hand and a sceptre with fluttering ribbons in the left hand; fillets over shoulders; emerges from cushions; Bactrian legend in Greek characters from 7.00 : $\rho\text{AONANOpAO}/(\text{OO})\text{hpKI KO}\rho\text{ANO}$ i.e., SHAONANOSHAO OOESHKI KOSHANO or *Shahenshah Huvishka, the Kushāna*, which means King of Kings, Huvishka, the Kushāna.

IV. UNIDENTIFIED TYPES

262



263



262. *Obv* : A copper coin shows a king seated in a position of ease lounging on a low couch; face of the king partly visible which has fluttering ribbons on the left; fillets over shoulders; left elbow resting on a cushion; right foot on a bench; appears to wear long pants and a tunic; circular truncated legend.

Rev : A male standing frontally, partly faces left; most of the details lost; right hand is raised and holds an indistinct object; left hand at the waist; legend on the right, blurred; monogram on the left.

263. *Obv* : A silver coin partly lost, has a profile bust portrait of a king facing left; nimbate; wears a *mukuṭa* tied at the back with ribbons which over flow the shoulders; side-burns and moustaches; wears a necklace, a *bazooband* and a tunic; holds a mace in the right hand and a sceptre in the left hand; circular legend blurred.

Rev : A male standing, *en face*; wears a low cap and a chlamys; right hand out-stretched, probably holding fire in a bowl, the left hand at the

waist holding a short sword legend on the right lost monogram on the left beaded border

This coin in the collection of M B L Dar has been identified as the *Sun-god* but may be, perhaps, the *Fire-god*

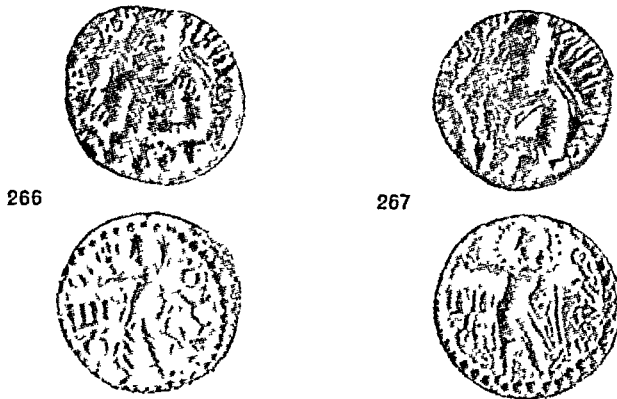


264 *Obv* A gold coin shows the profile bust portrait of an elderly king facing left wears a round helmet, tied at the back with ribbons over flowing the shoulders, long bulbous nose side-burns and a beard, wears a buttoned tunic holds a mace in the right hand and an *ankusa* in the left hand, emerging from cushions Bactrian legend in Greek characters from 7 00, partly read, and reconstructed as $\rho\text{AONANOPAO O/O}\eta\pi\text{KI KOpANO}$ *ie*, $\text{SHAONANOSHAO O}\text{OESHKI KOSHANO}$ or *Shahenshah Huvishka, the Kushuna* which means King of Kings Huvishka, the Kushāna

Rev A bearded standing male faces left, wears a high cylindrical cap and a chlamys right hand holds an indistinct object (a fish?) and a sceptre in the left raised hand legend on the right OXPO *ie*, OXSHO which has been interpreted as *Varuna, the Water-god* but cannot be identified conclusively monogram on the left, beaded border

265 *Obv* A gold coin shows the profile bust portrait of an elderly king, facing left wears a round, jewelled helmet tied at the back with ribbons over flowing the shoulders, long bulbous nose side-burns or long whiskers and a beard, wears a buttoned tunic holds a mace in the right hand and an *ankusa* in the left hand, emerging from cushions, Bactrian legend in Greek characters from 7 00 partly read and reconstructed as $\rho\text{AONANOPAO O/O}\eta\pi\text{KI KOpANO}$ *ie*, $\text{SHAONA NOSHAO O}\text{OESHKI KOSHANO}$ or *Shahenshah Huvishka, the Kushāna* which means King of Kings, Huvishka, the Kushāna

Rev A bearded standing male, faces left, wears a high cylindrical cap and a chlamys, right hand holds an indistinct object and a sceptre in the left raised hand legend on the right OXPO , beaded border may be identified with *Varuna* as in serial 259 above



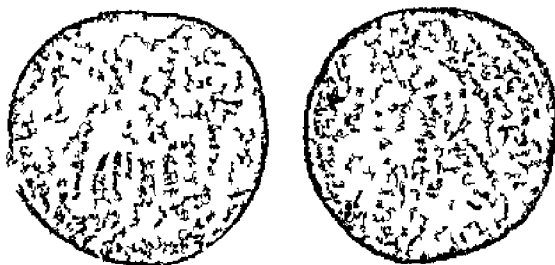
266. *Obv* : A gold coin shows, profile bust portrait of king, facing left; wears round, bejewelled helmet; diademed; bulbous nose and pointed chin; flames rising from the right shoulder; wears a necklace, an armlet (*bazooband*) and a tunic; holds a mace in the right hand and an *añkuśa* in the left hand; emerges from cushions; blurred legend : letters NOPO on the left and ZIHPOOE may be read on the right.

Rev : Four armed standing deity, faces left; wears a small cap and tight fitting robes; in the raised right arm a cornucopia, in the lower extended right arm, perhaps, has a noose (*pāśa*) or a wreath, a staff in the upper left arm and lower left arm hanging down holds an indistinct object (antelope ?); legend on the right probably is : OhPO or OESHO or OEMO the *God-Śiva*; monogram on the left; beaded border.

267. *Obv* : A gold coin showing bust portrait of king, faces left; wears a bejewelled and crested helmet having a side device; an angular protrusion at its back tied with fluttering ribbons; long bulbous nose; side burns or heavy whiskers; wears a necklace and a tunic; holds a mace in the right hand and an *añkuśa* in the left; emerging from cushions : Bactrian legend in Greek characters from 7.00 : (pAONANOPAO O)/ OhpKI KOPANO i.e., SHAONANOSHAO OESHKI KOSHANO or *Shahenshah Huvishka, the Kushāna*, which means King of Kings, Huvishka the Kushāna.

Rev : A radiate and standing male, faces left; wears a small cap tied at the back, a knee long coat and trousers; extended right hand, perhaps, holds fire in a bowl and the left hand at the waist holds a sword; legend on the right : OrBOP; the legend is not helpful to identify the deity, who otherwise appears to be the *Fire-god*; monogram on the right; beaded border.

268



268 *Obv* A copper coin shows a king riding an elephant, both face right, details lost, legend also lost

Rev A standing male deity, faces left, wears a turban, a *dhoti*, but the upper garments are not clear, holds a wreath in the extended right hand and the left hand rests at the waist grasping a sword, indistinct legend on the right, beaded border ¹

¹ This coin from Shahdol District, Madhya Pradesh, was found in a hoard and is a struck copper imitation of Huvishka coinage

COINAGE OF VĀSUDEVA

I. GENERAL

Vāsudeva I or BAZODEO of coins, successor of Huvishka, is well known from his inscriptions and gold and copper coins which are found in abundance all over the Punjab and the present day North-West Pakistan. Vāsudeva I has a prominent Indian name; his effigy on the coins, however, reflects foreign influence. He had strong Śaiva affiliations attested by most of his coins on which *Śiva* with or without *nandī* appears on reverse. The trident-standard on obverse of a large number of coins placed behind the sacrificial altar, further attests this fact. Three headed and two or four armed *Śiva*, invariably appears on the reverse of his coins. On crudely executed coins, *Śiva* with heavy side curls, an attempt of the mint official to imitate the three headed *Śiva*, appears on most of the coins of Vāsudeva I. Also, NANA and ARDOKSHO, at times, appear on reverse of the coins of Vāsudeva I.

The coinage of Vāsudeva I is almost closely linked in style to that of Huvishka and is very near to the final phase of the coinage of Huvishka. In weight and fabric, coins of Vāsudeva I are almost similar to the coins of Kanishka and Huvishka. From the large number of coins available, it is possible to classify them into, only, a few types which are almost similar to those of Kanishka and Huvishka with the exception of a few innovations introduced by Vāsudeva I, himself.

The monogram on the coins of Vāsudeva I differs from the monogram as on the coins of Huvishka. But, at times exactly the same monogram has been copied by Vāsudeva I. On a few coins the monogram has not been changed on the coins of Vāsudeva I. *Nandīpada*, in disuse after Vima Kadphises, is reintroduced.

Vāsudeva I is invariably depicted on the obverse in a standing pose, closely resembling the coins of Kanishka. He also, like his predecessor, offers oblations into an altar. Use of Greek script for Bactrian language on his coins follows the pattern of the coins of Kanishka and Huvishka.

The dress of the king indicates an interesting change. He is not dressed in an Indo-Scythian tunic and a mantle, but wears a military costume. A suit of mail is his normal dress. The details of cuirass and an armoured skirt worn by the king are carefully and minutely drawn. On some coins, the tunic worn by the king is combined with his armoured dress. He rarely has flaming shoulders.

Vāsudeva I had introduced *Brāhmi* letters on his coins. Letters like *pri*, *pa*, *rada*, *gho*, *raja* etc. have been found inscribed in the field on obverse. This, as a characteristic new feature was followed by his successors also. But, a large number of coins crude in workmanship and fabric have been found, prompting to suggest another king having however, the same name as Vāsudeva who has been presumed to be Vāsudeva II or III by some scholars. These coins separate Vāsudeva I from his other coins which do not have any *Brāhmi* letters. A single copper coin labels the king again in *Brāhmi* script written perpendicularly as VĀSU. These coins, in particular, are barbarous imitations of the coins of Vāsudeva I and are crudely executed. Some scholars doubt whether these coins belong to Vāsudeva I or to one of his successors. Since these coins bear the same monogram as found on the coins of Vāsudeva I, these in all probability are of Vāsudeva I himself. The appearance of *Brāhmi* letters, shows a departure from the past, and continued to be followed by his successors.

On a number of coins Vāsudeva I is shown having long hair and prominent moustaches. This series of coins of Vāsudeva I separate them from his other coins.

A peculiar cruded type object in the right field on obverse, between the prongs of a trident and the head of the king is a new addition. Is it a scythe blade or a ribbon attached to the trident or

is some ornament shown on the left shoulder of the king? This device has a further addition of a long *ankuśa* which is added as an extra attribute.

The gold and copper coins of Vāsudeva I, invariably had on their obverse the legend SHAONANOSHAO BAZODEO KOSHANO. Many variations of the obverse types, of which quite a number are available, could possibly be due to the long reign or multiple mint officials or, as a probability, these indicate a new king with the same name. The obverse devices on Vāsudeva's coins are classified as follows :

(i) The standing king, facing left, holding a sceptre in his left hand offers oblations with his right hand into a small altar. The corrupt Greek legend is : SHAONANO SHAO BAZODEO KOSHANO.

(ii) Similar to (i), but with the addition of a trident near the altar.

(iii) Similar, as above, but the legend is shortened as : SHAONANO SHAO BAZDEO. Here the family name Kushāṇa is omitted.

(iv) Same except that the name of the king is spelt as BAZDEO.

(v) A symbol like the united *Nandīpada-Triśūla* symbol and *Dharma-Chakra* are added on the right.

(vi) As type (v). Three dots overhead, three dots between the feet and six dots are added to the right. Some of the variations have a *svastika* between the feet. A coin has a small circle under the left arm. On certain coins, the number of dots varies from five to eight.

Three of his gold coins were found in a ruined *stūpa*, below Ali Masjid and a very large number in the treasure trove of about 1200 dinars found at Peshawar.

The gold as well as copper coins of Vāsudeva I show unmistakably signs of deterioration in the monetary standard. The fabric and style of his coins gradually became cruder and showed a tendency of development into a larger diameter resulting in thinner and cup shaped coins. In such cup shaped coins the obverse is convex and the reverse is concave; but these coins are extremely crude. Some of the crude coins bearing his legend but issued later on by his successors, are presumed to be poor imitation of his coins.

II COINS OF VĀSUDEVA I

Important coins of Vāsudeva I, are :

a. Iranian Deity

Type I. King at an altar and NANA gold, round.



269 *Obv* Standing king, diademed and nimbate, faces left, wears a bejewelled helmet, a suit of mail, offers oblations into an altar with his right hand, a spear in the raised left hand, carries a sword tied to the waist, circular legend from 700 · pAONANOpAO B(A/<O)ΔhO KOpANO *i e*, SHAONANOSHAO BAZODEO KOSHANO or *Shahenshah (King of Kings) Vasudeva, the Kushāna*

Rev, A standing female, nimbate, faces right, wears a beaded helmet and chlamys, holds in the right hand a sceptre ending in the fore part of horse, a bowl in the left hand, legend on the left NANA, monogram on the right, beaded border

270 *Obv* Standing king, diademed and nimbate, faces left, wears a bejewelled helmet, a suit of mail, offers oblations into an altar with his right hand, a spear in the raised left hand, carries a sword tied to the waist, circular legend from 700 · pAONANOpAO BAZOΔhO KOpANO *i e*, SHAONANOSHAO BAZODEO KOSHANO or *Shahenshah (King of Kings) Vasudeva, the Kushāna*

Rev A standing female, nimbate, faces right, wears a beaded helmet and chlamys, holds in the right hand a sceptre ending in the fore part of horse, a bowl in the left hand, legend on the left : NANA, monogram on the right, beaded border

b. Indian Deity

Type II: King at an altar and three-headed and two armed OhpO ; gold, round :



271 : *Obv* : King standing frontally, faces left; nimbatc; wears a bejewelled and pointed helmet; ear-flaps and moustaches; offers oblations into a small altar with right hand and a trident in the left hand; a curved object near the head on the right; wears suit of mail, skirt and trousers; a sword hangs on the right from the waist; Bactrian legend in Greek characters from 7.00 : pAONANOpAO BA(OΔhO KOΠANO *i.e.*, SHAONANOSHAO BAZODEO KOSHANO or *Shahenshah* (King of Kings) *Vāsudeva, the Kushāna.*

Rev : Three headed male, *en face* stands against a humped bull; wears a *dhotī*; holds a noose (*pāśa*) or wreath in the extended right hand and a trident in the raised left hand; legend between forelegs and the mouth of the bull : OhpO *i.e.*, OESHO or the *God-Śiva*; monogram on the right, beaded border.

272. *Obv* : King standing frontally, faces left; nimbatc; wears a bejewelled and pointed helmet; ear-flaps and moustaches; offers oblations into a small altar with right hand and a trident-cum-spear in the left hand; curved object behind the head; wears suit of mail, skirt and trousers; a sword hangs on the right from the waist; Bactrian legend in Greek characters from 7.00 : pAONANOpAO BA<OΔhO KOΠANO *i.e.*, SHAONANOSHAO BAZODEO KOSHANO or *Shahenshah* (King of Kings) *Vāsudeva, the Kushāna.*

Rev : Three headed male, *en face*, stands against a humped bull; wears a *dhotī*; holds a noose (*pāśa*) or wreath in the extended right hand and a trident in the raised left hand; legend between fore-legs and the mouth of the bull : OhpO *i.e.*, OESHO or the *God-Śiva*; monogram on the right; beaded border.



273 *Obv* King standing frontally, faces left, nimbate, wears a bejewelled, pointed helmet, ear flaps and moustaches, offers oblations into a small altar with right hand and a trident in the left hand, a curved object behind the head, wears a suit of mail, skirt and trousers, a sword hangs on the right from the waist, Bactrian legend in Greek characters from 700 $\rho\alpha\text{ONAN}\text{O}\rho\text{A}\text{O}$ $\text{BA}\langle\text{O}\Delta\text{h}\text{O}$ $\text{K}\text{O}\rho\text{A}\text{N}\text{O}$ *i e*, SHAONANO SHAO BAZODEO KOSHANO or *Shahenshah (King of Kings) Vasudeva the Kushana*

Rev Three headed male, stands *en face* against a bull wears a *yajnopavita* and a *dhoti* holds a wreath or noose (*pāsa*) in the right hand, legend on the left on two sides of the wreath $\text{O}\rho\text{h}\text{O}$ *i e*, OESHO or the *God Śiva*, monogram on the right beaded border

274 *Obv* Standing king diademed and nimbate faces left, offers oblations into an altar with the right hand, wears a conical bejewelled helmet a suit of mail skirt and trousers holds a spear in the left raised hand a sword from the waist hangs down on the right, legend from 700 $\rho\alpha\text{ONAN}\text{O}\rho\text{A}/\text{O}$ $\text{BA}\langle\text{O}\Delta\text{h}\text{O}$ ($\text{K}\text{O}\rho\text{A}\text{N}\text{O}$) *i e*, $\text{SHAONANOSH}\text{AO}$ BAZODEO KOSHANO or *Shahenshah (King of Kings) Vasudeva the Kushāpa*

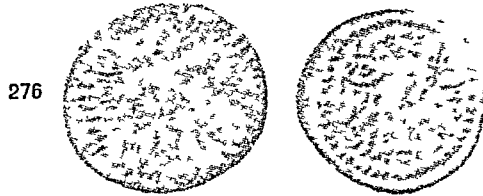
Rev Three headed and two armed male deity, stands *en face* a crescent or top knot at the top of the head, nimbate, wears a *yajnopavita* and knee long dress, holds a wreath in the right hand and a trident in the left raised hand, legend on the right $\text{O}\rho\text{h}\text{O}$ *i e*, OESHO or the *God Śiva*, monogram on the left, beaded border



275 *Obv* King standing frontally, faces left, nimbate, wears a bejewelled and pointed helmet, ear flaps and moustaches, offers oblations into a small altar with right hand and a trident in the left hand wears a

suit of mail, skirt and trousers; a sword hangs on the right from the waist, Bactrian legend in Greek characters from 7.00 : $\rho\text{AONAN}\text{O}\rho\text{A}\text{O B/A}\text{<O-}\Delta\text{hO KO}\rho\text{ANO}$ *i.e.*, SHAONANOSHAO BAZODEO KOSHANO or *Shahenshah (King of Kings), Vāsudeva, the Kushāna.*

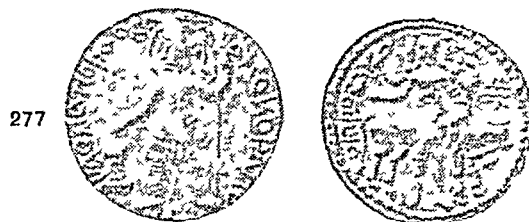
Rev : Three headed deity stands, *en face*, against a bull; nimbate and hair knot (*jaṭāmukuta*); wears only a *yajñopavīta* and a *dhotī*; holds a wreath in the right hand and a trident in the left raised hand; legend on the left : OphO *i.e.*, OESHO or the *God-Śiva*; monogram on the right; beaded border.



276. *Obv* : A standing king, faces left; wears a pointed helmet; offers oblations into a small altar with right hand and a spear in the left hand; wears a cuirass, skirt and trousers; a sword hangs on the right from the waist; blurred Bactrian legend in Greek characters from 7.00 : ($\rho\text{AONAN-NO}\rho\text{A}\text{O BA}\text{<O}\Delta\text{hO KO}\rho\text{ANO}$) *i.e.*, SHAONANOSHAO BAZODEO KOSHANO or *Shahenshah (King of Kings), Vāsudeva, the Kushāna.*

Rev : Three-headed deity, *en face*, stands against a bull, facing left; wears long robes; holds a wreath or a noose (*pāśa*) in the right extended hand and a trident in the left raised hand; legend on the right : OhpO *i.e.*, OESHO or the *God-Śiva*; monogram near the face on the left; beaded border.

Type III. King at an altar and three-headed and four armed OhpO; gold, round :



277. *Obv* : King standing frontally, faces left; nimbate and diademed; wears a bejewelled and pointed helmet; ear flaps and moustaches; offers oblations into a small altar with right hand and a trident in the left hand; wears suit of mail, skirt and trousers; a sword hangs on the right from the

waist; Bactrian legend in Greek characters from 7.00 : $\rho\text{AONAN}\rho\text{AO}$ $\text{BA}\langle\text{O}\Delta\text{hO}\text{ KO}\rho\text{ANO}$ *i.e.*, $\text{SHAONANOSH AO BAZODEO KOSHANO}$ or *Shahenshah (King of Kings), Vāsudeva, the Kushāna.*

Rev : Three headed and four armed deity stands, *en face*, against a bull, facing right; each head has hair knots (*jaśāmukuṣa*); holds in the four arms : upper right a wreath, lower right a lotus flower, upper left a trident and lower left a vase (*kalaśa*); legend on left : $\text{Oh}\rho\text{O}$ *i.e.*, OESH O or the *God-Śiva* : monogram on the right : beaded border.

Type IV. King at an altar and OhρO (without bull); gold, round :



278. *Obv* : Standing male, diademed and nimbate, faces left, offers oblations with the right hand into an altar; wears a conical helmet and suit of mail, holds a spear in the left hand; blurred Bactrian legend in Greek characters from 7.00 : ($\rho\text{AONAN}\rho\text{AO}$ $\text{BA}\langle\text{O}\Delta\text{hO}$ KO) ρANO *i.e.*, $\text{SHAONANOSH AO BAZODEO KOSHANO}$ or *Shahenshah (King of Kings) Vāsudeva, the Kushāna.*

Rev : A three-headed and two armed deity stands frontally; hair of the central figure in three tufts over the head, wearing a long robe; a wreath in the right extended hand and a trident in the raised left hand; legend on the right, read from outside : $\text{Oh}\rho\text{O}$ *i.e.*, OESH O or the *God-Śiva* : monogram on the left; beaded border.

279. *Obv* : King standing frontally, faces left; nimbate and diademed; wears a bejewelled and pointed helmet; offers oblations into a small altar with right hand and a trident in the left raised hand; wears suit of mail skirt and trousers; Bactrian legend in Greek characters from 7.00 : $\rho\text{AONAN}\rho\text{AO}/\text{BA}\langle\text{O}\Delta\text{hO}$ $\text{KO}(\rho\text{ANO})$ *i.e.*, $\text{SHAONANOSH AO BAZODEO KOSHANO}$ or *Shahenshah (King of Kings) Vāsudeva, the Kushāna.*

Rev : A standing deity; hair in top knot; wears a *dhoti*, holds in the right extended hand a wreath and a trident in the left raised hand; legend on the right, to be read from outside : $\text{Oh}\rho\text{O}$ *i.e.*, OESH O or the *God-Śiva*; monogram on the left; beaded border.

280



280. *Obv* : Standing male, diademed and nimbate, faces left; wears a peaked and bejewelled helmet and suit of mail; offers oblations with the right hand over an altar; a long spear in the left raised hand; truncated legend from 7.00 : $\rho\text{AONANOpAO BA} < \text{O}\Delta\text{hO KO}\rho\text{ANO}$ *i.e.*, SHAONANOSHAO BAZODEO KOSHANO or *Shahenshah (King of Kings) Vāsudeva, the Kushāna.*

Rev : A male deity stands *en face*; has tuft of hair at the top and heavy side curls; wears upper garments and a *dhotī*; holds a noose (*pāśa*) in extended right hand and a trident in the left hand; legend on the right read from inside : $\text{Oh}\rho\text{O}$ *i.e.*, OESHO or the *God-Śiva* : monogram on the left; beaded border.

Type V. King at an altar and OhpO with side curls; gold, round :

281



281. *Obv* : King standing frontally, faces left; nimbate; wears a bejewelled, pointed helmet; ear-flaps, beard and moustaches; offers oblations into a small altar with right hand and a spear in the left raised hand; a curved object behind the head; wears suit of mail, skirt and trousers; a sword hangs on the right from the waist; Bactrian legend in Greek characters from 7.00 : $\rho\text{AONANOpAO BA} / < \text{O}\Delta\text{hO KO}\rho\text{ANO}$ *i.e.*, SHAONANOSHAO BAZODEO KOSHANO or *Shahenshah (King of Kings) Vāsudeva, the Kushāna.*

Rev : Male deity, *en face* stands against a humped bull; heavy side curls and hair-knot (*jaṭāmukūṣa*); a noose (*pāśā*) or wreath in the right extended hand and trident in the raised left hand; wears a *dhotī*; legend on the left between the left fore-leg and the right eye of the bull : $\text{Oh}\rho\text{O}$ *i.e.*, OESHO or the *God-Śiva* : monogram on the right; beaded border.

282



283



282 *Obv* King standing frontally, faces left, nimbate, wears a bejewelled pointed helmet ear flaps and moustaches, offers oblations into a small altar with right hand and a trident in the left hand a curved object behind the head, wears overcoat peaked helmet, and trousers, Bactrian legend in Greek characters from 7 00 $\rho\text{AONAN}\rho\text{A}\text{O BA}(\text{<O}\Delta\text{bO K}\text{O}\rho\text{A}\text{N}\text{O})$ *i e* SHAONANOSHAO BAZODEO KOSHANO or *Shahenshah (King of Kings) Vasudeva, the Kushana*

Rev A male deity stands, en face, against a bull wears a *dhoti* holds a wreath or noose (*pāśa*) in the right hand and a trident in the left raised hand, legend on the left on two sides of the wreath $\text{O}\rho\text{P}\text{O}$ *i e*, OESHO or the *God Śiva* monogram on the right, beaded border

283 *Obv* King nimbate standing to left, wears trousers, over coat and peaked cap offers oblations at an altar, in his front, with right hand holds sceptre in left hand circular legend in corrupt Greek, blurred, $\text{PAONAN}\rho\text{A}\text{O (BA) <O}\Delta\text{H}$ *i e* SHAONANOSHAO BAZODEO KOSHANO or *Shahenshah (King of Kings) Vasudeva, the Kushana*

Rev Śiva nimbate wears *dhoti* right hand on the head of the bull (elephant?), holds a trident, three prongs above the head of Śiva, monogram above the back of the bull (elephant?), legend on the left, to be read from inside $\text{O}\rho\text{P}\text{O}$ *i e*, OESHO or the *God Śiva*, beaded border

Type VI King at an altar with trident behind and Ohpō with side curls, gold, round

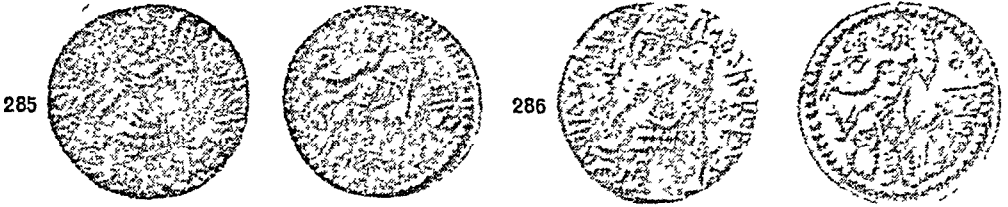
284



284 *Obv* King standing frontally, faces left diademed and nimbate, wears a bejewelled pointed helmet, ear flaps and moustaches, offers oblations into a small altar with right hand and a trident in the left hand

wears a suit of mail, skirt and trousers; a sword hangs on the right from the waist; Bactrian legend in Greek characters from 7.00 : $\rho\text{AONANOpAO}$ B/A<OΔhO KOpANO *i.e.*, SHAONANOSHAO B/AZODEO KOSH-AN(O) or *Shahenshah (King of Kings), Vāsudeva, the Kushāṇa.*

Rev : Male deity standing *en face*, against a bull, facing left; hair knot (*jaṭāmukūṭa*); heavy side curls; wears a *dhotī* only as a lower garment; holds a noose (*pāśa*) or wreath in the right extended hand and a trident in the left raised hand; legend on the right, read from inside : OhpO *i.e.*, OESHO or the *God-Śiva*; monogram near the face on the left; beaded border.



285. *Obv* : King standing frontally, faces left; nimbate; wears a jewelled, pointed helmet; moustaches; offers oblations with the right hand into an altar having a trident behind it; another trident in the left hand; a curved object behind the head; wears armoured cuirass, skirt and trousers; a sword hangs on the right from the waist; Bactrian legend in Greek characters from 7.00 : $\rho\text{AONANOpAO}$ BA/<OΔhO KOpANO *i.e.*, SHAONANOSHAO BAZODEO KOSHANO or *Shahenshah (King of Kings) Vāsudeva, the Kushāṇa.*

Rev : Three headed (two heads look like side curls) male standing deity, *en face*, recling against a bull facing left; hair knot (*jaṭāmukūṭa*); wears a *dhotī*; holds a wreath in the right extended hand and a trident in the left raised hand; legend on the left : OhpO *i.e.*, OESHO or the *God-Śiva*; monogram on the right; beaded border.

286. *Obv* : King standing frontally, faces left; nimbate; wears a jewelled pointed helmet; heavy whiskers and moustaches; offers oblations with right hand into a small altar having a trident behind it; a spear in the left hand; a curved object behind the head; wears armoured cuirass, skirt and trousers; a sword on the right hangs from the waist; Bactrian legend in Greek characters from 7.00 : $\rho\text{AONANOpAO}$ BA/<OΔhO KOpANO *i.e.*, SHAONANOSHAO BAZODEO KOSHANO or *Shahenshah (King of Kings) Vāsudeva, the Kushāṇa.*

Rev Three headed (two side heads as heavy curls) male standing deity, *en face*, reclines against a bull, facing left, hair knot (*jaṣṭmukuṣa*) wears a *dhōṭī* holds a noose (*pāśa*) or wreath in the right extended hand and a trident in the left raised hand, legend on the right, read from outside OhpO i e, OESHO or the *God Śiva* monogram near the face on the left, beaded border

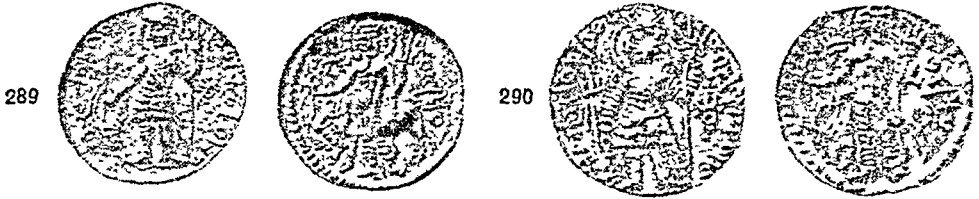


287 *Obv* King standing frontally, faces left, nimbate, wears a bejewelled, pointed helmet, having a crescent at the top, ear flaps and moustaches, offers oblations with right hand into a small altar having a trident behind it a spear in the left hand, wears armoured cuirass, skirt and trousers, a sword hangs on the right from the waist, Bactrian legend in Greek characters from 700 παΟΝΑΝΟρΑΟ ΒΑ|<ΟΔΗΟ ΚΟρΑΝΟ i e SHAONANOSHAO BAZODEO KOSHANO or *Shahenshah* (King of Kings) *Vasudeva the Kushāna*

Rev A male standing deity, *en face*, reclines against a bull, hair knot (*jaṣṭmukuṣa*) heavy side curls, wears a *dhōṭī* holds a wreath in the right extended hand and a trident in the left raised hand, legend on the right, read from outside OhpO i e, OESHO or the *God Śiva* monogram near the face on the left, beaded border

288 *Obv* King standing frontally, faces left, diademed and nimbate, wears a bejewelled, pointed helmet, heavy whiskers and moustaches, offers oblations with right hand into a small altar having a trident with fillets behind it, a spear in the left hand, wears armoured cuirass, skirt and trousers, a sword hangs on the right from the waist, Bactrian legend in Greek characters from 700 παΟΝΑΝΟρΑΟ ΒΑ|<ΟΔΗΟ ΚΟρΑΝΟ i e, SHAONANOSHAO BAZODEO KOSHANO or *Shahenshah* (King of Kings) *Vasudeva, the Kushāna nandīpada on right*

Rev A male standing deity, reclines against a bull, heavy side curls, wears a *dhōṭī* holds a wreath or a noose (*pāśa*) in the right extended hand and a trident in the left raised hand, legend on the right, read from outside OhpO i e, OESHO or the *God-Śiva*, monogram near the face on the left, beaded border

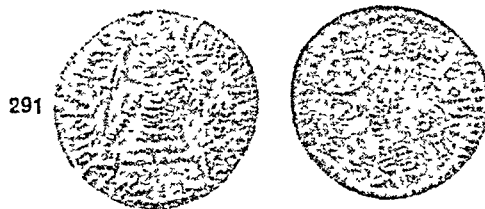


289. *Obv* : King standing frontally, faces left; nimbate; wears a bejewelled helmet; moustaches; offers oblations with right hand at a small altar having a trident with fillets behind it; a trident-cum-spear in the left hand; wears armoured cuirass, skirt, and trousers; sword hangs on the right from the waist; Bactrian legend in Greek characters from 7.00 : - pAONANOpAO (BA<OΔ)hO KOpANO *i.e.*, SHAONANOSHAO BAZODEO KOSHANO or *Shahenshah (King of Kings) Vāsudeva, the Kushāṇa; nandīpada* on right.

Rev : Male standing deity, reclines against a bull, facing left; heavy side curls; wears a *dhotī*; holds a wreath or a noose (*pāśa*) in the right extended hand and a trident in the left raised hand; legend on the right, read from outside : OhpO *i.e.*, OESHO or the *God-Śiva*; monogram near the face on the left; beaded border.

290. *Obv* : King standing frontally, faces left; diademed and nimbate; wears a bejewelled, pointed helmet; heavy whiskers and moustaches; offers oblations with right hand into a small altar having a trident with fillets behind it; a spear in the left hand; wears armoured cuirass, skirt and trousers; a sword hangs on the right from the waist; Bactrian legend in Greek characters from 7.00 : pAONANOpAO BA'<OΔhO KOpANO *i.e.*, SHAONANOSHAO BAZODEO KOSHANO or *Shahenshah (King of Kings) Vāsudeva, the Kushāṇa; nandīpada* on right.

Rev : A male standing deity, reclines against a bull; heavy side curls; wears a *dhotī*; holds a wreath or a noose (*pāśa*) in the right extended hand and a trident in the left raised hand; legend on the right read from outside : OhpO *i.e.*, OESHO or the *God-Śiva*; monogram near the face on the left; beaded border.



291. *Obv* : King standing frontally, faces left; diademed and nimbate; wears a bejewelled, pointed helmet; ear-flaps and moustaches; offers

oblations with right hand into a small altar having a trident with fillets behind it, a spear in the left hand, wears armoured cuirass skirt and trousers, a sword hangs on the right from the waist, Bactrian legend in Greek characters from 700 $\rho\text{AONANOPAO BA} < \text{O}\Delta\text{hO KO}\rho\text{ANO}$ *i e*, SHAONANOSHAO BAZODEO KOSHANO or Shahenshah (King of Kings) Vāsudeva, the Kushāna, *nandipada* on right

Rev A male standing deity, reclines against a bull, heavy side curls, wears a *dhoti* holds a wreath or a noose (*paśa*) in the right extended hand and a trident in the left raised hand, legend on the right, read from outside $\text{Oh}\rho\text{O}$ *i e*, OESHO or the *God Śiva* monogram near the face on the left, beaded border



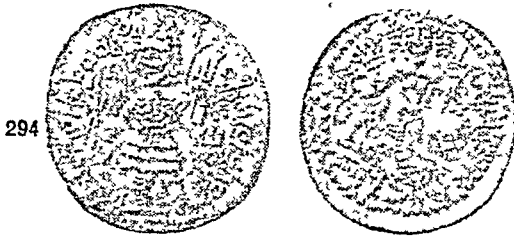
292 *Obv* King standing frontally, faces left, diademed and nimbate, wears a bejewelled, pointed helmet, ear flaps and moustaches, offers oblations with right hand into a small altar having a trident with fillets behind it, a spear in the left hand, wears armoured cuirass, skirt and trousers a sword hangs on the right from the waist, Bactrian legend in Greek characters from 700 $\rho\text{AONANOPAO BA} < \text{O}\Delta\text{hO KO}\rho\text{ANO}$ *i e*, SHAONANOSHAO BAZODEO KOSHANO or *Shahenshah* (King of Kings) *Vasudeva the Kushana* monogram on right

Rev A male standing deity, reclines against a bull, heavy side curls, a lunar crescent at the forehead, wears a *dhoti* holds a wreath or a noose (*paśa*) in the right extended hand and a trident in the left raised hand, legend on the right read from outside $\text{Oh}\rho\text{O}$ *i e*, OESHO or the *God Śiva* monogram near the face on the left, beaded border

293 *Obv* King standing frontally, faces left, nimbate, wears a bejewelled, pointed helmet, ear flaps whiskers and moustaches, offers oblations with right hand into a small altar having a trident with fillets behind it, a spear in the left hand, wears armoured cuirass, skirt and trousers, a sword hangs on the right from the waist, Bactrian legend in Greek characters from 700 $(\rho\text{A})\text{ONANOPAO BA} < \text{O}\Delta\text{hO KO}\rho\text{ANO}$ *i e*, SHAONANOSHAO BAZODEO KOSHANO or *Shahenshah* (King of Kings), *Vāsudeva, the Kushana* monogram on right

Rev A male standing deity, reclines against a bull, heavy side curls, wears a *dhoti* holds a wreath or a noose (*paśa*) in the right extended hand

and a trident in the left raised hand; legend on the right, read from outside : OhpO *i.e.*, OESHO or the *God-Śiva*; monogram near the face on the left; beaded border.



294. *Obv* : King standing frontally, head profile to left; nimbate; wears a bejewelled, pointed helmet; moustaches; offers oblations at a small altar with right hand and a trident-cum-spear in the left hand; a peculiar curved object between the prongs of the trident and the king's head; wears armoured cuirass, skirt and trousers; a sword hangs on the right from the waist; Bactrian legend in Greek characters from 7.00 : pAONA-NOpAO BA/<OhO KOpANO *i.e.*, SHAONANOSHAO BAZOEO KOSHANO or *Shahenshah Bazoeo Koshano*, which means King of Kings, Vāsudeva, the Kushāna; monogram on right.

Rev : Male deity stands *en face*, against a bull, facing left; heavy side curls; wears a *dhotī* only as a lower garment; a lunar crescent at the forehead; holds a wreath in the right extended hand and a trident in the left raised hand; legend on the right, read from outside : OhpO *i.e.*, OESHO or the *God-Śiva*; monogram near the face on the left; beaded border.

Type VI(a). King at an altar with trident behind and OhpO; silver, round :

295. *Obv* : A silver coin shows a standing king wearing a tunic, trousers, boots, facing left; wears a peaked helmet with halo behind; sword tied to the left of the waist; a spear in raised left hand; right hand offers oblations into an altar, behind which a trident; Bactrian legend in Greek characters : (pAO)NANOpAO BA<O(ΔhO) (KOpANO) *i.e.*, SHAONANOSHAO BAZODEO KOSHANO or *Shahenshah (King of Kings) Vāsudeva, the Kushāna*.

Rev : A male deity, *en face*, reclines against a standing bull, facing left; trident in the left raised hand; a wreath in the extended right hand; Bactrian legend in Greek characters : OhpO *i.e.*, OESHO or the *God-Śiva*; traces of a monogram in the upper left field; beaded border.¹

¹ See JAS, XV, p. 205, 1973.

Type VII. King with long hair at altar with trident behind and OhpO with side curls; gold round :

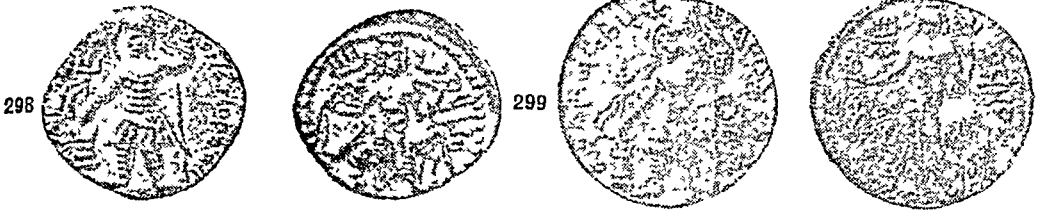


296 *Obv* : King standing frontally, faces left, diademed and nimbate, wears a bejewelled, pointed helmet, ear-flaps, moustaches and long hair falling over shoulders, offers oblations with right hand into a small altar having a trident with fillets behind it, spear in the left hand, wears armoured cuirass, skirt and trousers, a sword hangs on the right from the waist, Bactrian legend in Greek characters from 100 ρ AONANOpAO B(A<OΔ)hO KOpANO *i e*, SHAONANOSHAO BAZODEO KOSH-ANO or *Shahenshah (King of Kings) Vasudeva the Kushāna* in field to right *Brāhmī* letter *ha*

Rev A male standing deity, reclines against a bull, hair knot (*jaṭāmukūṣa*) wears a *dhotī*, holds a wreath or a noose (*pāśa*) in the right extended hand and a trident in the left raised hand, legend on the right, read from outside OhpO *i e*, OESHO or the *God Śiva*, in field to right *Brāhmī* letter *pa* monogram near the face on the left, beaded border

297 *Obv* · King standing frontally, faces left, diademed and nimbate, wears a bejewelled, pointed helmet, moustaches and long hair falling over shoulders, offers oblations with right hand into a small altar having a trident behind it, a spear in the left hand, wears armoured cuirass, skirt and trousers, a sword hangs on the right from the waist, Bactrian legend in Greek characters from 700 (ρ AON)ANOpAO/BA<OΔhO KOpANO *i e*. SHAONANOSHAO BAZODEO KOSHANO or *Shahenshah (King of Kings) Vasudeva the Kushāna*, in field to right *Brāhmī* letter *ha*

Rev A male standing deity reclines against a bull, heavy side curls indicating two more heads, wears a *dhotī*, holds a wreath or a noose (*pāśa*) in the right extended hand and a trident in the left raised hand, legend on the right, read from outside . OhpO *i e*, OESHO or the *God-Śiva*, monogram near the face on the left, beaded border.

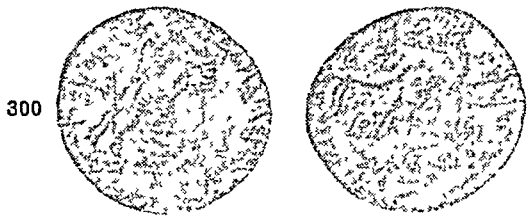


298. *Obv* : King standing frontally, faces left; nimbate; wears a bejewelled, pointed helmet; moustaches and long hair falling over shoulders; offers oblations with right hand into a small altar having a trident behind it; a spear in the left hand : wears armoured cuirass, skirt and trousers; a sword hangs on the right from the waist; Bactrian legend in Greek characters from 1.00 : $\rho\text{AONAN}\rho\text{A}\text{O}$ B; from 7.00 truncated : $(\text{A}\langle\text{O}\Delta\text{h}\text{O}\ \text{K}\text{O}\rho\text{A}\text{N}\text{O})$ i.e., SHAONANOSHAO BAZODEO KOSHANO or *Shahenshah (King of Kings) Vāsudeva, the Kushāṇa.*

Rev : Three headed (two side heads as heavy curls) male standing deity, reclines against a bull; hair knot (*jaṭāmukūṭa*); heavy side curls; wears a *dhotī*; holds a wreath in the right hand, a trident in left hand; legend on the right, read from outside : $\text{O}\text{h}\rho\text{O}$ i.e., OESHO or the *God-Śiva* : monogram near the face on the left; beaded border.

299. *Obv* : King standing frontally, faces left; diademed and nimbate; wears a bejewelled, pointed helmet; moustaches and long hair falling over shoulders; offers oblations with right hand into a small altar having a trident behind it; a spear in the left hand; wears armoured cuirass, skirt and trousers; Bactrian legend in Greek characters from 1.00 : $\rho\text{A}\text{O}$ (NANOpAO), from 7.00 : $\text{BA}\langle\Delta\text{h}\text{O}\ \text{K}\text{O}\rho\text{A}\text{N}\text{O}$ i.e., SHAONANOSHAO BAZDEO KOSHANO or *Shahenshah (King of Kings) Vāsudeva, the Kushāṇa*; in field to right *Brāhmī* letter: *pri*.

Rev : A male standing deity, reclines against a bull; hair knot (*jaṭāmukūṭa*); heavy side curls, wears a *dhotī*; holds a wreath in the right extended hand, a trident in the left raised hand; legend on the right, read from outside : $\text{O}\text{h}\rho\text{O}$ i.e., OESHO or the *God-Śiva*; in field to right *Brāhmī* letter : *pa*; monogram near the face on the left; beaded border.

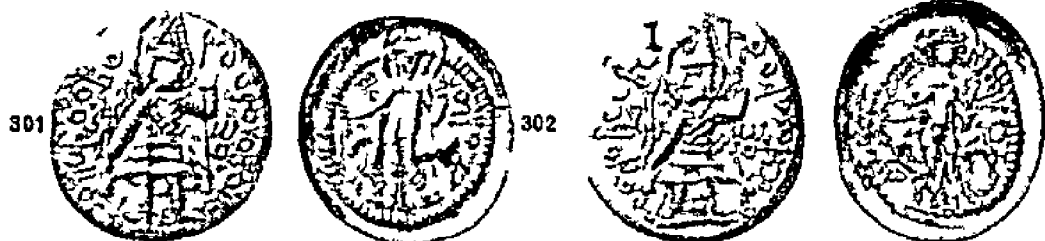


300. *Obv* : King standing frontally, faces left; diademed and nimbate; wears a bejewelled, pointed helmet; moustaches and long hair falling over

shoulders, offers oblations with right hand into a small altar having a trident with fillets behind it, a spear in the left hand, wears armoured cuirass skirt and trousers, Bactrian legend in Greek characters from 100 pAONANOpAO from 700 BA<ΔhO KOΠANO *ie*, SHAONANO SHAO BAZDEO KOSHANO or *Shahenshah (King of Kings) Vasudeva, the Kushana* in filed to right *Brahmi* letter *pr*

Rev A male standing deity reclines, against a bull, heavy side curls, wears a *dhoti*, holds a wreath in the right extended hand and a trident in the left raised hand, legend on the right, read from outside OhpO *ie*, OESHO or the *God Śiva* monogram near the face on the left, beaded border

Type VIII Crudely minted cup shaped coins showing king at an altar having trident behind, and Brāhmi letters, and OhpO, gold, round



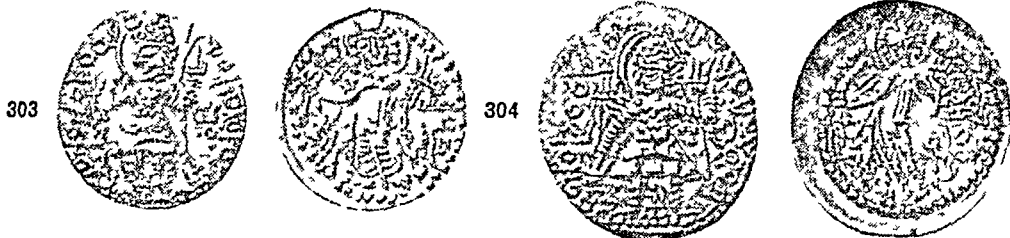
301 *Obv* Standing king, diademed and nimbate, faces left, wears a tall pointed helmet and suit of mail, blown skirt in two tiers and trousers ear flaps and moustaches, offers oblations with the right hand into a small altar, a trident with fluttering ribbons behind it, a trident in the raised left hand, legend from 700 pOONOpOO BA/<OΔhO KOΠONO which stands for SHOONOSHOO BAZODEO KOSHONG and means *King of Kings, Vāsudeva the Kushāna, svastika* between the feet and monogram on the right, obverse convex and reverse concave.

Rev Standing male deity before a humped bull, nimbate a lunar crescent at the top of the head heavy side curls, right extended hand holds a wreath, left raised hand has a trident, wears long robes, legend on the right, read from outside OhpO *ie*, OESHO or the *God Śiva* monogram on the left, beaded border

302 *Obv* Standing king, diademed and nimbate, faces left, wears a tall pointed helmet and suit of mail, blown skirt in two tiers and trousers, ear flaps and moustaches, offers oblations with the right hand into a small altar, a trident with fluttering ribbons behind it, a trident in the raised left hand, legend from 700 pOONOpOO BA/<OΔhO KOΠONO which

stands for SHOONOSHOO BAZODEO KOSHONO and means *King of Kings, Vāsudeva, the Kushāṇa; svastika* between the ankles and monogram on the right; obverse convex and reverse concave.

Rev : Standing male emaciated deity before a humped bull; nimbate; a lunar crescent at the top of the head; heavy side curls; right extended hand holds a wreath, left raised hand has a trident; wears long robes, legend on the right, read from outside : OhpO *i.e.*, OESHO or the *God-Siva*; monogram on the left; beaded border.

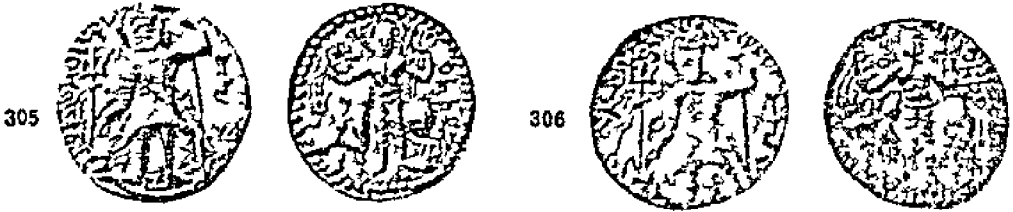


303. *Obv* : Standing king, diademed and nimbate, faces left; wears a tall pointed helmet and suit of mail, blown skirt in two tiers and trousers; ear flaps and moustaches; offers oblations with the right hand into a small altar; a trident with fluttering ribbons behind it; trident in the raised left hand; legend from 7.00 : pOONOpOO BA/<OΔhO KOponO which stands for SHOONOSHOO BAZODEO KOSHONO and means *King of Kings, Vāsudeva, the Kushāṇa; svastika* between the feet and monogram on the right; obverse convex and reverse concave.

Rev : Standing male emaciated deity before a humped bull; nimbate; a lunar crescent at the top of the head; heavy side curls; right extended hand holds a wreath, left raised hand has a trident; wears long robes; legend on the right, read from outside : OhpO *i.e.*, OESHO or the *God-Siva*; monogram on the left; beaded border.

304. *Obv* : Standing king, diademed and nimbate, faces left; wears a tall pointed helmet and suit of mail, blown skirt in two tiers and trousers; ear flaps and moustaches; offers oblations with the right hand into a small altar; a trident with fluttering ribbons behind it; a trident in the raised left hand; legend from 7.00 : pOONOpOO BO<ΔhO (KOponO) which stands for SHOONOSHOO BAZODEO KOSHONO and means *King of Kings, Vāsudeva, the Kushāṇa; svastika* between the feet and monogram on the right; obverse convex and reverse concave.

Rev : Standing male emaciated deity before a humped bull; nimbate; a lunar crescent at the top of the head; heavy side curls; right extended hand holds a wreath, left raised hand has a trident; wears long robes; legend on the right, read from outside : OhpO *i.e.*, OESHO or the *God-Siva*; monogram on the left; beaded border.

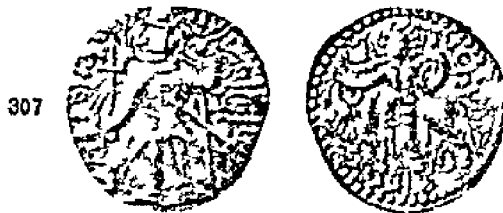


305 *Obv* Standing, nimbate and diademed, king, faces left, wears a tall, pointed, partially seen helmet, has long hair and moustaches, offers oblations with the right hand into an altar, a trident with fluttering ribbons behind it, wears an armoured tunic and trousers, blundered legend partly legible from 7 00 stands for $\rho\text{OONOp}\rho\text{O BO}\langle\Delta\text{h}\text{O KO}\rho\text{ONO}$ which stands for SHOONOSHOO BAZODEO KOSHONO and means *King of Kings Vasudeva, the Kushana Brāhmī* letters on left *rada*, in centre *gha*, on right *raja*

Rev Male deity stands, *en face* against a humped bull, heavy side curls holds a noose (*pāsa*) in the right hand and trident in the left raised hand, wears a *dhoti* legend on the right $\text{Oh}\rho\text{O } i\ e$, OESHO or the *God Śiva* monogram on the left, beaded border

306 *Obv* Standing, nimbate and diademed king, faces left, wears a tall pointed helmet, whiskers and moustaches, offers oblations with the right hand into an altar, a trident with fluttering ribbons behind it, wears an armoured tunic and trousers, blundered legend partly legible from 1 00 $\rho\text{AON(ANOpAO) BA}\langle\Delta\text{h}\text{O KO}\rho\text{AN/O}$ which stands for SHAONANO SHAO BAZODEO KOSHANO and means *King of Kings, Vasudeva, the Kushana Brāhmī* letters on right *rada*

Rev Male deity stands, *en face*, against a humped bull, heavy side curls, holds a noose (*pāsa*) in the right hand and a trident in the left raised hand, wears a *dhoti*, legend on the right $\text{Oh}\rho\text{O } i\ e$ OESHO or the *God Śiva* monogram on the left, beaded border



307 *Obv* Standing, nimbate and diademed king faces left, wears a tall pointed helmet, has whiskers and moustaches, offers oblations with the right hand into an altar a trident with fluttering ribbons behind it, wears an armoured tunic and trousers, blundered legend partly legible from 7 00 $\rho\text{AONANOpAO BA}\langle\Delta\text{h}\text{O KO}\rho\text{ANO}$ which stands for SHAONAN-

OSHAO BAZODEO KOSHANO and means *King of Kings, Vāsudeva, the Kushāṇa*; letters on left *rada*, in centre *gho*, on right *raja*.

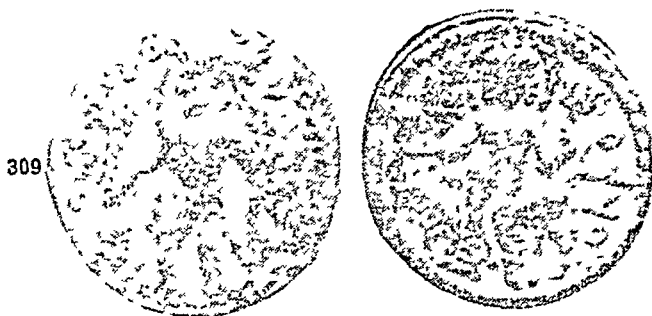
Rev : Male deity stands, *en face*, against a humped bull; heavy side curls; holds a noose (*pāśa*) in the right hand and trident in the left raised hand; wears a *dhotī*; legend on the right : OhpO *i.e.*, OESHO or the *God-Śiva*; monogram on the left; beaded border.



308. *Obv* : A young king, nimbate and diademed, stands facing left; wears a pointed helmet; offers oblations with the right hand into an altar; a trident behind it; wears, perhaps, a suit of mail, skirt and trousers; holds a trident in the left raised hand; legend from 7.00 : pAONANOpAO BA<OΔhO KOpANO which means *King of Kings, Vāsudeva, the Kushāṇa*.

Rev : Male deity stands, *en face*, against a humped bull; heavy side curls; holds a noose (*pāśa*) in the right hand and trident in the left raised hand; wears a *dhotī*; legend on the right, read from outside : OhpO *i.e.*, OESHO or the *God-Śiva*; monogram on the left; beaded border.

This coin has been found at Dada Fethpur, Teh. Khetri, Jhunjhunu District, Rajasthan.¹

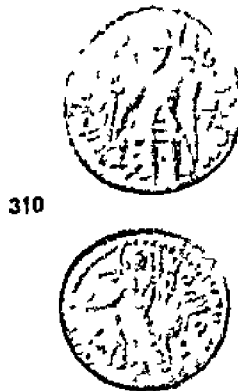


309. *Obv* : Standing king, diademed and nimbate, faces left; wears a helmet with side devices and armoured cuirass, skirt and trousers; offers oblations with the right hand into an altar; a trident in the left raised hand; legend from 7.00 : pAONANOpAO/BA<OΔhO KOpANO *i.e.*, SHAONANOSHAO BAZODEO KOSHANO, which means *King of Kings, Vāsudeva, the Kushāṇa*; *nandīpada* symbol on the right.

1. See JNSI, XXXIX, pl. XI.

Rev. : Three headed Śiva, nimbate, stands against a bull; lunar crescent at top; holds a wreath in the right extended hand and a trident in the left raised hand; wears a *dhoti*, legend on the right, read from outside : OhpO *i.e.*, OESHO or the *God-Śiva*; monogram on the left; beaded border.

This coin is in the Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras Hindu University, Varanasi and is presumed to be of Vāsudeva II; the helmet is supposed to be similar to the crown peculiar to the Sassānian emperor Shapur.¹



310. *Obv.* : Standing radiate king, faces left; wears a pointed helmet, a coat of mail and trousers; offers oblations with the right hand into a small altar; a trident behind it; a trident in the raised left hand; legend from 7.00 : pAONANOpAO BA/ZAbO KOSHANO *i.e.*, *King of Kings, Vāsudeva, the Kushāna*; monogram on the right.

Rev. : Male deity stands against a humped bull, lunar crescent at top; heavy side curls; holds a noose (*pāśa*) in the right extended hand and a trident in the left raised hand; wears a *dhoti* and heavy boots; legend on the right, read upwards : OhpO *i.e.* OESHO or the *God-Śiva*; monogram on the left; beaded border.

This coin has been presumed to be a posthumous issue of Vāsudeva, which cannot be agreed to in the absence of cogent reasons.²

1. JNSI, XXXVI, pl. V, No. 3.

2. JNSI, XVIII, pl. I, No. 1.

The number of coins, bearing the name Vāsudeva found mostly all over the limits of the Kushāṇa empire, as well as other parts of India, is very large. It has, therefore, been doubted whether all these coins had belonged to one and the same ruler whose name was Vāsudeva. It has been suggested that some of these coins belong to another Vāsudeva who has been called, for convenience, as Vāsudeva II. Another Vāsudeva III has also been suggested, on the pleas that the name of the ruler on these coins had become conventionalized, their number is plentiful, types are varied and these cover a very long duration of rule.

The series of coins having a legend *Vāsu* further complicates the problem. These words are written in *Brāhmī* letters, vertically to the proper left of the spear held in the hand of the king. Similar to this type, is the class of rare copper coins on which the king on the obverse is seen seated on a throne. He holds a diadem in his right hand and on the right letters *Vāsu* are written vertically. These coins have ARDOXSHO on the reverse.

The sum up, large number of these coins, their extensive provenance, their varied types, very normally prompt to presume more than one king who had the name Vāsudeva and possibly they had been Vāsudeva II and Vāsudeva III, but whose coins in the, so far, available limited resources, remain mingled with the coins of one and the same ruler, having the common name Vāsudeva.

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

SUCCESSORS OF VĀSUDEVA

I GENERAL

The history of Kushāna numismatics after Vāsudeva I is confusing. Vāsudeva coinage undoubtedly shades off into Indo-Sassānian types. Coins of Vāsudeva I are succeeded by a large variety of its copies. Some of these are fairly good in style, others of barbarous imitation, but neither class having intelligible legend. Types of his gold coinage were struck in Gandhāra by chiefs better known as Later or Lesser Kushānas.

The Later Kushānas presumed to be comprising mainly of Kanishka III and Vāsudeva II having inherited the coinage of their predecessors, continued the same currency which remained in vogue both in the Kabul valley and the Panjab. These rulers continued to mint gold coins, though the monetary standard deteriorated and the legends became illegible.

Amongst the later Kushānas, it appears that the most important rulers were Kanishka III and Vāsu and/or Vāsudeva III. These two rulers are known only from their coins. A characteristic feature of the later Kushāna coinage was the appearance on their obverse of *Brāhmī* letters. These *Brāhmī* letters appear on the obverse on the left, in the middle, between the feet, and on the right. This particular feature is also found on the later issues of the Indo-Greeks, and the Guptas. In the absence of a detailed data, this feature has been given various interpretations. Significance of these letters, however, awaits authenticated interpretation.

Some of the later Kushāna coins, bear such imaginative symbols or letters as *bhā*, *ga*, *vi* and *nu*. These are neither mint marks nor initials of viceroys of the outlying provinces. At times,

words like *pasana* or *śilada* also appear. On these coins, influence of the coins of the earlier Sassānian kings is noticeable. Following rulers, whose coins are not available, are however, known from inscriptions :

II. KANISHKA II

Coins of a ruler presumed to have ruled and who is suggested to be Kanishka II are conspicuous by their absence. Amongst the available varieties of coins, it is not possible to distinctly separate coins of Kanishka II. Therefore, it has to be stated that a separate series of coins of Kanishka II clearly distinguishable from other rulers of the same name are not available.

III. VĀSUDEVA II

As in the case of Kanishka II, coins of Vāsudeva II are apparently not available. However, a coin, serial No. 309 above, has been presumed to be of Vāsudeva II. Its fabric is different from other coins of Vāsudeva I. In the absence of more details, it cannot, conclusively, be assigned to a ruler different from Vāsudeva I.

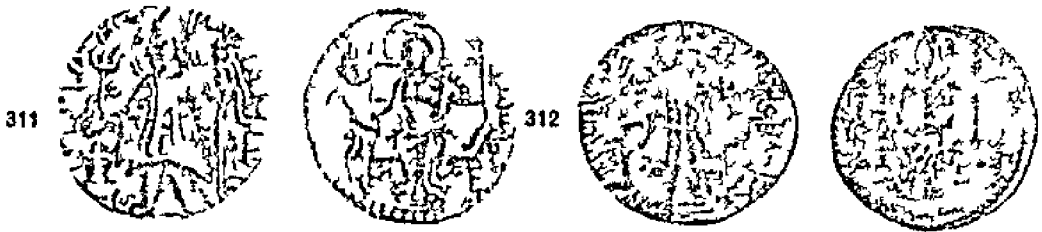
IV. VASKUSHĀṆA AND VĀSASHKA

Vaskushāṇa and Vāsashka, two rulers are mentioned in two different inscriptions of years 22 and 28, of the new(?) era, found at Sāñchī. No coin of these two rulers has been found.

V. COINS OF KANESHKO OR KANISHKA III

From Begram to Bengal a very large number of coins bearing the name Kaneshko have been found. These are assigned to Kanishka III. Their reverse have either ARDOKSHO or OESHO as a deity. These coins are comparatively finer in execution and the details on obverse are better minted.

Type I King standing at an altar with ΑΡΔΟΧΡΟ seated on a throne gold, round

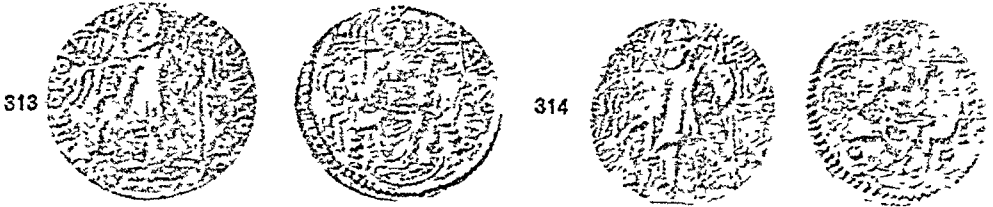


311 *Obv* Diademed and nimbate, standing king, faces left wears a tall pointed helmet, long coat with round lapels, hem of coat curved upwards over knees, all bejewelled offers oblations with the right hand into an altar having a trident with fluttering ribbons behind it, holds a spear with fluttering ribbons in the left hand, legend from 1 00 pAO NANOpAO KA/Nh(p)KO KOpANO *ie* SHAONANOSHAO KANE SHKO KOSHANO or *King of Kings, Kaneshko, the Kushana Brahmi letter vi on right*

Rev Female deity seated, *en face*, on high backed throne with ornate legs nimbate, holds a noose (*pāsa*) in the right hand, a cornucopia in the left hand bead like circular design on right, fully dressed in flowing classical robes legend on the right ΑΡΔΟΧΡΟ *ie*, ARDOXSHO or the *Goddess of Abundance* monogram on the left, beaded border

312 *Obv* Diademed and nimbate, standing king faces left wears a tall pointed helmet, long coat with round lapels, hem of coat curved upwards over knees, all bejewelled, offers oblations with right hand into an altar behind which a trident having fluttering ribbons holds a spear having fluttering ribbons in the left hand, legend from 1 00 (pAO)NANO pAO KA/N(hp)KO KOpANO) *ie* SHAONANOSHAO KANESHKO KOSHANO or *King of Kings, Kaneshko, the Kushana Brahmi letters hu on right, and ha on left*

Rev female deity seated *en face*, on high backed throne with ornate legs nimbate, holds a noose (*pāsa*) in the right hand and a cornucopia in the left hand, fully dressed in classical robes legend on the right ΑΡΔΟΧΡΟ *ie*, ARDOXSHO or the *Goddess of Abundance Brahmi letter ha* monogram on the left, beaded border

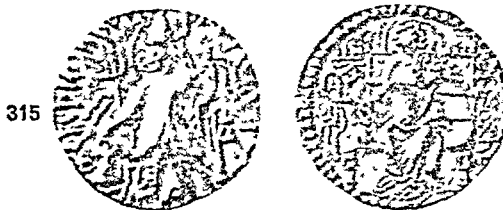


313. *Obv* : Diademed and nimbate, standing king, faces left; wears a tall, pointed helmet, long coat with round lapels, hem of coat curved upwards over knees, all bejewelled; prominent buttons of the coat; offers oblations with the right hand into an altar behind which a trident with fluttering ribbons; holds a spear with fluttering ribbons in the left hand; legend from 1.00 : ρ AONANOpAO (KA)NhpKO KOpANO i.e., SHAO-NANOSHAO KANESHKO KOSHANO or *King of Kings, Kaneshko, the Kushāṇa*; *Brāhmī* letter *vi* on the right, and *ha* on the left.

Rev : Female deity seated, *en face*, on high backed throne with ornate legs; nimbate; holds a noose (*pāśa*) in the right hand and a cornucopia in the left hand; fully dressed in flowing classical robes; legend on the right: ρ A Δ OXPo i.e., ARDOXSHO or the *Goddess of Abundance*; monogram on the left; beaded border.

314. *Obv* : Diademed and nimbate, standing king, faces left; wears a tall pointed helmet, long coat with round lapels, hem of coat curved upwards over knees, all bejewelled; offers oblations with the right hand into an altar behind which a trident with fluttering ribbons; holds a spear with fluttering ribbons in the left hand; truncated legend from 1.00, reconstructed as : ρ AONANO(ρ AO KANhpKO KOpANO) $\frac{1}{2}$ i.e., SHAO-NANOSHAO KANESHKO KOSHANO or *King of Kings, Kaneshko the Kushāṇa* : *Brāhmī* letter *viru* on right, *no* on left.

Rev : Female deity, seated *en face* on high backed throne with ornate legs; nimbate; holds a noose (*pāśa*) in the right hand and a cornucopia in the left hand; fully dressed in flowing classical robes; legend on the right: ρ A Δ OXPo i.e., ARDOXSHO or the *Goddess of Abundance*; *Brāhmī* letter *ru*; monogram on the left; beaded border.



315. *Obv* : Diademed and nimbate, standing king, faces left; wears tall pointed helmet, long coat with round lapels, hem of coat curved

over knees, all bejewelled; offers oblations with the right hand into an altar behind which a trident with fluttering ribbons, holds a spear with fluttering ribbons in the left hand; truncated legend from 1.00 : pA (ONANOpAO KA)NhpKO K(O)pA(NO) *i.e.*, SHAONANOSHAO KANESHKO KOSHANO and means *King of Kings, Kaneshko, the Kushāna*, Brāhmī letters *vi* on right, *tha* in centre and *na* on left.

Rev : Female deity seated, *en face*, on high backed throne with ornate legs; nimbate; hair having side curls; holds a noose (*pāśa*) in the right hand and cornucopia in the left hand; fully dressed in flowing classical robes; legend on right : AΔOXpO *i.e.*, ARDOXSHO or the *Goddess of Abundance*; Brāhmī letter *tha*; monogram on the left; beaded border.



316. *Obv* : Nimbate standing king, faces left; wears a pointed and bejewelled helmet; a long coat having its skirt in two tiers and trousers, completely armoured, offers oblations with the right hand into an altar which has a trident with fluttering ribbons behind it : flaming shoulders; a sword hangs from the waist on the right ; Pārthian style bushy hair behind ears; legend from 1 00 : pAONANOpAO KA/NhpKO, KOpANO *i.e.*, SHAONANOSHAO KANESHKO KOSHANO and means *King of Kings, Kaneshko, the Kushāna*; Brāhmī letter *pu* on right.

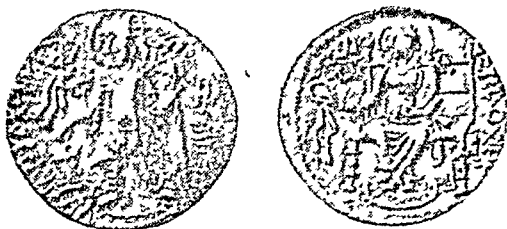
Rev : A female deity nimbate and diademed, sits on a backless throne; dressed in long robes; holds a bowl in the right hand and a palm branch in the left hand; legend on the left, read from outside : AΔOXpO *i.e.*, ARDOXSHO or *Goddess of Abundance*; monogram on the right, beaded border.

317. *Oby* : Diademed and nimbate, standing king faces left; wears tall, pointed helmet, long coat with round lapels, hem of coat curved upwards over knees, all bejewelled; offers oblations with right hand in an altar behind which a trident with fluttering ribbons; holds a spear with fluttering ribbons in the left hand; truncated legend from 1.00 : pA(ONANOpAO KA)NhpKO (KOpANO) *i.e.*, SHAONANOSHAO KANESHKO KOSHANO and means *King of Kings, Kaneshko, the Kushāna*; Brāhmī letters *vi* on right, *tha* in centre and *na* on left.

Rev : Female deity seated, *en face*, on high backed throne with ornate legs; nimbate; hair having side curls; holds a noose (*pāśa*) in the right

hand and cornucopia in the left hand; fully dressed in flowing classical robes; legend on right : ΑΡΔΟΧΡΟ *i.e.*, ARDOXSHO or the *Goddess of Abundance*; monogram on the left; beaded border.

318



318. *Obv* : Diademed and nimbate, standing king, faces left; wears tall pointed helmet, long coat with round lapels, hem of coat curved upwards over knees, all bejewelled; offers oblations with the right hand in an altar behind which a trident with fluttering ribbons, holds a spear with fluttering ribbons in the left hand; truncated legend {from 1.00 : ρΑ(ΟΝΑΝΟρΑΟ/ΚΑ)ΝηρΚΟ ΚΟρ(ΑΝΟ) *i.e.*, SHAONANOSHAO KANESHKO KOSHANO and means *King of Kings, Kanishka, the Kushāna*.

Rev : Female deity seated, *en face*, on high backed throne with ornate legs; nimbate; holds a noose (*pāśa*) in the right hand and cornucopia in the left hand; fully dressed in flowing classical robes, legend on right : ΑΡΔΟΧΡΟ *i.e.*, ARDOXSHO or the *Goddess of Abundance*; monogram on the left; beaded border.

VI. COINS MENTIONING VĀSU

A few coins, out of the many found of Vāsu, are detailed below :

Type I. King at an altar and OhpO; gold, round :

319

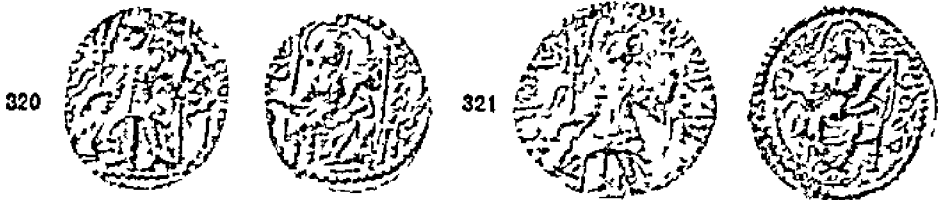


319. *Obv* : Nimbate and diademed standing king, faces left; wears a tall pointed helmet, a long coat with rounded lapels and hem of coat curved upwards over knees and trousers, all armoured; flaming shoulders; offers oblations with the right hand into an altar behind which a trident

with fluttering ribbons and holds a trident in the left raised hand; blurred legend from 1.00 : (pAONANOpAO KANhp)KO *i.e.*, SHAONANO-SHAO KANESHKO which means *King of Kings, Kaneshko; Brāhmī letters Vāsu* on the right.

Rev. : A well built male deity stands *en face*, reclining against a humped bull; nimbate; hair with side curls; holds a noose (*pāsa*) in the right hand, a trident in the raised left hand; wears a *dhoti*; legend on the right, read from inside : OhpO *i.e.*, OESHO or the *God-Siva*; monogram on the left; beaded border.

Type II. King at an altar and APΔOXpO; gold, round :



320. *Obv.* : Standing king, nimbate and diademed, faces left; wears a pointed helmet and a long coat with rounded lapels and hem curved upwards over knees and trousers, all armoured; offers with right hand oblations into an altar, which has a trident with fluttering ribbons behind it; holds a spear in the left raised hand; truncated circular legend illegible; *Brāhmī letters Vāsu* on the right, *ga* in centre and *sa* on left.

Rev. : Female deity seated, *en face*, on a high backed throne with ornate legs; lunar crescent at top; nimbate; curly hair; holds a noose (*pāsa*) in the right hand and a cornucopia in the left hand, dressed in over flowing classical robes; legend on the right : APΔOXpO *i.e.*, ARDOXSHO or *Goddess of Abundance*; partly seen monogram on the left; beaded border.

321. *Obv.* : Standing king, nimbate and diademed, faces left; wears a pointed helmet and a long coat with rounded lapels and hem curved upwards over knees and trousers, all armoured; offers with right hand oblations into an altar which has a trident with fluttering ribbons behind it; holds a spear in the left raised hand; legend, read from outside(!), anti-clockwise, from 12.00 : pAONANOpAO KANHpKO KOpANO, and means *King of Kings, Kaneshko the Kushāna; Brāhmī letters Vāsu* on the right, *Chhu* in centre and *khu* on left.

Rev. : Female deity seated, *en face*, on a high backed throne with ornate legs; heavy curly hair; holds a noose (*pāsa*) in the right hand and a cornucopia in the left hand; dressed in over flowing classical robes, legend on the right; (AP)Δ(O)X(pO) *i.e.*, ARDOXSHO or the *Goddess of Abundance*; monogram on the left, beaded border.

322



323



322. *Obv* : Standing king, nimbate and diademed, faces left; wears a pointed helmet and a long coat with rounded lapels and hem curved upwards over knees and trousers, all armoured; offers with right hand oblations into an altar which has a trident with fluttering ribbons behind it; holds a spear in the left raised hand; truncated legend from 1.00 : $\rho\text{AONANOpAO KANhpKO KO\rho\text{ANO}}$ i.e., SHAONANOSHAO KANESHKO KOSHANO and means *King of Kings, Kaneshko, the Kushāna*; *Brāhmī* letters on right *Vāsu*, in centre *chhu*, on left *sa*.

Rev : Female deity seated, *en face* on a high backed throne with ornate legs; lunar crescent at top; nimbate; holds a noose (*pāśa*) in the right hand and a cornucopia in the left hand; dressed in over flowing classical robes; legend on the right; $(\text{A})\rho\Delta\text{OX}\rho\text{O}$ i.e., ARDOXSHO or the *Goddess of Abundance*; monogram on the left; beaded border.

323. *Obv* : Standing king, nimbate and diademed, faces left; wears a pointed helmet, a long coat with rounded lapels and hem curved upwards over knees and trousers, all armoured; offers with right hand oblations into an altar which has a trident with fluttering ribbons behind it; holds a spear in the left raised hand; truncated legend from 1.00, reconstructed as : SHAONANOSHAO KANESHKO KOSHANO; *Brāhmī* letters on right *Vāsu*, in centre *vi* and on left *sa*.

Rev : Female deity seated, *en face*, on a high backed throne with ornate legs; nimbate; curly hair; holds a noose (*pāśa*) in the right hand and a cornucopia in the left hand; dressed in over flowing classical robes; legend on the right : $(\text{A})\rho\Delta\text{OX}(\rho\text{O})$ i.e., ARDOXSHO or *Goddess of Abundance*; partly seen monogram on left.

324



324. *Obv* : A standing king, faces left; wears a Sassanian type crown having a round balloon shaped insignia; dressed as a king depicted on Kushāno-Sassanian coins; heavy bun of hair behind the ears; details of altar on the left lost but traces of trident are seen; truncated legend

mostly illegible except pAO read counter clockwise from the flan, *Brāhmī* letter *pi*

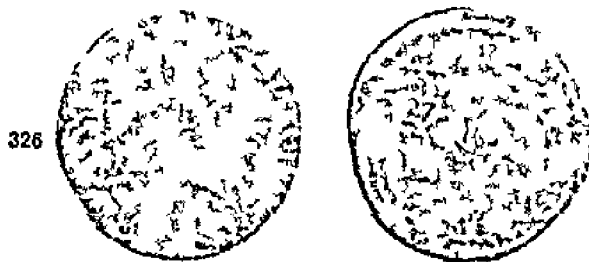
Rev A female deity seated on a high backed throne having ornate legs, wears a headgear and classical robes holds a helmet(?) in the right hand a cornucopia in the left hand, truncated legend on the right (A) PA(OXpO) *i e* ARDOXSHO, monogram on left

VII MISCELLANEOUS COINS



325 *Obv* A gold quarter stater shows a standing king, nimbate facing left, wears a long coat with hem curved upwards at knees offers oblations with the right hand into an altar, a trident with fluttering ribbons, holds a trident in the left hand, Greek legend truncated and blurred except ESHK KO, *Brāhmī* letters on left *ga*, and on right of the spear written vertically *hata*

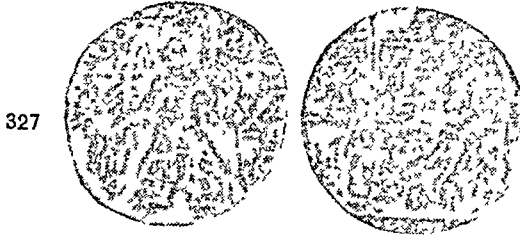
Rev Male standing deity, nimbate, curly hair flowing upto shoulders as if showing three headed deity, holds a noose (*pāśa*) in outstretched right hand and a trident in upraised left hand, a bull behind, legend on right ObpO(?) *i e*, OESHO or the God *Śha* monogram on left, beaded border¹



326 *Obv* Nimbate and diademed king stands, facing left, wears a pointed helmet, a long coat, trousers and tartar boots, offers with the right hand oblations into an altar having a trident with fluttering ribbons behind it, holds a spear in the raised left hand, legend from 100 pAO NANOpAO *i e*, SHAONANOSHAO, *Brāhmī* letters on right *chhu*, before the right foot *vo* and between the feet *tha*

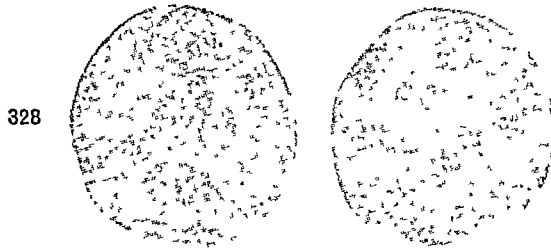
¹ This coin is noticed in JNSI, Vol XIII, pl VII, and has been suggested to be of either Kanishka II or Kanishka III It is separated from other coins of *Śha*, for its fabrication

Rev. : A female deity seated on a high backed throne with ornate legs; nimbate; holds a noose (*pāśa*) in the right hand and a cornucopia in the left hand; wears classical robes; blurred legend on right stands for : ΑΡΔΟΧΡΟ *i.e.*, ARDOXSHO or the *Goddess of Abundance*; monogram on the left; beaded border.



327. *Obv.* : Nimbate and diademed king stands, facing left; wears a pointed helmet, a long coat, trousers and tartar boots; offers with the right hand oblations into an altar having a trident with fluttering ribbons behind it, holds a spear in the left raised hand; legend from 8.00 : illegible; *Brāhmī* letters go below kings left arm and on right *Vāsu*.

Rev. : A female deity seated on a high backed throne with ornate legs; holds a noose (*pāśu*) in the right hand and cornucopia in the left hand; wears classical robes; blurred legend on right stands for : ΑΡΔΟΧΡΟ *i.e.*, ARDOXSHO or the *Goddess of Abundance*; monogram on the left; beaded border.¹



328. *Obv.* : Standing king, faces left; nimbate; offers oblations with right hand into an altar which has a trident behind it, holds a trident in the raised left hand; details of dress not clear; legend stands for : ΡΑΟΝΑΝΟΡΑΟ ΚΟΡΑΝΟ; monogram on the right.

Rev. : A female deity sits on a high backed throne with ornate legs;

1. Sl. Nos. 326 and 327 have been found at Sanchankot, a small village on the right bank of river Sai, Unnao District, U.P., and noticed in JNSI, XXXII, pl. X, Nos. 1 and 3.

holds a noose (*pāśa*) in the right hand and a cornucopia in the left hand; other details not clear; legend on the right should be $\text{AP}\Delta\text{OX}\rho\text{O}$.¹

Type III. King facing right and Aradha-nārtīvara on reverse; gold, round:



329. *Obv* : Standing king, nimbate, faces right, wears peaked helmet and complete suit of chain-mail; traces of an altar in left field having a trident with a fillet behind; long trident in raised left hand; wears a long coat, curved upwards at the hem; a sword from the waist on the right; legend on the right : . . . $\text{hpKO KO}\rho\text{ANO}$, *Brāhmī* letter in lower left field *ha*, between feet : *tha* and to right : *sum* .

Rev : Standing deity, *en face*, reclines against a bull, wears a *dhotī*, a necklace and a *yañjōpavitā*; the left chest of the deity has a bossom of a woman with a round well developed breast; legend on the right, read from inside : $\text{Oh}\rho\text{O}$ *i.e.*, OESHO or the *God-Śna*; monogram on the left; beaded border.²

Type IV. King seated on a throne and APΔOXρO; copper, round :



330 *Obv* : King seated on a throne holds a diadem in the right hand and left hand is raised; feet resting on a stool; legend lost; *Brāhmī* letters on right : *Vāsu*.

Rev : Female deity seated on a high backed throne with ornate legs; nimbate; details of object held in two hands lost; beaded border.

¹ This coin is from Dada Fethpur, Tehsil Khetri, Jhunjhunu District, Rajasthan and is noticed in JNSI, Vol. XXIX, pl. XI, No. 1.

² See JNSI, Vol. XXX, pl. I, No. 7.

SUCCESSORS OF THE KUSHĀNAS

I. GENERAL

At long last, the Kushānas having held sway, over vast territories, for more than a century, faded into oblivion. From a small principality, initially a stepping stone for Kujula Kadphises, it came to be developed into an unwieldy empire strengthened and expanded by such mighty rulers as Vima Kadphises, Kanishka and Huvishka. The time rod exercised itself and the empire, as a prey, succumbed to its onslaught. The great empire, as usual, was partitioned and divided into small principalities, which, however, continued to adopt the Kushāna coinage even after centuries of the fall of the imperial Kushānas. The Kushāna coinage even in its decadent form became popular with the successors of the Kushānas, who adopted it as their monetary standard. The most important to copy this coinage were : the Kidāra Kushānas, Kushāno-Sassānian rulers, tribal rulers of the Panjab and the north-west and the most important to mention were the dynasties in Kashmir which perpetuated this coinage for many centuries. The Kushāna coinage had its impact on debased coins found as far as Ganjam in Orissa, in Rajasthan and in parts of Uttar Pradesh. The traits of Kushāna coinage adopted by these succeeding rulers had an imprint of the Kushāna coinage and have, in turn, left to posterity a large number of coins to judge them even from their debased standard and to appreciate the great impact on them of the Kushāna coinage for centuries together, after their disappearance as rulers.

After Vāsudeva II, the coins found in the Panjab region have *Brāhmī* legends both on the obverse and the reverse and belong to the tribes Śiladas, the Gadaharas and the Kidāra. Kushāna coins having Greek legend or Kushāna cursive script both on the obverse and the reverse, are generally met with in the Bulkh and Kabul region. These belong to the Kushāno-Sassānian series.

II. COINS OF KIDĀRA KUSHĀNAS

Chinese sources mention that the leader of the Great Yueh-chi, who has been identified by Cunningham with the Kidāra of the coins, being hard pressed by the Epthalites, crossed over the Paropanisus and established in Gāndhāra, the Kabul valley and the Punjab a kingdom of the Little Yueh-chi. The *Kidāra Kushānas* seem to have retired to the north, into Chitral, and Gilgit, to the west of the Indus, and to Kashmir to the east of the river. Their power can be traced in the coinage of Kashmir and their kingdom was established on the upper Indus after the defeat of Hūṇa Mihirakula and lasted until, in the 9th century A.D., a revolution placed a *Brāhmiṇa* dynasty on the throne. The coins of the *Kidāra Kushānas* have as their reverse type, the seated goddess, which characterises the coins of the later Kushānas. This fact suggests their attribution to Kashmir rather than to Gandhāra. They bear on the obverse, the name *Kidāra*, the name of the founder of the dynasty, and on the reverse the name of the ruling sovereign.

Coins of Kidara Kushānas have been found in north-west Pakistan. These coins bear the name of the ruler who issued them but have the name Kidara in its abbreviated form *Kida*, written vertically under the arm of the royal figure, dressed like a Kushāna king. Their gold coins have been found over extensive areas from the Panjab to Kanauj and Kosam in the east. These coins seem to have been current for several centuries after which they merged into the series struck in Kashmir by the *Karkoṭaka* or *Nāga* dynasty. The long currency of the coinage as well as the find spots indicate that this coinage was probably used by several dynasties.

These coins have *Brāhmi* legends, both on the obverse and the reverse. Besides their gold coinage, these rulers had issued silver coins, as well. *Brhāmī* legends also occur on these coins. The legends are *Kidāra* written perpendicularly and name of the chief as *Shahi*
 ... Silver coins of Kidāra are distinctively of Sassānian type.

Martin writes about them :

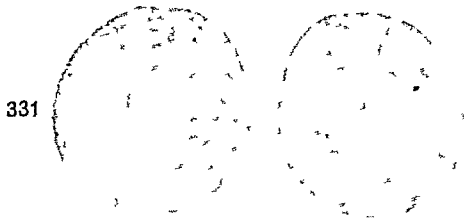
(1) that *Kidāra* was followed by Piro and Varahran as their coins are closely connected.

(2) that *Kidāra* was at first feudatory to the Sassānian empire; that he later became independent; and that during the reign of Piro, the Sassānians reasserted their suzerainty.

(3) that *Kidāra* and his successors Piro and Varahran, should be referred to the later half of the fourth century A. D.

The debased *Kidāra* coins are later and are believed to have been issued by chiefs of the Little Yueh-Chi hordes in the Panjab and other parts of north western Pakistan during the fifth and sixth centuries. The coins of this class merged into the Kashmir coinage.

A base gold coin of a new *Kidāra* Kushāṇa ruler Śātomalla has its details, as :



331. *Obv* : King standing, left; nimbate; sacrifices at an altar with the right hand; vertical *Brāhmī* legend under the left arm: *Kida* and under the right arm : *Bāśa*.

Rev : Throned seated goddess, *en face*; *Brāhmī* legend on right : Śātomal (c) a.¹

III. KUSHĀṆO-SASSĀNIAN COINS

The Kushāṇo-Sassānian coins are another variety consisting of large number of cup-shaped and large size aureii. These combine elements from imperial Sassānian iconography and borrow liberally from Kushāṇa numismatic tradition. These coins, the result of the Sassānian invasion on Kabul valley, are found on the Seistan side and were probably minted in the 4th or 5th centuries. Their copper coins, very much defaced and crudely designed on the old models, persisted in Kashmir from the 6th to the 16th centuries. These are found from Badakshan and the region to the north of the Hindu Kush from where coins of Vāsudeva have also been found. Some of the Kushāṇo-Sassānian coins have also been found from the Kabul region and Gandhāra.

¹See JNSI, Vol. XV, pl II, No. 8

Legends on Kushāno Sassānian Coins

Kushāno-Sassānian coins are found in two series, based on the language used, and were:

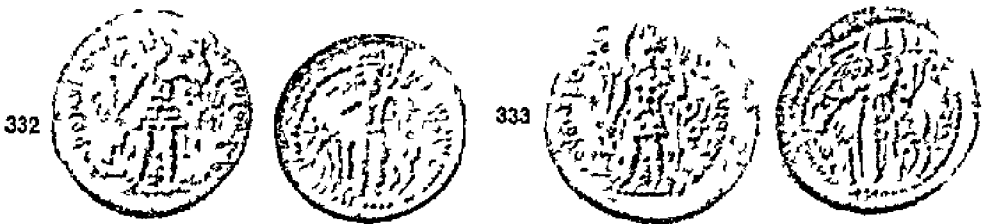
a) in the first series, the legend in cursive Kushāna script or corrupt Greek gives the name of the king with the title SHAONANOSHAO KOSHANO. On the reverse, appears the name of the deity OESHO.

b) In the second series, *Pahlavi* is used along with the Greek legend, for the coins of Hormuzd, Shapur, Varahran and their titles as *Shaonano Shao Koshano* and BAGO (divine).

In *Pahlavi* legend are found the titles MAZDISM LABA KUSHAN MALKAN MALKA which means the, *Mazdean divine, king of kings of the Laba Kushānas*. This title means that the Sassānian ruler whose coins bear it, had continued to acknowledge the suzerainty of the Kushānas in those regions.

The Sassānian emperor Hormuzd II married the daughter of a Kushāna king. On some of his coins, he is called *Kushana Malka (Lord of the Kushāna)* and *Kushana Malkan Malka (Lord of the Kushana rulers)*. His coins bear the figure of Śiva with his bull, as well as the Indian altar, which are found on most of the later Kushāna coins. Some later Kushāna coins are supposed to have been counter struck with Sassānian devices. Certain coins of Sassānian type and fabric bearing legends in *Nāgart*, *Sassānian Pahlavi*, and an undeciphered script, are attributed to some Sassānian or Scytho-Sassānian families that ruled in the Sindhu valley.

Their coins have details, in general, as :



332. *Obv.*: Standing and bearded king, radiate, faces left; wears a pointed helmet and coat of mail, and trousers tied at ankle with ribbon, in Sassānian fashion; offers oblations with the right hand into an altar

having behind it a trident with fluttering ribbons; holds a trident with the raised left hand; hair in bunches on shoulders; legend : H(O)PMI<ΔOO <OPKO KOpONO SHAO; *svastika* between feet; monogram on right.

Rev : A male stands, en face, against a bull; bearded and high-raised hair; dots on the two sides of the face indicate curly hair; wears Sassānian trousers; holds a noose (*pāśa*) in the right hand and a trident in the left hand; legend from right to left O(h)OP<OOONΔhO<OΔO; beaded border; cup-shaped.

333. *Obv* : Standing and bearded king, radiate, faces left; wears a helmet terminating in lion-protome, coat of mail and trousers tied at ankle with ribbon, in Sassānian fashion; offers oblations with the right hand into an altar having behind it a trident with fluttering ribbons; holds a trident with the raised left hand; legend from 1.00 : HOPMI<Δ OO<OPKO KOpONO SHAO; monogram on right.

Rev : A male stands, en face, against a bull; bearded and high raised hair; curly side hair; wears Sassānian trousers; holds a noose (*pāśa*) in right hand and a trident in left hand; blundered legend on right : O(h)OP<OOOnΔOIO<OΔO; beaded border; cup-shaped.¹

IV. COINS OF SCYTHIAN TRIBES

After Vāsudeva II, the coins found in the Panjab region belong to tribal rulers. A few of these tribal coins reveal their names as Śilada, Gadahara, etc., and they had used *Brāhmī* legends, but continued Greek legend in the margin, though it is illegible. The legends on the obverse in *Brāhmī* record the name of these tribes and of their king. Traces of Greek legend on their reverse possibly contain the name of throned *Ardoksho*. The use of *Brāhmī* on these coins strongly supports their Indian association. The striking feature of these coins is the representation of *Brāhmī* legend, in vertical form.

V PURI KUSHĀNA COINS

A number of coins found in Orissa have been termed as Puri-Kushāna coins. These coins imitate the decadent phase of Kushāna coinage. The obverse has the king at an altar and the reverse has a deity, mostly OESHO. It has been suggested that these coins were

¹ See JNSI, XVIII, pl. I, Nos. 2 and 3.

minted by the local rulers imitating Kushāna coins. The poor imitation of Kushāna coins is a reflection on the local rulers of those times.

Coins travel far and wide. At times, inscriptions also travel. Important examples of inscriptions having travelled to far off places, are available. The coins from Orissa could also have been hoards of decadent phase of Kushāna coins, found in different places in Orissa, having been struck/re-struck by local rulers.

On the whole, it is a possibility of these coins, which are excessively crude, and found at Puri and Ganjam *etc*, though reminiscent of Kushāna types, to have belonged to the fourth or the fifth centuries.

VI. TREASURE TROVE FINDS

Treasure trove finds of Kushāna coins are very often forthcoming from different parts of the country. Even in excavations, these coins are normally found. These excavated coins are definitely more authentic and are very helpful for a proper evaluation of the Kushāna period of Indian history. Recent excavations at Kapilvastu, Sonkh and many Treasure Trove finds in recent years, from Jaunpur, Barabanki, Unnao, Tehri Garhwal and Mathura, all the five places being in Uttar Pradesh, as well as in Rajasthan, have brought to light a large number of Kushāna coins. These have already, wherever necessary, been detailed above and their detailed descriptions have been also discussed in articles by different scholars.

APPENDICES

I. GENEALOGY OF THE KUSHĀNAS

Coins of the Western Kshatrapas who had ruled in western India, for almost three hundred years are a unique example of Indian coinage, having dates on them. These dated coins are greatly helpful in arranging them in a proper sequence. Unfortunately, such is not the case with Kushāna coins. The Kushāna coins do not bear any dates. It is not possible to analyse the coins of different Kushāna rulers on the basis of the effigies of kings depicted on their obverse. Lurking danger would be the difference in the effigy on account of different mints and the mint authorities. So, the inscriptions come to our succour.

A large number of dated Kushāna inscriptions have been found, which are both in *Brāhmī* and *Kharoshthī* alphabets. Their number is more than one hundred and fifty. The dates in these inscriptions help to fix the following genealogy :

i) Kanishka	years 1-23
ii) Vāsishka	years 24-28
iii) Huvishka	years 28-60
iv) Kanishka II	year 41
v) Vāsudeva I	years 64/67-98

(The figure for hundred in the counting of the regnal year is dropped and new Kushāna dating sequence is introduced, hereafter).

vi) Kanishka III	years 5-17
vii) Vaskushāna (Vāsudeva II)	years 22-28
viii) Erjhano Yasaga	year 36

On the basis of the existing material at the disposal of scholars, the genealogy fixed, tentatively, requires an absolutely careful, further, study.

II. GLOSSARY

Abhaya-mudrā	: Right hand in protection giving form.
Añkuśa	: Elephant-goad used for controlling an elephant.
Attic standard	: Standardised gold unit of 132 grains at old Athens.
Bāzooband	: An ornament used on the upper part of the arm; armllet.
Chiton	: An under-garment of the ancient Greek, sometimes sleeveless, but often with short or long sleeves, worn as a classical piece of cloth, folded, pinned and girdled next to the skin by both sexes in classical times. Or worn as a sewn loose linen gown reaching the feet and closed on the sides. Always belted at the waist.
Chlamys	: An outer garment shaped like a light and freely flowing scarf. Fastened by a clasp on the shoulders. Oblong in shape and generally twice as long as its width.

Cuirass	: A defensive covering for the breast and back, of leather and iron, fastened with straps and buckles etc.
Ḍamaroo	: A small drum played as a musical instrument by the god-Śiva.
Dharma cakṛa pravartana-mudrā	: Hand fingers at the chest shaped as to set the Wheel of Law in motion.
Dhoti	: A garment for the lower portion of the body worn from navel downwards.
Diadem	: Blue and white band tied round the tiara of the monarch—a symbol of royalty.
Fillet	: A narrow band of ribbon or the like worn around the head usually as an ornament.
Himation	: A garment consisting of a rectangular cloth about 5 feet high and 10 feet long, draped above the body in various ways according to the taste of the wearer. Often lavishly embroidered and worn over the tunic or as a sole garment
Jaṭāmukuta	: Hair in a knot forming the shape of mukuṭa or crown.
Kalaśa	: A vessel or vase.
Kamaṇḍaloo	: A gourd normally used by saints for collecting alms.
Mahārājāsana	: To be seated in an easy form, like a king.
Mantle	: A cloak or loose garment, worn over other garments.
Nandīpada	: Feet of a bull.
Nimbus	: A halo or a cloud of glory around the head.
Obverse	: Facing side of a coin depicting a king, normally.
Pāśā	: A noose to ensnare or punish.
Pellet border	: Circular border formed by dots.
Radiate	: Emitting rays.
Reverse	: Back side of a coin showing a deity, normally.
Salwār	: A lower garment mainly used by the people of the Panjab and north-west Pakistan, similar to a trouser.
Torque	: A collar necklace or similar ornament consisting of a twisted narrow band usually of precious metal.
Trīśūla	: Trident.
Tunic	: A short sleeved shirt fastened by a girdle or a belt around the waist and in case of women often long like a chemise. Over it a loose mantle or cloak was worn.
Uṛṇā	: Dot at the forehead.
Ushṇīṣha	: Tuft of hair tied in a knot on the head.
Varada-mudrā	: Right hand in gift bestowing form.
Vitarka-mudrā	: Hand fingers showing as if in deep rationalism.
Vyākhyāna-mudrā	: Hand fingers in preaching form.

III. ABBREVIATIONS

ASIR : Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Reports.

ASR : Archaeological Survey Reports.

BMA : Bulletin of Museums and Archaeology, Uttar Pradesh.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- BMQ* : British Museum Quarterly.
BSOAS : Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies University of London.
CASR : Cunningham's Archaeological Survey of India Reports.
IA : Indian Antiquary
IC : Indian Culture.
IMC : Indian Museum, Calcutta.
JAOS : Journal of the American Oriental Society.
JAS : Journal Asiatic Society, Calcutta.
JASB : Journal (and Proceedings) of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
JBBRAS : Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.
JBORS : Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society.
JIH : Journal of Indian History.
JNSI : Journal of the Numismatic Society of India.
JRAS : Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.
MASI : Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India.
NC : Numismatic Chronicle.
NIA : New Indian Antiquary.
NS : Numismatic Supplement.
OHRJ : Orissa History Research Journal.
PASB : Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

IV. BIBLIOGRAPHY

a. MODERN BOOKS

- Baldev Kumar* : Early Kuṣāṇas, Sterling Publishers, New Delhi.
Basham, A. L. : ed., Papers on the Date of Kanishka, submitted at London Conference, 1960; E. J. Brill, Leiden, 1918.
Bidyabinod, B. B. : Supplementary Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, Non Mohammedan Series.
Brown, C. J. : The coins of India; Heritage of India Series, Calcutta, 1922.
Chattopadhyaya, B : The Age of the Kushāṇas—a Numismatic Study; Punthi Pustak, Calcutta, 1967.
Chakraborty, S. K. : A study of Ancient Indian Numismatics (Indigenous system)—from the earliest times to the rise of the Imperial Guptas; Bharatiya Publishing House, Varanasi, 1973.
Cunningham, Alexander : Coins of Alexander's Successors in the east—the Greeks and Indo-Scythians, Part I; London : 1888-1892; Reprinted from the Numismatic Chronicle, 3rd ser. Volumes VII-X, XII.
 — Coins of the later Indo-Scythians, Numismatic Chronicle, XIII (3rd series pp. 93, 166, 184; Indological Book House, Varanasi, 1962.
 — Coins of Ancient India from the earliest times down to the 7th Century A.D; London, B, Quartich, 1981.
Gafuray, B and others : Kushāṇa Studies in U.S.S.R.; Indian Studies, Calcutta. 1970.
Balkrishna : Ancient Indian Coinage, New Delhi, 1968.

- Gardner Percy* : The Coins of the Greek and Scythic Kings of Bactria and India, in British Museum, London; British Museum, 1886; edited by Reginald Stuart Poole, Argonaut Publishers, Chicago, 1966.
- Ghirshman, Roman* : Begram, Recherches Archeologiques et Historiques sur les Kouchans; Memoires de la Delegation Archologique Francaise en Afghanistan, Tome, XII.
- Herzfeld, Ernst* : Kushāno-Sassanian Coins; MASI No. 38, Calcutta; 1930.
- Hill George* : Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Arabia, Mesopotamia, and Persia; British Museum; London, 1922.
- Jenkins, G. K., and Naran, A. K.* : The Coin-types of the Śaka—Pahlava Kings of India; Numismatic Notes and Monographs, No. 4, Numismatic Society of India, Benares, 1957.
- Konow, Sten* : Kharoshthī Inscriptions, Vol. II, Part I, Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum; Calcutta, 1929.
- Van Lohuizen de Leeuw, Johanna Engelberta* : The 'Scythian' Period, E.J. Brill, Leiden, 1949.
- Luders, Heinrich* : Mathura Inscriptions, Unpublished papers edited by Klaus Janert. Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen. Philhist. Klasse. 3rd ser., no. 47. Göttingen, 1961.
- McDowell, R. H.* : Coins from Seleucia on the Tigris; University of Michigan Humanistic Series, Vol. XXXVII, Ann Arbor, 1935.
- Mongait, A. L.* : Archaeology in the U. S. S. R.; tr. by M. W. Thompson, Middlesex, Penguin Books, 1961.
- de Morgan, Jacques* : Manuel de numismatique orientale de l'antiquite et du moyen-age, Vol. 1, Paris, Geuthner, 1923-1936.
- Mukherjee, B. N.* ; Genealogy and Chronology of the Kushānas.
 — Kushāna Silver coinage, Indian Museum Monograph, Calcutta, 1982.
 — Nana on Lion: A study in Kushānā Numismatic Art; Asiatic Society, Calcutta, 1969.
 — Kushāna Coins of the land of Five Rivers, Indian Museum Monograph, No. 12, Calcutta, 1978.
- Narain, Anadh Kishore* : The Indo-Greeks; Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1957.
- Puri B. N.* : India under the Kushānas; Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, 1965.
- Rapson, E. J.* : Cambridge History of India, Vol. I : Ancient India.
 — Catalogue of the coins of the Āndhra Dynasty, the Western Kṣatrapas, The Traikūṭaka Dynasty and the Bodhi Dynasty; British Museum, London, 1908.
 — Sources of Indian History : Indian Coins, Vol. I; Trubner, Strassburg, 1897.
- Rosenfield, John M.* : Dynastic Arts of the Kushānas; University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles, America, 1967.
- Rowland, B.* : Rome and the Kushānas : images of Princes and Gods.
- Sharma, G. R.* : Kushāna Studies, University of Allahabad, Allahabad, 1968.
- Singh, O P* : Religion and Iconography on early Indian Coins.
- Singh, S. S.* : Early coins of North India—Iconographic Study, Janki Prakashan, Patna, 1979.
- Singhal, C. R.* : Bibliography of Indian Coins, Part I (Non-Mohammedan Series), edited by Dr. A S. Altekar, Bombay, NSI, 1950.

- Smith, Vincent* : Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum Calcutta, Vol. I; University Press, Oxford, 1919.
- Srivastava, A. K.* : Coin hoards of Uttara Pradesh, State Museum, Lucknow, 1971.
- Tarn, W. W.* : The Greeks in Bactria and India, 2nd. ed; University Press, Cambridge; 1951.
- Vanaja, R.* ; Indian Coinage, National Museum New Delhi, 1983.
- Whitehead, R. B.* : Catalogue of Coins in the Punjab Museum, Lahore, Volume I, Indo-Greek Coins; Oxford, 1914.

b. SELECT ARTICLES IN JOURNALS

- Acharya, P.* : Ancient Coins from Mayurbhanj, JNSI, II, p. 123.
- Agrawala, V. S.* : A coin of Kanishka with the figure of the Buddha, JNSI, VIII.
 — Ancient Coins as known to Pāṇini, JNSI, XI, pp. 271.
 — A Kushāṇa Coin-mould from Rohtak, JNSI, XV, pp. 68.
 — Cornucopia in Indian literature and tradition, JNSI XVII, pt. 2, pp. 92 ff.
- Allan, J.* : Indian coins—Van Der Bergh Gift; BMQ, IV. 36.
 — Indian coins acquired by British Museum, NC, XIV, 5th Series, p. 229.
 — A New Kushāṇa Coin, Vima on Elephant, BMQ, VIII(19), p. 73.
 — Note on the name Kushāṇa, JRAS, 1914, pp. 402 ff.
- Altekar, A. S.* : The relative prices of metals and coins in Ancient India, JNSI, V. p. 1.
 — Some rare and interesting Indo-Bactrian and Indo-Scythian Coins, JNSI, VI, pp. 11 ff.
 — New and interesting coins and a seal from Madhyadeśa, JNSI, VIII, p. 7.
 — A Kanishka coin of Ardoksho type, JNSI, VIII p. 60.
 — Some new Hermaeus-Kujula Kadphises Coins, JNSI, IX, pp. 6 ff.
 — A unique Kushāṇo-Roman gold coin of King Dharmadamadhara (?) JNSI, XII, 1950, pp. 1. ff.
 — Buxar hoard of Kushāṇa coins, JNSI, XII, pp. 121 ff.
 — A new and unique coin type of Vāsudeva, JNSI, XIII, pp. 126-128.
 — Two more coins of Huvishka with Ahura Mazda, JNSI, XIV, pp. 34-40.
 — Buddha on Indo-Scythian coins, JNSI, XIV, pp. 52 f.
 — Twelve forged silver coins of the Kushāṇas, JNSI, XIV, pp. 34 ff.
 — A Golden amulet imitating a coin of Huvishka, JNSI, XX, pt. 2, pp. 1-3.
 — A Note on the Kushāṇa gold coin, Ancient India, No. 5, pp. 100 f.
- Altekar, Padma* : When did the reign of Huvishka terminate ? JNSI, XIV, p. 62 ff.
- Bachoffer, L.* : Herrschern und Munzen der Später Kushāṇas, JAOS, 1936 p. 429.
 — On Greeks and Śakas in India, JAOS, Vol. 61, 1941, p. 228 f.
- Bajpai, K. D.* : A New Biga type coin of Vima Kadphises, JNSI, XXII, pp. 81 ff.
 — A new Boddo type gold coin of Kanishka, JNSI, XLIV, pp. 42 ff.
- Bandopadhyaya, Samaresh* : Note on a British Museum coin of Kanishka, JNSI, XXXVIII, pp. 123 f.
- Banerjee, J. N.* : The Title 'Devaputra' on Kuyula Kara Kadphises Coins, JNSI, IX, p. 180.

- An interesting double dinar of Vima Kadphises in Narendra Singh Singhee Collection, JNSI, XXIV, pp. 31 ff.
- Śiva and his emblems on early Indian Coins and Seals, IHQ, XVI, p. 118.
- Indian elements in the coin devices of foreign rulers in India, IHQ, XIV, p. 293.
- Banerji, P.* : A coin of Satomalla, a new Kidara Kushāṇa King, JNSI, XV, pt I, p. 79.
- Banerjee R. D.* : Notes on Indo-Scythian Coinage, JASB (NS) IV, 1908, pp. 82-96.
— Notes on Indian Numismatics, III, JBORS, V, p. 83.
- Behera, K. S.* : On a Kushāṇa gold coin from Orissa, JNSI Vol. XXXVII, pp. 76-82.
- Behera, S. C.* : A New find of Puri-Kushāṇa coins in Bhulingi, JNSI, XXXII, pp. 25 ff.
- Bataille, Georges* : Notes sur la numismatique des Kouchans et des Kouchanshah Sassanides, *Arethuse*, V(1928), 19-35.
- Bhagavan Dev and Yoganand* : Coin moulds from Naurangabad (in Hindi), JNSI, XXXII, pp. 160-61.
- Bird, J* : Observations on Bactrian and Mithraic coins in the Cabinet of the BBRAS, JBBRAS, I, p. 299.
- Biswas, Krishan* : Śiva on some Kushāṇa coins of the Indian Museum Cabinet, JNSI, XLI, pt. I, pp. 18 ff.
- Blyar, A. D. H.* : The Kushāṇo-Sassanian coin Series, JNSI, XVIII, pp. 13 ff.
— Notes on the Kushāṇa Cursive Seal Inscriptions, NC, XV (6th ser, 1955), 203 ff.
- Boss, S. K.* : A fresh hoard of the so-called Puri-Kushāṇa Coins, IC, III, p. 727.
- Carlleyle, A. C. L.* : Old Hindu coins found at Indo-Khera, CASR, XII, p. 40.
- Chakravorty, S. K.* : Foreign denominations of Ancient Indian Coins, IHQ, XV, p. 65.
- Coomaraswamy, Ananda K.* : Notes on Indian coins and symbols, *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift*, n. s. IV (1927), 175-188.
- Cunningham, A.* : Coins of the Indo-Scythians; NC, 3rd. ser VIII (1888), 199-248; IX (1889), 268-311; X (1890), 103-172, XII (1892), 40-82, XIII (1893), 93-128, 166-202 and XIV (1894), 242-293.
— Notice on some unpublished coins of the Indo-Scythian, JASB, XIV, p. 430.
— Notes on the gold coins found in the Ahin Posh Tope, PASB, 1878, p. 205.
— Coins of Indian Buddhist Satrap with Greek Inscriptions, JASB, XXIII, p. 629.
— Notice of some counter-feit Bactrian Coins, JASB, IX, p. 393.
— Coins found at Kutawala find, CASR, V, p. 93.
— Coins found at Pathankot, CASR, V, p. 154.
— Coins found at Sunet, CASR, XIV, p. 65.
- Dar, M. B. L.* : A new silver coin of Huvishka, JNSI, II, p. 113.
- Deb, Harit Kirshna* : Huvishka as Mahāsena, IHQ, XII (1936), 153-156.
- Dikshit, K. N.* : A note on some rare coins in the Cabinet of the BBRAS, JBBRAS, XXIV, p. 382.
- Dobbins, K. W.* : The question of the imitation of Hermaios Coinage, East and West, Vol. XX, 3, pp. 307-36.

- Drouin, M. E.* : The nimbus and signs of deification on the coins of the Indo-Scythian Kings, I. A, XXXII (1903), 427-432.
- Fleet, J. F.* : A hitherto unrecognised Kushāṇa King, JRAS, 1903, p. 325.
— The name Kushāṇ, JRAS, 1914, pp. 371 ff, pp. 1000 ff.
- Ganguly, Deb* : The Imperial Kushāṇa coins and their imitation in Orissa, JNSI, XXVIII, pp. 6 ff.
- Ghirshman, Roman* : Un décadrachme Kouchan inédit, Extrait des Melanges Louis Massignon, Vol. II, Institut Francais de Damas, Damascus, 1957.
- Ghosh, Ajit* : Three rare gold Kushāṇa Coins, JRASB (NS), XLV (327), 1934.
- Gobl, R.* : Divus Vima Kadphises, Anhang I in Helmut Humbach, Die Kanishka Inschrift von Surkh-Kotal, Wiesbaden; Harrassowitz, 1960, pp.57-59.
— Numismatic Evidence relating to the Date of Kanishka, Seminar on the date of of Kanishka, University of London, April, 1960.
— Roman Patterns for Kushāṇa coins, JNSI, XXII, 1960, 75-96.
— Roman Kushāṇian medallion in the British Museum, JNSI, XXXVIII, pt. I, pp. 21-26; pt. II, pp. 73-81.
— Gold amulets and the Kushāṇa History, JNSI, XXI, pp. 188 ff.
- Gupta, P. L.* : The date of Kushāṇa Currency in Eastern India, JNSI, XV, p. 185.
— A Kushāṇa coin with Brāhmī Legend, JNSI, XXXV, pp. 123 ff.
— Kushāṇa Muruṇḍa rule in Eastern India—Numismatic Evidence, JNSI, XXXVI, pp. 20 ff.
— British Museum Romano Kushāṇa Medallion; its nature and importance, JNSI, XXXVIII, pt. II, pp. 73 ff.
- Handa, Devendra* : A note on re-struck and reused Kushāṇa coins JNSI, XLIV, pp. 46 ff.
- Houghton, H. L.* : Notes on Greek and Kushāṇ coins from North-West India, NC, pp. 141-146.
- Hornle, A. F. R.* : Gold coins found by Mr. W. Simpson in the Ahin Posh Tope at Jelalabad, PASB, 1879, p. 122.
— Notes on some Bactrian and Gupta Coins, PASB, 1898, p. 17.
- Jain, Balachandra* : Kushāṇa coins from Shahdol district, JNSI, XXVIII, pp. 1 ff.
- Jayaswal, K. P.* : The Statue of Wema Kadphises and Kushāṇ Chronology, JBORS, (1920), 11-22.
- Jenkins, G. K.* : Indo-Scythic Mints, JNSI, XVII, pt. II, 1955, 1-26.
- Khareghat, P. M.* : On the origin and meaning of the name Ardoksho on Indian Coins, JNSI, X, p. 25.
- Kosambi, D. D.* : On the origin and development of silver coinage in India, Current Science, X, 1941, pp. 395-400.
- Lahiri, A.N.* : Ahura Mazda on a Unique coin of Huvishka, JNSI, XIII, pp. 175-177.
- Lahiri, Bela* : The coin types of the foreign successors of the great Kushāṇas, JNSI, XXXI, pt. II, pp. 122 ff.
- Levi, Sylvain* : Devaputra, Journal Asiatique, 1934, pp. 1-21.
- Longworth Dames, M.* : Review of Whitehead's Catalogue of Coins in the Punjab Museum, JRAS, 1914, 793 ff.
- McDowall, David W.* : Numismatic Evidence for the date of Kanishka, Seminar on the date of Kanishka, University of London, April, 1960.

— Soter Megas, the King of Kings, the Kushāṇa, JNSI, XXX, pp. 28 ff

— The Weight Standards of the gold and copper coinages of the Kushāṇa Dynasty from Vima Kadphises to Vāsudeva, JNSI, XXII, pp. 63-74.

— Implication of Kushāṇa Chronology of Numismatic Contents of the Nameless King, JNSI, Vol. XXXVII, pp. 44-47.

Maity, Sachindra Kumar : The gold content of the Kushāṇa, the Kushāṇa Chieftains and the Sassanian Gold Coins from the Indian Museum, Calcutta, JNSI, XX (1958) 162-171.

Majumdar, N.G. : Three gold coins from North Bengal, JASB(NS), XXVIII, p. 127.

Mariotinni Spagnoli, M. : The symbolic meaning of the Club in the Iconography of the Kushāṇa Kings, East and West, XVII, 3-4; 248-68.

— Some further Observations on the Symbolic meaning of the Club in the statues of Kanishka, East and West, XX, 4, pp. 460-468.

Marshall, J. : A list of rare and Unique coins, ASR, 1912-13, p. 45; 1914-15 p. 27; 1915-16, p. 31.

Martin, M. F. C. : Some new Kushāṇ gold coins, JASB, NS, XXXIX(1933), No. 3, pp. 7-9.

— Coins of Kidara and the title Kushāṇa, JASB. 1937, Numismatic Supplement, p. 23.

— Coins exhibited at the annual meeting of the N. S. of India at Benares in January, NS, XLII,

Masson-Charles : Some new Kushāṇa gold coins, NS, XLIV(308), 1931-33.

— Memoir on the Ancient coins found at Behgram in the Kohistan of Kabul JASB, III (1834), 153-175.

— Second Memoir on the ancient coins found at Behgram, in the Kohistan of Kabul, JASB, V, p. 1

Mitchiner, M. B. : Kanishka Huvishka coinage and its links with the east Puri Kushāṇa coinage, JNSI, XXXIII, pt. I, pp. 32 ff.

Monneret de Villard : La monete dei Kushana e l'impero romano, *Orientalia*, XVII (1948), 205-245.

Mukherjee B.N. : A gold coin of Bazeshko, JNSI, Vol. XXXIII, 1972, p. 31 ff.

— A plea for study of Art in coinage, JNSI, XLIII, pp. 1 ff.

— A gold coin of Vāsudeva II, JNSI, Vol. XXXVI, pp. 109-110.

— The title Devaputra on Kushāṇa coins, JNSI, XXX, pp. 90 ff.

— Prototype of an obverse device of Kushāṇa coinage, JNSI, XXII, 109-112.

— The Historical significance of a gold coin of Vāsudeva II, JNSI, XXXVI, pp. 109. f.

— An intaglio Seal from Peshawar, JNSI, XXVIII, pp. 60 f.

— Reverse legend on a variety of Kushāṇa coins, JAS, XXIII, Nos. 3-4, pp. 110-111.

— Ta-hsia and the problem concerning the advent of Nomadic Peoples in Greek Bactria, East and West, Vol. XIX, 3-4, pp. 395-400.

Mukherji, D. N. : The era used by the Kushāṇa kings, IC, Vol. I, pp. 427 ff.

Narain, A. K. : A unique gold and two silver coins of Huvishka, JNSI, XXII (1960) 97-101.

— A note on Kārshāpaṇa, JNSI, Vol. XIX, p. 181.

- Nath, B.V.* : A new find of Kushāṇa coins in Orissa, OHRJ, II, nos. 3-4 (1953-54) pp. 84-93.
- Nock, Arthur D.* : Deification and Julian, *Journal of Roman Studies*, XLVII (1957), 115-123.
- Noe, Sydney P.* : A Bibliography of Greek coin hoards, *Numismatic Notes and Monographs*, No. 25, American Numismatic Society, 1925.
- Oikonomides, AL. N.* : Soter the Great—the last of the Indo-Greek Kings, *JNSI*, XXXV, pp. 82 ff.
- Pai, M. Govind* : Were Hermaeus and Kujula Kadphises Joint Rulers, *NIA*, Vol. I, pp. 265 ff.
- Pokharna, Premlata* : A hoard of Kushāṇa gold coins from Rajasthan, *JNSI*, XXXIX, p. 160.
- Prayag, Dayal* : A new Kidāra Chief, *NS*, XLV, p. 322.
- Ramachandran, T. N.* : Find of Puri Kushāṇa or Oriya Kushāṇa coins from Sitabhinji, Keonjhar District, Orissa, *JNSI*, XVII, p. 69 ff.
- Ranade, P. V.* : A copper coin of Wima Kadphises discovered in Aurangabad, *JNSI*, XXVI, pp. 228 f.
- Rao, U. S.* : Two rare Kushāṇa coins, *JNSI*, XXX, pp. 193.
 — Kushāṇa copper coin, *JNSI*, XXVI, pp. 99 f.
 — A rare copper coin of Huvishka, *JNSI*, XXVI, p. 233 ff.
- Rapson, E. J.* : The notes on Indian Coins and Seals, *JRAS*, 1903, p. 255.
- Rowland, Benjamin* : The Iconography of the Flame Halo. *Bulletin of the Fogg Museum*, XI (1949), 10-16.
- Roy Choudhary, C. R.* : A rare gold coin of Kadphises II, *JNSI* XXI, pp. 129 f.
- Sankalia, H. D.* : A rare gold coin of Huvishka, *JNSI*, I, p. 9.
- Sewel, R.* : Roman coins found in India, *JRAS*, 1904, p. 59.
- Shah, K. P.* : Numismatic data in early Jain Literature, *JNSI*, XIV, p. 107.
- Sharma Savita and Tiwari, M. N.* : Śiva on Kushāṇa coins, XLV, pp. 139 ff.
- Shastri, Ajaya Mitra, Sharma G.B.* : An interesting Śiava sealing from Sanghol, *JNSI*, XXXVIII, pp. 120 ff.
- Shukla, K. S.* : Some gold coins from Sanchankot, *JNSI*, XXXII, pp. 208 f.
- Simonetta, Alberto* : An Essay on the So-called Indo-Greek coinage, *East and West (IsMEO)* VIII (1957), 44-46.
 — A new essay on the Indo-Greeks, the Śakas and Pahlavas, *East and West*, IX, pp. 154-173.
- Singh, O. P.* : Economic implication of the silver Coins of Kushāṇas, *JNSI*, XLI, pt. I, pp. 31 ff.
 — Ardhanārīśavara on the coin of Kanishko (later Kushāṇa), *JNSI*, XXX, pp. 195 ff.
 — Unique gold coin of Vāsudeva, *JNSI*, XLIV, pp. 136 ff.
- Singh, Sarjug Prasad* : Numismatic evidence of Kushāṇa Muruṇḍa rule in Eastern India, *JNSI*, XXXV, pp. 127 ff.
- Steel Holstein, Baron A. Von* : Was there a Kushāṇa race? *JRAS*, 1914, pp. 79 ff.
- Smith, V. A.* : Numismatic Notes and Novelties, *JASB*, LXVI, Mis. I, II, III, pp-1, 298.

- Srinastava, A. K.* : Kushāna gold coins from Barabanki District, JNSI, XLI, pt. I, pp. 15 ff.
- Mathura as known through the coins, BMA, XI-XII 1973.
 - Coin Collection in the State Museum, Lucknow, JNSI, XXV, pp. 225 ff.
 - Treasure Trove Finds from Mathura, BMA, XI-XII, 1973.
 - Kushāna coins from Tehri Garhwal, JNSI, XXXVII, pp. 72 ff.
 - Find Spots of Kushāna coins in UP, BMA VIII, 1971.
 - Kushāna Suvarna Mudrāyen tathā ābhūshāna (in Hindi)
 - Kushāna gold coins from Unnao District, BMA, V-VI, 1970.
 - A hoard of Kushāna gold coins from Jaunpur District, BMA 4 Dec. 1969.
- Srinastava, C.S.* : Kushāna hoards of Treasure Trove coins from U.P., BMA, 1969.
- Stavisky, J.* : Notes on Gem-seals with Kushāna Cursive Inscription in the collection of the State Hermitage, JNSI, XXII (1960), pp. 120 ff.
- Stein, Marc Aurel* : Zoroastrian Deities on Indo-Scythian coins, *Oriental and Babylonian Record*, August, 1887, also in, IA, XVII (1888), 19 ff.
- Tarapore, P. S.* : A rare Kushāna coin, N.S. XLIII, 1936, p. 304.
- Thakur, Upendra* : Problem of forgery in Numismatics, JNSI, XLV, pp. 1 ff.
- Thanawala, F. J.* : The Zoroastrian Deity Ardoshir or Ardvishur on Indo-Scythian Coins, NS, XXV, 1915, p. 149.
- Thomas, E.* : Catalogue of coins in the Cabinet of the late Col. Stacy, JASB, 1858.
- Thomas, F. W.* : Devaputra, B C. Law Volume II. pt. II, BORI, Pune, 1946, pp. 305-320.
- Sino Kharoshthī coins, NC, XVII (1944), 83-98.
- Trivedi, H. V.* : A note on Buddha on Indo-Scythian coins, JNSI, XV, pp. 155 ff.
- Some Śaka, Pahlava and Kushāna coins in the Museum of American Society, JNSI, XX; pt. 2, pp. 153 ff.
- Verma T. P.* : A quarter Stater of Kanishka, JNSI, XLV, pp. 36.
- Walsh, E. H. C.* : Puri-Kushāna-coins, JBORS, V, p. 173.
- Whitehead, R. B.* : Multan the House of gold, NC, XVII (1937), 60-72.
- Notes on the Indo Greeks, NC. 1946, pp. 28-51.
- Wilson, J.* : Observation on some Ancient Indian coins in the Cabinet of the Royal Asiatic Society, JRAS, 1836.
- Wood, Allen H.* : Gold coin types of the Great Kushānas, Numismatic Society of India, Monogram No. 9.

V. THE KHAROSHĪHĪ ALPHABET ON COINS

KHAROSHĪHĪ	ENGLISH	KHAROSHĪHĪ	ENGLISH
𑀀	a	𑀁	dha
𑀂	i	𑀃	na
𑀄	u	𑀅	pa
𑀆	e	𑀇	pha
𑀈	o	𑀉	ba
𑀊	ka	𑀋	bha
𑀌	kha	𑀍	ma
𑀎	ga	𑀏	ya
𑀐	gha	𑀑	ra
𑀒	ca	𑀓	la
𑀔	cha	𑀕	va
𑀖 𑀗	ja	𑀘	sa
𑀙	jha	𑀚	śa
𑀛	jña	𑀜	ṣa
𑀝	ṭa	𑀞	ha
𑀟	ṭha	𑀠	kra
𑀡	ḍa	𑀢	tra
𑀣	ḍha	𑀤	pra
𑀥	ta	𑀦	rkha
𑀧	da	𑀨	stra

VI. COMPOSITE KHAROSHTHI WORDS

KHAROSHTHI	ENGLISH	KHAROSHTHI	ENGLISH	KHAROSHTHI	ENGLISH
𑀓	AGE	𑀕	JU	𑀔	SU
𑀌	AM	𑀖	JHAM	𑀗	SI
𑀙𑀚	BU	𑀛𑀜	LO	𑀝	STRA
𑀞	BRA	𑀟	MO	𑀠𑀡	SAGI
𑀣𑀤	DE	𑀥	ME	𑀦𑀧	SRAM
𑀨	DHRA	𑀩	MI	𑀪	TE
𑀫𑀬	DI	𑀭	NI	𑀮	TU
𑀱𑀲	GU	𑀳	PRA	𑀴𑀵	TRA
𑀶	GO	𑀷	PHRE	𑀸	VI
𑀹𑀺	JI	𑀻	RMA	𑀼	VRI
		𑀽	RJHU	𑀾	SAM

VII. GREEK ALPHABET ON COINS

GREEK	ENGLISH	GREEK	ENGLISH
Α	a	Ν, ρ, η	n
Β	b	Ξ	x(ks)
Γ	g	Ο, Ϙ	o
Δ	d	Π	p
Ε	e	Ρ/ρ	r/sh
Ζ	z	Σ, Ϻ, ϻ	s
Η	ē	Τ	t
Θ	th	Υ	u
Ι	i	Ο	ph
Κ	k	Χ	kh
Λ	l	Ψ	ps
ΗΜ	m	Ω, Ϝ, Ω	ō

VIII KHAROSHTHI LEGENDS

1. Maharaja rajadiraja hima

kapisasa

𑀘𑀓 𑀅𑀓𑀓𑀓𑀓𑀓𑀓𑀓𑀓𑀓𑀓
𑀓𑀓𑀓𑀓𑀓𑀓

2. Khusbanasa yauasa kuyula

kaphsasa sachadhramathidasa

𑀓𑀓𑀓𑀓 𑀓𑀓𑀓𑀓𑀓 𑀓𑀓𑀓𑀓𑀓
𑀓𑀓𑀓𑀓𑀓𑀓𑀓𑀓𑀓𑀓𑀓𑀓

3. Kujulakasasa Kushana yavu(?) gasa

dhra(dha)mathidasa

𑀓𑀓𑀓𑀓𑀓𑀓𑀓𑀓𑀓𑀓 𑀓𑀓𑀓𑀓𑀓𑀓𑀓
𑀓𑀓𑀓𑀓𑀓𑀓𑀓𑀓𑀓𑀓

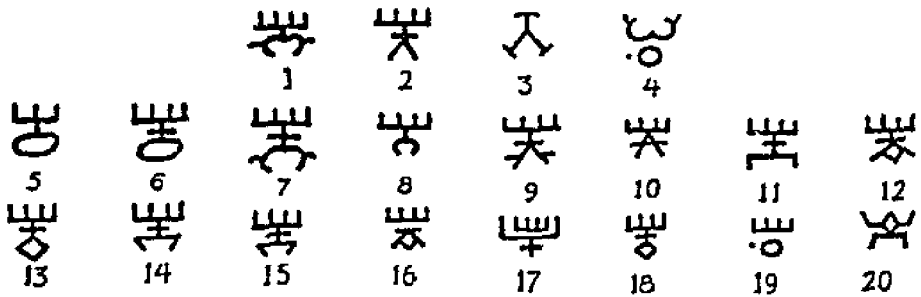
4. Maharajasa rajadirajasa

sarvaloga isvara mahisvar

himakapisasa tradata

𑀓𑀓𑀓𑀓𑀓𑀓𑀓 𑀓𑀓𑀓𑀓𑀓𑀓
𑀓𑀓𑀓𑀓𑀓𑀓𑀓𑀓𑀓𑀓𑀓𑀓
𑀓𑀓𑀓𑀓 𑀓𑀓𑀓𑀓𑀓𑀓𑀓𑀓𑀓

IX. MONOGRAMS ON COINS



- | | | |
|--------------------------------|--|-------------------------|
| 1-3 Kadphises | 4. Vima Kadphises (<i>Nandipada</i>) | 5 6 Soter Megas |
| 7. Vima Kadphises and Kanishka | | 8. Kadphises |
| 9-11 Huvishka | 12-16 Vāsudeva | 17. Kidāra Kushāna |
| 18. Vāsudeva | 19. Hormazd | 20. Hormazd and Varāhan |

XI. INDEX

A

Abhaya-mudrā 39, 117, 122
Adhyardha-purāṇa 35
 Afghanistan 54, 74
Agni 32
Agni-Purāṇa 47
 Ahura Mazda 31, 34, 35, 127,
 Ali Masjid 203
Alinda 85
 Altai 8
 Ammon 30
 Amphorae 8
 Anahita 31, 35
Añjaji-mudrā 165
 Ankuśa 83, 84, 101-105, 107-
 109, 111, 112, 114, 115, 117,
 119, 120, 121, 131, 133, 134,
 136, 140, 141-143, 148, 150,
 152, 154, 159, 160, 162, 166,
 170, 173, 176, 178, 185-188
Antara-vāsaka 39
 Apam Napat 32
 Ara inscription 123, 126
 Arda-vahishta 32
Arđha-nāriśvara 234
 Ardoksho 11, 13, 22, 101, 124,
 133, 201, 222, 225
 Artemis 38
 Asha Vahista 31
 Ashaeixsho 137, 138
 Ashi 31
 Ashish Vanguhi 31
 Ashutosh Museum 87
 Atar 32
 Athene 29
 Athsho 102, 138
 Attic 46, 56, 77
Augustine 43
 Augustus 2, 66, 70
 Aurei 43, 46, 78
 Aurvat Aspa 32

Avesta 32
 Avestan 34
 Avestic 31
 Azes I 67, 72
 Azilises 97

B

Bactria/Bactrian 1, 3, 4, 9, 10,
 24, 25, 29, 50, 55, 58, 60, 63,
 64, 66, 72, 77, 97
 Bactro-Greeks 7
 Badakhshan 56, 237
 Bagd (Divine) 22
 Bagobozdo 118
 Balkh 21 236
 Baroh-vareno 36
 Bazooband 134-136, 138, 139,
 143-146, 170, 175, 176, 181,
 183, 199
 Begram 8, 9, 67, 74, 111, 225
 Bengal 225
Bhāgavat 25, 39, 118
Bhaviśya-Purāṇa 29
 Bird in headdress 37
 Bistun 80, 87
 Boddo 39, 45, 117
 Bombay 60
 BBRAS 60
 Boudo 72
Brāhmī 10, 11, 14, 21, 22
Bṛihaspati 46
 Buddha 23, 24, 39, 52, 60, 67,
 72, 118

Burrow T. 65

C

Cakamabosdo 118
 Calcutta 87, 95
 Central Asia 7, 14, 125
Chakra 15, 186, 198
 Champa 8
 Chandra Gupta I 11

Chārsaddā 64
 Chinese Turkestan 65
 Chiton 143, 144, 145
 Chitral 56
 Chlamys 138, 139, 143, 172,
 173, 179, 180, 198, 204
 Coomarswamy 67
 Cornucopia 227, 232, 233
 Cunningham 29, 44, 49

D

Dada Fethpur 221, 234
Ḍamaroo 122, 186, 187, 188,
 191
 Dar, M.B.L. 10, 198
 Darius 80, 87
 Demeter 31
Devaputra 17
Dharma-chakra 53
Dharma-chakra Pravartana
mudrā 38
Dhoti 122, 186, 188, 192, 199
 200, 205, 207, 209, 217,
 220-222

Dinar 43-46, 97
 Dinarius 46
Dvibhaṅga 7
 Diomedes 29
 Damma 53, 97
 Drooaspo 32, 103

E

Egyptian deity 30
 Elios 98, 99
 Epander 29
 Ephaistos 99, 100
 Erakilo 129
 Eucratides I 58

F

Farr 37
 Fire-God 32
 Foucher 67

G

Gadaharas 21, 22, 123, 239
 Gandhāra 9, 37, 55, 80, 88,
 236, 237
Gaṇeśa 20, 60, 125
 Ganjam 12, 235, 240
 Gardner 29, 118
 Ghirshman, Roman 67, 74, 92
 Göbl, R. 4
 God of metals 38
 Goddess of Victory 36
 Gold 8
 Gondophares 56, 59, 64
 Greco-Bactrian 36
 Greco-Egyptian 30
 Greece 30
 Greek 3, 9, 10, 15, 19, 22, 28,
 33, 39, 62, 91, 93, 125
 Guptas 13, 54, 224

H

Harihara 128
 Haryana 1
 Hastinagar 64
 Health of Beasts 32
 lions 13, 30, 32, 34
 Hellenistic Bactrian 2
 Hellenistic Deities 26
 Hellenized Orient 23
 Heracles 226, 227, 229-231
 Herakleitos 32
 Hera 31
 Herakles 28, 62, 66
 Hermaeus 62, 63, 66
 Herodotus 8
 Henning, W.B. 65
 Himachal Pradesh 1
 Himantion 130, 131
 Hindu Kush 57, 58, 64, 237
 Hormuzd 22, 238
 Hou Han-Shu 54, 58
 Huṅas Mihirakula 13, 236
 Husan-Tsang 8
 Huvishka 3-5, 9, 10, 12, 23, 25,
 28-30, 32, 40, 44, 48, 201, 202

I

Indian 8-10, 19, 23, 43, 50, 125
 Indo-Bactrian 63
 Indo-Greek 1, 3, 6, 7, 12, 36,
 62, 64, 224
 Indo-Iranian 80, 88
 Indo-Parthian 1, 3, 56
 Indo-Roman 78
 Indo-Scythian 3, 37, 165, 202
 Indus 2, 59, 236,
 Iran 23, 32
 Iranian 2, 9, 25, 26, 29, 34, 36,
 97
 Isapur 123

J

Jabgu 63, 67
 Jajna dety 23
 Jainism 25
 Jalalabad 39
 Japan 61
Jatāmikuṣa 203, 211, 212, 215-
 217
 Java 8
Jayāditya 47
 Jehangir 125
 Jhelum 64
 Jhunjhunū 221, 234

K

Kabul 12, 21, 56, 62, 91, 229,
 236, 237
 Kadphises 1, 63
 Kābhāpana 55
 Kalāśa 208
 Kalhāna 124
 Kalinga 12
Kamavḍalu 84, 119, 120, 121,
 122, 186
 Kaneshko 11, 225
 Kanishka I 3-6, 9, 10, 12, 23,
 28, 29, 32, 40, 44, 201, 202
 Kaniska II 123, 225
 Kanishka III 6, 7, 11, 12, 224, 225

Kanishka Reliquary 34
 Kaopu 56
 Kapisene 4
 Kara 65
Kārttikeya 14, 37, 40, 41, 126,
 193-195
Kārshāpana 55
 Kashgar 123
 Kashmir 4, 12, 236, 237
Kāśikā 47, 235, 236
Kātyāyana 46
 Kidāra 47, 235, 236
 Kidāra Kushāna 12, 13, 21, 22
Kela 29
Keli Loka 29
Kharoshthī 3, 10, 15-18
 Khetri 221, 234
 Khotan 123
 Khotanese Śaka 97
 Khwareno 37
 Kiu-tsiu-Kio 62
 Kossanou 57
 Kozoulo 66
 Kshayathiyānam 19
 Kshathra Vairya 38
 Kubera 38
 Kuei River 58
 Kuei-Shuang 56, 57
 Kuyula Kadphises 1, 2, 3, 12,
 15, 40
 Kujula Kasas 62
 Kuqiḡdas 13
 Kushāna 46
 Kushanshahr 4, 8
 Kushāno-Greek 25
 Kushāno-Sassānian 11, 21, 22,
 40, 53, 231, 235, 236

L

Lahore 60, 87
 Laba Kushāna 22, 238
 Later Kushānas 111, 224
 Lesser Kushānas 11, 224

Lrooaspo 139
Lucknow

M

Macedonian Soldier 67
Macedonian 33
MacDowall D.W. 4
Mahārājāsana 38
Mahāsena 14, 126, 185, 196
Mahēśvara 18
Mahi 13
Malkan Malka 22, 238
Manaobago 104, 139
Manusmṛiti 47
Mao 13, 25, 30, 105, 106, 124,
141-149
Mao-Mirio 149
Marshall 64, 67
Martin, M.F.C. 126, 236
Mathura 2, 9, 23, 32, 55, 80,
89, 91, 123, 128
Mathura School 4, 9
Maues 29, 36, 67, 72
Mazdaism 22, 24
Mazdao 34
Mazdean 34
Mazdah Vano 34
Mazdean 80, 87
Mazdohano 34
Meru 2
Miaou 57
Miaus 91
Miaos 56, 57
Mihira 34, 55, 60
Mihir 34
Mihiro 29, 32, 106, 124, 150-154
Miuro 154-159
Mithra 34, 37
Mithraism 32
Mitra 29, 32, 34
Moro 160
Moon-God 30, 33
Mozdoono 109

Mukherjee, B.N. 65
Mukuṭa 147, 148
Muni Ki Reti 195
Mu-tu 2

N

Nana 11, 24, 46, 110, 124,
160-166, 201, 204
Nanaia 25, 111
Nanaka 46
Nanashao 108, 168
Nano 160, 165
Nandipada 11, 12, 49, 50, 52,
53, 82, 83, 85-89, 201
Nero 43
Nike 36, 58, 62, 66, 78
Niya 65

O

Oado 113, 167
Oanindo 125, 168, 169
Oaxsho 24, 170
Odiio 170
Oesho 113, 119, 120, 121,
122, 186-189, 209, 225
Oesho Nana 189, 190
Oesho Ommo 191
Oko 58
Ooemo 17
Ommo 24
Ooeshki 19
Ooeshko 19
Orlagno 114
Ormazd 34
Osaka Museum 62
Ozoulo 58
Oxus 8, 24, 36, 57, 58, 63, 64

P

Pahlavas 23
Pahlavi 22, 34, 36, 38, 238
Pakistan 1, 236, 237
Pallas Athene 37
Paṇa 47
Pañchāla 40, 79
Panjab 3, 11, 13, 91, 224, 236

Pārthian 24, 35, 62, 74, 80, 87
88, 126

Pasana 225

Pāsa 199, 205, 207, 209-216,
224, 226-232

Patna 127

Persian 19, 125
Perfect Rule 38
Peshawar 4, 64, 203
Pharo 23, 115, 124, 171-181
Philoxenus 29
Phrygian 34
Poseidon 30, 36
Prang 64
Protome of horse 112, 165
Ptolemis 30

Purāṇa 55

Puri 12, 239, 240

Pushkalāvati 22, 52, 64

Q

Quarter Dinar 45

R

Rajasthan 221 234, 235
Rājatarāṅgiṇi 46, 124
Rājuvula 64
Rhea 29
Riddhi 29
Rida 29
Ṛgveda 34
Rion or Riom 181
Rishikesh 195
Rashṇu 37, 181
Roman 2, 3, 4, 6, 8-10, 23-26,
43, 44, 46, 54, 55, 63,
64, 66, 71, 78, 79, 125

S

Saedpur 59
Śaka 13, 21, 23, 25, 36, 54
Śakyamuni Buddha 39
Salene 33, 100
Sahvār 99, 100-106, 109, 110,
118
Sanighāṭī 39, 113, 186

- Sanchankot 233
 Sañchi 123
 Sapedana 59
 Sarapo 131, 132
 Sassanian 11, 37, 51, 225, 237
 Scythic 8
 Scythians 29
 Scytho-Parthian 2, 12, 56, 58, 63, 64
 Shabdol 200
 Shahenusbahi 19
 Shahi 22, 236
 Shahrevar 38
 Shaonana 166
 Shapur 22, 238
 Shaorero 37, 182, 184
 Shen-tu 2, 54
 Shilada 13, 22, 27, 225, 235, 239
 Sind 59
 Seistan 12, 233
 Sirkap 58, 72, 74, 78
 Sita 51
 Śiva 9-11, 24, 35, 40, 50, 55, 59, 77-79, 196, 201
Skanda-Kumāra 40, 192-195
 onkh 128
 on of God 6
 oter Megas 3, 12
 ri *Lakshmi* 25, 31
 Stein 38
 Sumātrā 8
 Sun-God 28, 29, 60
 Sun-light 32
 Surkh Kotal 65, 80, 89, 240,
Suvarṇa 46, 47
Suvarṇabhūmi 8
 Subrahmanya 40
Syastika 49, 53, 219
 Swift horse 32
- T
- Ta-hsia 56-58
 Tando-Mohammad Khan 59
 Tang i-Sarwak 80, 88
 Tarim Basin 8
 Tarn, W 67
 Tartar 232, 233
 Taxila, 3, 4, 23, 58, 64, 67, 73, 78
 Ta-Yueh-Chih 54, 236, 237
 Tehri Garhwal 195, 240
 Teiro 38
 Thomas, F W. 29, 65
 Ter 38
 Tishtrya 38
 Tormāna 46
 Transoxiana 1
Trātuh 18
Tradata 17
Tripada purāna 55
Trifala 50, 53
 Tribal rulers 13, 235
 Tunic 6, 99-107, 110, 112, 115, 116, 132, 141, 142, 149, 150, 151, 156, 157, 159, 160, 164, 164, 170, 172, 174, 178, 179, 182, 184, 188, 196, 192
 Turban 125
 Turkmenistan 2
 Tyche 31
- U
- Ujjain 54
 Umā 24, 35, 125
 Uparatat 36
 Ural 8
 Uranus 125, 130, 233
Urṇā 39
Uron 125
 Ushavadāta 46
Ushnisha 39, 117, 121
Uttarāsāṅga 39
- V
- Vajbeshka 51, 123
 Vanamiti 36
Varada mudrā 38, 118, 130
 Varahran 22. 36 236-238
 Varanasi 126, 222
Varuṇa 34, 130, 131, 198
- Vasashka 123, 225
 Vāsishka 123
 Vaskushāna 225
 Vasu 13, 21, 223, 224
 Vāsudeva I, 3, 4, 6, 10-12, 25, 26, 40, 41, 44, 46, 48, 50, 123, 124, 127, 237
 Vāsudeva II 6, 7, 11, 12, 40 79, 202, 223, 225, 235, 239
 Vāsudeva III 202, 223
 Vata 36
 Venns 38
 Vima Kadphises 1, 1-7, 9, 10 32, 40, 43 44, 47, 48, 56, 88
Viśākha 40, 191-195
Vitarka mudra 18
 Vohu Manah 105
 Vrihtragna 36
Vjitraha 16
Vyākhyāna mudrā 18
 Vakhana 56
- W
- War-God 17
 Whitehead 60, 87
 Wormozdo 184
 Wron 130
- Y
- Yājñavalkya smṛiti* 46
Yajñopavīta 119, 120, 206, 207,
Yama 30
 Yaudheyas 11, 14
 Yavanas 21
 Yavuga 17, 58
 Yueh chih 12, 11, 54, 56, 58,
- Z
- Zahra 18
 Zaoo Koozoulo 58
 Zionises 29
 Zend 11
 Zero 134
 Zeus 28, 30, 52, 62, 64, 66, 67, 93
 Ziro 111
 Zoroastrianism 25, 14, 18, 87
 Zoroastrian 29



1



2



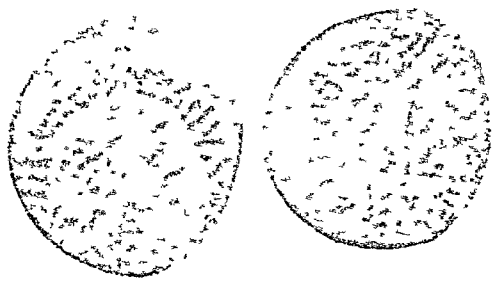
3



4



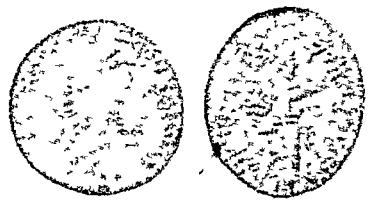
5



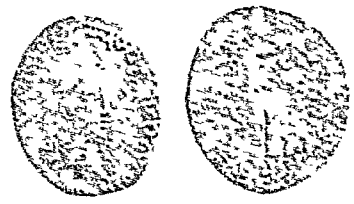
6



7



8



9



10



11



12



13



14



15



16



17



18



19



20



21



22



23



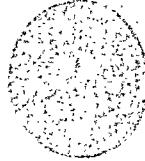
24



25



26



27



28



29



30



31



21-25 KUJULA KADPHISES; 26-31 VIMA KADPHISES



32



33



34



38



35



36



37



40



41



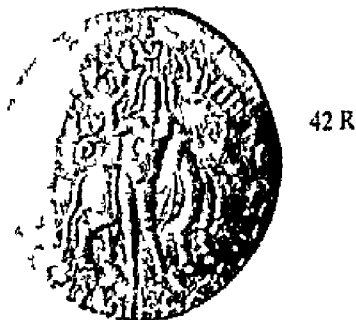
43



42 L



39



42 R



56



57



58



59



60



61



62



63



64



65



66



67



80



81



82



83



84



85



86



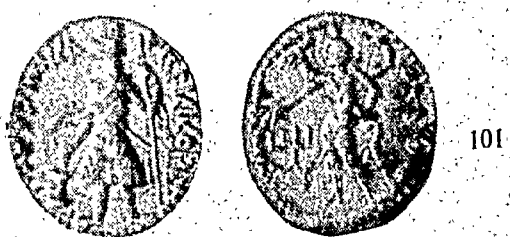
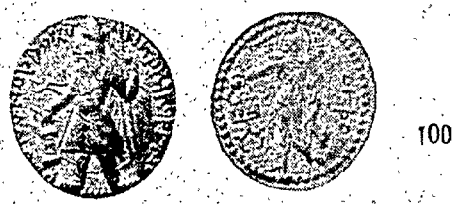
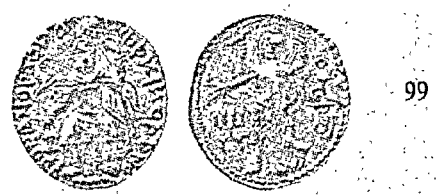
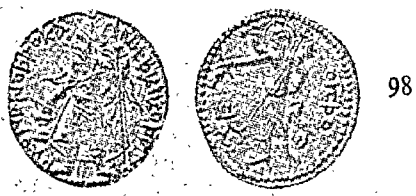
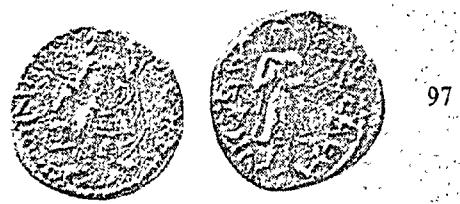
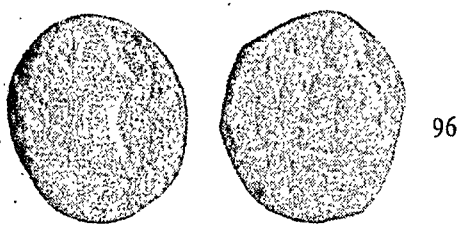
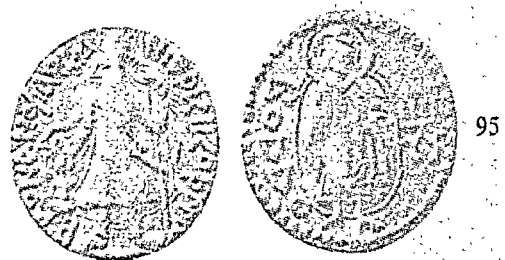
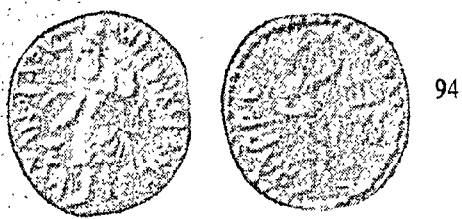
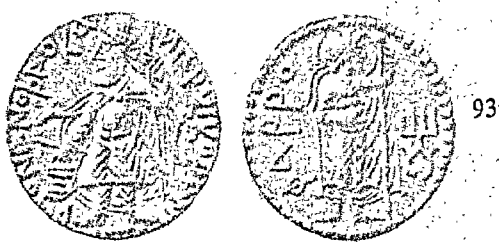
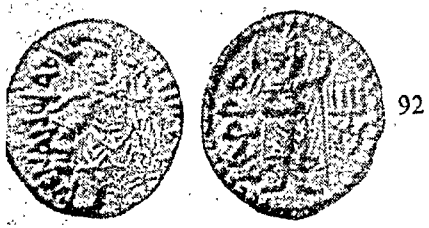
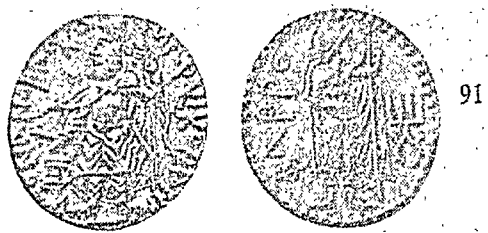
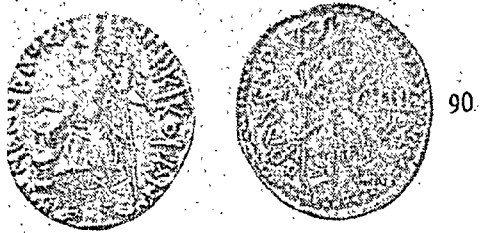
89

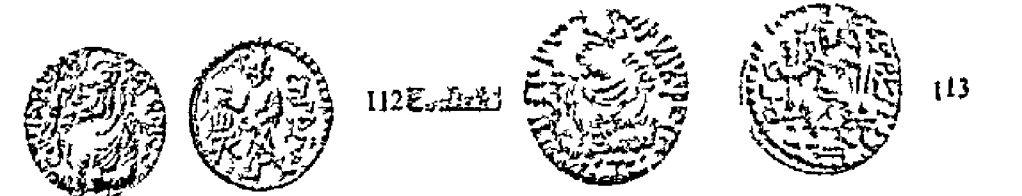
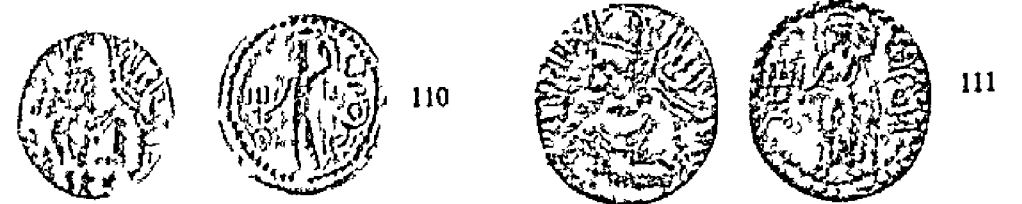
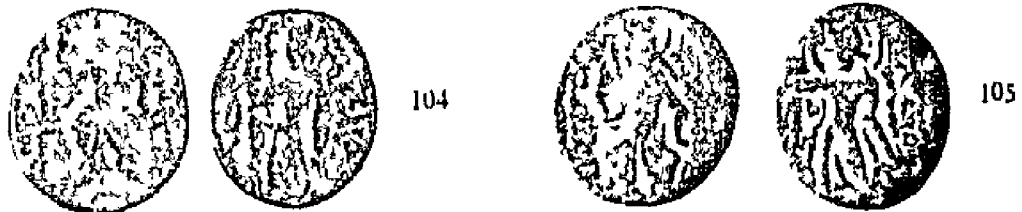
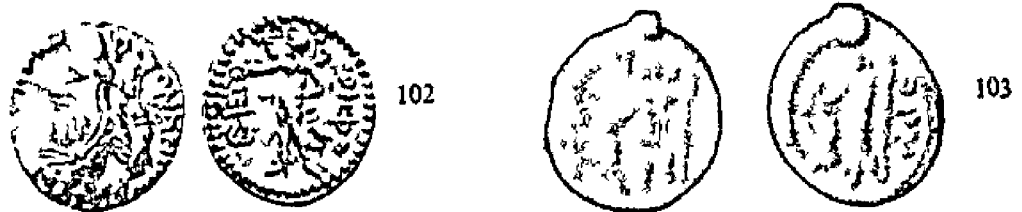


87

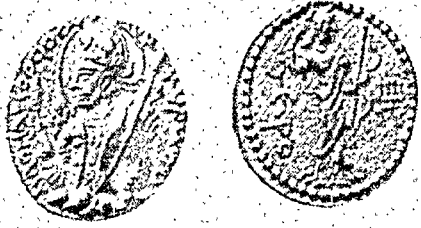


88

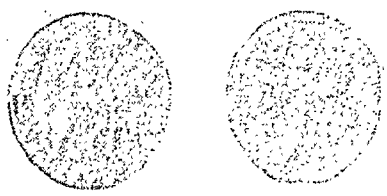




102-105 KANISHKA, 106-113 HUVISHKA



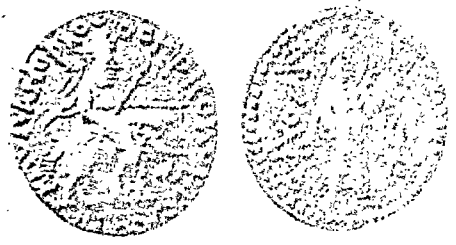
114



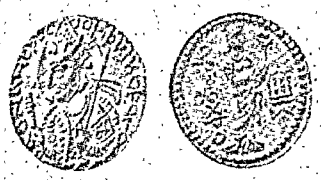
115



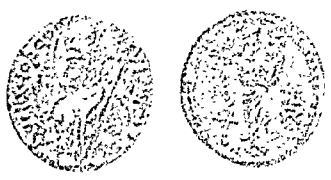
116



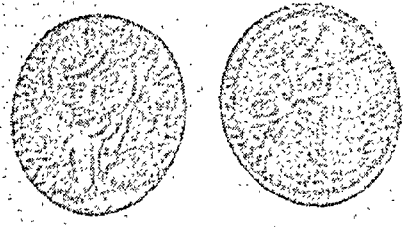
117



118



119



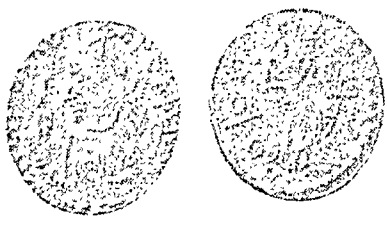
120



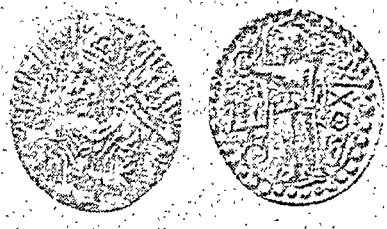
121



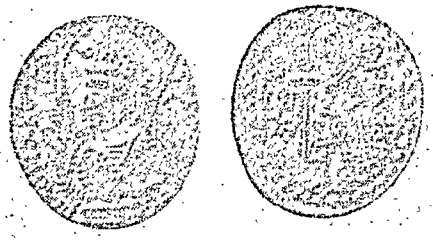
122



123



124



125



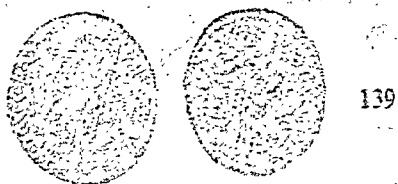
136



137



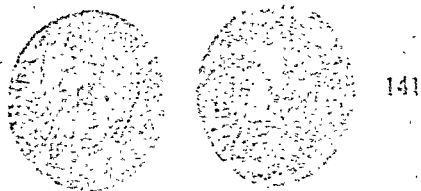
138



139



140



141



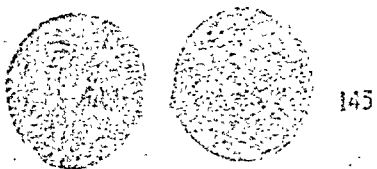
142



143



144



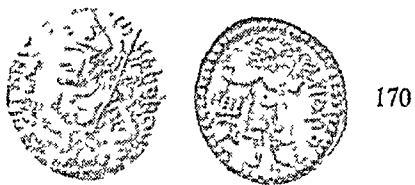
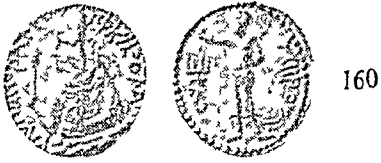
145



146



147

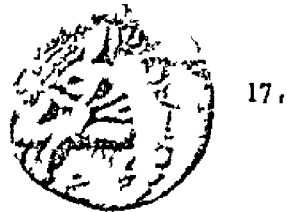




172



173



174



175



176



177



178



179



180



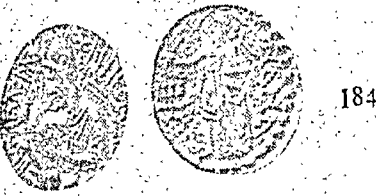
181



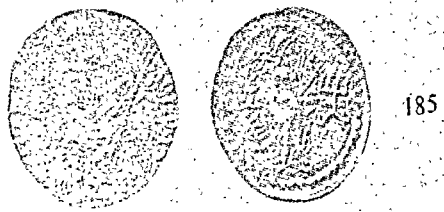
182



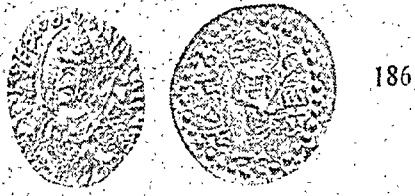
183



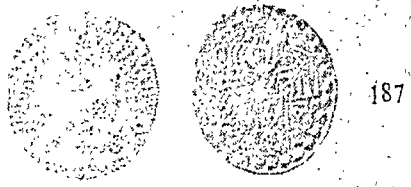
184



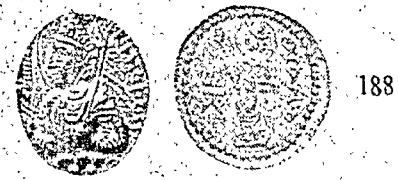
185



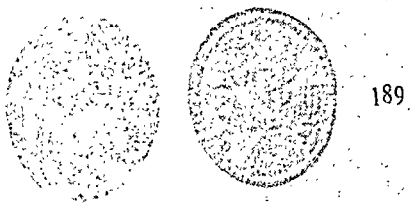
186



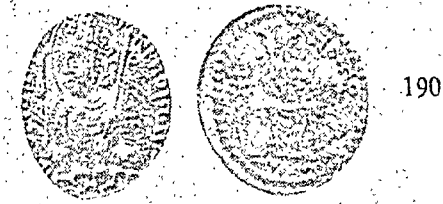
187



188



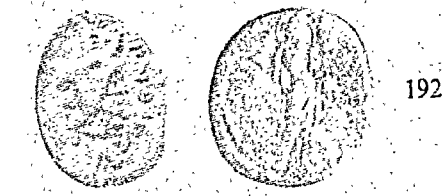
189



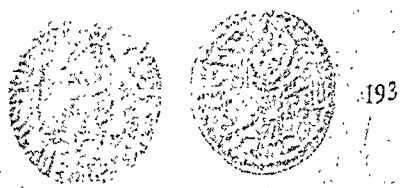
190



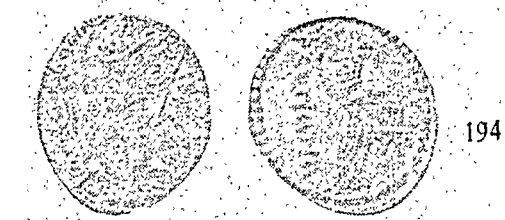
191



192



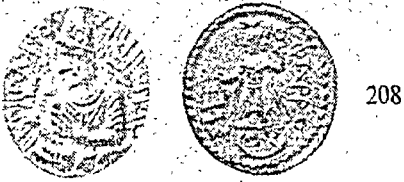
193



194



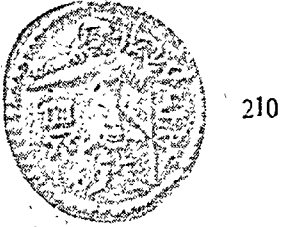
195



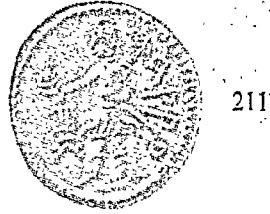
208



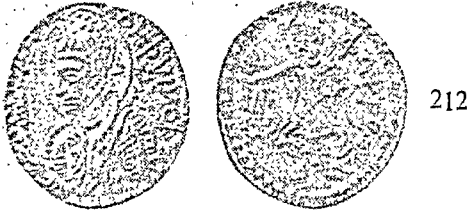
209



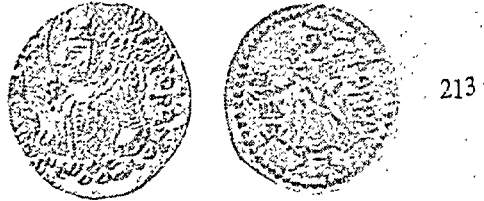
210



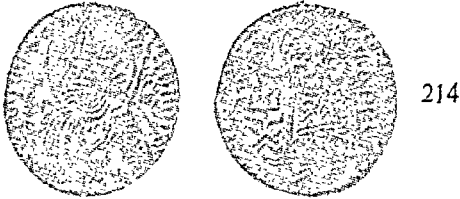
211



212



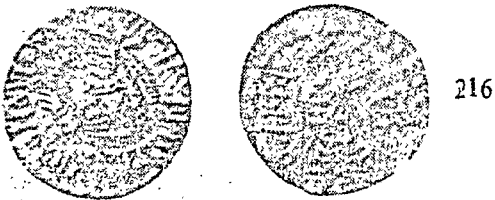
213



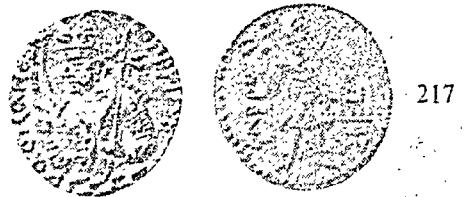
214



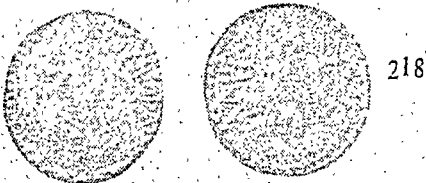
215



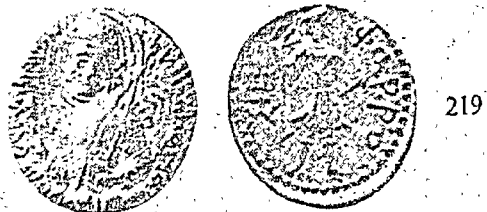
216



217



218



219



220



221



222



223



224



225



226



227



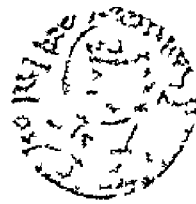
228



229



230



231



232



233



234



236

235



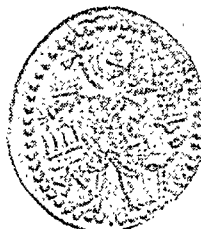
238



241



239



240



237



242



243



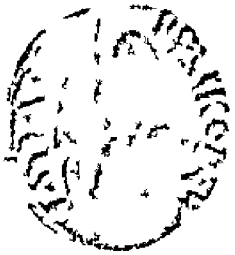
244



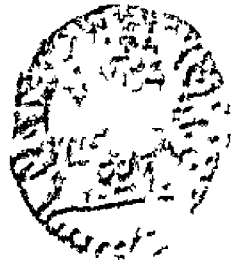
245



246



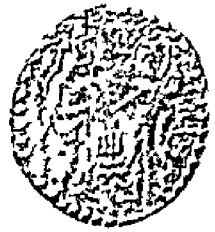
247



248



249



250



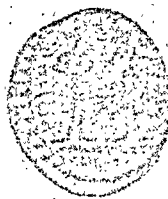
251



252



253



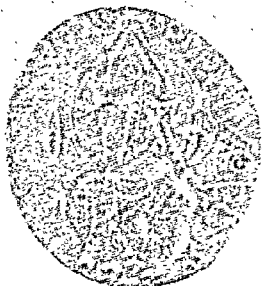
254



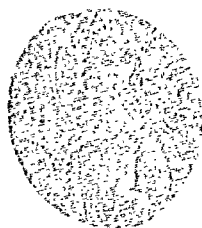
255



256



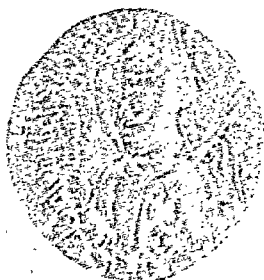
257



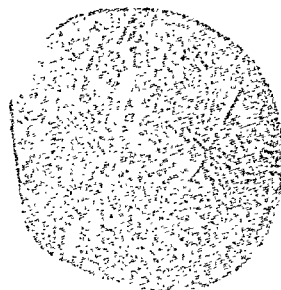
258



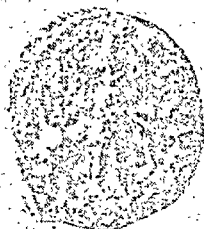
259



260



261



262



263



264



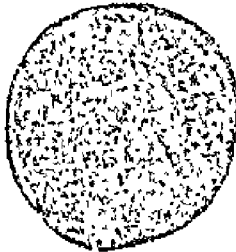
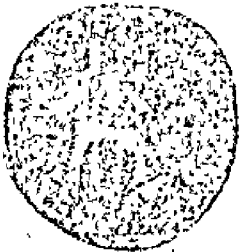
265



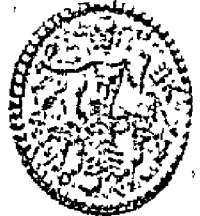
266



267



268



271



269



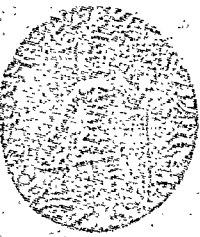
270



272



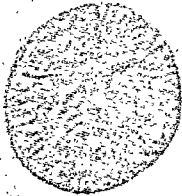
273



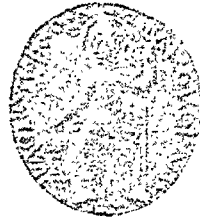
274



275



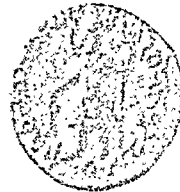
276



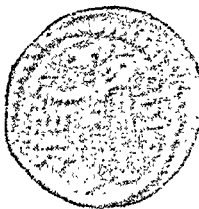
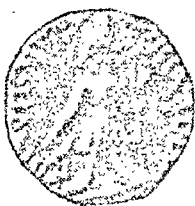
277



278



279



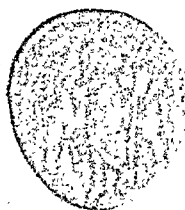
280



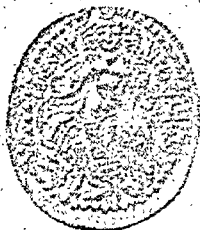
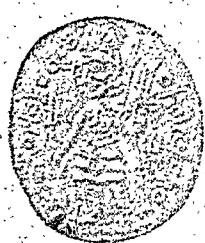
281



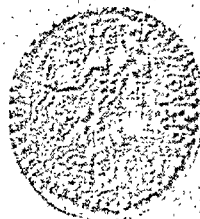
282



283



294



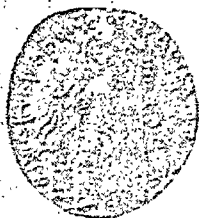
296



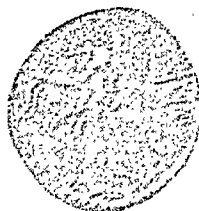
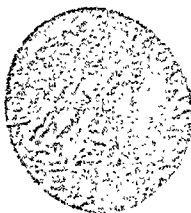
297



298



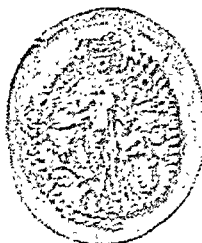
299



300



301



302



303



304



305



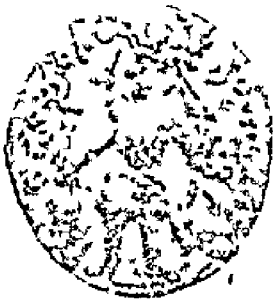
306



307



308



309



310



311



312



313



314

305-310 VASUDEVA,

311-314 KANESHKD



315



316



317



318



319



320



321



322



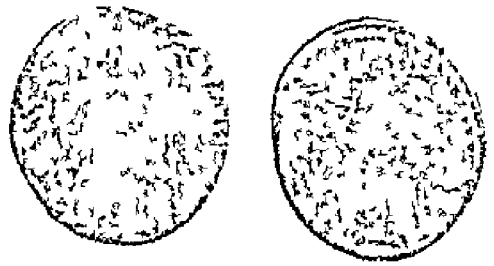
323



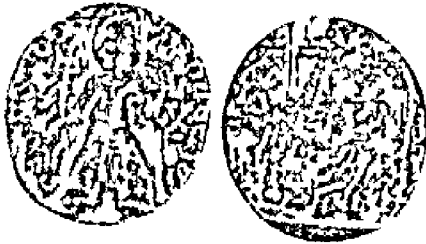
324



325



326



328



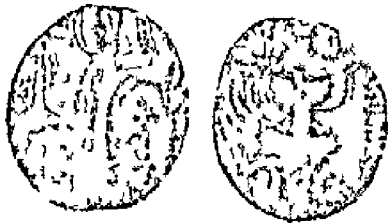
327



329



330



331



332



333