

**POST-DOCTORAL FELLOWSHIP PHASE-II (BATCH-III 2008)**

**TAXILA UNDER THE KUSHANS: RESEARCH BASED  
ON NUMISMATIC EVIDENCE**

**COMPREHENSIVE REPORT**



**Submitted to: THE PROJECT MANAGER (PDFP)**

**HIGHER EDUCATION COMMISSION, ISLAMABAD (PAKISTAN)**

**Submitted by: DR. GUL RAHIM KHAN**

**RESEARCH BASED IN THE DEPARTMENT OF COINS & MEDALS  
THE BRITISH MUSEUM, LONDON (UK)**

# Taxila under the Kushans: Research based on Numismatic Evidence

A Comprehensive Report submitted to the Higher Education Commission, Islamabad (Pakistan), through Department of Coins & Medals, The British Museum, London (UK)

## Post-Doctoral Research in Numismatics

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I would like to pay my special thanks to my parents, wife, kids and all family members who were suffered and afforded all troubles during absence and always provided me moral support.

## *Section A*

### **Research Proposal**

#### **Taxila under the Kushans: Research based on Numismatic Evidence**

##### **1. Introduction**

Taxila, the world heritage site, is the best known place for archaeological remains in Pakistan. Taxila from early historical accounts has been famous for its strategic position, urban settlements, military expeditions and as a seat of learning and education. It was conquered by many great rulers in the past and had become a capital city for many of them. The most prestigious eras associated with this urban town are the invasion of Alexander the Great and the successive ruling of various dynasties such as the Mauryans, Indo-Greeks, Indo-Scythians, Indo-Parthians, Kushans, Kushano-Sasanians and Huns. Taxila is the only historical place that accommodated three capital cities which were built and abandoned one after another. These urban centers are now known as Bhir Mound, Sirkap and Sirsukh. Of them the earliest was built in the local style, the second in the Greek pattern and the last in the Kushan design. Hence the continuous occupations of these cities range over about one thousand years from 5<sup>th</sup> century BC down to the 5<sup>th</sup> century AD. More interestingly Taxila has also been a great religious centre. In this regard it yields a good number of sacred places of various religions of which the Buddhism was certainly the most predominant.

In view of its historical importance and archaeological significance large scale excavations have been carried out at the different sites of Taxila. Sir John Marshall, the then Director General of Archaeology of India, commenced this task in 1913 and continuously worked there till 1934. This massive undertaking exposed the three cities cited above as well as a temple and many Buddhist sites. These excavations also produced large number of antiquities of great importance including an immense number of coins of different periods. After the grand work of Marshall the archaeological activities have largely ceased, apart from a number of smaller excavations undertaken by the others from time to time.

##### **2. John Marshall & the Discovery of Kushan Coins from Taxila**

John Marshall reported more than 12000 coins from his excavations at the various sites of Taxila. These coins belonged to different periods ranging from 5<sup>th</sup> century BC down to 10<sup>th</sup> century AD. The distribution of coins is as follows:

<b><u>Period /Dynasty</u></b>	<b><u>Number of Coins</u></b>
Punch-marked Coins:	1400
Local Taxila:	621
Indo-Greeks:	519
Scytho-Parthians:	2957
Kushans:	4900
Late Kushans:	800
Kushano-Sasanians:	300
Huns:	32
Hindu-Shahis:	20
Others:	900

John Marshall published a detailed summary report of his excavations and also featured some of the important coins in an appendix entitled “Rare and Unique coins”. The number of Kushan coins is about fifty percent of the total but the author paid little attention to this important series of coins. In this respect he illustrated only 50 Kushan coins including 5 gold with brief comments and remarks. In his commentary he also mentions the context from which the coins were unearthed. It is very interesting to note that he ignored the important cut-fraction coins of Kujula Kadphises which are found in large number from the city’s sites. Similarly the coins are not classified by their series, groups, types and varieties. The weight and size of these coins were not reported so it is difficult to know about the monetary system and denomination of the various periods. Moreover most of the coins are yet to be identified, as coin research was not much advanced at that time. John Marshall with the help of R.B. Whitehead only summarized the important coins of each dynasty, hence it was not a detailed and comprehensive study. In view of the importance of these coins that have come from documented contexts, a proper numismatic study is needed in order to fully comprehend their meaning for the City’s history and economy.

### **3. Aims & Prospects of the Study of Kushan Coins**

My Ph.D research entitled “Political and Cultural History of the Kushan Period in Pakistan: Study based on the Numismatic Evidence” obviously focused on the coins of that period. In this regard the undersigned consulted all published coins of various museums and specially focused his research on the collection of three museums to which he paid visits from time to time viz. British Museum London, National Museum of Pakistan, Karachi and Taxila Museum, Taxila.

Kushans who migrated from Gansu, the northwest province of China, had founded their kingdom in Afghanistan by the beginning of 1<sup>st</sup> century AD. Later on they consolidated their power and extended rule over Pakistan and India (partially). They established a powerful empire which lasted for about three hundred years. This was the most stable and prosperous period known in the ancient history of Pakistan. They had also established the tradition of gold money after their trade links with the Romans in the west and China in the north east. It was during this time that a large number of Buddhist sacred monuments were built in Pakistan. Similarly the famous Buddhist art also known as the Gandhara (Pakistan) and Mathura (India) Schools of Arts emerged and developed. The names of the important rulers of this dynasty are: Kujula Kadphises, Wima Takto (Soter Megas), Wima Kadphises, Kanishka I, Huvishka and Vasudeva I.

During his survey of the Taxila Museum holdings the research scholar consulted a huge collection of about 5000 (five thousand) coins of the Kushan period recovered by John Marshall from Taxila. These coins have several important features which reveal aspects of the Kushan history related with the region of Pakistan.

- a. The coins represent the only large collection so far properly excavated and documented.
- b. The coins were recovered from all sites of Taxila (both kinds: settlement and sacred areas).
- c. The whole Kushan period is well represented at the site, through the number and distribution of the coins of each ruler of the dynasty.
- d. The coins of the first king Kujula Kadphises are varied by type and variety, representing coins brought to the city by the Kushan invaders and then issued after their occupation of the city.
- e. First discovery of cut-fraction coins of Kujula not previously reported elsewhere.

- f. The great quantity of Augustus type coins of Kujula from the excavations indicating that they were minted locally, copying Roman gold and silver coins in local use.
- g. The standardized series of the fourth Kushan king Kanishka's coins with big coins and small coins apparently coming from two different mints.
- h. The small coins of Kanishka are important as they bear special letters which used as control marks could help to know the scheme of issue and circulation.
- i. The gradually reducing weight standards of the sequential issues of the fifth king Huvishka and the unofficial imitation series which accompany them.
- j. The numerous Oesho and bull series of the sixth king Vasudeva which have previously been confused with the later coins of the same design.
- k. The newly distinguished Ardoxsho series of the seventh king Kanishka II and his successors.
- l. A large number of well-struck coins of Shapur II which appear from their presence at the site to have been issued at Taxila.
- m. The continuation of Kushan coin designs in the subsequent periods when the political structure remains to be understood.

The research will be mainly focused on the above-mentioned points and would like to position them in the following plan of study, in order to achieve the results elaborated in the outcomes of this fellowship.

#### **4. Plan of Study in the British Museum**

The cabinet of the Taxila Museum at Taxila has an important collection of twelve thousand coins unearthed by John Marshall, from various sites of the region. This collection includes about five thousand unpublished coins of the Kushan period and is an important assemblage that needs to be systematically and scientifically studied. This is a very meticulous job to be completed in two phases. In the first phase the scholar has already completed documentation of these coins through photographs, proper measurements and contextual record and has published a preliminary report entitled "Kanishka Coins from Taxila".

The second Phase is intended to focus on a more detailed, comprehensive and scientific study which will need proper literature, individual counselling and research facilities which are unfortunately not available here. If the HEC Fellowship is granted the research study will be conducted in the following manner.

1. Overall study of the Taxila coins of Kushan period ranging from early coins down to the late period issues. Further to carry out the comparison of Taxila coins with the coins collected from the site of Begram in Afghanistan lying in the cabinet of the British Museum.
2. To carry out proper classification of the coins of Kujula Kadphises, Huvishka, Vasudeva and Post-Vasudeva series by their groups, types and varieties etc.
3. To conduct analytical study of the cut-fraction coins of Kujula Kadphises and to find out the economic need and denomination requirement of that time.
4. To understand the interaction and overlapping period of the Later Kushans and Kushano-Sasanian rule in Gandhara and Taxila region as the coins of these dynasties are found together.

5. To prepare publications

### **5. Outcomes / Benefits of the Research**

In the light of this research the following results are in view to be achieved.

1. To discover the number of issues, circulation of coins, the operation of mint systems and the issue of particular series of Kushan coins in the urban area of Taxila.
2. To understand the political set up, cultural and monetary history of the Kushans and their impact in the history of Pakistan
3. To enrich the numismatic study of the Kushan period in Pakistan
4. To develop research activities and links with the British Museum and other British institutions
5. To enhance capacity building
6. To get valuable literature for future researches
7. To help the curriculum updating
8. To promote cultural tourism in the light of the rich heritage of Pakistan

## *Section B*

### **Progress Report (Comprehensive)**

#### **Introduction to the Ancient Coinage in Pakistan**

The earliest history of coinage in South-Asia including Pakistan commenced with the introduction of Punch-marked coins, the indigenous coins of the region. This type of currency was introduced about 5<sup>th</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> century BC (Cribb 2005: 19). These coins were basically struck in silver but also found in copper. In this series some gold specimens of local variety like Taxila issue are also known (Khan 2008: nos. 1-2; Cribb 2004: no. 3.01.01). Later the Greeks, the successors of Alexander, introduced the tradition of Hellenistic coinage to South Asia. The first Greek dynasty established their rule in the east was Seleucid, named after Seleucus Nikator (312-281 BC), the founder ruler of the dynasty. With them the practice of issuing regular gold coins was also introduced to these territories but their rule was no longer firmly established south of the Hindu-Kush after conflict with the Mauryan dynasty of India. They organized their coinage on the Greek pattern and issued in gold, silver and copper. The Seleucid coins usually depicted portrait of ruler or deity on the obverse and image of Greek god or goddess on the reverse. The coins were inscribed with Greek legends showing the name and title of the king. In the mid-third century BC they lost control of Bactria to the Greeks of Bactria. Hence Diodotus (c. 250-35 BC), the satrap (governor) of Antiochus II of the Seleucid dynasty, revolted against him and proclaimed himself as independent ruler of Bactria. The new dynasty, known as Bactrian Greeks, soon spread to the neighbouring territories, including Gandhara and Punjab (Pakistan). After their penetration to the eastern territories they split into two. The Greeks who ruled south of the Hindu-Kush are generally referred to as Indo-Greeks.

After Heliccles, the Greeks of Bactria lost their control over Bactria. They were followed by the Yuezhi, a nomadic tribe including the Kushans, who migrated from north western China in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC. The Bactrian Greeks like Seleucid rulers issued coins in gold, silver and copper. Diodotus I, and II, Euthydemus I and Eukratides are known to have issued their coins in gold. South of the Hindu-Kush, the Indo-Greeks continued to rule in Gandhara and the Punjab till the mid-first century BC. The coins of these Greeks are usually known in silver and copper. The basic pattern of their coins was similar to that of their predecessors. Their coins usually depicted a head or bust portrait of king on the obverse and an image of a Greek deity on the reverse. These coins showing the name and title of the monarch were regularly inscribed with a Greek legend. After Demetrius the Indo-Greek coins were simultaneously inscribed in Greek and Indian legends; Greek legend was applied on the obverse and the Indian in Kharoshthi script on the reverse. The gold coins of the Indo-Greeks were only struck in the reign of Menander.

The Indo-Scythian and the Indo-Parthian successors of the Greeks, struck their coins in silver or copper but not in gold. Like the Indo-Greeks they continued to use the same Greek elements like deities and legend scheme on their coins but with the royal portrait normally replaced by an equestrian image.

The Kushans under Kujula Kadphises gained leadership of the Yuezhi and initiated their rule from Bactria in the first century AD. They gradually gained control of other areas, including the Kabul Valley, Gandhara, the Punjab and northern India. In this way they established a vast empire stretching from north of the river Oxus down to the Gangetic Valley that included territory in many countries of the present day. The early rulers of the Kushans continued to strike coins following the pattern of preceding dynasties i.e. Bactrian and Indo-Greeks, Indo-Scythians and Indo-Parthians. In the time of the third king Wima Kadphises a new pattern of the Kushan coinage was introduced. In the new scheme a currency of two metals, gold and copper, was introduced. After Wima Kadphises all Kushan kings issued coins in both gold and copper. The standard gold coins were issued at the weight of c. 8 gm and the copper coins at the heavier weight of c. 16 gm. Some gold coins of Wima Kadphises are also known at the heavier weight of 16 gm. The gold coins of the Kushans progressively became debased and degenerated after the sixth king Vasudeva I. Similarly the copper coins also declined from their original weight and were struck at gradually reduced weights from the time of the fifth king Huvishka.

Wima Kadphises introduced new designs for both sides of the coins. The gold coins had more designs compared with the copper. The copper coins of Wima Kadphises were struck in one design with a standing figure of king on the obverse and the Kushan god Oesho and bull on the reverse. Thereafter the standing figure of the king became a standard design for all subsequent rulers except Huvishka. Huvishka, like Wima Kadphises, applied a variety of designs for his obverses. After Wima Kadphises some notable changes were made by his successor Kanishka I. He replaced the Greek and Kharoshthi legends with Bactrian legends written in Greek letters on both sides. The new obverse legend on gold has the name [KANHPKI, Kanishka] and title [PAONANOPAO, king of kings] with the addition of a dynastic name [KOPANO, Kushan]. The new reverse legend shows the name of the depicted deity. Another major change is seen in the form of the broad range of Kushan gods and goddesses depicted, using imagery of Greek, Persian and Indian origin. Huvishka, the successor of Kanishka also adopted the same kind of legend and the same reverse scheme of deities with the addition of even more divinities for his gold coins. Under Vasudeva I, the successor of Huvishka, the reverse varieties greatly diminished and the gold coins normally exhibit the figures of Oesho with bull or Oesho (alone). The seventh king Kanishka II retained the Oesho and bull devices but also introduced a new reverse design, enthroned Ardoxsho. After him the later Kushan kings till the reign of the tenth king Vasudeva II issued their gold coins with two reverse designs; Oesho and bull like the coins of Vasudeva I and enthroned Ardoxsho like the coins of Kanishka II. The obverse exhibits standing figure of the king sacrificing at altar in two varieties (a) wearing armour with a trident in the left hand, and (b) wearing embroidered coat with a staff in the left hand. From the time of the eleventh king Mahi the reverse design of Oesho and bull was also discarded and only enthroned Ardoxsho was used as a reverse device on the coins of subsequent rulers. Similarly the standard Bactrian legend completely disappeared from these coins and was replaced by Brāhmi abbreviation of the king's name. After the Kushans the Ardoxsho design was adopted by the Kidarite for their gold coins. The copper coins of the Later Kushans were similarly also struck in the gold style but they often lack legends.

The Kushan coin design having standing figure of king on the obverse and deity on the reverse, was followed by subsequent dynasties. The Kushano-Sasanians, the successors of the Kushans in the north-west, retained the standing figure of king on the obverse and Oesho and bull on the reverse. They gradually modified this design and moulded it in their own requirement. On the other hand the Gupta rulers in the east also continued the standing figure of king but with enthroned Ardoxsho on the reverse. The Guptas also modified these designs; the trident behind altar on the obverse changed into a standard (garuda) and Ardoxsho on the reverse was transformed into the Indian goddess Lakshmi but still shown in the same style. This female seated figure was continued for several hundred years on the coinage of various dynasties in north and central Indian. Some gold coins of Muhammad Ghuri in Indian style also depict the rude figure of Lakshmi before he introduced Islamic coinage.

## **Research on the Kushan coins in the British Museum, London**

I made progress on the classification and attribution of Kushan coins, as discussed below, while following the plan of my research proposal (pp. 3-4) submitted to the HEC for the grant of Post-Doctoral Award. My research was based in the British Museum, and conducted under the supervision of Joe Cribb, Keeper of the Department of Coins and Medals. My research area was based on the Kushan coins lying in the cabinet of Taxila Museum, Taxila (Pakistan). During my Post-Doc research, I worked on various aspects of the Kushan coinage, but most emphasis was given to the core issues that I highlighted in my research plan. The overall result of my research is very successful and many analyses have been developed which will greatly change former concepts about the history and coinage of the Kushans. These developments will help to clarify the ancient history of Pakistan as it has not been properly studied before, so has been inadequately presented by the historians. This research is also yielding new evidences for the sequence and chronology of the Buddhist sites in Pakistan particularly in the Taxila regions. Similarly the new interpretation of the Later Kushan era related to Buddhist sites will provide new dimension to understanding the development of Gandhara art in Pakistan and the region.

The Taxila coins certainly provide a good source of evidence for this research but it has become more fruitful studying the finds from Taxila in the light of the other collections like the British Museum and the Begram site finds held in the British Museum. I have also had access to the published catalogues held at the British Museum, the photo archives of Ashmolean Museum Oxford, Fitzwilliam Museum Cambridge from the British Museum, representing the records used for the Corpus by Göbl's on the Kushans and of many private collections. The British Museum has been providing me all this material for comparing Taxila finds and the analytical study of the Kushan period. This research is being successfully completed as per my research plan and the progress that I made during the nine months is highlighted below.

### **1. Study of the Kushan copper (see Appendix A)**

The coinage of this period is a vast study and a lot of work has been done in the past two hundred years. Many great scholars such as James Prinsep, Sir Alexander Cunningham, Percy Gardner, R.B. Whitehead, Michael Mitchiner, David MacDowall, Robert Göbl, Joe Cribb, etc. have contributed to the various aspects of this study over the past 200 years. But still many problems regarding the issuance and monetary history of this period need further research and interrogation. It is a great opportunity for me to study the Kushan copper coins in the light of new evidences and new perspectives. These coins are available in a range of forms, from Museum collections, archaeological discoveries and private collections. Of these the British Museum has the leading collection of these coins. Besides this it also accommodates the Begram collection, assembled from site finds and archaeological activities in the 1830s.

I am making a full catalogue of the copper coins of the Kushans which is an extensive work incorporating each and every variety. I am thankful to my supervisor who provided me access to all the collections mentioned above. In the light of previous researches and new numismatic evidences I am establishing a new classification

system for the whole copper coinage of the Kushans. This classification is furnishing new understanding the coins into a new dimension which will be of immense benefit to students, archaeologists and historians to understand the political structure and monetary history of the Kushan coinage. This process has also helped me a lot to successfully attribute the Taxila coins and classify them in their proper order. I have also developed a new understanding of the mint system of Huvishka and to distinguish the copper coins of Vasudeva I from his successors. An outline of the results of the process is given in the end.













## 2. Classification of the Kushan Coins from Taxila

Large scale excavations have been conducted in many archaeological sites of the Kushan periods like Takht-i-Sangin (Uzbekistan), Surkh Kotal, Begram (Afghanistan), Butkara I, Aziz Dheri, Taxila and Manikiyala (Pakistan), Mathura (India) and some other sites in India. Of these the most important sites are at Taxila, which has produced thousands of coins of the said period. John Marshall who excavated many sites at Taxila published the report of these discoveries but he paid very little attention to the coins of the Kushan period. In this report he only published fifty examples fully, out of more than five thousand Kushan coins recorded. So the percentage of firmly identification coins is less than 1%. He usually selected the good example of early Kushan copper and some gold coins of the Later Kushans.

Because of this regard the Kushan coins from Taxila were selected as a case study for my Pot-Doctoral research. It is a vast area of research. It needs a proper numismatic investigation to attribute all the coins recovered from the various sites at Taxila. I completed the comprehensive work on classifying all these coins according to their series, types and varieties reported. I have successfully attributed these coins to the different rulers of the Kushans (See Appendix-A).

This classification will greatly contribute to the study of Kushan coinage in Pakistan and the region. The presence of different series unearthed from their proper context reveals important information regarding the political history and monetary system of that period. In this respect the more problematic copper coins of Huvishka and Vasudeva have been properly studied and they provide remarkable results which were not duly recognized before. The analytical study of Huvishka (below) and Vasudeva copper is discussed in great details.

### Tamgas on Kushan Coins

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L
											

### Abbreviations

Avg. Average  
 BS. Below Surface  
 CR #. Coin Recording Number  
 FR #. Field Registration Number  
 IOLC. Indian Office London Collection  
 Khar. Kharoshthi

MC #. Museum Catalogue Number  
 Obv. Obverse  
 Rev. Reverse  
 Wt. Weight  
 dn. down  
 RUC: Rare & Unique coins: Marshall's *Taxila*, 1951

### 3. Analytical Study of the Cut-fraction Coins of Kujula Kadphises

Kujula Kadphises became the first ruler of the Kushan empire in Afghanistan in the first century AD. Later on he extended his rule to Gandhara and the Punjab (Pakistan). Under Kanishka, the third ruler after him, the Kushan empire reached its fullest extent and included modern Afghanistan, Pakistan, Northern India, Tajikistan and southern Uzbekistan. In the Chinese annals the founder of this dynasty is mentioned as *Qiu-jiu-que* (Cribb 1993, p. 131; Zürcher 1968, p. 367; Thierry 2005, p. 493). He is sometimes referred to by the name of his tribe, i.e. Kushan, as recorded in two inscriptions (Cribb 1993, p. 131 and 1999, p. 182), and on some coins. The name Kujula Kadphises, by which he is now known, is found only on his coins and in one Bactrian inscription from Rabatak ('KOZOULO KADPHIZO': Sims-William 2004, pp. 54-56, line 12, figs. 2, 4-5, 9). His coins are common. Except for the 'Heraus' series, for which see below, and Parthian-style Sind coinage, which are both in silver, all known coins of Kujula are in copper. They are reported from north of the Oxus (Uzbekistan and Tajikistan), Afghanistan (Bactria and the Kabul Valley) and Pakistan (Cribb 1993, pp. 119-20). Sirkap in Pakistan, the second city of Taxila, yielded a very large number of his coins (Marshall 1951, pp. 783, 785, 812, 817-18, 840-41, nos. 174-75, 222-249).

Under Kujula there was no standard pattern of coinage, and his coins usually borrowed from the various coin types available in the different parts of his conquered territories. Some of these designs were continued under his successor Wima I Takto (Soter Megas), whose king portrait/king mounted and bull/camel types have close connections to those of his predecessor. Before Kujula the chiefs of the *Yue-zhi* who were settled in Bactria usually imitated Greek coins, and Kujula did the same. The basic pattern of his coinage thus derived from the coins of Hermaeus, a later Indo-Greek ruler, but also copied coin designs of many rulers and dynasties. In addition his coins also reflect many regional elements and foreign trade links. Kujula's coinage is an important source for understanding the early history of the dynasty, for it reflects the gradual expansion of the Kushans into different regions.

I have conducted a survey of the Kushan coins in the cabinet of Taxila Museum. These coins, excavated by John Marshall in the first half of the twentieth century, were not properly studied or published. In his final report (1951, 3 volumes) and annual reports he usually described the coins found by typology and numbers recovered from different sites. He also illustrated and described some selected coins entitled 'Rare and Unique Coins' as samples for the different eras.

Two sites in Taxila, Sirkap and Dharmarajika, are of particular importance as they yield a massive number of Kushan coins. Sirkap produces the majority of the coins of Kujula while Dharmarajika produces coins of his successors. The present paper concentrates on a unique feature of Kujula's coins, the chisel-cut pieces largely overlooked by Marshall, who illustrated only one chisel-cut coin, a half belonging to Kujula's 'Heraus' group (Marshall 1951, p. 812, no. 174, mentioned above), which he attributed to a Scytho-Parthian ruler. He made no

comment on this coin, and ignored the large number of other cut coins, all of which belonged to the reign of Kujula. The details and number of the cut coins from the Taxila sites are as follows:

**Table A. Number and average weight of cut coins of Kujula from Taxila**

<i>No.</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>Fraction</i>	<i>No. of Coins</i>	<i>Average Weight</i>
1.	Heraus Type: Bust of king and mounted king	Half	1	6.80g
2.	Su Hermaeus Type: Bust of king and Zeus	Half	3	1.40g
3.	Su Hermaeus Type: Bust of king and Nike	Half	22	1.30g
4.	Su Hermaeus Type: Bust of king and Heracles	Half	26	3.30g
5.	Su-Hermaeus Type: Bust of king and Heracles	Quarter	11	1.91g
6.	Kujula Type: Bust of king and Heracles	Half	186	3.02g
7.	Uncertain Type 2 or 3: Bust of king and Heracles	Half	5	2.98g
8.	Kujula Late and Small: Bust of king and Heracles	Half	9	2.31g
9.	Head of Augustus and king in curule chair	Half	80	1.49g
10.	King seated cross-legged and standing Zeus	Half	4	0.92g
11.	Bust of king and Macedonian soldier	Half	2	1.60g
12.	Bull and Bactrian camel	Half	2	3.20g
13.	Unclear	Half	1	3.20g
14.	Unclear	Quarter	1	1.70g

In addition, three similar examples of cut coins of Kujula are reported from the excavation of Butkara I, Swat. This site produced 73 coins of Kujula Kadphises out of 281 coins. These coins consisted of three types, (a) the Augustus type (1 coin), (b) the Su Hermaeus-Nike type (8), and (c) Kujula-Heracles type (64). All three cut coins belong to the Kujula-Heracles type; two are halves and one is a quarter (respectively Göbl 1976, nos. 85, 94 and 95). A fourth cut coin from Butkara I was misidentified by Göbl (1976, p. 19, no. 62) as a coin of Azes II, but its weight and traces of design suggest that it too is half of a Kujula-Heracles coin (Types 5-8). The ratio of cut to intact coins at Butkara is about 4%, significantly lower than at Taxila. Another major site, Begram (Afghanistan), also yields a large number of Kushan coins but it has only one example of cut fraction i.e. a half cut coin of Kujula-Heracles Type. This coin is in the Masson Collection now loaned to the British Museum (IOLC 1036). Apart from this one half-cut coin of Augustus type of this ruler is also in the cabinet of the British Museum (BM 2009-4046-1).

The cut coins of all these types (Table-A), whether common or rare, were treated in the same manner, i.e. fractions were made from complete coins apparently taken from circulation. All the cut coins, except a few, bear obvious marks of chisel-cutting in what appears to be a systematic process. These fractional coins, mostly halves but with a few quarters, were thus intentionally made from intact coins to fulfil the need for smaller denominations. On some coins, like no. 12.02 of the bull and camel type, the nature of the cut is somewhat doubtful, as the cut edges are not sharp but irregular with no prominent chisel marks or straight edges, whereas such features are usually seen on other cut coins.

Considerable care is evident in the cutting of certain coins to produce the desired weight and size of the fractions. In some cases extra cut-marks particularly on the obverse are visible, for example on coin nos. 4.02,

4.12, 5.03, 6.21, 6.161, 6.186, 9.64. An interesting coin of Heracles type-8 in the American Numismatic Society, New York, no. 1938-50-08, has a chisel-cut mark diagonally on the obverse but remains intact. These marks indicate that, if the first attempts to cut were inappropriate for the required size and weight of the fractions, new cutting positions were taken. In this respect 65% of the coins were cut from the obverse and 35% from the reverse. There is similar variation in the direction of the cut on the flan: vertical, horizontal and oblique cuts all occur.

Kujula's coinage is known in a variety of types. These types were based on different metrological units that issued from different regions. These coins lost their weight progressively. The silver coins (Heraus Series) of Kujula were struck in heavy denomination about 16 gm and its small denomination obol c. 1.10 gm. Thereafter the remaining issues of copper fall between the two weights. Similarly the cut fractions occur in the low range of weight. In view of wide range in weight and introduction of cut coins in the time of Kujula two interrelated explanations are possible for such a monetary devaluation.

a) The listed above 353 cut coins represent 14% of Kujula copper coins recovered from Taxila. Kujula generally issued his coins in a variety of weights, but small denominations were less usual. A simple explanation could be that the new fractional coins seem to have made due to the shortage of small denomination. Once the need of small fraction was required then the intact coins of all types in circulation were cut into halves and quarters. As they are reported from other places than Taxila, they might have been accepted for circulation. The discovery of some cut coins at Butkara I (Göbl 1976, p. 45) and Begram (IOLC 1036) strengthens the evidence for circulation of these small fractions elsewhere in Kushan territory. This suggests that cut coins were used as a legal tender for small denominations during the reign of Kujula.

In this regard the position of Augustus coins of Kujula is of great significant. Their place of issue, design and weight standard shows that these coins were late issue struck at Taxila. These coins are quite common in Taxila. They represent 12.36% (including cut coins) of Kujula's assemblage reported from Marshall's excavations. Contrary to this only few coins of this type are reported from other regions as only one has been reported from both Butkara I (Göbl 1976, no. 68) and Begram. Taxila was the major easterly city Kujula had conquered after Kabul valley and Gandhara. Accordingly the coins of Augustus series struck at Taxila sequentially come after the Heraus and Su Hermaeus series issued from Bactria and Kabul valley. The cut fractions from Taxila represent 22.66% of the Augustus type. Moreover the fractions from Taxila comprise all types of Kujula's coins including a single half cut coin of Heraus type. The latter coins are usually found intact north of the Hindu-Kush and they were brought to Taxila and other regions after the king occupied these territories. The practice of cut coins probably originated at Taxila and the new fractions then traveled to the other regions as well. The high percentage of cut coins particularly the Augustus type from Taxila in comparison with a few coins from other sites indicate that this practice was exercised for a certain period of time. The range of types, circulation of coins, find places and percentage of cut coins in context of the Taxila finds obviously show that this experiment was confined to the reign of Kujula Kadphises. His successor Wima Takto reformed the monetary system and

designs of his general series of copper and standardized their weights as Attic didrachm of *c.*8.40g. This series included quarter denomination, a hemidrachm of *c.*2.1g. Later on the coins in various denominations were regularly issued by his successors until the beginning of the reign of Huvishka.

It is worth adding that the average weights of the cut coins of all series are almost corresponding with a half or a quarter of the average weights of intact coins of Kujula (Mitchiner 1978, pp. 385-96) [see Table-B]. The fine fabric of Augustus coins (excluding king facing left) struck in reduced standard, below didrachm of Type-4 & Type-11, but they show less variation in their weight. The weight of their fractions also shows same result. In this regards the cut fractions of Augustus from Taxila are taken for weight analysis. Mitchiner reported twenty good examples of Augustus coins and their weight range 2.20 to 3.80 gm but normally concentrating between 3.00 to 3.50 gm (Mitchiner 1976, no. 1053, p. 688). In Taxila the weight of 237 coins including debased and broken pieces range from 1.00 to 3.50 gm but usually concentrating between 2.10 to 3.50 gm and the good coins occur between 2.50 and 3.50 gm (Chart-1). This variety has 80 examples of half fraction from Taxila and their weight found between 0.80 to 2.20 gm and two coins exceptionally recorded in 3.30 and 3.40 gm. These cut coins normally occur between 1.10 and 1.90 gm and this weight is corresponding with the average half weight of good coins of Kujula from Taxila as well as those reported by Mitchiner. However Mitchiner proposed a theoretical average weight 4.40 gm for these coins where the coins never exceed beyond 3.80 gm and their half weight should be 1.90 gm which is proven by the half fractions from Taxila.

Similarly the cut fractions of Su-Hermaeus-Heraclus (Type-7) reveal useful information about small denominations as they are known in half and quarter cut pieces. The average weight of half cut coins is 3.30 gm and quarter cut 1.80 gm. These weights are well proportioned to the half and quarter of the intact coins when their average weight is divided by two (for half) and four (for quarter) [see Table-B and Chart-1]. The same proportion of half cut coins of other types is also corresponding to the average half weight of intact coins.

This suggests an alternative explanation that the cut coins might be used as reduced weight coins along with regular progression of Heraclus coins. Accordingly they originated in the process of progressive devaluation of copper currency. This progression is appeared in all types particularly in the most common series of Heraclus type. Kujula's coins in terms of their origin, circulation and progressive debasement are divided into three major groups (Table-B).

**Table B. Metrology & denomination of Kujula's coinage (including cut fractions and Silver Series of Heraus)**

[The weight analysis is based on the study of intact coins reported by Mitchiner (Mitchiner 1975-76) and Cribb (1993) and the fraction material excavated from Taxila (Marshall 1951)].

**I. Silver issues from Bactria (Attic Standard)**

No.	Type	Mitchiner's Nos. (1975-76)			Fractions from Taxila				Links & Reference
		Weight range	Avg. Wt.	Denomination	Weight range	Avg. Wt.	Denomination	Mult. Wt.	
A.	Heraus: Bust of king	16.10	–	14.93	<i>Tetradrachm</i>				

	& Horseman (Mitchiner 514)	12.00							
Aa.	Heraus: Bust of king & Horseman [Fraction]					6.80	<i>Reduced Tetradrachm</i>	13.60	Half of C.
Ab.	Heraus: Bust of king & Horseman (Mitchiner 512, 515)	1.10-0.20	0.55	<i>Obol</i>					

### II. Copper issue from Kabul (Indian Standard)

1.	Heraus: Bust of king & Horseman (Mitchiner 517)	10.40 – 9.70	10.05	<i>Reduced Tetradrachm</i>					
2.	Su Hermaeus: Bust of king & Heracles (Mitchiner 1044-45)	9.70 – 4.20	7.94	<i>Reduced Tetradrachm</i>					
2a.	Su Hermaeus: Bust of king & Heracles [Fraction]				4.40 – 2.70	3.30	<i>Reduced Tetradrachm</i>	6.60	Half of 2.
2b.	Su Hermaeus: Bust of king & Heracles [Fraction]				2.90 – 1.40	1.90	<i>Reduced Tetradrachm</i>	7.60	Quarter of 2.
3.	Su Hermaeus: Bust of king & Zeus (Mitchiner 1046)	5.40 – 4.10	4.43	<i>Reduced Tetradrachm</i>					
3a.	Su Hermaeus: Bust of king & Zeus [Fraction]				1.80 – 1.10	1.40	<i>Reduced Tetradrachm</i>	2.80	Half of 3.
4.	Su Hermaeus: Bust of king & Nike (Mitchiner 1048)	3.10 – 1.80	2.33	<i>Reduced Tetradrachm</i>					
4a.	Su Hermaeus: Bust of king & Nike [Fraction]				2.20 – 0.80	1.30	<i>Reduced Tetradrachm</i>	2.60	Half of 4.
5.	Kujula: Bust of king & Heracles; early (Mitchiner 1049-51)	9.10 – 6.00	8.00	<i>Reduced Tetradrachm</i>					
5a.	Kujula: Bust of king & Heracles; early [Fraction]				4.90 – 1.20	3.30	<i>Reduced Tetradrachm</i>	6.60	Half of 5.
6.	Kujula: Bust of king & Heracles; late and stylized	5.20 – 1.20	3.00	<i>Reduced Tetradrachm</i>					
6a.	Kujula: Bust of king & Heracles; late [Fraction]				3.10 – 1.00	2.31	<i>Reduced Tetradrachm</i>	4.62	Half of 6.

### III. Copper issue Taxila and other mints (Indian Standard)

7.	Kujula: Bull & Camel (Mitchiner 1055-58)	12.70 – 7.00	9.77	<i>Reduced Tetradrachm</i>					
7a.	Kujula: Bull & Camel (Mitchiner 1059)	4.60 – 2.40	3.40	<i>Reduced Tetradrachm</i>					
7b.	Kujula: Bull & Camel [Fraction]				5.90 – 0.50	3.20	<i>Reduced Tetradrachm</i>	7.40	Half of 7a.
7c.	Kujula: Bull & Camel (Mitchiner 1060)	1.66	1.66	<i>Reduced Tetradrachm</i>					
8.	Kujula: Helmeted bust of king & Soldier	5.40 – 4.00	4.43	<i>Reduced Tetradrachm</i>					

	(Mitchiner 1052)								
8a.	Kujula: Helmeted bust of king & Soldier [Fraction]				1.90 – 1.30	1.60	<i>Reduced Tetradrachm</i>	3.20	Half of 8.
9.	Kujula: Head of Augustus & Seated king (Mitchiner 1053)	3.80 – 2.40	3.00	<i>Reduced Tetradrachm</i>					
9a.	Kujula: Head of Augustus & Seated king [Fraction]				3.20 – 1.00	1.49	<i>Reduced Tetradrachm</i>	3.20	Half of 9.
10.	Kujula: King seated cross legged & Zeus (Mitchiner 1054)	2.20 – 1.20	1.68	<i>Reduced Tetradrachm</i>					
10a.	Kujula: King seated cross legged & Zeus [Fraction]				1.10 – 0.80	0.92	<i>Reduced Tetradrachm</i>	1.84	Half of 10.

The meteorological analysis of first group is concerned with those coins issued from Bactria. The chief of Yuezhi, predecessors of Kujula, imitated the coins of Bactrian Greeks for the monetary transactions (Cribb 2007, 352). Following this Kujula began his coinage with Heraus series in silver based on the style of Bactrian Greeks (Cribb 1993, pp. 120-21). The silver coins were issued in two denominations the tetradrachm and obol. The heavy coins occur between 16.10 and 12.00 gm (average 14.93 gm) and light between 1.10 and 0.20 gm (average 0.55 gm). So these coins also show similar degradation in their weight standard.

The second group represents the second phase of Kujula's coinage. This group has some Heraus coins of Kujula in copper tetradrachm (Type-3). These coins are quite rare. They seem to be issued from Kabul as they depict Kharoshthi legend on the obverse and struck at Indian weight. The weight is ranging between 9.76 and 10.40 gm (average 10.08 gm). If the weight of these coins correlates with those of the Yuezhi discussed above then it shows the continuation of that weight by means the reduced Attic tetradrachm corresponding with the tetradrachm of Indian standard. These coins were followed by variety of types struck in different weights of Indian style (Table-B). Of these the most common type is found in Heracles design with bust portrait of king on Hermaeus style. They have two varieties; the obverse of early coins inscribed with Greek legend ΣΥ ΕΡΜΑΙΟΥ (Type-7) and later with ΚΟΖΟΥΛΑ ΚΑΔΦΙΖΟΥ (Type-8). Both the varieties struck in the same range of Indian tetradrachm. The weight of first variety is found between 4.20 and 9.70 gm (average 7.94 gm) and second variety 6.00 to 9.10 gm (average 8.00 gm). The coins of first variety are not much common as compared to the second variety. The later variety is then known by degenerate copies of coins and the one which is common in Taxila, Butkara I and Begram were struck at further reduced weight ranging from 1.20 to 5.20 gm (average 3.00 gm) which is almost half of the early coins of Heracles series. All these varieties of Heracles coins show significant weight progression. The weight differences are 5.5 gm in Type-7, 3.10 gm in Type-8 and 4.00 gm in the degenerate copy of Type-8. Besides this some stylized and degenerate copies of late Kujula were struck at about 1.00 gm. These were the local imitations usually found in Begram. Except Heraus coins of Bactrian style and Bull and camel of Indo-Scythian style there was no structure of small denominations and fractions in the

time of Kujula. In this regards other contemporary coins known in reduced weight were probably used for denominational functions. Accordingly Type-4 having enthroned Zeus on the reverse and Type-5 standing Nike on the reverse both based on Hermaeus style with Greek legend ΣΥ ΕΡΜΑΙΟΥ on the obverse like Heracles coins struck at reduced weight from Kabul. The weight of Zeus coins occur between 4.10 and 5.40 gm (average 4.43) and Nike coins between 1.80 and 3.10 gm (average 2.33 gm). Looking to the weight with their average value (weight) when multiplying them by 2 and 4 then they become equivalent to the usual weight of the aforementioned Heraus (Type-3), Su Hermaeus-Heracles (Type-7) and Kujula-Heracles (Type-8) types respectively. In this metrological arrangement the Su Hermaeus-Zeus (Type-4) may be regarded as didrachm and Su Hermaeus-Nike (Type-5) as drachm corresponding to the contemporary tetradrachm coins of Indian standard. Both the heavy and light coins progressively lost their weights. These types of Kabul origin, except Heraus, were cut into halves (also quarters of Su Hermaeus-Heracles) might be used for one reason one-step down denomination such as tetradrachm turned down for drachm standard and drachm (including quarter of Hermaeus-Heracles) for hemidrachm respectively. In other reason these cut coins were introduced in the later phase when the light and stylized copies of Kujula-Heracles coins were in circulation then heavy coins of early series both tetradrachm and didrachm and light coins of late series were cut into fractions. The average weight of heavy cut coins and late intact coins (degenerate) of Kujula-Heracles is found in the range of 3.00 and 3.30 gm. This weight perhaps used as a standard unit for such coins. Further the cut coins of early didrachm as well as late drachm of Kujula Heracles were used as small fractions of this reduced weight unit.

The coins of third group are known in different series mostly issued from Taxila region. The variety of issues of this group comes in the third and final stage of Kujula coinage. All coins are struck in the name of Kujula. These coins are found in different weights. The Bull and camel (Type-12) coins based on the style of Indo-Scythian were struck in a different weight unit (perhaps reduced Attic weight). These coins are known in three denominations, tetradrachm, didrachm and drachm. The heavy coins occur between 12.70 and 7.00 gm (average 9.77 gm), medium 4.60 and 2.40 gm (Average 3.40 gm) and light 1.67 gm. Again they show large scale weight progression such as 5.70 gm in the tetradrachm and 2.20 gm in the didrachm. The coins of another series having soldier on the reverse (Type-11) occur between 5.40 and 5.00 gm (average 4.43 gm). These coins perhaps used as didrachm in Indian standard are exactly identical in weight with those of the Su Hermaeus-Zeus coins (Type-4). Another variety of Kujula coins depicting cross-legged figure on the obverse and Zeus on the reverse (Type-10) based on Indo-Scythian style. They were struck in light weight ranging between 2.20 and 1.20 gm (average 1.68 gm). The weight of this type is obviously half than the previous one (Type-11). This type might be used as small denomination for the others by means drachm unit of the Indian standard. Like camel and bull type these types (Type-11 and 12) also show weight progression. The weight difference of soldier Type (-11) is 1.40 gm and standing Zeus Type (-10) 1.00 gm. Apart from these series Kujula introduced a new type depicting head of Augustus on the obverse and king seated on curule chair on the obverse based on a Roman pattern. The weight of these coins occurs between 3.80 gm and 2.40 gm (average weight 3.00 gm), which are different from the

others. This was a new addition and certainly originated after the other types discussed above. The weight of this type is slightly lower than the didrachm units of Type-4 and Type-11 and similarly higher than the drachm units of Type-5 and Type-10. The coins of this type also indicate weight progression (difference 1.40 gm) but they comparatively show consistency in their normal weight. In view of the typological sequence and place of issue (Taxila) these coins originated later when the didrachm units (Type 4 & 11) were being struck at reduced weight. This attempt was supposed to be made to add the Augustus coins as a reduced didrachm unit corresponding to the parallel reduced didrachm coins already in circulation. The cut fractions of Augustus type were then used as a half unit (reduced drachm) of the intact coins.

### **‘Heraus’ and ‘Su Hermaeus’ Coins under Kujula**

The coins of Kujula have been discussed in detail by many scholars. The attribution of some coins to him is a matter of contention, particularly the ‘Heraus’ issues which many scholars attribute to a separate king, Kujula’s putative predecessor. A silver obol of this series depicting name ‘Heraus’ was first reported by Cunningham (1862, p. 425). Later a silver tetradrachm of the ‘Heraus’ type was properly published by Gardner (1874, p. 161). The major work on ‘Heraus’ coins was carried out in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> and beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, mainly by scholars such as Gardner (1874, and 1886, p. 116), Oldenberg (1881, p. 215), Rapson (1897, pp. 9-10), Kennedy (1913, pp. 125-26), and Whitehead (1914, pp. 163-64, nos. 115-116). Cunningham contributed two further studies of great significance, which identified the tetradrachm and obol coins as issues of a ruler called ‘Heräus’ or ‘Miaüs’ (1888, pp. 47-58, pl. III and 1890, pp. 111-14, pl. IX), whom Cunningham regarded as chief of the Kushan tribe and the predecessor of Kujula (1888, p. 114).

The coins of the Heraus series are usually given to one of three different rulers whose names derive from various readings of the legends, Heraus, Miaus and Sanaba, linked to different dynasties such as those of the Saka (Scythians or Indo-Scythians), Parthians and Kushans. MacDowall and Wilson (1970, pp. 221-9) attributed the ‘Heraus’ coins to Soter Megas, Kujula’s successor, citing a rare silver obol that imitates the Eukratides type of bust and has the cursive Greek legend OKOZOYAO: it is indeed similar to the silver obol of Heraus which usually exhibits the Greek legend MIAIOY, but its legend suggests an issue of Kujula. Mitchiner (1976, pp. 675-696 and 1978, pp. 385-388) identified Heraus as founder ruler of the Kushans and placed him before Kujula or as briefly contemporary: he thought that, after sharing power with Kujula, Heraus ruled in the north-west.

By contrast Cribb (1993, pp. 107-134, and 1999, pp. 177-205) argued ‘there is no such ruler as “Heraus” or “Miaus” or “Sanaba”, but the coins previously attributed to these rulers should be considered as issues of the early Kushan ruler Kujula, who was also known by the name Kushan’ (1993, p. 133). Alram (1999, pp. 23-25), although inclined to the plea of MacDowall but follows Cribb’s arguments, and attributes the Heraus coins to Kujula.

A silver-plated copper coin of 'Heraeus' from Taxila cut in half (catalogue no. 1.01 below) now supports Cribb's view, because it is treated in the same fashion as the many other cut coins from Taxila presented here, all of which belong to Kujula: the practice is not attested on any other coins in this region.

The copper imitations issued on Hermaeus' style with legend ΣΥ ΕΡΜΑΙΟΥ are usually assigned to Kujula Kadphises. The Heracles series (Type-7) of Kujula based on the pattern of Hermaeus with the legend cited above were first identified by Masson (Masson 1834, 162-63). Soon after this Wilson added another series of coins depicting enthroned Zeus with similar legend (Type-4) to the account of this ruler named Kadaphises or Kadphises (Wilson 1841, p. 707-10). Gardner in respect of legend and type differences classified Kujula's copper into three groups known by Hermaeus and Kadphises I, Kadphises I and Kadaphes (Gardner 1886, pp. 120-23). Following this Cunningham arranged groups of coins under different names such as Hermaeus and Kujula Kadphises, Kozola-Kadaphes and Kujula-Kara-Kadaphises (Cunningham 1892, pp. 63-67). The first group usually contained variety of 'Su Hermaeus' coins including the Nike series (Type-5). Whitehead also classified these coins in the same way by three groups; Hermaios with Kujula Kadphises, Kujula Kadphises (Kadphises-1) and Kadaphes (Whitehead 1914, pp. 178-82). Rosenfield rearranged Kujula coins in six types including the silver issue with Nike on the reverse reported from Sirkap (Rosenfield 1967, pp. 12-16, pl.1). In Su Hermaeus series he included only Heracles variety. Mitchiner assigned all those coins bearing legend ΣΥ ΕΡΜΑΙΟΥ to Kujula Kadphises and imitations (Mitchiner 1976, type nos. 1044-1048, 1065). Bopearachchi rearranged all the official and imitations coins of Hermaeus into various groups and series. In this regards the last one (Group VII, Series 22) inscribed with legend cited above (Type-4) placed amongst the imitations of Hermaeus (Bopearachchi 1993, p. 343, pl. 60). Later on the same author reproduced a new genealogical order for those coins bearing name Hermaeus. He classified such coins into ten groups where the last three with legend ΣΥ ΕΡΜΑΙΟΥ represent different reverse designs developed chronologically (Bopearachchi 1995, pp. 37-41, 1997-99, pp. 198; 1999, pp. 132-33, pl. 60). Accordingly Group-8 has enthroned Zeus, followed by Group-9 with winged Nike and the Group-10 has standing Heracles replaced the figure of Nike. The coins of the last group were termed 'the so-called joint coinage of Su-Hermaeus and Kujula' which was followed by the coins of Kujula.

These references obviously show the concern of various scholars about the classification of Su Hermaeus coins. Like Heraeus series the cut fractions found in all 'Su Hermaeus' coins (Types 4-7) also support the attribution of these series to the reign of Kujula.

### **Coin Type of Kujula Kadphises**

All the main series of Kujula's coins are subdivided into many types and varieties, most of them classified by Cunningham (1892, pp. 63-67, pl. XIV) followed broadly by Rosenfield (1967, pp. 11-17). Mitchiner offers a comprehensive classification based on variations in style, legend, weights, denominations, monograms and the scheme of Kharoshthi control marks (1976, pp. 675-96 and 1978, pp. 385-96). On the basis of coin finds and their association with the existing coin models available to the king, he also tried to identify the mints for these

types in the territories under the control of Kujula, suggesting that the coins with Augustus portrait were issued from the eastern mint (central Chach) and the remaining series from other mints.

The coin types issued by this king usually carry his name 'Kujula' and its variants or his dynastic name 'Kushan' with variants inscribed in Greek as well as in Kharoshthi. Also ascribed to him are other series like the Heraeus coins, and the Zeus, Nike and early Heracles types bearing common control marks and the Greek legend *Steros Su Ermaiou*. On the basis of legend, style and regional variations, the coins of Kujula are classified in the following three main series.

### Table C. Typological order of Kujula coins

#### A. Heraeus Series

1. ***Bust of King and Mounted King (silver, Attic tetradrachm); Wt. 16.96 gm***  
*Obv.* Within reel and bead border diademed bust of king to right. *Rev.* Mounted king with Nike flying behind him to right; Greek legend ΤΥΡΑΝΝΟΥΝΤΟΣ ΗΙΑΟΥ ΚΡΑΡΑΝΟΥ: ΣΑ/ΝΑ/Β (square form with letter variations, Cribb 1993: Table-I).  
*Mitchiner 1975: 514*
2. ***Bust of King and Male Figure (silver, Attic obol); Wt. 0.71 gm***  
*Obv.* Diademed bust of king to right. *Rev.* Male figure standing facing holds a spear in right hand; Greek legend ΗΙΑΙΟΥ ΚΟΡΣΑΝΟΥ [or ΗΙΑΟΥ ΚΡΑΡΑΝΟΥ (square form with letter variations, Cribb 1993: Table-II)]  
*Mitchiner 1975: 512, 515*
3. ***Bust of King and Mounted King (copper, Indian tetradrachm); Wt. 10.40 gm***  
*Obv.* Diademed bust of king to right; Kharoshthi legend *Maharayasa rayatirayasa devaputra Kuyula Kata Kapasa*. *Rev.* Mounted king with Nike flying behind him to right; Greek legend ΤΥΡΑΝΝΟΥΝΤΟΥ ΗΙΑΟΥ ΚΡΑΡΑΝΟΥ (square form, fragmentary).  
*Mitchiner 1975: 517*

#### B. Su Hermaeus Series

4. ***Bust of King and Enthroned Zeus; Wt. 4.75 gm***  
*Obv.* Diademed bust of king to right; Greek legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΤΗΡΟΥΣ ΣΥ ΕΡΜΑΙΟΥ. *Rev.* Zeus seated on throne to left with right hand advanced; Kharoshthi legend *Maharajasa rajarajasa mahatasa Heramayasa*  
*Mitchiner 1976: 1046*
5. ***Bust of King and Winged Nike; Wt. 2.4 gm***  
*Obv.* Diademed bust of king to right, Greek legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΤΗΡΟΥΣ ΣΥ ΕΡΜΑΙΟΥ. *Rev.* Winged Nike standing to left or right. Kharoshthi legend *Maharajasa rajarajasa mahatasa Heramayasa*  
*Mitchiner 1976: 1048*
6. ***Bust of King and Winged Nike (Obverse legend illegible); Wt. 2.4-0.70 gm***  
*Obv.* Diademed bust of king to left or right; Greek legend illegible. *Rev.* Winged Nike standing to left; Kharoshthi legend *Maharayasa rayatirayasa mahatasa Heramayasa*  
*Mitchiner 1976: 1066*
7. ***Bust of King and Heracles; Wt. 9.5-7.0 gm***  
*Obv.* Diademed bust of king to right; Greek legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΤΗΡΟΥΣ ΣΥ ΕΡΜΑΙΟΥ (square form). *Rev.* Heracles standing frontally with head turned to left, holds club and lion's skin; Kharoshthi legend *Kujula kasasa Kushana yavugasa dharmathidasa*  
*Mitchiner 1976: 1044-45*

#### C. Kujula Series

8. ***Bust of King and Heracles; Wt. 9.5-7.0 gm***

**Obv.** Diademed bust of king to right or left; Greek legend ΚΟΖΟΥΛΑ ΚΑΔΦΙΖΟΥ (or ΚΑΔΦΙΣΕΙ) ΚΟΡΣΝΑ (square form). **Rev.** Heracles standing frontally with turned to right or left; Kharoshthi legend *Kujula kasasa Kushana yavugasa* and additional Kharoshthi letters in the left and right fields.  
*Mitchiner 1976: 1049-51*

**9. Head of Augustus and Enthroned King; Wt. 4.24 gm**

**Obv.** Head of Augustus to right; Greek legend ΧΟΡΑΝΟΥ ΚΟΖΟΥΛΑ ΚΑΔΑΦΕΚ. **Rev.** King seated on curule chair to right; Kharoshthi legend *Kuyula Kaphasa sacadharmathidasa kushanasa yavusa*  
*Mitchiner 1976: 1053*

**10. Seated King and Standing Zeus; Wt. 2.12 gm**

**Obv.** Male figure seated (probably the King) cross-legged facing frontally; Kharoshthi legend. *Kuyula Kadaphasa Kushanasa*. **Rev.** Zeus standing to right; Greek legend fragmentary.  
*Mitchiner 1976: 1054*

**11. Helmeted Bust of King and Macedonian Soldier; Wt. 4.75 gm**

**Obv.** Helmeted bust of king to right; Greek legend fragmentary and stylized. **Rev.** Greek soldier standing with spear and shield; Kharoshthi legend *Kuyula kasasa Kushana yavusa*  
*Mitchiner 1976: 1052*

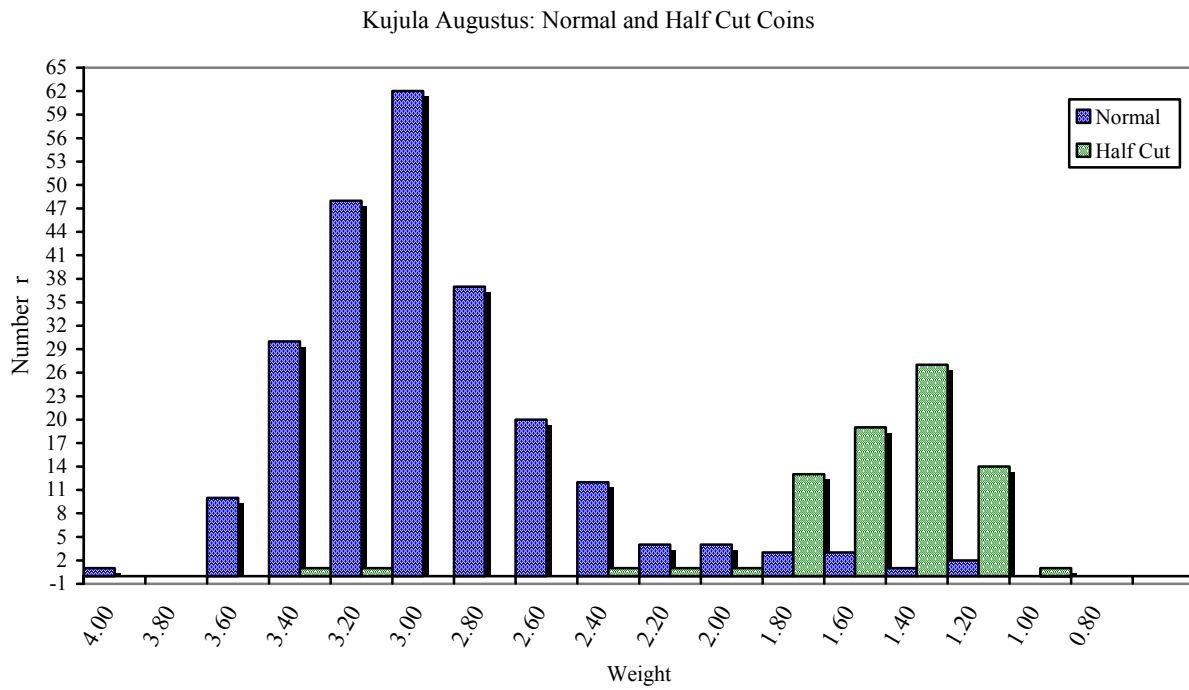
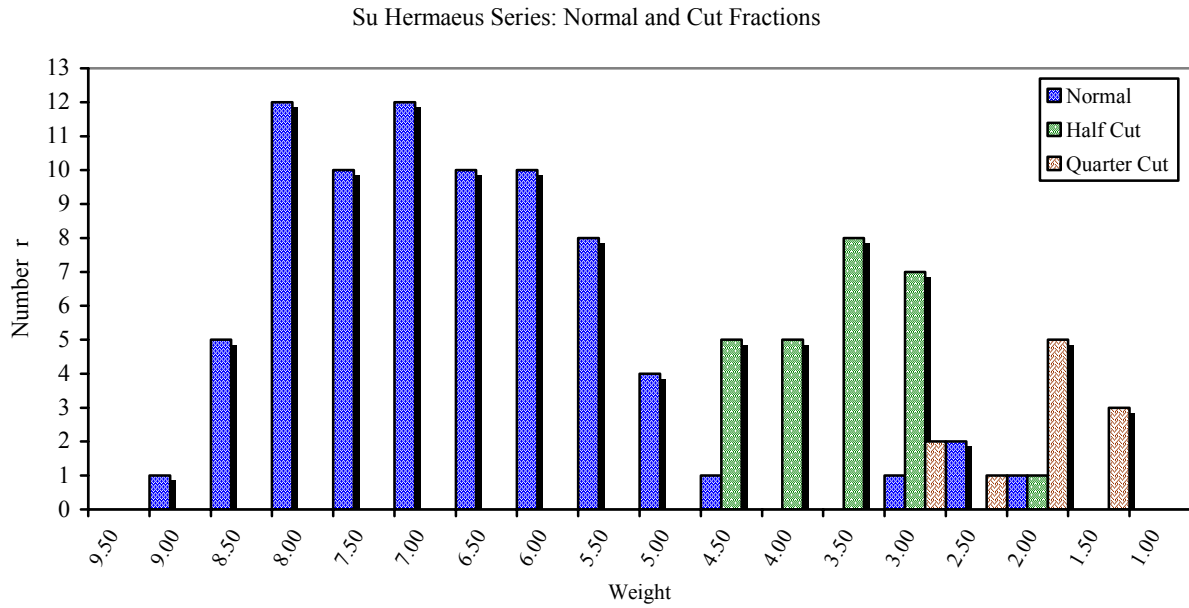
**12. Bull and Camel; Wt. 10.60/ 6.36/ 4.26/ 2.12 gm**

**Obv.** Bull to right; Greek legend illegible, nandipada and Kharoshthi letters. **Rev.** Bactrian camel to right; Kharoshthi legend *Maharayasa rayatirayasa devaputrasa Kuyula Kara Kapasa*, or *Maharayasa rayatirayasa Kuyula Kara Kapasa*, or *Maharayasa rayatirayasa Kushanasa Kuyula Kara Kapasa devaputrasa* and additional Kharoshthi letters.  
*Mitchiner 1976: 1055-60*

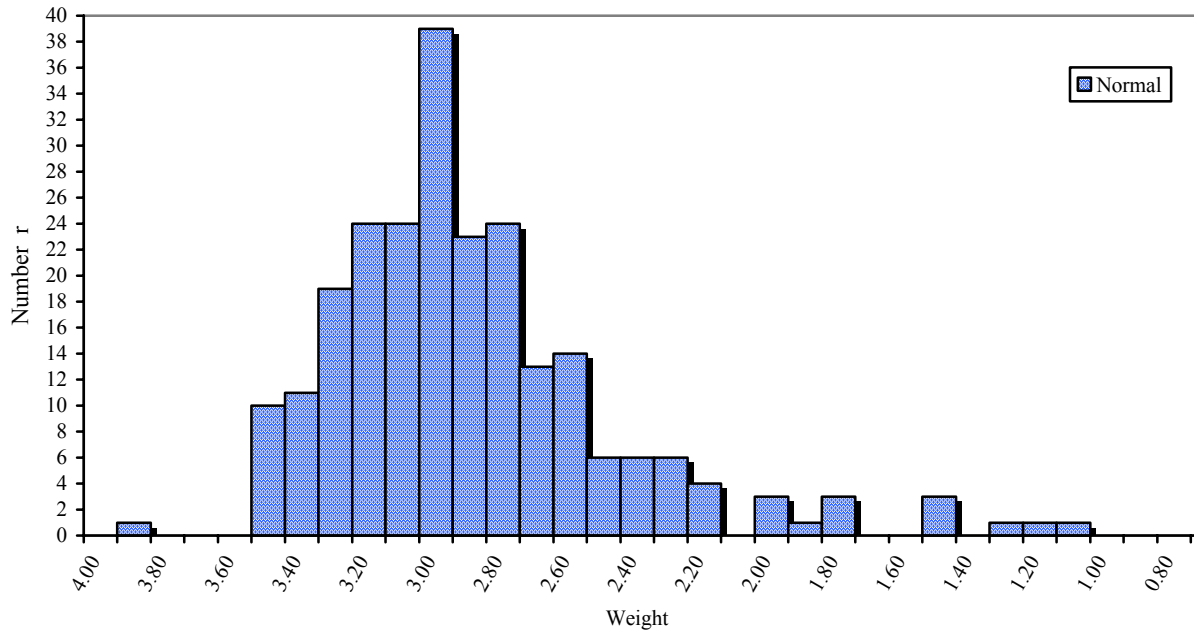
## Conclusion

The different types of Kujula struck in different weights suggest that the copper coins were issued in various denominations like tetradrachm (both Attic and Indian standards), didrachm and drachm units. When these coins were being progressively degenerated by style and weight than the intact coins were turned into fractions to accommodate the half cut tetradrachm in the didrachm, quarter cut tetradrachm and half cut didrachm in the drachm and half cut drachm in the hemidrachm units respectively. A large number of cut coins from Taxila show that this tradition might be originated from that area after massive progression of weight in all types of Kujula coins. The evidence of such coins from other areas, as known from many sites, indicates that the cut fractions were made for economic need and accepted for monetary transaction in a certain period of time. The practice of cutting coins and the reduction in the weight of these coins show that Kujula's reign was a period of monetary problems. The practice of cut fractions was confined to the reign of Kujula as such examples are not found in the coinages of his predecessors and successors. After Kujula his successor Wima Takto reformed his monetary system and struck the general issue, rayed bust and mounted king type, in a new weight c. 8.50 gm equivalent to the Attic didrachm. Later on this weight continued by his successors for the various denominations of their copper. In this way the new denomination of Soter Megas makes a transitional link between the coinage of Kujula and that of Vima Kadphises and successors (MacDowall 1968, p. 41). These cut fractions are found in all major types (Table C) to be associated with the coinage of Kujula Kadphises. The evidence of cut coins in Heraus and Su Hermaeus varieties suggests their issuance to the reign of Kujula Kadphises as many scholars, discussed above, have similar views.

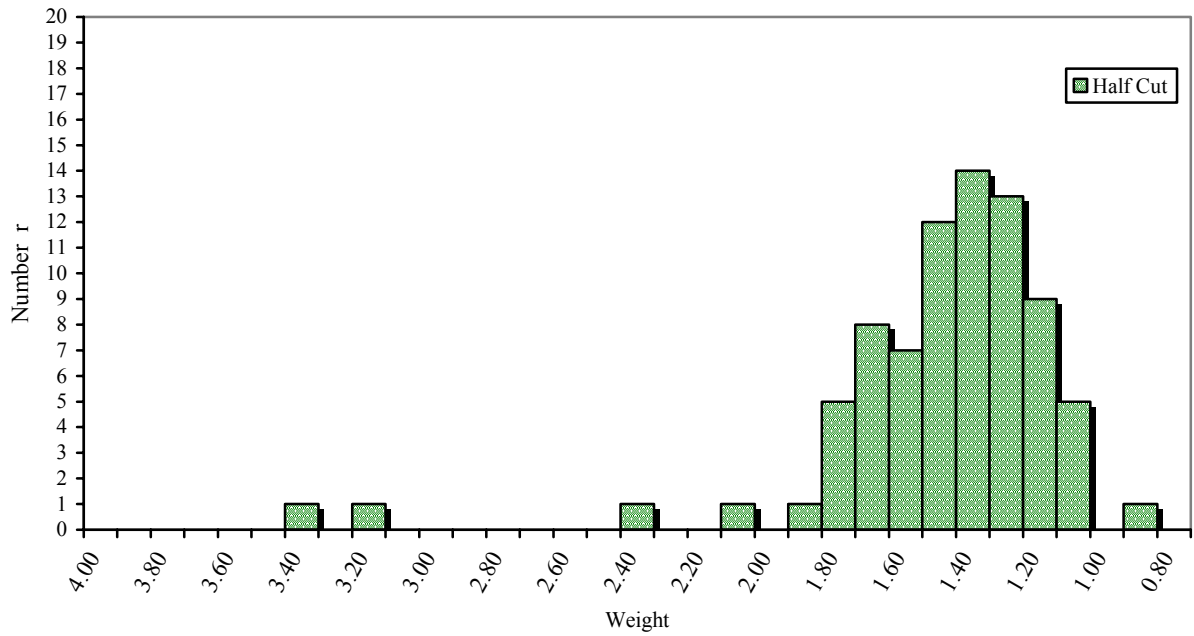
**Chart 1. Weight analysis of selected types**



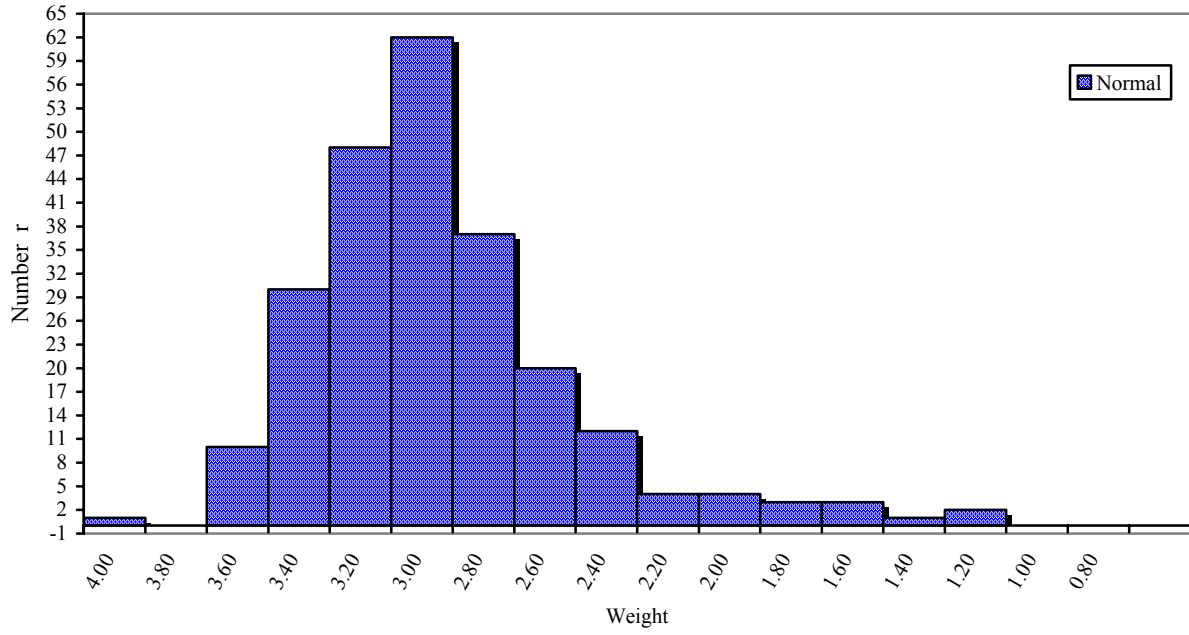
Kujula Augustus: Normal Coins



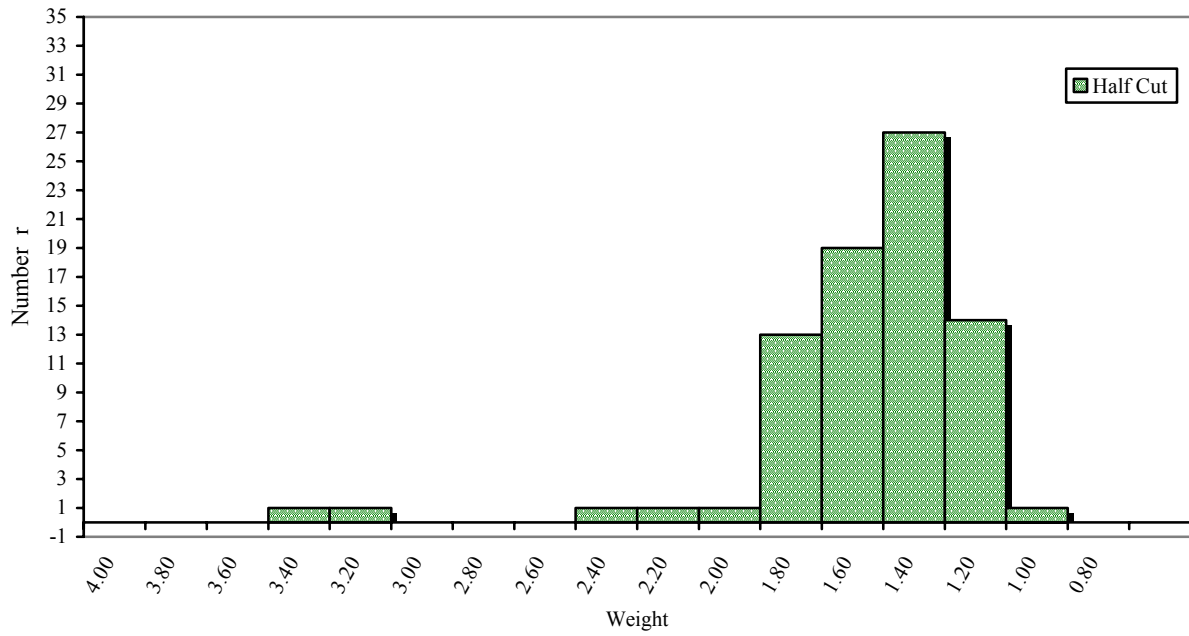
Kujula Augustus: Half Cut Coins



Kujula Augustus: Normal Coins



Kujula Augustus: Half Cut Coins



## Catalogue of Fractions / Cut Coins of Kujula Kadphises

### A. Heraus Series

#### 1. Bust of King and Mounted King (half)

Type – A (1/2 Coin); Avg. weight: 6.80g (Normal coin weight: 16g)

Greek legend: ΤΥΠΑΝΝΩΝΥΝΩΣ ΗΑΟΥ ΚΩΙΙΑΝΩΥ ΣΑΝΑΒ

*Obv.* Helmeted head of king to right with lower part missing.

*Rev.* King riding on horse to right. Legend .....ΑΝΝΩΝΥΝΩΣ ΗΑΩ.....

*Reference:* Mitchiner 1976: 514

No.	CR #	MC #	FR #	Site	Locus	Context (Layer)	Exc. Date	Wt (g)
1.01	624.01	0001	0648	Sirkap	-----	-----	-----	6.8

### B. Su Hermaeus Series



#### 2. Bust of King and Zeus (half)

Type – B (1/2 Coin); Avg. weight: 1.40g (Normal coin weight: 4.75g)

Greek legend: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΤΗΡΩΣ ΣΥ ΕΡΜΑΙΩΥ (obverse)

Kharoshthi legend: *Maharajasa rajarajasa mahatasa Heramayasa* (reverse)

*Obv.* Bust of king to right.

*Rev.* Zeus seated on high backed throne to left with right arm extended and left resting on his thigh. Control mark  in left field and control mark  and Kharoshthi letter *pra* in right.

*Reference:* Mitchiner 1976: 1046

2.01	580.05	0009	1300	Sirkap	Spoil earth	-----	05.05.17	1.8
2.02	580.01	0265	0622	Sirkap (half)	28-84	9'-4"BS	28.03.21	1.3
2.03	584.03	0024	0921	Sirkap	92-67	7'-4" BS	07.04.13	1.1

#### 3. Bust of King and Standing Nike (half)


Type – C (1/2 Coin); Avg. weight: 1.30g (Normal coin weight: 2.4g)

Greek legend: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΤΗΡΩΣ ΣΥ ΕΡΜΑΙΩΥ (obverse)

Kharoshthi legend: *Maharajasa rajarajasa mahatasa Heramayasa* (reverse)

*Maharayasa rayatirayasa mahatasa Heramayasa* (reverse)

*Obv.* Bust of king to right with fragmentary legend.

*Rev.* Winged Nike walking to left. Legend fragmentary. Control mark  in right field and Kharoshthi letter *pra* in left.

*Reference:* Mitchiner 1976: 1048, 1066

3.01	584.05	0227	0820	Sirkap	64-106	3'-0" BS	07.01.29	2.2
3.02	585.01	0099	0530	Sirkap	15-74	4'-0" BS	21.03.17	1.9
3.03	578.05	0100	0620	Sirkap	12-76	1'-9" BS	28.03.17	1.7
3.04	587.02	0026	1249	Sirkap	70-53	4'-2" BS	-----	1.7
3.05	587.01	0082	0610	Sirkap	97-49	2'-2" BS	29.11.15	1.6
3.06	580.03	0117	0687	Sirkap	106-57	8'-10" BS	17.04.18	1.5
3.07	587.05	0094	0050	Sirkap	Spoil earth	-----	14.11.16	1.5
3.08	582.07	0183	2088	Sirkap	113-45	1'-6" BS	19.11.26	1.4
3.09	583.05	0282	0191	Sirkap	15-88	3'-0" BS	30.11.22	1.4
3.10	584.04	0115	0450	Sirkap	102-78	3'-4" BS	15.03.18	1.4
3.11	582.02	0124	0730	Sirkap	78-98	3'-3" BS	24.03.20	1.3

3.12	424.01	0640	1731	Sirkap	110-73	Floor level	10.11.15	1.3
3.13	580.08	0260	0930	Sirkap	49-89	5'-1" BS	08.01.23	1.2
3.14	584.02	0267	0987	Sirkap	66-66	8'-6" BS	10.04.13	1.1
3.15	578.02	0207	1296	Sirkap	196-53	3'-0" BS	23.02.28	1.0
3.16	578.04	0071	2282	Sirkap	25-68	3'-6" BS	30.03.15	1.0
3.17	581.02	0279	0496	Sirkap	128-58	3'-6" BS	-----	1.0
3.18	587.03	0277	0000	Sir Sukh	167-48	4'-0" BS	-----	1.0
3.19	581.07	0189	3625	Sirkap	157-11	5'-0" BS	05.01.27	1.0
3.20	582.03	0129	1199	Sirkap	54-114	3'-0" BS	03.04.20	1.0
3.21	583.08	0164	0472	Sirkap	32-82	1'-5" BS	21.12.22	0.8
3.22	615.03	0446	0000	Sirkap	37-46	6'-0" BS	10.12.24	0.8

#### 4. Bust of King and Heracles (half)

Type – Da (1/2 Coin); Avg. weight: 3.30g (Normal coin weight: 9.5-7g)

Greek legend: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΤΗΡΩΣ ΣΥ ΕΡΜΑΙΩ

Kharoshthi legend: *Kujula Kasasa Kushana yavugasa dhramathidasa*

**Obv.** Bust of king to right. Legend fragmentary.

**Rev.** Heracles standing to left with club in right hand and lion's skin in left. Legend fragmentary.

**Reference:** Mitchiner 1976: 1044-45

4.01	583.07	0007	0518	Sirkap	39-87	8'-9" BS	20.11.29	4.4
4.02	473.01	0091	2659	Sirkap	161-43/ 1-6	1'-11" BS	04.04.29	4.4
4.03	474.06	0115	1686	Sirkap	Spoil earth	-----	22.04.20	4.2
4.04	484.04	0129	0107	Sirkap	Spoil earth	-----	10.03.21	4.1
4.05	458.03	0129	0107	Sirkap	Spoil earth	-----	10.03.21	4.1
4.06	474.08	0117	0129	Sirkap	38-50	3'-0" BS	02.12.24	4.0
4.07	196.07	0006	1400	Chir Tope	G 06	9'-0" BS	13.03.14	3.9
4.08	473.03	0124	0714	Sirkap	62-109	6'-6" BS	23.11.29	3.9
4.09	474.05	0114	1682	Sirkap	59-117	15'-8" BS	22.04.20	3.8
4.10	620.01	0751	0007	-----	-----	-----	1913	3.8
4.11	497.01	0001	0000	Bhir Mound	-----	3'-6" BS	00.11.13	3.5
4.12	571.01	1990	0590	Sirkap	101-67	5'-0" BS	20.03.13	3.5
4.13	400.12	0566	0333	Sirkap	117-75	3'-0" BS	07.03.18	3.4
4.14	405.06	0621	1352	Sirkap	57-110	4'-9" BS	09.04.20	3.4
4.15	414.10	0739	0245	Sirkap	46-51	5'-0" BS	04.12.24	3.3
4.16	425.08	0492	0457	Sirkap	Debris	-----	25.11.15	3.3
4.17	468.01	0020	0753	Sirkap	30-53	2'-3" BS	02.12.13	3.2
4.18	556.10	1816	1973	Sirkap	83-73	5'-8" BS	19.03.15	3.2
4.19	468.02	0021	0778	Sirkap	162-102	3'-0" BS	02.12.15	3.0
4.20	550.02	1736	0124	Sirkap	40-77	1'-0" BS	21.02.18	3.0
4.21	468.08	0009	0544	Sirkap	Surface	-----	08.04.14	2.9
4.22	469.08	0030	0088	Sirkap	26-80	0'-6" BS	09.03.21	2.8
4.23	470.07	0047	3993	Sirkap	Clearance	-----	12.02.27	2.8
4.24	572.05	2006	0075	Sirkap	2-6	2'-6" BS	03.12.20	2.8
4.25	423.02	0464	2209	Sirkap	30-68	2'-10" BS	27.03.15	2.7
4.26	578.06	0025	1559	Sirkap	62-121	6'-6" BS	30.03.18	1.8

#### 5. Bust of King and Heracles (quarter)

Type – Db (1/4 Coin); Avg. weight: 1.91g (Normal coin weight: 9.5-7g)

Greek legend: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΤΗΡΩΣ ΣΥ ΕΡΜΑΙΩ

Kharoshthi legend: *Kujula Kasasa Kushana yavugasa dhramathidasa*

**Obv.** As on above (Da).

**Rev.** As on (Da).

**Reference:** Mitchiner 1976: 1044-45

5.01	404.04	0603	1070	Sirkap	55-118	4'-7" BS	31.03.20	2.9
5.02	407.07	0648	0370	Sirkap	23-79	2'-5" BS	22.03.21	2.6
5.03	570.07	1984	1678	Sirkap	58-73	5'-8" BS	15.03.15	2.2
5.04	413.06	0723	0069	Sirkap	30-53	3'-0" BS	01.12.24	1.9
5.05	570.10	1987	0560	Sirkap	39-69	5'-7" BS	22.03.17	1.9
5.06	569.06	1971	0567	Sirkap	198-70	4'-0" BS	14.05.38	1.7
5.07	570.05	1982	0630	Sirkap	49-54	6'-0" BS	14.03.25	1.7
5.08	572.11	2011	-----	Sirkap	-----	-----	25.02.13	1.7
5.09	565.02	1917	0666	Sirkap	33-86	5'-2" BS	29.03.20	1.5
5.10	571.10	1999	0090	Sirkap	163-101	3'-6" BS	03.12.27	1.5
5.11	570.02	1979	0180	Sirkap	92-74	7'-0" BS	27.02.18	1.4

### C. Kujula Series

#### 6. Bust of King and Heracles (half)

Type – Dc (1/2 Coin); Avg. weight: 3.02g (Normal coin weight: 9-7g)

Greek legend: ΚΑΔΦΙΖΥ ΚΑΡΑΝΑ (square form)

Kharoshthi legend: *Kujula Kasasa Kushana yavugasa dhramathidasa*

**Obv.** As on Da. Legend fragmentary.

**Rev.** As on Da, but head of Heracles either faces left or right as in many cases it is not visible.

**Reference:** Mitchiner 1976: 1049-51, 1061-1062

6.01	383.05	1042	1353	Sirkap	66-119	2'-9" BS	14.03.28	4.9
6.02	410.09	0690	0584	Sirkap	51-89	6'-3" BS	07.12.22	4.6
6.03	377.01	0965	0047	Sirkap	161-93	3'-6" BS	28.10.27	4.5
6.04	425.05	0489	0367	Sirkap	Spoil earth	-----	23.11.15	4.5
6.05	410.11	0692	0655	Sirkap	West bastion	-----	08.12.22	4.4
6.06	382.06	1031	1074	Sirkap	35-86	3'-0" BS	07.01.28	4.3
6.07	389.10	0791	0666	Sirkap	45-44	4'-0" BS	16.03.25	4.3
6.08	373.02	0916	3288	Sirkap	68-49	4'-0" BS	22.12.26	4.2
6.09	437.06	0276	0477	Sirkap	108-55	5'-6" BS	03.04.14	4.2
6.10	443.08	0356	1150	Sirkap	67-63	3'-2" BS	13.03.14	4.1
6.11	648.05	0001	0159	Mahal	62-76	3'-9" BS	11.04.21	4.1
6.12	312.09	1693	0135	Sirkap	31-90	7'-0" BS	01.11.29	4.0
6.13	325.05	1099	0039	Sirkap	73-109	6'-6" BS	11.11.27	4.0
6.14	484.03	0128	0128	Sirkap	51-74	6'-4" BS	-----	4.0
6.15	568.10	1963	0517	Sirkap	120-54	6'-0" BS	15.02.34	4.0
6.16	467.05	0018	0000	Sirkap	51-77	4'-2" BS	-----	3.9
6.17	372.01	0901	2863	Sirkap	94-48	5'-0" BS	09.12.26	3.8
6.18	398.02	0891	2281	Sirkap	102-50	7'-0" BS	26.11.26	3.8
6.19	422.06	0456	1605	Sirkap	44-74	4'-0" BS	08.03.15	3.8
6.20	424.03	0475	0117	Sirkap	Spoil earth	-----	11.11.15	3.8
6.21	458.04	0130	0877	Sirkap	74-82	5'-10" BS	21.12.27	3.8
6.22	459.04	1599	1621	Sirkap	88-86	4'-8" BS	27.02.29	3.8
6.23	556.07	1813	1722	Sirkap	18-71	5'-9" BS	15.03.15	3.8
6.24	560.05	1859	0371	Sirkap	103-71	2'-6" BS	20.12.16	3.8

6.25	561.02	1868	0560	Sirkap	39-69	5'-7" BS	22.03.17	3.8
6.26	570.09	1986	0933	Sirkap	45-72	5'-4" BS	-----	3.8
6.27	376.10	0962	0141	Sirkap	145-67	3'-0" BS	03.06.26	3.7
6.28	389.11	0792	0747	Sirkap	46-45	6'-0" BS	18.03.25	3.7
6.29	398.08	0897	2790	Sirkap	89-50	8'-0" BS	06.12.26	3.7
6.30	400.03	0557	0764	Sirkap	24-77	2'-9" BS	19.02.18	3.7
6.31	428.08	0529	0283	Sirkap	Near gate	4'-2" BS	28.11.16	3.7
6.32	452.07	0117	0388	Sirkap	-----	4'-0" BS	13.03.13	3.7
6.33	560.10	1863	0412	Sirkap	10-711	7'-6" BS	10.03.17	3.7
6.34	652.04	0001	0000	Bhir Mound	-----	3'-6" BS	00.11.13	3.7
6.35	196.06	0007	1436	Chir Tope	G 06 West	1'-0" BS	20.03.14	3.6
6.36	372.06	0904	2875	Sirkap	94-47	6'-0" BS	10.12.26	3.6
6.37	383.08	1045	1373	Sirkap	62-108	1'-2" BS	15.03.28	3.6
6.38	398.04	0893	2600	Sirkap	106-50	8'-6" BS	12.12.26	3.6
6.39	400.06	0560	0101	Sirkap	93-76	5'-3" BS	20.02.18	3.6
6.40	548.06	1716	1059	Sirkap	D' W 64-114	10'-7" BS	30.11.29	3.6
6.41	572.12	2012	0054	Sirkap	-----	-----	23.11.20	3.6
6.42	305.11	1454	0513	Sirkap	A' 22-90	7'-8" BS	13.12.28	3.5
6.43	372.07	0905	3028	Sirkap	96-52	4'-0" BS	14.12.26	3.5
6.44	376.09	0961	3370	Sirkap	117-49	5'-0" BS	27.12.26	3.5
6.45	380.10	1010	0387	Sirkap	77-85	3'-0" BS	09.12.27	3.5
6.46	384.10	1059	1557	Sirkap	66-120	5'-10" BS	30.03.28	3.5
6.47	392.08	0826	0167	Sirkap	120-65	4'-0" BS	05.06.26	3.5
6.48	393.07	0836	0660	Sirkap	140-50	3'-0" BS	27.09.26	3.5
6.49	397.08	0885	2144	Sirkap	108-53	2'-6" BS	20.11.26	3.5
6.50	425.10	0494	0534	Sirkap	140-68	3'-5" BS	27.11.15	3.5
6.51	549.08	1730	1524	Sirkap	D' 43-95	8'-4" BS	16.12.29	3.5
6.52	374.05	0931	3903	Sirkap	Clearance	4'-0" BS	08.02.27	3.4
6.53	382.09	1034	1092	Sirkap	31-95	2'-9" BS	12.01.28	3.4
6.54	405.12	0627	1431	Sirkap	58-116	4'-8" BS	14.04.20	3.4
6.55	419.02	0412	2042	Sirkap	56-63	4'-0" BS	10.03.14	3.4
6.56	423.07	0469	2363	Sirkap	30-69	4'-3" BS	05.04.15	3.4
6.57	437.03	0273	0440	Sirkap	106-57	2'-4" BS	31.03.14	3.4
6.58	455.07	0155	0719	Sirkap	88-66	8'-6" BS	29.03.13	3.4
6.59	457.07	0179	0829	Sirkap	8262	7'-6" BS	02.04.13	3.4
6.60	470.01	0038	1511	Sirkap	63-57	8'-8" BS	09.04.25	3.4
6.61	555.08	1802	0942	Sirkap	48-79	3'-10" BS	02.03.15	3.4
6.62	557.04	1822	1981	Sirkap	66-59	2'-4" BS	20.03.15	3.4
6.63	560.03	1867	0363	Sirkap	Street	-----	15.12.16	3.4
6.64	571.07	1996	0040	Sirkap	162-97	4'-0" BS	1927/28	3.4
6.65	572.08	2008	0377	Sirkap	D' 03 161-46	-----	-----	3.4
6.66	297.05	1671	1760	Sirkap	F' 95-89	1'-10" BS	02.03.29	3.3
6.67	307.10	1472	1173	Sirkap	D' 64-97	3'-0" BS	23.01.29	3.3
6.68	373.09	0923	3600	Sirkap	133-47	7'-6" BS	05.01.27	3.3
6.69	385.11	1072	1634	Sirkap	65-116	7'-0" BS	04.04.28	3.3
6.70	399.03	0545	0881	Sirkap	21-73	4'-10" BS	10.04.17	3.3
6.71	427.07	0516	0997	Sirkap	88-72	5'-8" BS	08.12.15	3.3
6.72	427.12	0521	1122	Sirkap	22-63	4'-0" BS	13.12.15	3.3
6.73	451.06	0104	0024	Sirkap	-----	5'-0" BS	28.02.13	3.3
6.74	457.04	0167	0781	Sirkap	4264	4'-6" BS	31.03.13	3.3

6.75	570.08	1985	0264	Sirkap	14-87	5'-7" BS	07.12.22	3.3
6.76	571.04	1993	0661	Sirkap	106-57	4'-8" BS	16.04.18	3.3
6.77	305.10	1455	0519	Sirkap	B' 30-94	7'-10" BS	10.12.28	3.2
6.78	312.01	1512	1621	Sirkap	F' 88-86	4'-8" BS	27.02.29	3.2
6.79	377.09	0974	0085	Sirkap	164-110	2'-6" BS	02.12.27	3.2
6.80	391.10	0816	1396	Sirkap	42-47	6'-0" BS	03.04.25	3.2
6.81	394.04	0845	1023	Sirkap	140-49	2'-3" BS	08.10.26	3.2
6.82	407.08	0650	0406	Sirkap	40-89	3'-5" BS	23.03.21	3.2
6.83	570.06	1983	0900	Sirkap	169-59	5'-9" BS	05.04.21	3.2
6.84	572.10	2010	-----	Sirkap	Spoil earth	-----	-----	3.2
6.85	374.10	0936	3993	Sirkap	Clearance	4'-0" BS	12.02.27	3.1
6.86	375.02	0940	4057	Sirkap	Clearance	-----	21.02.27	3.1
6.87	433.09	0231	0260	Sirkap	82-56	6'-0" BS	16.12.13	3.1
6.88	446.10	0046	0521	Sirkap	66-64	6'-0" BS	13.03.31	3.1
6.89	466.07	0008	0000	Sirkap	58-75	6'-5" BS	-----	3.1
6.90	562.03	1882	0884	Sirkap	Spoil earth	-----	10.04.17	3.1
6.91	563.01	1892	1212	Sirkap	23-69	5'-6" BS	26.04.17	3.1
6.92	294.06	1647	1621	Sirkap	F' 88-86	4'-8" BS	27.02.29	3.0
6.93	296.12	1676	1944	Sirkap	F' 87-87	5'-4" BS	06.03.29	3.0
6.94	308.02	1468	1082	Sirkap	D' 57-95	2'-0" BS	16.01.29	3.0
6.95	372.12	0914	3281	Sirkap	71-49	4'-0" BS	22.12.26	3.0
6.96	388.05	0772	0649	Sirkap	49-55	4'-8" BS	16.03.25	3.0
6.97	397.05	0882	1919	Sirkap	114-57	2'-10" BS	16.11.26	3.0
6.98	424.04	0476	0130	Sirkap	Spoil earth	-----	12.11.15	3.0
6.99	445.05	0028	0000	Sirkap	82-72	6'-9" BS	06.12.27	3.0
6.100	446.08	0044	0000	Sirkap	72-71	6'-0" BS	06.12.13	3.0
6.101	449.02	0075	0000	Sirkap	58-72	6'-5" BS	26.02.31	3.0
6.102	470.05	0044	3236	Sirkap	70-47	4'-0" BS	21.12.26	3.0
6.103	573.03	2016	-----	Sirkap	-----	-----	-----	3.0
6.104	303.01	1443	0041	Sirkap	Spoil earth	-----	03.11.28	2.9
6.105	387.10	0765	0585	Sirkap	44-53	5'-0" BS	13.12.24	2.9
6.106	390.05	0798	0935	Sirkap	47-51	8'-10" BS	21.03.25	2.9
6.107	414.12	0741	0247	Sirkap	46-48	6'-0" BS	04.12.24	2.9
6.108	431.10	0208	0089	Sirkap	52-57	5'-2" BS	01.12.13	2.9
6.109	432.07	0217	0147	Sirkap	76-67	4'-3" BS	05.12.13	2.9
6.110	447.05	0053	0000	Sirkap	51-71	2'-6" BS	31.03.31	2.9
6.111	465.05	1563	1621	Sirkap	88-86	4'-8" BS	27.02.29	2.9
6.112	387.07	0762	0546	Sirkap	47-55	6'-6" BS	12.12.24	2.8
6.113	393.10	0839	0781	Sirkap	139-48	2'-9" BS	28.09.26	2.8
6.114	402.01	0579	0629	Sirkap	Spoil earth	-----	04.04.18	2.8
6.115	412.07	0712	0884	Sirkap	53-91	3'-9" BS	06.01.23	2.8
6.116	414.01	0730	0130	Sirkap	39-48	2'-6" BS	02.12.24	2.8
6.117	428.06	0527	0132	Sirkap	69-74	7'-8" BS	20.11.16	2.8
6.118	432.03	0213	0120	Sirkap	Spoil earth	-----	03.12.13	2.8
6.119	436.05	0263	0282	Sirkap	Spoil earth	-----	20.03.14	2.8
6.120	449.09	0082	0000	Sirkap	182-59	3'-0" BS	21.02.31	2.8
6.121	453.03	0125	0422	Sirkap	-----	4'-0" BS	14.03.13	2.8
6.122	310.02	1485	1318	Sirkap	D'59-102	4'-6" BS	06.02.29	2.7
6.123	386.11	0754	0418	Sirkap	41-51	5'-0" BS	10.12.28	2.7
6.124	389.12	0793	0747	Sirkap	46-45	6'-0" BS	18.03.25	2.7

6.125	433.07	0229	0256	Sirkap	72-57	3'-2" BS	16.12.13	2.7
6.126	561.08	1875	0745	Sirkap	28-60	3'-10" BS	04.04.17	2.7
6.127	562.07	1886	1026	Sirkap	Spoil earth	-----	14.04.17	2.7
6.128	299.02	1691	0125	Sirkap	3A' 26-93	5'-6" BS	01.11.29	2.6
6.129	326.12	1116	2025	Sirkap	60-44	3'-0" BS	18.01.30	2.6
6.130	376.06	0958	4495	Sirkap	167-38	4'-0" BS	07.04.27	2.6
6.131	572.06	2007	1981	Sirkap	66-59	2'-4" BS	-----	2.6
6.132	312.03	1510	1621	Sirkap	F' 88-86	4'-8" BS	27.02.29	2.5
6.133	375.10	0948	4315	Sirkap	Southern side	-----	16.04.27	2.5
6.134	390.10	0804	1245	Sirkap	50-53	4'-3" BS	30.03.25	2.5
6.135	393.11	0840	0860	Sirkap	Spoil earth	-----	01.10.26	2.5
6.136	430.11	0196	0012	Sirkap	Spoil earth	-----	20.11.13	2.5
6.137	432.08	0218	0147	Sirkap	76-67	4'-3" BS	05.12.13	2.5
6.138	462.11	1607	1621	Sirkap	88-86	4'-8" BS	27.02.29	2.5
6.139	496.03	0001	0159	Mahal	62-76	3'-9" BS	11.04.21	2.5
6.140	557.06	1824	2054	Sirkap	28-70	3'-8" BS	20.03.15	2.5
6.141	558.07	1837	2417	Sirkap	17-68	3'-0" BS	08.04.15	2.5
6.142	402.05	0583	0019	Kunala Monastery	South corner varanda	10'-0" BS	05.03.18	2.4
6.143	426.02	0499	0677	Sirkap	Outside	-----	01.12.15	2.4
6.144	432.06	0216	0140	Sirkap	100-69	5'-6" BS	04.12.13	2.4
6.145	432.11	0221	0174	Sirkap	64-56	2'-10" BS	06.12.13	2.4
6.146	438.01	0283	1009	Sirkap	65-54	3'-0" BS	28.04.14	2.4
6.147	572.09	2009	-----	Sirkap	-----	-----	1913	2.4
6.148	299.03	1690	0030	Sirkap	3A' 25-80	5'-6" BS	30.10.29	2.3
6.149	375.06	0944	4193	Sirkap	14-51	6'-0" BS	10.03.27	2.3
6.150	376.01	0953	3819	Sirkap	87-47	12'-6" BS	25.01.27	2.3
6.151	393.05	0834	0567	Sirkap	140-57	4'-9" BS	25.09.26	2.3
6.152	422.03	0453	0933	Sirkap	45-72	5'-4" BS	02.03.15	2.3
6.153	422.05	0455	1511	Sirkap	50-79	5'-6" BS	04.03.15	2.3
6.154	429.02	0533	0408	Sirkap	Spoil	-----	08.02.17	2.3
6.155	433.03	0225	0213	Sirkap	66-56	3'-4" BS	12-12.13	2.3
6.156	434.02	0236	0067	Sirkap	93-62	1'-10" BS	05.03.14	2.3
6.157	444.02	0364	1161	Sirkap	6763	3'-10" BS	14.03.14	2.3
6.158	549.03	1725	1434	Sirkap	2 B/C 41-92	7'-0" BS	07.12.29	2.3
6.159	197.04	0018	0900	Chir Tope	Spoil earth	-----	23.03.17	2.2
6.160	305.05	1462	0960	Sirkap	E' 70-96	3'-0" BS	11.01.29	2.2
6.161	399.11	0553	1279	Sirkap	43-63	5'-6" BS	02.05.17	2.2
6.162	400.08	0562	0145	Sirkap	98-74	6'-1" BS	22.02.18	2.2
6.163	405.05	0620	1345	Sirkap	57-109	4'-3" BS	09.04.20	2.2
6.164	443.07	0355	1149	Sirkap	69-54	1'-0" BS	13.03.14	2.2
6.165	452.06	0116	0388	Sirkap	-----	4'-0" BS	13.03.13	2.2
6.166	560.04	1858	0370	Sirkap	Street	-----	19.12.16	2.2
6.167	305.12	1453	0478	Sirkap	B' 31-9	8'-9" BS	12.12.28	2.1
6.168	308.09	1501	1589	Sirkap	F' 82-90	2'-1" BS	26.02.29	2.1
6.169	397.06	0883	1944	Sirkap	121-52	3'-10" BS	16.11.26	2.1
6.170	429.06	0538	0552	Sirkap	14-75	2'-9" BS	22.03.17	2.1
6.171	430.10	0195	0007	Sirkap	99-65	4'-6" BS	19.11.13	2.1
6.172	393.06	0835	0615	Sirkap	141-56	4'-0" BS	26.09.26	2.0
6.173	397.09	0886	2163	Sirkap	114-47	2'-8" BS	22.11.26	2.0
6.174	404.03	0605	2283	Sirkap	105-88	3'-0" BS	08.02.30	2.0

6.175	570.12	1989	0530	Sirkap	37-85	5'-1" BS	25.03.21	2.0
6.176	296.02	1687	2631	Sirkap	P 167-44/4-0	7'-5" BS	03.04.29	1.9
6.177	401.11	0577	0527	Sirkap	N-Apsidal temple	Debris	25.03.18	1.9
6.178	374.11	0937	3957	Sirkap	50-61	2'-6" BS	14.02.27	1.8
6.179	414.06	0735	0221	Sirkap	34-48	1'-6" BS	04.12.24	1.7
6.180	562.10	1889	1146	Sirkap	42-64	4'-2" BS	21.04.17	1.7
6.181	298.01	1707	0529	Sirkap	2B' 33-86	8'-9" BS	20.11.29	1.6
6.182	398.12	0542	0803	Sirkap	31-60	1'-3" BS	07.04.17	1.6
6.183	583.06	0059	1752	Sirkap	42-73	3'-10" BS	16.03.15	1.6
6.184	570.04	1981	0354	Sirkap	72-76	6'-3" BS	09.12.16	1.5
6.185	406.05	0632	1518	Sirkap	59-110	6'-9" BS	16.04.20	1.2
6.186	581.06	0269	0976	Sirkap	44-73	6'-5" BS	-----	1.2

### 7. Bust of King and Heracles, Uncertain (half)

Type – Da/Dc (1/2 Coin); Avg. weight: 2.98g (Normal coin weight: 9-7g)

Unidentified Coins ½ Coins

*Obv.* Defaced bust portrait of king to right. Legend illegible

*Rev.* Heracles standing to left. Legend fragmentary

7.01	385.05	1066	1620	Sirkap	63-116	6'-7" BS	02.04.28	3.4
7.02	394.02	0843	0921	Sirkap	140-56	3'-2" BS	04.10.26	3.1
7.03	401.05	0571	0410	Sirkap	92-78	4'-6" BS	14.03.18	3.0
7.04	387.08	0763	0546	Sirkap	47-55	6'-6" BS	12.12.24	2.8
7.05	379.05	0993	0206	Sirkap	46-87	2'-0" BS	06.12.27	2.6

### 8. Bust of King and Heracles (half) [Late & small]

Type – Dd (1/2 Coin); Avg. weight: 2.44g (Normal coin weight: 6-1.5g)

Greek legend: ΚΟΖΟΥΛΑ ΚΑΛΑΦΙΖΟΥ (or ΚΑΛΑΦΙΣΕΙ) ΚΟΡΣΝΑ (square form)

Kharoshthi legend: *Kujula Kasasa Kushana Yavugasa*

*Obv.* As on Da but debased, and light. Legend fragmentary.

*Rev.* As on Da. Legend defaced.

*Reference:* Mitchiner 1976: 1063-64

8.01	387.06	0761	0546	Sirkap	47-55	6'-6" BS	12.12.24	3.1
8.02	386.11	0418	41-51	Sirkap	41-51	5'-0" BS	10.12.28	2.7
8.03	404.09	0611	1242	Sirkap	17-78	4'-5" BS	05.04.20	2.7
8.04	312.03	1510	1621	Sirkap	F' 88-86	4'-8" BS	27.02.29	2.5
8.05	293.10	1546	1621	Sirkap	F' 88-86	4'-8" BS	27.02.29	2.4
8.06	427.05	0514	0978	Sirkap	88-71	5'-10" BS	08.12.15	2.3
8.07	560.09	1865	0513	Sirkap	16-72	3'-0" BS	20.03.17	2.3
8.08	292.09	1638	1621	Sirkap	F' 88-86	4'-8" BS	27.02.29	2.1
8.09	197.08	0014	0911	Chir Tope	J 02 North of wall	-----	20.03.15	0.9

### 9. Head of Augustus and King on Curule Chair (half)

Type – E (1/2 Coin); Avg. weight: 1.54g (Normal coin weight: 4.3g)

Greek legend: ΖΑΟΥΥ ΚΟΖΟΛΑ ΚΑΛΑΦΙΖΟΥ ΧΟΡΑΝΚΥ

Kharoshthi legend: *Khushanasa yauasa Kuyula Kaphasa sacha dhramathidasa*

*Obv.* Diademed head of king to right. Legend defaced and fragmentary.

*Rev.* King enthroned on curule chair to right. Legend defaced and fragmentary.

*Reference:* Mitchiner 1976: 1053

9.01	233.10	0287	0229	Sirkap	A' 26-38	4'-6" BS	17.11.28	3.4
9.02	221.10	0098	0962	Sirkap	67-76	5'-10" BS	03.03.15	3.2
9.03	221.08	0101	1545	Sirkap	60-74	4'-10" BS	06.03.15	2.4
9.04	236.02	0253	4050	Sirkap	-----	-----	19.02.27	2.1
9.05	240.01	0202	0052	Sirkap	Spoil earth	-----	14.01.22	1.9
9.06	227.12	0022	0000	Sirkap	74-66	7'-11" BS	-----	1.8
9.07	228.12	0178	0395	Sirkap	81-77	1'-6" BS	17.03.20	1.8
9.08	231.09	0142	0480	Sirkap	Spoil earth	-----	17.03.17	1.8
9.09	232.10	0129	0827	Sirkap	37-46	1'-3" BS	03.12.15	1.8
9.10	242.01	0340	0720	Sirkap	34-68	3'-4" BS	03.04.17	1.8
9.11	226.05	0032	0376	Sir Sukh	154-51	3'-6" BS	-----	1.7
9.12	221.04	0105	1909	Sirkap	42-72	5'-11" BS	19.03.15	1.7
9.13	222.06	0088	1126	Sirkap	72-62	4'-6" BS	12.03.14	1.7
9.14	226.01	0036	0053	Sirkap	-----	7'-0" BS	01.03.13	1.7
9.15	226.05	0032	0376	Sir Sukh	154-51	3'-6" BS	-----	1.7
9.16	234.01	0284	0046	Sirkap	D' 28	3'-0" BS	03.11.28	1.7
9.17	243.05	0324	1851	Sirkap	D' 61-92	7'-0" BS	04.01.30	1.7
9.18	245.05	0296	1170	Sirkap	D' 64-98	2'-6" BS	23.01.29	1.7
9.19	223.01	0080	0570	Sirkap	88-67	6'-0" BS	15.04.14	1.6
9.20	224.03	0066	0261	Sirkap	Spoil earth	-----	16.12.13	1.6
9.21	232.11	0126	0364	Sirkap	76-49	2'-6" BS	23.11.15	1.6
9.22	238.09	0219	1011	Sirkap	30-41	1'-6" BS	24.03.25	1.6
9.23	241.05	0348	2402	Sirkap	Spoil earth	-----	-----	1.6
9.24	241.11	0342	1322	Sirkap	59-119	2'-6" BS	13.03.28	1.6
9.25	664.07	0076	0473	Sirkap	111-62	4'-9" BS	03.04.14	1.6
9.26	241.04	0349	0123	Sirkap	Spoil earth	-----	11.11.15	1.5
9.27	220.11	0112	2030	Sirkap	60-72	8'-2" BS	23.03.15	1.5
9.28	224.07	0059	0077	Sirkap	69-58	3'-5" BS	29.11.13	1.5
9.29	225.02	0052	0722	Sirkap	89-69	6'-0" BS	29.03.13	1.5
9.30	227.11	0021	0000	Sirkap	84-70	5'-0" BS	-----	1.5
9.31	230.08	0156	1315	Sirkap	40-58	4'-3" BS	12.05.17	1.5
9.32	237.09	0234	0440	Sirkap	Spoil earth	-----	21.09.26	1.5
9.33	241.08	0345	0645	Sirkap	Along city-wall	-----	15.04.18	1.5
9.34	244.04	0312	0321	Sirkap	C' 47-92	4'-6" BS	11.11.29	1.5
9.35	663.01	0105	1909	Sirkap	42-72	5'-11" BS	19.03.15	1.5
9.36	663.10	0095	1337	Sirkap	69-60	4'-8" BS	31.02.14	1.5
9.37	664.06	0075	0463	Sirkap	107-55	4'-8" BS	02.04.14	1.5
9.38	222.05	0089	1156	Sirkap	70-53	1'-4" BS	13.03.14	1.4
9.39	224.01	0068	0109	Sirkap	82-53	6'-3" BS	06.03.14	1.4
9.40	225.12	0038	0084	Sirkap	115-67	1'-0" BS	06.03.13	1.4
9.41	228.05	0185	1173	Sirkap	54-115	5'-0" BS	02.04.20	1.4
9.42	228.06	0184	1052	Sirkap	54-117	4'-2" BS	31.03.20	1.4
9.43	233.03	0121	2435	Sirkap	Spoil earth	-----	10.04.15	1.4
9.44	234.06	0279	1076	Sirkap	30-83 sq	3'-0" BS	10.01.28	1.4
9.45	236.01	0259	4246	Sirkap	10-46	3'-6" BS	10.03.27	1.4
9.46	237.12	0230	0153	Sirkap	133-67	6'-6" BS	04.06.26	1.4
9.47	238.01	0229	0207	Sirkap	132-66	5'-6" BS	08.06.26	1.4
9.48	238.02	0228	0048	Sirkap	146-70	3'-6" BS	28.05.26	1.4
9.49	239.07	0208	0194	Sirkap	15-85	2'-5" BS	30.11.22	1.4

9.50	618.06	0002	0006	Sirkap	Main drain	-----	25.02.13	1.4
9.51	664.08	0077	0548	Sirkap	Spoil earth	-----	09.04.14	1.4
9.52	218.03	0014	0000	Sirkap	51-74	6'-4" BS	-----	1.3
9.53	229.05	0173	0578	Sirkap	Spoil earth	-----	27.03.18	1.3
9.54	230.09	0156	1155	Sirkap	44-60	4'-0" BS	23.04.17	1.3
9.55	230.11	0153	1128	Sirkap	10-57	4'-0" BS	20.04.17	1.3
9.56	232.09	0130	0974	Sirkap	88-71	5'-8" BS	07.12.15	1.3
9.57	233.01	0123	0016	Sirkap	85-73	3'-1" BS	03.11.15	1.3
9.58	239.03	0213	0905	Sirkap	72-81	4'-6" BS	06.01.23	1.3
9.59	241.07	0346	0272	Sirkap	-----	-----	-----	1.3
9.60	242.02	0339	0000	Sirkap	59-71	8'-6" BS	-----	1.3
9.61	242.03	0338	1382	Sirkap	48-46	4'-6" BS	03.04.25	1.3
9.62	243.04	0325	2237	Sirkap	G' 108-90	3-4" BS	06.02.30	1.3
9.63	664.12	0081	0598	Sirkap	Spoil earth	-----	25.04.14	1.3
9.64	235.06	0266	0870	Sirkap	130-53	2'-6" BS	01.10.26	1.3
9.65	224.11	0055	0963	Sirkap	84-71	6'-0" BS	09.04.13	1.2
9.66	230.01	0165	0265	Sirkap	105-73	4'-8" BS	05.03.18	1.2
9.67	233.06	0291	0833	Sirkap	D' 65-105	4'-6" BS	08.01.29	1.2
9.68	236.06	0254	2790	Sirkap	89-50	8'-0" BS	06.12.26	1.2
9.69	239.09	0206	0077	Sirkap	Spoil earth	-----	13.02.22	1.2
9.70	241.10	0343	1264	Sirkap	79-59	2'-0" BS	21.13.14	1.2
9.71	242.05	0336	-----	Sirkap	82-72	5'-6" BS	-----	1.2
9.72	242.06	0335	0900	Sirkap	169-59	5'-9" BS	05.04.21	1.2
9.73	662.12	0106	1933	Sirkap	42-73	7'-5" BS	20.03.15	1.2
9.74	220.06	0118	2375	Sirkap	22-69	1'-6" BS	02.04.15	1.1
9.75	225.04	0050	0699	Sirkap	82-68	8'-4" BS	28.03.13	1.1
9.76	231.12	0139	0367	Sirkap	6-66	4'-3" BS	15.12.16	1.1
9.77	237.08	0235	0615	Sirkap	141-56	4'-0" BS	26.09.26	1.1
9.78	242.04	0337	1926	Sirkap	70-43	4'-9" BS	-----	1.1
9.79	235.08	0264	4522	Sirkap	175-42	4'-0" BS	08.04.27	0.9
9.80	236.08	0251	2448	Sirkap	91-52	3'-0" BS	30.11.26	0.8

### 10. King Seated Cross-legged and Zeus (half)

Type – F (1/2 Coin); Avg. weight: 0.92g (Normal coin weight: 2.1g)

Greek legend: ZAOOY KOZOΛA XOPANCY

Kharoshthi legend: *Kuyula Kadaphasa Kushanasa*

**Obv.** King seated cross-legged facing, holding something in right hand, left hand in lap. Kharoshthi legend defaced.

**Rev.** Zeus standing to right and holding long sceptre, Kharoshthi letter *ra* in front of deity. Greek legend defaced and fragmentary.

**Reference:** Mitchiner 1976: 1054

10.01	250.01	0042	1919	Sirkap	114-57	2'-10" BS	16.11.26	1.1
10.02	250.03	0038	0919	Sirkap	13-91	13'-6" BS	08.01.23	1.0
10.03	249.03	0061	0820	Sirkap	D' 64-106	3'-0" BS	07.01.29	0.8
10.04	249.07	0056	0820	Sirkap	D' 64-106	3'-0" BS	07.01.29	0.8

### 11. Bust of King and Macedonian Soldier (half)

Type – G (1/2 Coin); Avg. weight: 1.6 gm (Normal coin weight: 4.75 gm)

Greek legend: KOZOYΛA KAAΔΦIHEI KOPCAN (stylized form)

Kharoshthi legend: *Kushana Yavugasa Kuyula Kasvasa*

**Obv.** Helmeted bust of king to right. Greek legend defaced and fragmentary

**Rev.** Helmeted soldier standing to right and holds shield spear and shield. Kharoshthi legend defaced and fragmentary

**Reference:** Mitchiner 1976: 1052

11.01	245.10	0002	0140	Sirkap	South-east corner	6'-0" BS	22.01.18	1.9
11.02	245.09	0001	0376	Sirkap	From nala	113'-7" BS	25.12.16	1.3

### 12. Bull and Bactrian Camel (half)

Type – H (1/2 Coin); Avg. weight: 3.2 gm (Normal coin weight: 10.6-3.0 gm)

Kharoshthi legend: *Maharayasa rayatirayasa devaputrasa Kuyula Kara Kapasa* or

*Maharayasa rayatirayasa Kuyula Kara Kapasa* or

*Maharayasa rayatirayasa Kushana Kuyula Kara Kapasa devaputra*

**Obv.** Humped bull walking to right, *nandipada* symbol and Kharoshthi control mark. Legend defaced and fragmentary

**Rev.** Bactrian camel walking to right with the use of various Kharoshthi control marks. Legend defaced and fragmentary

**Reference:** Mitchiner 1976: 1055-57

12.01	618.05	0010	0295	Sirkap	102-61	2'-0"BS	21.03.14	5.9
12.02	219.02	0025	0032	Sirkap	98-.66	4'-2"BS	13.11.13	0.5

### 13. Unclear (half and quarter)

**Obv.** Defaced and illegible.

**Rev.** Defaced and illegible

13.01	577.05	0021	0341	Sir Sukh	163-44	3'-6" BS	-----	3.2
13.02	580.02	0022	1067	Sirkap (quarter)	90-70	7'-0"BS	09.12.15	1.7

## 4. Huvishka Coins from Taxila & His Mint System

### John Marshall's Report & Huvishka Coins in Context

In his twenty-two years excavations John Marshall recorded seventy three copper coins of Huvishka which all came from proper contexts. Presently the cabinet of Taxila Museum, with the addition of twenty six more such pieces, possesses ninety nine copper coins of the said ruler. The condition and typology of the added coins reveal that they are also obtained from the same region either picked up as stray finds from the various sites or unearthed through subsequent excavations. The excavation reports of Marshall and Museum documents equally contain various information excluding layer details of these coins such as exact position of the find below surface with locus, provenance (site) and the date of discovery. Marshall carried out a detailed analysis and classification of such coins in his Illustrated Accounts of Taxila (Chapter-39). Sometimes he briefly narrated the history about the discovery of coins by context that found individually or in a group or a hoard in a pot. The hoards and groups of coins are further explained with their contents. In order to these finds he often described the different coins with short description. Apart from this Marshall and his colleagues regularly published the progress of excavation and discoveries made at Taxila in the *Annual Report, Archaeological Survey of India*.

Marshall in coin section entitled 'Rare and Unique Coins' of his report illustrated six copper coins (nos. 263-68) of Huvishka. Of these he identified two coins as imitations. Besides this he included three similar coins (nos. 334, 335 & 337) under uncertain group, obviously belonged to the imitation series of Huvishka. Thus the number of Huvishka's illustrated coins is much larger than those of Kanishka (only two coins). This selection is based on the large number of obverse and reverse varieties and curious imitations of this ruler. In this regard he preferred to the imitations rather the normal issues. In the excavation report of Jaulian, Marshall mentioned six copper coins of Huvishka but the museum catalogue reveal the entries of first five specimens which are identical with the available coins (five).

Marshall briefly summarized the copper coins of Huvishka in the following way. Accordingly forty four coins reported from Dharmarajika and remaining twenty nine coins from the other sites. The coins are generally arranged by their obverse and reverse varieties (Marshall 1951: 787-88, Vol. II).

- |  |   |   |
|--|---|---|
| <b>A. King riding on elephant: 44 coins</b>  | = | (a) sun god: 9, (b) moon god: 9, (c) deity with purse: 3, (d) Heracles: 2, (e) Shiva: 12, (f) Ardoxsho: 2 and (g) standing deity: 7 |
| <b>B. King reclining on couch: 16 coins</b>  | = | (a) sun god: 2, (b) moon god: 2, (c) Nanaia: 1, (d) two-armed Siva: 1, (e) uncertain crude: 11                                      |
| <b>C. King seated cross-legged: 11 coins</b> | = | (a) sun god: 1, (b) moon god: 3, (c) metal god: 2, (d) four-armed Siva: 1, (e) standing deity: 4                                    |
| <b>D. King seated frontally: coin 1</b>      | = | (a) standing deity: 1   |
| <b>E. Bust of king: 1 coin</b>               | = | (a) sun god: 1  |

John Marshall's report of Taxila excavations is systematic and self explanatory. It covers not only history of coins but also their quantities and their attribution to the rulers and dynasties that come from the certain sites at Taxila. Similarly the Museum documents are also well maintained and hence all the excavated coins reported by Marshall at Taxila provide detailed information about the context, discovery and primarily identification of the ruler. The stray finds also came from the subsequent diggings but they have no proper record of their context. The combination of known context and the availability of large varieties of Huvishka copper from Taxila is an important source to know the various aspects of the monetary system existed in the time of this ruler.

### Present Position of Huvishka Coins from Taxila

Site	Marshall	Catalogue	Present	Statement showing the absent & added coins
Sirkap	4	5	5	
Mahal	1	1	1	
Sirsukh	1	1	1	
Jandial C (Temple)	1	2	2	
Dharmarajika	44	45	37	a. loaned to other Museums = 6 (5 of Oesho mint) b. written off (11-11-1940) = 2 c. written off (11-11-1940) = 2 (imitations) d. reidentified as Vasudeva = 1 e. added from Kadaphes (I) = 1 f. added from Kushan imitation = 2
Chir Tope B	2	2	2	
Chir Tope C	2	2	1	a. written off from the (11-11-1940) = 1
Kalawan	3	3	4	a. added from Kanishka = 1
Giri	2	2	4	a. added from uncertain coins = 2 (nos. 91 & 96)
Kunala Stupa	2	2	2	mentioned but not counted = 2 (Marshall: 353, 787)
Ghai	1	1	1	
Jandial B	1	1	---	a. identified as Late Kushan
Jandial D	1	1	1	
Mohra Moradu	1	1	1	
Jaulian	5	5	5	a. written off (11-11-1940) = 1 b. added from Kanishka = 1
Bhamala	1	1	1	
Kholay	2	3	3	
Bhalla □ Tope	1	1	1	
Others/ Stray finds	-----	-----	28	Provenance not traceable
<b>Total</b>	<b>75</b>	<b>79</b>	<b>99</b>	

Marshall reported four coins of Huvishka from the settlement site Sirkap. Here only number of coins is given but there is no additional information about the context and discovery of such finds (Marshall 1951: 787). Of these he illustrated two coins that belong to the imitation series of Huvishka (see nos. 76 & 91) [Marshall 1951: RUC nos. 267 & 268]. But the cabinet of Taxila Museum now accommodates five coins of this ruler excavated from the proper contexts of Sirkap. Amongst the forty three copper coins from Mahal, the sacred site near Sirkap, one (no. 11) were is identified to Huvishka (Marshall 1951: 216).

Coin no. 8 is the only known example of Huvishka reported from Sirsukh, the urban centre of Kushan (Marshall 1951: 221). The author identified the reverse figure as sun-god but it is moon-god and the said coin belongs to the early phase of the main mint. The presence of a single coin of this ruler in comparison with the twelve of Kanishka doesn't give sufficient information about the Kushan urban site.

Two coins are known from Jandial Temple (Mound C). The coin no. 5 is reported from K-25 and no. 68 outside the fort temple (Marshall 1951: 225). The early example is associated to the first phase of the main mint and the latter one to the Oesho mint (obviously Phase-II). No. 34 described as 'king at altar and four-armed Siva' of Huvishka came from area 17-L, Mound D of the same site (Marshall 1951: 229). The obverse of this coin is wrongly described. Actually it depicts the seated figure of king in cross-legged position. The said coin belongs to the first phase of the main mint.

A big collection of forty four coins of this ruler i.e. 60 percent of the excavated stuff is reported only from the Buddhist site Dharmarajika. Marshall usually explained the find spot and gave relevant information of those coins that picked up from the stupa area. On the other side a large number of coins reported from the monastery of area are merely shown by their quantity. However they have contextual record as known from the Museum entries but the author didn't give any comments on them. No. 68 of Huvishka with description 'elephant rider and moon-god' was a part of 355 copper hoard found in *Kanjur* stone. The other coins of this hoard belonged to the Later Indo-Scythians, Kushans, Shapur II and crude series of Kidarite type. The said hoard was recovered from the western flight of steps (in procession path) of the main stupa (Marshall 1916: 16 & 1951: 239). The reverse of this coin was basically identified for moon-god but the figure is Pharro, the god of wealth. In this regard the said coin is associated with the Ardoxsho-Pharro-Herakles (shortly to be termed as Ardoxsho & Co.) mint. Four coins of Kanishka and Huvishka found together at apartments E2, E2, F1-F3 and T2-T7 (Marshall 1951: 246-47). But the Museum record shows five coins of Huvishka including the crude imitation (nos. 7, 49, 53, 67 & 74) from the said apartments. Besides this a coin no. 37 of the main mint having seated king with four-armed Oesho of Huvishka was found 3 feet below surface in area T-5. It was unearthed in a group (group a) along with two coins of Kanishka and five of Vasudeva (Marshall 1951: 247). Similarly three coins of Huvishka described as 'elephant and Siva type' are known from a hoard of ten coins but unfortunately they are not traceable in the museum record as well as the information given with the coins. This hoard was found in earthen ware in stupa P6. Along with the cited coins of Huvishka the remaining seven coins are belong to Vasudeva type 'king at altar and Siva and bull' (Marshall 1951: 263).

Marshall reported three of Huvishka amongst thirty four coins of the other rulers from debris of the monastery area of court A. One coin described as 'king riding on elephant and moon-god' and two are the imitations 'king on couch and Siva' belonged to Huvishka (Marshall 1951: 278-79). It is difficult to say certainly that coin nos. 3, 87 and 90, recovered from debris, are similar to those mentioned by Marshall.

John Marshall presented a following list of thirty seven coins of Huvishka found in the monastery area of Dharmarajika (Marshall 1951: 292-93). The details of these coins are reproduced in the same style as arranged by the author.

<i>Marshall's Description</i>	<i>No. of Coins with reference to the Punjab Museum Catalogue</i>	<i>Present possible No.</i>
RUC – 262 (1); 264 (4); a (8), d (2)	= 15 coins	(Imitations)
King riding on elephant and deity with purse (?)	= 3 coins [PMC-160]	(nos. 57)
King riding on elephant and Heracles	= 2 coins [PMC-162]	(nos. 54-55)
King riding on elephant and Shiva	= 11 coins [PMC-151]	(nos. 59-62, 64-65)
King riding on elephant and goddess with cornucopia	= 2 coins [PMC-161]	(no. 49)
King on couch and moon-god	= 1 coin [PMC, p. 203, no. 178]	(no. 15)
King seated cross-legged and metal-god	= 1 coin [PMC, p. 205, no. 200]	(no. 29)
King seated cross-legged and four-armed Shiva	= 1 coin [PMC, no. 201]	(no. 37)
King seated to front and deity standing	= 1 coin [PMC, no. 204]	

In addition one more coin (no. 96) from the same site earlier reported in the uncertain group of coins (Marshall, RUC no. 335) is now identified in the imitations of Huvishka.

Two coins of Huvishka are reported from the site Chir Tope B also known as Akhauri (Marshall 1951: 317). In this regard a coin no. 58 was found in a group of five coins. The other coins of this group belonged to Soter Megas (3 coins) and Kanishka (Khan 2007, no. 164). In this coin (no. 38) the author described the reverse deity 'sun-god' but the figure is two-armed Oesho. After identification this coin is now attributed to the Oesho mint of Huvishka. The second coin (no. 84) is known from area F-15. It belongs to the imitation group.

Another site in the same location i.e. Chir Tope C or called as Khader Mohra yielded two coins of Huvishka. Two coins unearthed from cell-23; one each was assigned to Kanishka and Huvishka respectively (Marshall 1951: 318). But the coin assigned to Huvishka doesn't exist and is written from the Museum stock. Three coins reported from cell-31; two belonged to Kanishka and one to Huvishka (Marshall 1951: 318). The coin (no. 63) was identified for Huvishka 'king riding on elephant and lunar-deity', belongs to the Ardoxsho and Co. mint.

In Kalawan Marshall found three coins of Huvishka. But there are four examples, because one more coin, earlier identified to Kanishka, also belongs to Huvishka. In this regard no. 33 described as 'king seated and sun-god' is known from area A-31 (Marshall 1951: 332). The reverse of this coin is badly defaced and it is hard to be identified accurately. Coin no. 73, identified as imitation, is reported from cell-16 of court B area (Marshall 1951: 340). One coin with reverse of sun-god (no. 22) was found amongst a group of five coins of Kanishka. They were recovered from a vessel-lid of copper lying buried on the floor in the store-room no. 21. The said coin having a figure of seated king (cross-legged) on the obverse is certainly of Huvishka instead of Kanishka (Marshall 1951: 340). The fourth coin (no. 59) of this site reported from cell-16, court B area, is well described 'king riding on elephant and standing deity'. The said deity is known to be two-armed Oesho belonging to the Oesho mint.

The Buddhist site Giri represents two coins (nos. 70 & 79) of Huvishka. These coins are reported from area C. Both the coins are properly illustrated by the author (Marshall 1951: 347, RUC nos. 265 & 263). The reverse deity shown on no. 70 (Marshall 1951: 281, RUC no. 265) is certainly Pharro belongs to the Ardoxsho & Co. mint. The other coin (no. 79) is not much clear but it has low weight and thin fabric like the low imitations. Thus it is placed in this series. Besides this two more coins obviously imitation of Huvishka (nos. 92 & 97) are also reported from the same site. It is because of their rude style and debased fabric that the author included them in the uncertain series (Marshall 1951, RUC nos. 334 & 337).

Two coins of Huvishka are excavated from the Buddhist site of Kunala. Of these one each is reported from stupa and monastery areas respectively (Marshall 1951: 353). Both the coins are properly documented and described such as 'king seated and standing deity' (no. 94) and 'king on couch and sun-god' (no.18). The first coin is certainly of imitation series and the second one belongs to the first phase of the main mint.

A single coin (no. 98) of this ruler is reported from the monastery area at Ghai. This was amongst the whole collection of three coins found at this site (Marshall 1951: 354). It was described by the author as 'king seated cross-legged and standing deity'. It depicts crude figures on both sides and may be given to the imitation series of Huvishka.

The Buddhist site Mohra Moradu represents a single coin (no. 40) of Huvishka (Marshall 1951: 364). It was well described as 'elephant rider and sun-god'. Due to its low weight and usual design it belongs to the second phase of the main mint. A single example of this ruler with the ratio of coin finds of his predecessor (Kanishka: 12 coins) and successors (Vasudeva and Kanishka II: 49 coins) doesn't furnish fruitful evidences about this site. Marshall reported six coins of Huvishka from the Jaulian monastery in preliminary report (Marshall 1921: 59-61) but later on he mentioned five coins in his illustrated account (Marshall 1951: 385-86). The Museum also possesses five coins which are identical with the first five coins of the preliminary report. Off these one piece (no. 28) described as 'king on couch and standing deity' was found in a group of three coins reported from cell-11. This coin bearing a figure of four-armed Oesho on the reverse belongs to the first phase of the main mint. In other contents the groups comprises one local Taxilan coin and one Kanishka (Khan 2007: no. 64).

Besides this Marshall described the remaining four coins of Huvishka (Marshall 1921: 59-61 & 1951: 86) such as: 'seated king and sun-god (J-15)' (no. 45), 'elephant-rider and Pharro (J-16)' (no. 81) and 'king on couch and standing deity' (J-18 & J-19)' (nos. 21 & 78). The second type (no. 81) was not appropriately identified. It is the imitation of Huvishka having figure of king reclining on couch on the obverse and unidentified standing figure on the reverse.

One copper coin (no. 44) of Huvishka described by the author as 'king seated cross-legged and Fire-god' was found in the east of main stupa at the Buddhist remains Bhamala (Marshall 1951: 396). In first attempt this deity was declared fire-god but later on in catalogue, he described it properly as moon-god (Marshall 1951: 821, RUC no. 264). This coin known from Bhamala belongs to the second phase of the main mint.

### **Huvishka Copper Coins**

In design Huvishka followed the coin pattern of his predecessors by adopting Vima Kadphises varieties for the obverse and Kanishka for the reverse. He issued his copper coins with three main obverse designs i.e. (a) king riding on elephant, (b) king reclining on couch, and (c) king seated cross-legged upon mountain. Besides this he also issued some unusual varieties like the king in squatting position and king seated frontally with both the legs turned to left. These two varieties seem to be the derivatives of the last two types of the three main obverses. But they were struck in the later stage and issued from a different mint perhaps at Mathura as they usually reported from that region. The Sonkh excavations have a good piece of evidence for these coins that yield three such examples of Huvishka out of his five coins (Hartel 1993: 314, nos. 90-92, pl. 319-20). Another variety is seen in small coins, king standing at altar to left like that of Kanishka as noticed by Mitchiner, presumably issued from Kashmir (Mitchiner 1978: 432). The latter series is not common and they are identical to the small (drachm) coins of Kanishka. In order to the close similarities of these coins with his predecessor they likely to be placed in the beginning of Huvishka's reign. The obverse legend on this type is usually known as  $\text{PAO OOHPKO KO\text{P}ANO}$  similar to that of Kanishka's coins. This Bactrian legend with little changes is inscribed both on the gold and copper general issues of Huvishka. Along with these designs one unique example displaying the figure of king sitting on a pile of cushion on the obverse is also reported which seems to be issued in his early phase of coinage (Cunningham 1892, no. 85, pl. XXII-21). The obverse and reverse of this type doesn't follow the pattern of main mint and it might be issued from a different mint.

The reverses of these types exhibit large varieties of deities designated by the names inscribed along with the figures. Huvishka continued this tradition of his predecessor, Kanishka the Great. In beginning he employed the same group of deities i.e. Athsho, Mao, Miuro, Nana, Oado and four-armed Oesho for the reverse design of his copper. Besides this an exceptional reverse variety showing a standing figure of Nana and the king kneeling before the goddess is also known on rare copper of Huvishka. One such example appeared on the above mentioned unique coin displaying figure of king on cushion and another on the elephant rider (Cunningham 1892, nos. 85-86, pl. XXII-21, 22). Due to style and weight these coins obviously belonged to the early phase and associated with Gandhara mint of Huvishka. One more example of the latter type 'elephant-rider and king kneeling to Nana' is also known but it belongs to the second phase as it struck at reduced weight (Göbl 1993, no. 332, tafel-49). The positions of figures are changed on this reverse; the king is shown to the left and deity to the right. This example is associated with the Ardoxsho series of coins.

In terms of deities, treatment and execution, weight and legend the early coins (except Gandhara) of Huvishka have close resemblance with those of Kanishka's later coins. This ruler like Kanishka also retained the tamga of his predecessor for the certain class of coins.

Moreover the king retaining tetradrachm weight, Bactrian legend, reverse deities and tamga of his predecessor for the general issues of his copper also struck some coins with new reverse deities and other features. These coins are not very common and some were struck in high tetradrachm unit above usual weight. They contain illiterate Bactrian legend. They coins usually bear barred tamga introduced by Huvishka. The obverse with

except above-mentioned unique type (king seared on cushion) normally retained the same kind of designs but the reverse depicts some new deities like Ardoxsho, Bowman, king keeling before Nana, and two-armed Oesho. These coins seem to be issued from a different mint.

### **Huvishka Reforms & His Mint System**

Huvishka basically issued his copper coins in the above mentioned pattern. But it was somewhere in the mid of his reign that he carried out some notable changes in his monetary system. The early coins were uniformly struck in the heavy tetradrachm weight of 16 gm or some more heavier but in the later stage he dropped the weight to 12 gm by 25% and presumably 40% decrease of value known to MacDowall (MacDowall 2005: 191). Accordingly the coins were usually struck at new standard weight of 12 gm ( or slightly dropped down). The early tetradrachm generally retained a tamga of his predecessor and the heavier series a new barred tamga. But in reduced weight the early tamga was still continued on the same class of coins and a barred tamga commonly appeared on several series of coins. Another feature of these coins is the alteration and replacement of reverse deities. In the reduced weight coins the role of four-armed Oesho was limited and almost replaced with the two-armed figure. Some new deities like Herakles and Pharro were introduced for the new series of coins but their scope was confined to a particular mint. Besides this, two altered obverse designs such as king in squatting position and king seated with both legs turned to left were also incorporated into the reduced weight coins and the certain series likely to be issued from a different mint. In early phase the obverse and the reverse devices were mostly framed in a standard pattern but in later phase they appeared in multiplicity, complexity and varieties. In these reforms some of the coins were finely executed with well drawn figures and legible and illegible legend but some coins represent poor quality of figures and worse legend. After certain reforms of Huvishka coinage numerous imitations of these coins also appeared.

In the presence of such extensive and diverse series, and devaluations of copper i.e. early heavy coins, later reduced tetradrachm and imitations; the scholars always make their attempts to classify these coins in their proper order and understand the monetary scheme of Huvishka. As mentioned above Huvishka copper coins are generally classified by three obverse designs with several reverse varieties and then series of imitations are followed in the same sequence. Besides this there are many other small groups and classes of the copper coins of this ruler. In view of wide range of designs Singh identifies about one dozen obverse designs and many reverses varieties (Singh 1996).

The study of Kushan coinage in general and Huvishka in particular has a long history since its first discovery appeared in the first quarter of 19<sup>th</sup> century (Marsden 1825: 730-31; Tod 1825: 340-41, Series 2-3 & Cribb 2007: 180-81, 208). It those times the rulers and dynasty were yet to be discovered. Later on the various scholars contributed a lot to discover the names of rulers and the dynasty and to identify more and more coins for the Kushan rulers. The study of this period coinage became mature in the result of extensive research carried out by Cunningham (1843, 1845, 1872, 1888/a, 1888/b, 1989, 1892, 1893/a, 1893/b, 1893/c). He discovered and identified both the obverse and reverse varieties of Huvishka and other rulers and brought them in a systematic

framework (Cunningham 1892: 40-82, 98-159). Meanwhile Gardner produced a catalogue of the British Museum and presented a large number of Huvishka coins in their order after Kanishka. In the light of these fundamental works, Smith (1906: 79-84) and Whitehead (1914: 194-207) in their catalogues presented Huvishka coppers more elaborately by all major obverse and minor reverse designs. The latter work is comparatively more comprehensive which also mentions the unrepresented coins once described by Cunningham (1892: 98-127). Thereafter this typological sequence became as a standard pattern for the scholars and it is still being adopted for the making of catalogues and excavation reports of such coins. On the basis of these studies various scholars in the second half of twentieth century attempted to understand the coinage and monetary system of Huvishka and other rulers of the Kushans.

In view of large varieties of Huvishka copper, MacDowall in his first attempt arranged these coins into three main groups (MacDowall 1960: 63-74). The first group has un-barred reverse tamga used by Kanishka and Vima Kadphises, with three obverse designs i.e. elephant-rider; couch and cross-legged and they were struck at heavy weight 15-16 gm. The second group is known by the use of a barred symbol and the legend is little bit cruder with large letters not properly begins at 1 o'clock. They retained similar three obverse designs but were struck to a reduced weight 10 to 12 gm, whereas the cross-legged type in much reduced weight occurs between 8 and 9 gm. The third group is characterized by the similar three obverse designs but each type with a distinct third group, were struck to a yet lower weight standard and they come in later chronological order. In this classification the elephant-rider type is cruder with coarse kind of engraving and the weight ranges 9 to 10 gm; the cross-legged series has similar characteristics but has a linear and angular type barred tamga and they were struck between 7 and 9 gm and the couch type showing un-barred tamga of the early style like Vima, Kanishka and early Huvishka but of inferior quality and their weight occurring between 6 and 10 gm. After many suggestions he proposed that the three type obverse coins were issued from three different mints and these mints were located in three separate regions of the Kushan territory (MacDowall 1960: 73). Later on MacDowall reorganized the copper coins of Huvishka with a different concept and proposes new directions (MacDowall 1978: 305-15). Accordingly the coins were issued in two stages, the early issues in Phase-1 and late coins in phase-2. In first phase the coins show un-barred tamga and depicting six reverse deities i.e. Miuro, Mao, Nana, Oado, Athsho and Oesho of Kanishka's pattern. These varieties appear on three obverse designs which can be marked for three distinct mints. The coins of second phase are characterized by a barred tamga and similar six reverse figures but Athsho is replaced by Pharro, Nana is replaced with Ardoxsho and the four-armed Oesho is replaced by Herakles. The second group consisting of six deities' coins with barred tamga was issued from Gandhara (MacDowall 1978: 312).

Mitchiner in the copper classification of Huvishka mainly focused his study on the sequence and order of issues, and distribution and production of coins (Mitchiner 1978: 427-44). In this respect his classification comprises three major groups' i.e. heavy coins of early reign, medium and light coins of later period. Each group is further divided by four main series of coins and the certain series are marked by obverse design. This division of series

is usually identified for three main mints represented in each group and three regional mints one each in every group. The main mints are known as Taxila-Pushkalavati, Kapisa and Balkh and the regional mints located at Jammu-Kashmir, Taxila and Mathura. Mitchiner's analysis of regional mints by style and coin design to some extents is convincing. In this regards he rightly identifies the Mathura mint by their coin design that were minted and circulated in that region. Similarly he also proposed a separate mint (Taxila) for the issue of two-armed Oesho series.

Mitchiner attributed the range of Huvishka's imitations to the different regions being struck as copy of the Kushan coins. Accordingly the thin imitations were circulated in the Bactria region issued after him by the Jouan-Jouan tribe when the Kushans lost their control in that region. Similarly the mixed heavy coins some are fairly official issue with normal Bactrian legend or Brahmi (actually Kharoshthi) characters (Göbl 1984: nos. 891, 896 & 906) attributed them along with so-called Puri-Kushan coins as the production of the Ganges valley (Mitchiner 1978: 442-44, 584-86).

Göbl in his comprehensive study classified the gold and copper coins of Huvishka into several major and minor groups (Göbl 1984: nos. 135-383 & 820-985). Initially he arranged the copper coins into eleven main groups, further each group comprises several sub-groups and varieties known by reverse and obverse designs. This criterion covers many things like legend, style of figures, new obverse and reverse designs, tamga, weight etc. This detailed work often helps to understand the variety of series which are not only distinct by their types but they used to appear in different chronological order and produced in various locations. In the mint analysis under discussion, the coins of his first group will go to main mint (both phase I & II), second group to Oesho mint, third group (nos. 856-885) and early coins of the fourth group (nos. 886-891, 892) to Ardoxsho-Herakles-Pharro mint while later coins of the fourth group (nos. 891A, 893-907) to the Gandhara mint. Similarly the coins of the eighth group to the Mathura mint and the coins of remaining groups such as five to seven and nine to eleven are mixed of some late official and a lot of imitation series. In this way these classes and variations are very useful to know their historical sequence and cultural links of different regions where they emerged and coexisted.

Cribb in his analytical study of Shiva images divided both the gold and copper coins of Huvishka into three main groups that sequentially appeared into three phases (Cribb 1997: 11-66). The classification of Huvishka's gold coins was made by obverse designs and copper by reduction in weight. This study apparently confined to the analysis of Shiva images and his appearance on the Kushan coins hence it doesn't cover the complete range of coinage of any ruler. However the association of Shiva (i.e. Oesho) image with Huvishka coins is of great significant which certainly helps to know the different aspects of Huvishka coinage. Cribb in his classification assigns two varieties of four-armed Oesho to the early copper coins (Phase-I) of Huvishka which have close resemblance with those of the late copper of Kanishka. These coins were issued from the main mint (Cribb 1997: 15). The author further explains that in Phase-II, unlike main trend the different images of Oesho appeared in two subsidiary mints in place of the main mint. Accordingly at one subsidiary mint the two-armed Oesho (Cribb

1997, no. A7) appeared as only reverse design for the entire production of series and at the other it came with three exceptional varieties inscribed with Kharoshthi legend *Yodhavade* (Cribb 1997: 15-16, nos. A8, A9, C5). In the final stage (Phase-III), he discovers an exceptional three-head six-armed figure on Huvishka copper which is new and extremely rare (Cribb 1997: 15-17, no. L1). The latter coin is inscribed with Bactrian legend OHPO.

In view of the perception and analysis of different scholars and new numismatic evidences the copper coins of Huvishka are organized here in a new pattern to identify the links of different groups to the concerned mints. This analytical study, usually based on the results of previous researches and new evidences, allocates the official coins of Huvishka to the concerned mints from where they were supposed to be issued. It also explains the process of monetary scheme of the king from his early coinage connected to his predecessor down to the later coins that tend to evolve the coins of successor, Vasudeva.

### **Phase-I**

The pattern of Bactrian legend, letter style, application of deities and their style and the common use of reverse tamga (except Gandhara issue) of his predecessors are the general features of the early coins of Huvishka. These coins were usually struck in heavy tetra-drachm weight and some small coins on drachm weight. In this way the large coins were struck in 16 gm and small in 4 gm. All these features have close connection with the coins of Kanishka. All large coins (excluding exceptional ones) were produced in three common obverse designs such as elephant rider, king on bench and king seated cross-legged.

### **Main Mint (Mint-A)**

As mentioned above Huvishka basically followed the pattern of Kanishka coinage but produced his coins with new obverse designs. The general issues of Huvishka's copper seem to be originated from a main mint located somewhere in Bactria. The production of this mint is enormous and of good workmanship and they were widely circulated found from Oxus region in the northwest to Ganges Valley in the southeast. These coins are thick and larger in size (24 to 27 mm in diameter). They were struck in heavy weight ranging from 14 to 16 gm (average weight 16 gm), the tetradrachm weight once originated by Vima Kadphises (MacDowall 1960: 68). These coins display three basic obverse designs i.e. (a) king riding on elephant to right, (b) king reclining on couch and (c) king seated cross-legged. On the reverse they retained a group of six deities such as Athsho, Mao, Miuro, Nana, Oado, and four-armed Oesho. The king riding on elephant to right and holds a long spear across the body which is almost leveled but sometimes shown in slanting position. The front of spear is shown in three different shapes i.e. having a small cross before pointed tip, ribbons near tip and a hook downwards like elephant's goad. There are two sub varieties in cross-legged type; (i) king facing to right with scepter in raised left hand and right hand holding something before his chest, usual, and (ii) king facing to left with scepter in raised right hand and something in the left before chest, unusual (Göbl 1984: 838). The second variety is rare and found only with Mao reverse. The style as well as number (except Buddha coins) of the reverse devices on Huvishka's early copper is identical with those of the later coins of his predecessor. All deities except Oesho are shown in their

one common style. The four-armed Oesho has two varieties distinguished by the attributes he holds in his four arms such as trident, thunderbolt, diadem and either (i) antelope or (ii) water pot. This combination of the obverse and reverse designs became as a standard pattern for his copper coinage. These tetradrachm coins usually display a characteristic tamga of Kanishka on the reverse and they were apparently struck in the early phase of Huvishka reign.

Looking to the circulation and distribution of main mint coins, they are usually found everywhere in the then Kushan territory (from Oxus to the Ganges valley) such as Begram (Masson 1834: 163, Series 3, pl. XIII; 1936/a: 27-28, Series 1-2, & 1936/b: 547, Series 3-5), Swat (Göbl 1976: coin nos. 168, 170), Swabi (Khan 1999, coin nos. 29-31), Charsadda (Dani 1965-66: 38, chart-2), Taxila (see Catalogue, coin nos. 1-38), Manikyala (Thomas 1958/1: 119), Rang Mahal (Rydh 1959: 173-75, pl. 86), Mathura and surroundings. (Srivastava 1980: 17, 28, 51, 58, 60, 72, 81, 84, 126, 140, 158, 178, 195, 203, 209 & 1989: 119-23, Lot nos. 2 & 3; Hartel 1993: 314, coin nos. 88-89, pls. 319-20). The early coins of this mint of Huvishka are also frequently reported from different sites lying east of Mathura viz. UP, Orissa, Madhya Pradesh, Bihar, Bengal etc. (Altekar 1950: 121-23; Banerji 1951: 107-09; Gupta 1953: 185-192; 1974: 32-38 & 1994: 28-33, 41-45; Jain 1965: 118-19 & 1966: 1-5; Mukherjee 1991: 290-91). The excavations conducted in some eastern sites like Allahabad (Marshall 1915: 62-65), Sahet Mahet (Marshall 1914: 15-16), Kapilavastu (Srivastava 1986: 142-50), Pataliputra (Altekar 1951: 144-47) etc. also yielded similar evidences. The early Huvishka coins reported from Mathura region and east often found with the coins of Vima Kadphises and Kanishka and very rarely with Vasudeva. These Kushan coins either found separately or mixed with Punch-marked Coins, Ayodhya series, other local issues and the so-called Puri-Kushan coins. In this context Göbl's catalogue is an important source for the study of these coins as it accommodates extensive number of coins of various collections and excavations (Göbl 1984, Group-1, nos. 820-854).

The recent recovery of various coin deposits like hoards, stray finds and archaeological discoveries made in the Oxus regions produce a large number of early coins of Huvishka. The extensive excavations conducted at Surkh Kotal (Afghanistan) produced over 850 copper coins of the Kushans. Of these one hundred and thirty seven coins are identified for Huvishka (Fussman 1990). These coins are well documented showing weight, size and die disposition, contextual records and identification of figures but the author illustrated only few coins which normally taken from Oesho series and imitations. This assemblage comprises about twenty two coins of two-armed Oesho, certainly a different series perhaps issues of a different mint or continuation of the main mint in later phase and about two dozen of imitation series (Fussman 1990: 9-96). The remaining coins, on the basis of deities' identification, can be associated to the main mint. In view of weight and size about three dozen coins belonged to the first phase and rest of them can be assigned to the second phase.

A copper hoard found in the excavations at Takht-i-Sangin contains twenty two coins of Huvishka out of two hundred and ten pieces of the Great Kushan kings (Zeymal 1997: 89-110). The other coins of this hoard belong to Vima Kadphises and Kanishka. Looking to the weight, size, description and few illustrations all coins of this

ruler obviously belong to the early phase of this mint. Another similar copper hoard of the Kushan kings i.e. Vima Kadphises, Kanishka & Huvishka, was found at Khalchayan Area (Uzbekistan). This was a big hoard but 916 coins partially recovered of it (Abdullaev 2004: 272-79, pl. 34-35). Of these Huvishka shares three hundred and sixty seven coins which according to obverse and reverse combination all certainly belong to the main mint of the ruler. The illustrations and other features have clear indication about their allocation to the first phase but some coins may also be of the second phase as the author mentions their weight 12 to 16 gm by means large to medium coins (Abdullaev 2004: 276). In addition the same author gives references of such other finds recovered in the Oxus region (Abdullaev 2004: 273)

The new discoveries made in the Oxus region obviously show their tendency of the main mint with except few coins of two-armed Oesho series no Huvishka coin of the other mints found with them. Accordingly the large coins of Huvishka having three obverses with Kanishka's style of reverse deities and tamga might be struck in the main mint located somewhere at Bactria as their wide circulation seen everywhere but with a particular context they found in the Oxus region.

### **Transitional Phase**

Some coins of this mint show crude workmanship and they are occurring between heavy tetradrachm and reduced tetradrachm weight. In respect of uncertain weight and degenerate designs the certain coins are placed as transitional between the two substantial phases (Table A).

### **Gandhara Mint (Mint-B)**

In phase-I, along with the general production from main mint Huvishka also set up a subsidiary mint located perhaps in Gandhara. The production of these coins is not much common and some of them were struck in much heavy weight. The weight of these coins range from 15 to 20 gm and the size normally found between 24 and 28 mm. This weight is outstandingly higher than the normal tetradrachm coins of the main mint. These coins were issued with same kind of three obverses as cited above. The king riding on elephant is the most common type and it has two varieties, (i) elephant moving to right and (ii) elephant moving to left. The king on these varieties holds either a club or elephant's goad in his right hand. The figure of elephant is fat in the middle and well balanced from the back and front and it gives a realistic image of the figure. Apart from these basic designs a fourth obverse variety which is quite unique also known. It depicts the figure of king seated cross-legged on a pile of cushion to left. It is on the basis of heavy weight, new reverse design, barred tamga and a club with the king indicates the issue of this mint (Cunningham 1892: 117, no. 85, pl. XII-21).

The reverse scheme of these coins is generally same but of great puzzling and only few deities are to be properly identified. The legend of these coins particularly on the reverse is rough and barbarous. The names of deities are usually illegible and not corresponding with the figures. The possible deities to be assumed by their attributes are Ardoxsho, Athsho, Mao, Miuro, Nana, Bowman (Rama?) and two-armed figures of Oesho. Goddess Nana in two rare examples has shown standing to right and the king kneeling with hands joined before the deity (Cunningham 1892: 117-18, nos. 85-86, pl. XII-21, 22). Besides this some unusual figures are shown

like a standing deity to right with a diadem in the right hand and the left with or without sword resting on waist (BM, 1991-0416-15). In other variety the figure is standing facing with right hand raised and left resting on waist (BM, 1991-0416-19). One similar variety but well drawn male figure standing to right holding a scepter or spear (unclear) in raised left hand and a club in crook of right arm (BM, 1991-0416-17). Oesho is represented by two-armed figure with two distinct varieties: (i) holding a water pot in the right hand and a club or sword in the left near waist with crescent behind shoulders (BM, 1991-0416-11), and (ii) holding a trident in raised right hand and left resting on waist (BM, 1991-0416-18). All these mentioned coins as known from their labels are lying in the Cabinet of British Museum. They are new and rare, unpublished and the number of such heavy coins is about twenty of which mostly belong to a single collection (BM, Senior 1991-0416). This collection, which contains only heavy coins (15.5 to 20.0 gm), might have come from a hoard presumably found in Gandhara.

These coins display varieties of tamga like un-barred, barred and stylized type of the first version. In appearance they are large and thick coins. Looking to the weight differences, legend variations and scheme of reverse devices the coins seem to be issued in two main phases and in addition a small group in the transitional phase. The early coins of this mint as cited above are known absolutely in heavy weight (15-20 gm) with corrupt Bactrian legend. The later coins struck in reduced weight (8-13 gm) but invariably display Kharoshthi legend on their reverse instead of the Bactrian name of deities. They certainly belong to the second phase. The transitional phase as discussed below shares the characteristics of the two phases.

### **Transitional Phase**

As cited above the coins of this mint were issued in two phases; the heavy tetradrachm coins with Bactrian legend in Phase I and reduced tetradrachm coins with Kharoshthi legend on the reverse in Phase II. But some coins have the features of both phases as they still retain heavy weight (13-17 gm) but their reverse is inscribed with the Kharoshthi legend. The obverse of these coins displays elephant rider both (i) moving to left and (ii) moving to right, and reverse variety of deities like Ardoxsho (BM 1991-0416-6), Herakles (Göbl 1984: no. 891A), Nana (Göbl 1984: no. 897), Oado (BM 1991-0416-5), and six (or eight)-armed deity (Nasim Khan 2006: 136-37, no. 4, fig. 154.1& 2008, no. 45a; Cribb 2009: 152, no. 98). As mentioned earlier the reverses of these coins are usually inscribed by the Kharoshthi legend *Yodhavade*. Most of these varieties belong to the collection of the British Museum. All cited varieties are quite rare and each deity is so far known by one example. Due to these characteristics these coins are to be placed in transition between the two phases (Table A).

### **Kashmir/ Taxila Mint (Mint-C)**

A group of small coins made on Kanishka's drachm style exhibit a different Bactrian legend on the obverse. Mitchiner, on certain coins, deciphers the Bactrian legend as  $\text{PAO OOH}\text{PKO K} \dots \dots$ . In order to the reading of this legend he assigned a certain group of coins to Huvishka (Mitchiner 1978: 432, nos. 3259-63). Although the drachm issues usually displaying Bactrian legend  $\text{PAO KANH}\text{PKI}$  obviously associated to the coinage of Kanishka. These quarter pieces (drachm = 4 gm) of Kanishka showing standing figure of king on the obverse

and variety of deities on the reverse, usually found in the Taxila region (Khan 2007, nos. 102-179). These coins characteristically bear variety of Kharoshthi letters like, *ji*, *cha*, *sam* etc. These letters are inscribed above altar in the left field of obverse. The coins given into the account of Huvishka uniformly depict moon-god, a solitary divine figure, while Kanishka coins have many such figures. Similarly Huvishka drachm coins show a single example of Kharoshthi letter *cha* above altar but Kanishka coins have many letters. The reverse tamga of these coins, like early coins of Huvishka's main mint, is identical to Kanishka coins.

Besides this, another variety showing enthroned king on the obverse with moon-god on the reverse is also assigned to Huvishka coinage by the same author (Mitchiner 1978: 432, nos. 3264-68). Mitchiner assigned small coins of both varieties to the eastern production issued from Jammu-Kashmir region. The obverse legend on the latter variety (enthroned king) is not often visible. They usually bear the same Kharoshthi letter *cha* on the obverse and the same tamga on the reverse. But the good examples sometimes display last portion of the king's name NHPKI inscribed in the right side of the obverse (Göbl 1984: no. 803). This variety of the seated king to be associated with Huvishka doesn't make any sense as letter *cha* is not the authentic criteria for such identification and moreover the legend clearly shows the name of Kanishka not Huvishka. Although some coins of the early variety, standing king and moon god, on the basis of Bactrian legend can be associated to the coinage of Huvishka. These quarter coins of Huvishka might be issued in the beginning of his reign.

## **Phase-II**

The major characteristics of this phase are the drastic reduction of weight from 16 to 12 gm and the predominant use of a barred tamga along with the previous one that appeared on the several new issues. In this phase the production of drachm coins ceased completely and the production of many new series commenced which were also based on the reduced weight standard. It is significant to note that henceforth (Phase-II) all coins were uniformly stuck in one unit of weight (reduced tetradrachm). Due to their specific features some of the new coin series seem to be designed for new mints. These series used to be operated side by side with the main mint and Gandhara mint but more likely they somewhere substituted the twos. In this connection the significant changes are seen in the form of reverse deities. Some deities which were either newly employed or replaced the early ones were selected by the authority for the new mint arrangements. The two-armed figure of Oesho is the apparent example which distinctively appeared in one series of coins. The production of this series can be marked for a certain mint (hereafter designated as Oesho mint) and possibly it was introduced for the replacement of main mint and later on became as a prototype for the coins of his successor Vasudeva. All different series bearing the characteristics of this phase used to be representing mints, as described in Phase-I, are explained below separately.

## **Main Mint**

In design the coins of this mint are almost similar to those of the main mint of Phase-I. The same obverse types: (a) elephant-rider, (b) king reclining on couch and (c) king seated cross-legged, were continued as common designs for this series of coins. The same group of six deities was likely retained for the reverse design of these

coins. The reverse tamga of early phase is similarly continued on these coins but depicted in stylized form. The major difference in Phase-II is seen in the form of sharp reduction of weight dropped from 16 to 12 gm. Similarly the size of these coins is also slightly reduced and now found between 22 to 26 mm. Besides this, these coins are stylistically degenerate and cruder than the early coins and similarly letter style of the legend is also debased.

As mentioned in Phase-I, the coin circulation of this mint is wide and they are found in all parts of the then Kushan territory i.e. from Oxus valley in the northwest to the Ganges valley in the southeast. The coins of main mint of Huvishka frequently reported from the various hoards in eastern region, as mentioned in Phase-I, would certainly include the coins of this phase too. But the brief and insufficient information of such finds from the east are not very helpful to identify the coins distinctively for this phase. On the other hand the various coin finds known from the north western regions reveal a clear picture for certain coins and they can be distinguished from those of the previous phase by reduced weight. In this regard Surkh Kotal excavations contain more than fifty coins of reduced weight of the said mint out of one hundred and thirty seven of Huvishka (Fussman 1990: 9-96). Similarly the Masson's collection from Begram, now housed in the British Museum, comprises about fifty certain coins of this phase of Huvishka. The recent discoveries from Badalpur excavations (report in press) reveal same situation i.e. about thirty five coins out of sixty of Huvishka belong to the second phase of the main mint. The Marshall's collection under discussion from Taxila also includes eight such coins of the second phase of Huvishka (see catalogue nos. 39-46).

### **Gandhara Mint**

In second phase the coins of Gandhara mint have a characteristic feature of the invariable Kharoshthi legend *Yodhavade* (or *devadhayo* in reverse form) on the reverse instead of deity's name in Bactrian characters. In reverse almost same kind of deities like appeared in Phase-I and transitional phase are: Ardoxsho, Athsho, Nana, Oado, Miuro, Herakles (?), Bowman (Rama?) (Cribb 2009: 152, no. 87), two-armed Oesho and six (or eight)-armed figure (Nasim Khan 2006: 134-35, no. 3, fig. 153.3; 2008: 54, no. 45). Of these Ardoxsho is the common known deity and the others are rare. The two-armed Oesho figure is known by two different varieties identifiable by the attribute he holds; (a) trident in raised left hand, and (b) trident in raised right hand and water flask in the left. Similarly the Bowman holding a bow in the left hand is also appeared in two different styles; (a) facing to left, and (b) facing to right. It is interesting to mention that one variety of Nana has two reverse legends (a) NANA in Bactrian and (b) *Yodhavade* in Kharoshthi and both inscribed together in the right field (Göbl 1984: no. 899-1).

In these coins the Bactrian legend on obverse is better inscribed than the coins of early phase. There are two obverse designs; the elephant-rider and king seated cross-legged while the couch variety is not known yet. The cross-legged variety is not common and known by a few examples (Göbl 1984: no. 906; 1993: no. 367; website. eBay). The king riding on elephant usually holds a club or sometimes an elephant's goad in raised right hand.

The elephant as a characteristic of Gandhara mint is shown moving to both directions i.e. right and left. The obverse variety of elephant moving to left is quite rare (see catalogue, coin no. 49). These coins contain various tamgas i.e. un-barred, barred and stylized tamga on the reverses. These coins, like other series of Phase-II, are struck at reduced weight between 8 to 13 gm and the size occurring between 22 to 26 mm. The circulation of these coins is very limited and most of the stuff of the second phase like phase-I of Gandhara mint is in the British Museum. The coins of this mint of Phase-II are mostly published by Göbl in his catalogue (Göbl 1984: nos. 893-907, 914 (1)).

These coins are usually found in Gandhara as some of the coins of this mint are reported from Kashmir Smast, Mardan (Nasim Khan 2006: 134-37, nos. 1-2, & 2008: 54, nos. 44-45), Charsadda (Haughton 1946: 144-45) and Taxila (see catalogue, coin no. 47). In respect of their find location and special Kharoshthi characters these coins might be issued from a separate mint located somewhere in the Gandhara region.

### **Phase-IIA**

#### **New Mints/ New Production**

Huvishka continuing the production of the main mint in Bactria and Gandhara mint in Gandhara made some notable changes in his monetary system and mint organization. The major change in Phase-II as mentioned earlier is the reduction of weight under which all existed and new series of coins to be referred to mints were issued in reduced tetradrachm weight. Another major innovation is found in the form of mint expansion or re-organization of the mint system. In order to this scheme many new mints seem to be introduced and existed like Mathura and the so-called Oesho and Ardoxsho-Herakles-Pharro mints and thus the coins were simultaneously issued from these mints (Phase-IIA). The term so-called mint is adopted here for the two new productions of coins generally known by the predominant role of certain deities. Due to their particular devices and other features the new series of coins were presumably introduced to substitute the earlier by means the Oesho series for the main mint and Ardoxsho-Herakles-Pharro for the Gandhara mint respectively.

#### **Oesho Mint**

In second part of Phase-II a new and predominant group of coins appeared in the design of two-armed Oesho figure. In the so-called Oesho mint the two-armed figure is the main reverse deity found along with the obverse combination of elephant-rider. The coins of two-armed Oesho series are boldly executed and the Bactrian legend stylistically shows sharp points and small roundness in the letter forms particularly in letter alpha. The Bactrian letters generally appeared as small and thick. These coins have broad flans but as a monetary policy of the second phase they were struck at reduced weight. The weight is occurring between 8 to 12 gm and the size ranging 22 to 26 mm. They bear new type of tamga having curved bottom with four prongs at the top as seen in Kanishka and main mint coins of Huvishka. But the hooks attached to the lowered body converting into a cross bar near the stem like that of Huvishka's barred tamga. Similarly there is an additional symbol on the reverse that looks like nandipada depicted in the upper right field. This symbol comprises a round body with three curved prongs at the top. Besides the main design of Oesho figure some other reverse varieties like sun and

moon gods have been the components of this group. These varieties on the basis of letter style and design are associated with the two-armed Oesho series but they are extremely rare. Vasudeva, the successor of Huvishka, seems to have followed the general pattern of two-armed Oesho for his copper. The low metrological unit and two-armed Oesho figure of this mint became as a prototype for the early coins of Vasudeva who continued to issue his coin in this pattern (MacDowall 2005: 192). Mitchiner has also the same view that Vasudeva adopted this type for his coin design (Mitchiner 1978: 435). Although Vasudeva coins like the reverse design of Vima Kadphises also exhibit the figure of bull in addition to the main figure of Oesho. Moreover the Obverse of Vasudeva displays standing figure of king like that of Vima Kadphises and Kanishka.

In order to new mint arrangements and coin designs the four-armed Oesho figure of the main mint seems to be deliberately transformed into two-armed figure in the later part of Phase-II. Under new reforms the four-armed figure was continued but exceptionally seen on some coins of the Mathura (Göbl 1984: no. 943A) and Ardoxsho and Co. mints (Tandon collection). This figure is absolutely not found with their contemporary mint of two-armed Oesho. The four-armed Oesho of main mint appeared as two-armed figure was shifted to a new production of coins and employed there as a key figure. The coins of this series (two-armed figure) are designated here as Oesho mint. Earlier the two-armed Oesho but in different appearance was also depicted in both phases (I & II) of the Gandhara mint. Besides this the two-armed Oesho but with different attribute is also found on exceptional issue of the Ardoxsho and Co. mint (Tandon collection).

In later part of Phase-II (known as IIA) the mass production of coins was mainly based in two contemporary mints i.e. Ardoxsho & Co. and two-armed Oesho mints. Further they were supported by the production of another new mint originated in Mathura, described below. The coins of the two main mints (Ardoxsho & Co. and Oesho) by style and design are different from one another. The Ardoxsho mint adopted variety of deities from Gandhara mints and the Oesho mint transformed the four-armed Oesho of the main mint into two-armed figure.

The production of main mint doesn't seem to be continued longer in the second phase and the two-armed Oesho coins perhaps appeared as the replacement for the old one (Main mint, Phase-II). Looking to the entire set up of the second phase the choice of substitution is more convincing and logical rather than a new mint as the Ardoxsho and Co. design seemingly replaced the production of the Gandhara mint (discussed below). In order to this scheme the coins of the so-called Ardoxsho and Co. mint and Oesho mint were issued parallel in the second phase (-IIA) of Huvishka's reign.

The coins of both mints (Ardoxsho & Co. & two-armed Oesho) are found in abundance. Sometimes they are found side by side or with other mint coins also. As these coins were issued in the later part of Phase-II of Huvishka reign sometimes they also found with the early coins of Vasudeva. A copper hoard reported by Mitchiner containing eleven coins of Oesho mint and seven of the Ardoxsho & Co. mint was found along with three coins of Vasudeva (Mitchiner 1978: 435). A recently discovered copper hoard of the Kushans comprises thirty seven of Oesho series out of forty coins of Huvishka was found along with the two hundred and twenty

six early coins of Vasudeva. In other contents the same hoard possesses five coins of Vima Kadphises and ten of Kanishka (Khan *Ancient Pakistan*, Vol. XVII). The cited below Huvishka hoard of Ardoxsho series in the British Museum also comprises thirty coins (6.3%) of the two-armed Oesho.

The coins of this mint are commonly known in Sorkh Kotal (Fussman 1990: 24-2544, 50, 59-64), Begram (Masson 1834, Series 3, pl. XIII) and Swat (Göbl 1976: 46-47 & Faccenna et al. 1993: 101-02, nos. 285-287). Besides this, seventeen coins of this category are also known from Taxila (see catalogue nos. 59-70). The recent excavations at the Buddhist site Badalpur in Taxila also yield one coin of the same series. I have examined these coins and the report is in progress.

#### **Ardoxsho-Herakles-Pharro (Ardoxsho & Co.) Mint**

Another new series of coins known by a group of deities i.e. Ardoxsho, Herakles and Pharro was obviously issued from a particular mint. In this regard the mint name is to be called after deities names and henceforth shortly termed as Ardoxsho & Co. mint. These coins are boldly executed of good workmanship but with corrupt and illiterate obverse Bactrian legend. The figures on both sides are well drawn. The coins assigned to this mint exclusively bear a barred tamga on the reverse. These coins, as a characteristic of Phase-II, are struck in reduced size and weight. The weight of these coins usually occurs between 9 to 12 gm. In respect of reverse varieties and design these coins are made pretty well and more interesting than the coins of other groups of Phase-II of Huvishka. This group retains same obverse designs like those of the Gandhara and main mints; (a) king riding on elephant, (b) king reclining on couch and (c) king seated cross-legged. The elephant-rider has two varieties like those of Gandhara series: (i) elephant moving to right as usual, and (ii) elephant moving to left, unusual. The figure of elephant is little flat and stretched out (elongated). In these varieties the king usually carries a spear or elephant's goad and sometimes a two-spiked fork in his right hand which is shown slanting in front of him. In addition the king on some later coins of this series also carries a sword as the hilt is apparently seen on such coins. The other two obverse designs (b & c) are not very common particularly the couch type. In couch type the halo around king's figure is more elaborate and often formed of straight oblique lines like a tent particularly in Mao variety and sometimes it has curve is seen in other varieties. The seated cross-legged type although not common represented by three varieties: (i) king facing right with scepter in raised left hand and right resting at waist or leg, as usual, (ii) king facing right with scepter in raised right hand and left resting at waist or leg, unusual (Göbl 1984: nos. 873 & 888), and (iii) king facing to left with scepter in raised left hand and the outstretched right hand holds something, unusual (Göbl 1984: nos. 861-62, 874, 884).

In reverse the common deities such as Mao, Miiro, Oado and Nana are likely continued on these coins but their application was restricted. The unique variety of standing Nana with the king kneeling before deity as seen earlier in the first phase of Gandhara mint is also reappeared in one rare example (Göbl 1993: no. 332). Besides this the figure of Oesho is also found but it is quite rare (seen in Tandon collection). In this series the king restructured the reverse devices. Under new arrangements the role of another group of deities was predominantly increased. Accordingly Athsho and Oesho were exchanged or merged with hybrid moon-god

(Mao with Athsho and others) and Herakles, and employed some new deities like Ardoxsho and Pharro. The latter deity is absolutely new on Huvishka copper while Ardoxsho was already in practice as it commonly appeared in all phases of Gandhara series. The deities of this mint particularly the new ones are found in many varieties, new styles and diversities. The figures of Mao and Miiro are comparatively shorter in size than the same kind of figures found in main mint.

The figure of Oado is known in one variety. It is not common but appeared equally on all the three obverse designs (Göbl 1984: nos. 905-1, 2; 885; BM 1988-322-20). The remaining deities are exhibited more than in one variety. The figure of Herakles is displayed in six different styles: (i) standing left; club in right hand resting on ground and lion's skin in the left arm (Göbl 1984: no. 886), (ii) standing right; raised club in crook of right arm and lion's skin in the left (Göbl 1984: nos. 887, 889-1), (iii) standing left; raised club in crook of right arm and lion's skin in the left (Göbl 1984: nos. 889-2; Khan 2005: 6), (iv) standing left; right hand advanced and club in crook of left arm (Göbl 1984: no. 890), (v) standing facing; right hand on waist and club in crook of left arm (Göbl 1984: no. 891), and (vi) standing facing; crowning himself with right hand and club and lion's skin in the left (Göbl 1984: no. 892). Ardoxsho has three varieties: (i) standing right; holds cornucopia with both hand (Göbl 1984: no. 876), (ii) standing left; holds cornucopia with both hands (Göbl 1984: nos. 877, 879), and (iii) standing left; holds diadem in outstretched right hand and cornucopia in crook of left arm (Göbl 1984: no. 878). Miiro is shown in two varieties: (i) standing left; the right hand advanced with staff in the left (Göbl 1984: no. 856-57), and (ii) standing left; the right hand advanced and the left holds a sword resting at waist (Göbl 1984: no. 859-60). Pharro is known by three varieties: (i) standing left; holds flames in the right hand and staff in the left (Göbl 1984: no. 862), (ii) standing left; holds a purse in the right hand and staff in the left (Göbl 1984: nos. 863-65), and (iii) standing left; holds diadem in the right hand and staff in the left (BM 1988-322-91). Mao is appeared in two normal varieties: (i) standing left; two-fingered gesture with right hand and left holds a sword resting at waist (Göbl 1984: no. 869), and (ii) standing left; holds diadem in advanced right and left a sword resting at waist (Göbl 1984: no. 875). Besides this Mao is represented as hybrid in three varieties: two with Ardoxsho, (i) feminine figure standing right with cornucopia and legend MAO (Göbl 1984: nos. 880-81), and (ii) feminine figure standing left with cornucopia and legend MAO (Göbl 1984: nos. 882-83), and one with Athsho, (iii) metal-god facing left; holding tongue and hammer, legend MAO (Göbl 1984: no. 867). The metal-god is also shown in one other version standing left; holding tong and hammer, legend PNAO (Göbl 1984: no. 867A-68). Though the figure of Oesho is unusual in Ardoxsho series found in two varieties: (i) three-headed and four-armed with illegible legend (Private Collection), and (ii) three-headed and two armed with corrupt legend (Göbl 1984: no. 902). Three-headed with four arms Oesho is usually found on Huvishka's gold but it is peculiar on his copper. Another complexity of this series, apart from the cited above hybrid deities, is the irrelevant legend with the depicted figures. These examples are seen in the form of Herakles with legend PMA (Göbl 1984: no. 887A), Miiro with NPAO (BM 1988-0322-21) and Mao with MPM (or HPH) (Göbl 1984: 873). All these examples including Athsho with legend PNAO cited above have the letter 'P' (sh) in their legends.

In this regard a copper hoard of Huvishka recovered from Swat is of great importance as the whole lot belongs to the same mint. Of which the figure of Herakles is known with five varieties in fifteen coins and hence appeared is the key figure of the hoard (Khan 2005: 25-33). An unpublished big hoard of similar series of Huvishka in the cabinet of the British Museum (BM 1988-0322/1111 and 1989-0104) contains about four hundred and seventy coins. With except few early coins and two-armed Oesho series, it is apparently composed of 88 percent of the Ardoxsho-Herakles and Pharro series of coins. Amongst these Ardoxsho emerges as the leading figure of the hoard represented by 57 percent.

Moreover the coins of this series (Ardoxsho & Co. mint) have close similarities with those of the coins of Gandhara mint. The resemblance is seen in many aspects like treatment of coins, style of execution, legend arrangement, application of same deities, complexity of figures and use of the barred tamga. The coins of both series are boldly executed, letters of the legend are sometimes corrupt but broader and well drawn, same kind of deities like Ardoxsho, Herakles, Mao, Miuro, Oado and Oesho are appeared on both the series. The coins of both the mints display same kind of three obverse designs; elephant-rider appeared as a common type while couch and cross-legged type are rare. Similarly both the mints showing king on elephant to two different directions i.e. (a) moving to right, usual and (b) moving to left, unusual. The elephant moving to opposite direction is not seen in the coins of other mints.

Another common feature of the two mints is the use of hybrid and multiplicity of deities whereas certain peculiarities are not seen in other series of coins. In this regard the iconography of Oesho with the two series of coins (Gandhara and Ardoxsho mints) is interesting. In Gandhara series there is no use of four-armed Oesho. But it is appeared as two-armed in Phase-I and six or eight-armed figure in transitional Phase. In one example the two-armed figure (Phase-I) has a crescent behind shoulder like moon-god, holds a water pot in advanced right hand and perhaps a club or animal pelt in the left with the legend OHPO (BM 1991-0416-11). In transitional phase the six (or eight)-armed figure (Vishnu) shown with various attributes and Kharoshthi legend *Yodhavade* (Nasim Khan 2006: 136-37, no. 4, fig. 154.1; 2008: 54, no. 45a; Cribb 2009: 152, no. 98). In Phase-II there is the continuation of six (or eight)-armed figure almost identical to the previous one and with same Kharoshthi legend (Nasim Khan 2006: 134-35, no. 3; 2008, no. 45). In this phase of Gandhara mint there are different forms of the two-armed figure usually holding trident (described in Gandhara coins) and inscribed with the same Kharoshthi legend. After Gandhara series the figure of Oesho although appeared in different forms i.e. three-headed with four-arms and three-headed with two-arms was likely continued in Ardoxsho series of coins. In the second phase of Gandhara there is an unusual figure of Herakles; shown bent to left, holding animal skin in the right hand and club in raised left hand (Göbl 1984, no. 891A). Later on the figure of Herakles holds a significant position in the group of Ardoxsho & Co. coins. On the other side the figure of Oesho greatly diminished from the later issues of Ardoxsho series as such no single specimen of this figure is known in the cited above Huvishka hoard in the British Museum.

It is also interesting to see that the find spot of both the series is the same as they usually come from Gandhara. Similarly one coin of the Gandhara mint is also reported from the Ardoxsho and Co. hoard in the British Museum (BM 1988-1111-63). In view of these connections the so-called Ardoxsho and Co. mint coins which follow the pattern of Gandhara series seems to be occurred in two possibilities; either (a) the continuation of Phase-II coins of the Gandhara mint by drop of Kharoshthi legend, or (b) replacement of the Gandhara mint by a new set up in the same region.

The production of Ardoxsho mint is extensive but the circulation was confined to a certain territory. They usually found south of the Hindu-Kush such as in Kabul valley, Gandhara and upper Punjab. These coins are reported from Begram (15 coins from Masson collection in the British Museum), Swat (Khan 2005, coin nos. 1-18; Faccenna et al. 1993: 101-02, coin no. 288), Swabi (Khan 1999, coin no. 33), Mardan (Nasim Khan 2008, coin no. 42), Buner (Nishikawa 1994, coin no. 16, pl. 205), etc. Looking to the other copper finds of Huvishka reported from remote areas then these coins particularly the series of Ardoxsho, Herakles and Pharro are completely missing in Oxus (Fussman 1990: 1-96; Zeymal 1997: 89-110; Abdullaev 2004: 272-79), Mathura (Srivastava 1989: 119-123; Hartel 1993: 314, 319-20) and the eastern regions (Altekar 1950: 121-23; Jain 1966: 1-5; Ghosh 1969: 70; Gupta 1974: 29-39; Srivastava 1980). These evidences suggest that the certain group of coins was produced in the Gandhara region after later series of the Gandhara mint and thus widely circulated in the central part of the Kushans.

### **Mathura Mint**





A new local mint of the second phase is known to be located in Mathura region. In design these coins are looking quite different from the others. The obverse designs still consisted of three main varieties but two are modified in new versions such as: (a) king riding on elephant, (b) king in squatting position, and (c) king seated frontally with both legs turned to left. The fourth variety is known by the reclining figure of king on couch to left, as shown in other mints. Mathura mint represents only a single specimen of the latter (Göbl 1984, no. 945). The figure of king riding on elephant carries a spear in his right hand. The king wears characteristically broad round headdress that slightly peaked and bent forward with three jeweled crest at top. Due to which the king's head on all these varieties looks fairly bigger than the coins of other mints. The figure of king is comparatively smaller in size and bent forward on this variety. Mao and Miuro are the common used reverse designs on all varieties of Mathura coins. In other reverse varieties the figures of Athsho, Ardoxsho, Pharro, and four-armed Oesho are also known but they are quite rare. Another interesting figure is the three-headed and eight-armed figure perhaps Vishnu with legible name OHPO belongs to this mint (Cribb 1997: 17, 53, 61, no. L1; 2009: 151, no. 93). In appearance this figure is similar to those described above in Gandhara series but the attributes accompanied by the deity are different. Pharro and eight-armed Vishnu amongst the reverse images are the excellent examples of good workmanship. The other reverse figures of Mathura series are generally small and slim as compared to the same kind of figures of the other mints. The coins of this mint looking crude with corrupt and illiterate legend. The letters are characteristically short and dumpy. The reverse legend on Miuro




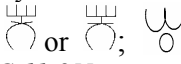


coins is better inscribed than the others. These coins were similarly struck in reduced weight occurring between 7 to 11 gm. This range of weight is comparatively lower than other contemporary series of coins. This series uniformly display the barred tamga of Huvishka style.

These coins usually found in the Mathura region as markedly reported from the Sonkh excavations (Hartel 1993: 314, nos. 90-92, pl. 319-20). But their circulation in other regions is also known such as one specimen is reported from Taxila (see catalogue no. 71) and three from Begram (the Masson's collection in the British Museum).

A brief summary of mint analysis is given in the following table.

**Table A. Mint Organization of Huvishka Copper**

Phases	Main Mint (Bactria)	Gandhara Mint	Kashmir Mint	Two-armed Oesho Mint	Ardoxsho & Co. Mint	Mathura Mint
I	<p><b>Obverse design:</b> Elephant-rider, Couch, Seated cross-legged</p> <p><b>Reverse deities:</b> Athsho, Mao, Miiro, Nana, Oado, four-armed Oesho</p> <p><b>Style:</b> Kanishka tetradrachm coins</p> <p><b>Weight:</b> 14-16g</p> <p><b>Tamga:</b> </p> <p><b>Göbl:</b> 820 (11), 821 (1), 822 (1), 823 (1-5), 824 (1-4), 825 (1-2), 826 (1), 827 (1), 830 (1), 832 (1-7, 9), 833 (1, 5, 13-14), 834 (1, 2, 8-10), 835 (1-3, 5), 836 (2), 837 (14, 17), 838 (1), 839 (1), 840 (1), 841 (1), 842 (1-2), 844 (1), 846 (1), 847 (1-2), 848 (1-2), 849 (1, 4-5), 850 (1-12), 851 (1-3), 852 (1), 853 (1), 854 (1)</p>	<p><b>Obverse design:</b> Elephant-rider (moving right &amp; moving left), Couch, Seated cross-legged, Seated on cushions</p> <p><b>Reverse deities:</b> Ardoxsho, Athsho, Mao, Miiro, Nana and Nana with kneeling king, Oado, Oesho (two-armed), Bowman</p> <p><b>Style:</b> Crude Heavy coins</p> <p><b>Weight:</b> 16-20g</p> <p><b>Tamga:</b>  </p> <p><b>Göbl:</b> 896 (1), 898 (1), 844 (1), 846 (1), 919 (1)</p>	<p><b>Obverse design:</b> King standing at altar,</p> <p><b>Reverse deities:</b> Mao, Miiro</p> <p><b>Style:</b> Kanishka drachm coins</p> <p><b>Weight:</b> 3-4g</p> <p><b>Tamga:</b> </p> <p><b>Göbl:</b> 797 (9), 802 (9),</p> <p><b>Mitchiner:</b> 3259-63,</p>	No production	No production	No production
IA	<p>↓</p> <p>As above but crude design &amp;</p>	<p>↓</p> <p><b>Obverse design:</b></p>				

<b>Transition</b>	<p>low weight <b>Göbl:</b> 824 (5), 825 (3), 833 (10), 835 (18-19)</p> <p style="text-align: center;">↓</p>	<p>Elephant-rider with a club, <b>Reverse deities:</b> Ardoxsho, Herakles, Nana, Oado and six (or eight)-armed deity, <b>Kharoshthi</b> legend <i>Yodhavade</i> <b>Style:</b> Good workmanship <b>Weight:</b> 16-17g <b>Tamga:</b> </p> <p style="text-align: center;">↓</p> <p><b>Göbl:</b> 891A (1), 897 (1),</p>	No production			
<b>II</b>	<p><b>Obverse design:</b> Elephant-rider, Couch, Cross-legged <b>Reverse deities:</b> Athsho, Mao, Miiro, Nana, Oado, four-armed Oesho <b>Style:</b> Crude coins <b>Weight:</b> 9-12g <b>Tamga:</b> </p> <p><b>Göbl:</b> 820 (14), 821 (8, 11, 14-15), 822 (7-8), 824 (6), 835 (23, 28), 836 (30-31), 837 (31), 848 (3-4)</p>	<p><b>Obverse design:</b> Elephant-rider (moving right &amp; moving left) with a club, Cross-legged <b>Reverse deities:</b> Ardoxsho, Athsho, Bowman, Miiro, Nana, Oado, two-armed Oesho, six (eight)-armed deity, <b>Kharoshthi</b> legend <i>Yodhavade</i> <b>Style:</b> Good workmanship <b>Weight:</b> 9-12g <b>Tamga:</b> </p> <p><b>Göbl:</b> 893, 894, 895, 896 (2), 899, 900, 901, 903 (1), 905 (3), 906, 907,</p>				
<b>IIA</b>	<p style="font-size: 2em;">→</p> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; width: fit-content; margin: 10px auto;">Change of Production</div> <p style="font-size: 2em;">→</p>			<p><b>Obverse design:</b> Elephant-rider, [Couch?] <b>Reverse deities:</b> Two-armed Oesho, [Mao, Miiro?] <b>Style:</b> Bold execution, round letter and <i>nandipada</i> <b>Weight:</b> 9-12g <b>Tamga &amp; Symbol:</b>  or ;  <b>Göbl:</b> 855</p>	<p><b>Obverse design:</b> Elephant-ride (moving right &amp; moving left), Couch, Cross-legged <b>Reverse deities:</b> Ardoxsho, Athsho, Heracles, Mao, Mao (hybrid), Miiro, Nana and Nana with kneeling king, Oado, three-headed Oesho, Pharro <b>Style:</b> Good style illiterate legend <b>Weight:</b> 9-12g</p>	<p><b>New Production</b></p> <p><b>Obverse design:</b> Elephant-rider, Squatting (Couch), Seated with legs left (Cross-legged), Couch <b>Reverse deities:</b> Ardoxsho, Mao, Miiro, four-armed Oesho &amp; eight-armed Oesho (Vishnu?), Pharro <b>Style:</b> Crude</p>



Other Stray finds	14	4		3	2	1	2	1	27
<b>Total</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>99</b>

This chart fundamentally shows the contribution of sites and number of coins allocated to the various mints. It except drachm issues with Kharoshthi legend represents all series of the king. Taxila was the main urban centre and focal point of the trade during the Kushan period it therefore gives glimpses of all variety of Huvishka coins. A specific group of small issues of Kanishka's style assigned to Huvishka are suggested to be issued from Kashmir and Taxila region. It is due to the unclear picture of these coins, however, found quite in large number; the author credited all such coins to the account of Kanishka (Khan 2007, nos. 102-181). The legend of these coins can distinguish the coins of the two kings but the said coins usually read the legend PAO KAN-HPKI begins either at 1 o'clock or 9 o'clock. The certain coins reported from Taxila obviously belonged to Kanishka. Besides this there are many such coins but they don't show clear legend to decipher them properly. Because of these difficulties the drachm series of Huvishka supposed to be issued from Kashmir and Taxila region is not included here.

**Table C. Showing Distribution of Taxila Coins to the Proposed Mints**

**Main Mint: Phase I [nos. 1-38]**

<i>Elephant-rider</i>						<i>Couch-reclining</i>						<i>Seated Cross-legged</i>					
Athsho	Mao	Miuro	Nana	Oesho	Other	Athsho	Mao	Miuro	Nana	Oesho	Other	Athsho	Mao	Miuro	Nana	Oesho	Other
1	7	3	-	-	2	-	3	7	2	3	-	1	2	1	-	5	1

Total: 38 Coins

**Main Mint: Phase II [nos. 39-46]**

<i>Elephant-rider</i>						<i>Couch-reclining</i>						<i>Seated Cross-legged</i>					
Athsho	Mao	Miuro	Nana	Oesho	Other	Athsho	Mao	Miuro	Nana	Oesho	Other	Athsho	Mao	Miuro	Nana	Oesho	Other
-	1	1	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	1	-	-	1	1	-	-	1

Total: 8 Coins

**Gandhara Mint: Phase II [no. 47]**

<i>Elephant-rider (to left)</i>
Ardoxsho
1

Total: 1 Coin

**Oesho Mint: Phase-IIA [nos. 48-59]**

<i>Elephant-rider &amp; Two-armed Oesho</i>
12

Total: 11 Coins

**Ardoxsho & Co. Mint: Phase-IIA [nos. 60-70]**

<i>Elephant-rider</i>						<i>Couch-reclining</i>						<i>Seated Cross-legged</i>					
Ardoxsho	Herakles	Mao	Miuro	Nana	Pharro	Ardoxsho	Herakles	Mao	Miuro	Nana	Pharro	Ardoxsho	Herakles	Mao	Miuro	Nana	Pharro
3	2	3	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Total: 11 Coins

**Mathura Mint: Phase-IIA [no. 71]**

<i>Elephant-rider &amp; Uncertain Reverse</i>	<i>Total</i>
1	1

Total: 1 Coin

**Imitations [nos. 72-99]**

<i>Elephant-rider</i>		<i>Couch-reclining</i>		<i>Seated Cross-legged</i>		<i>Total</i>
Heavy	Light	Heavy	Light	Heavy	Light	
5	6	2	9	-	6	28

Total: 28 Coins

**Main Mint (Phase-I)**

Usually the good and early coins of this ruler are found in abundance and here they also found in considerable number. All the three obverse designs are well represented; such as elephant rider has thirteen coins, couch type has fifteen and cross-legged type has ten. In first variety moon-god (Mao) is the most common design known by seven examples, in second variety sun-god (Miuro) by similar number of coins and in third variety four-armed Oesho by five examples. Stylistically the reverse figures of most of these coins are of good workmanship and they have close affinity with those of Kanishka's reverses. Some reverses have crude figures certainly follow the good style of early figures. But they struck later in the same phase as they still retain heavy weight. In reverse design Mao and Miuro are the common deities shown by twelve and eleven coins respectively, then four-armed Oesho by eight, Athsho and Nana by two each, and remaining unclear.

**Main Mint (Phase-II)**

In quality of coins the production of this group is quite inferior to the first phase of the same mint. The number is sharply dropped by more than three-fourth ratio and thus eight coins are in credit to this phase. They are reported from as many as four sites of Taxila. The basic difference of these coins as mentioned earlier is the reduction of weight which is down by 25% from the early phase of coins. Stylistically they are quite crude from the early phase of coins. All the three obverses, as seen in early phase, are represented by almost the same ratio of coins. The distribution of reverse deities is quite imbalance, Mao is depicted on four coins, Miuro on two and four-armed Oesho on one and the remaining one is uncertain.

**Gandhara Mint (Phase-II)**

A single coin found at Dharmarajika is associated with this mint. It is well struck coin depicting elephant rider moving to left on the obverse and Ardoxsho holding a cornucopia with both hands standing to right on the reverse. The said coin occurs in the second phase of coins as it struck in reduced weight. This coin (see catalogue, coin no. 47) by obverse and reverse combination of designs is extremely rare and not properly reported before. One unpublished coin (BM, 1991-0416-6) of the same variety showing Kharoshthi legend on the reverse but of heavy weight (16 gm) is lying in the cabinet of the British Museum.

**Oesho Mint (Phase-IIA)**

Twelve coins are attributed to this mint. These are known from four sites of which six come from Dharmarajika only. All these coins consisting of a single type having elephant-rider (figure of king) to right on the obverse and two-armed Oesho on the reverse. The entire collection is homogenous in character and well executed. Besides this, five more coins (out of eleven) reported from Dharmarajika are given in loan to the other museums. With the addition of these coins the total number of such coins would be seventeen that is the second major series after the Phase-I of main mint. In this way the Oesho series, which is always treated separately, emerged as the leading one in Taxila among the later phase (IIA) coins of Huvishka. These coins, as discussed in mint analysis, were issued to replace the production of the main mint therefore they usually found in good number. Mitchiner earlier associated a certain class of coins to the Taxila mint (Mitchiner 1978: p. 435). But his attribution of these coins to the Taxila mint is conjectural as mentioned above the two-armed Oesho series was the general issue in the later phase and certain coins frequently found in all parts of the Kushans Empire.

#### **Ardoxsho & Co. Mint (Phase-IIA)**

The coins of this mint are interesting and of great importance. It has eleven coins known from four different sites. Of these seven pieces are predominantly reported from the Buddhist site Dharmarajika. The ratio of occurrence of certain coins is larger than those of the second phase of main mint. Only one obverse design is known i.e. elephant rider, the other obverse designs as mentioned in mint analysis are progressively diminished in this series of coins. In reverse deities Ardoxsho, Mao and Pharro are shown by three coins each and Herakles is on two coins. Similarly Ardoxsho, Mao and Pharro are each known by single variety while Herakles is represented by two varieties.

#### **Mathura Mint (Phase-IIA)**

There is a solitary example supposedly of Mathura mint is known from Taxila. The exact context of this coin is not known. The condition of this coin is also not very good; it is badly worn, defaced and of inferior quality and the weight is recorded below 4 gm. The obverse design obviously showing king in squatting position but the other side is corrupt and illegible.

#### **Imitations**

These coins are stylistically different from the usual coins of Huvishka. The figures on both sides which imitating the normal coins are absolutely stylized. The figures are never found homogenous as the normal coins do but they are quite different from one another. In this category each coin is found unique and quite different from one another. Some are heavy like normal coins of the second phase and some are quite light and thin. The weight of these coins doesn't concentrate at any focal point and found in a large range from 1 to 13 gm. Due to their distinctive styles it is therefore Marshall illustrated six different coins of Huvishka which includes two normal (Marshall 1951, RUC nos. 264 & 265) and four imitations (Marshall 1951, RUC nos. 263, 266, 267 & 268). The later two he also declares as imitations. Besides this three more illustrated coins (Marshall 1951, RUC nos. 233, 335 & 337) that are put in the uncertain coins from Taxila also belong to the imitation series.

### **Imitations (Heavy)**

Seven coins are assigned to this group. Of these five coins belong to elephant-rider and two to couch varieties. The weight of these coins is occurring between 6.4 and 13.5 gm. Most of these coins are concentrated in heavy weight i.e. above 10 gm and the average weight of this group is also found in the same range i.e. 10.22 gm. In fabrics these coins are thick as normal issues of the second phase. But they always carry crude figures particularly the reverse deities are too stylized to identify properly.

### **Imitations (Light)**

This group contains twenty one coins hence the number is quite larger than the previous one. In this group all the three obverses are well represented such as: elephant-rider has six coins, couch type nine and cross-legged variety six. These coins are known from seven sites where nine unearthed from Dharmarajika. In fabric these coins are thin and therefore they show light weight. The weight of certain coins is ranging from 1.4 to 6.3 gm with the average of 2.68 gm which is quite below than the fore-mentioned heavy imitations. These coins are extremely crude, stylized, debased and degenerate. In reverse all the figures are standing facing to left with right hand extended and left resting on waist. In some cases the figures, both the obverse and reverse, are merely shown by thin outlines.

### **Conclusion and Remarks**

The numismatic evidence from different regions of the cited above Kushan territory, the scholarly opinion about different groups and coin classifications obviously show that Huvishka began his coinage on the style of his predecessors particularly adopted the weight, tamga and reverse images of Kanishka. Huvishka issued these coins in a standard pattern and like Kanishka they were uniformly circulated in all over his kingdom as they frequently recover from Oxus valley in the northwest and Ganges valley in the southeast. The general issue might have struck at the main located in Bactria. The massive production of coins of this mint traveled and circulated uniformly in all parts of the Kushan territory. In the meanwhile a limited production of some coins from other contemporary mints is also known. One such mint was located somewhere in Gandhara as the coins of this mint struck in high tetradrachm weight with new reverse designs and another reported in east of Gandhara perhaps Taxila-Kashmir regions. The coins of the latter mint are not common and were issued in quarter drachm only as like those of Kanishka.

But it was somewhere in the mid of Huvishka reign that some political implications or foreign invasion in the northern area greatly suffered his economy. The consequences ultimately reflected on his coinage. After a transitional period the king absolutely reformed his monetary policy and struck coinage at reduced weight. In first stage, the first part of Phase-II, the king retained the production of the earlier established main mint and Gandhara mint but dropped their weight from 16 to 12 gm. The production of quarter coins seems to be ceased in early part of his coinage as they are known by few examples. Thus the coins of all series in Phase-II were uniformly issued at reduced weight standard. In Gandhara the coins at reduced weight were unanimously

inscribed with Kharoshthi legend *Yodhavade* on the reverse. Earlier the coins of the same mint in transitional phase were also begun to inscribe with the same kind of legend but they were struck at heavy weight.

Later on in the second part of Phase-II some new mints, as evident from different coins series, were used to be in practice. In order to operate the new mints the king at the same time reorganized the coin design and introduced some new reverse deities along with the old ones. Accordingly some old deities were retained, some were dropped and some of them were transformed into new iconographic style. In view of the limited production of general coins in the second phase the assumption can be made that the main mint was either completely abandoned or it was replaced by the coins with new design. The two-armed Oesho series which has close resemblance with the main mint was introduced to substitute the coins of the main mint (as described above Oesho mint). Later on his successor Vasudeva, by adopting same weight, fabric, style and the reverse design of two-armed Oesho, continued the production of this mint for his coinage. However, Vasudeva copied the obverse design 'standing figure' of Vima Kadphises and Kanishka and the addition of a bull with the Oesho also of Vima. The copper coins of Vasudeva that struck in one design are stylistically very similar to the two-armed Oesho coins of Huvishka. Similarly the coins of another contemporary mint of the second phase i.e. Ardoxsho & Co. introduced to substitute the production of the Gandhara mint.

The coin designs of the new contemporary mints are quite different from one another. As such the Oesho mint predominantly retained the two-armed Oesho reverse with obverse of elephant-ride. On the other side the Ardoxsho & Co. mint employed variety of deities like Ardoxsho, Athsho, Herakles, Nana, Oado, three-headed Oesho and Pharro for three obverse designs with predominant of elephant rider. Later on the coins of this mint were usually struck in Ardoxsho and Pharro designs. The coin production of both the new mints, replacing the old ones in their respective locations, is known parallel and extensive, and were struck at reduced weight standard. The coins of both the mints bear same type of barred tamga of Huvishka style. The coins of certain mints known from hoards or excavations referred to Gandhara region are often found together. More importantly the two-armed Oesho coins of Huvishka and the early coins of Vasudeva also found together as evidenced from many coin hoards (Mitchiner 1978: 435; Khan *Ancient Pakistan*, Vol. XVII) and archaeological discoveries like Taxila (see catalogue two-Oesho), Begram (sixty four coins of two-armed Oesho in the British Museum) and Sorkh Kotal (about seventeen coins see Masson 1990: 9-96).

The third contemporary mint, which is completely new, having characteristics of the second stage of Phase-II and similarities of the Ardoxsho mint came in operation at Mathura. The coins of this mint are comparatively struck in lower weight than the others. The coin designs, various connections, similarities and dissimilarities of the Oesho and Ardoxsho & Co. mints with their preceding mints suggest that the new mints were introduced in the second part of Phase-II. They were likely introduced to substitute the old mints in their respective regions. After Huvishka his successor Vasudeva continued to issue his coins in the style of two-armed Oesho obviously originated from the same mint but with altered designs. On the other side the coin designs of various series of

different mints of Huvishka were carried on for a longer period but they appeared in stylized and degenerate form normally known as imitations.

The copper coins of Huvishka recovered from Taxila are classified here systematically in order to the abovementioned arrangements. This mechanism not only helps to organize the coins of Huvishka in their sequence but it confirms the positions of mints and their operation, production and circulation of coins in different regions. The various sites at Taxila produced a large number of early coins of the Main mint as they usually found everywhere. The coins of Gandhara mint were issued in limited scale and a single example from Taxila thus confirms the location, production and circulation of such coins. The coins of two-armed Oesho are usually found in the northwest region but they are usually absent in the coin finds recovered from east and similarly the Ardoxsho and Co. series coins are equally missing both in the extreme northwest and southeast and normally found in the central part of the Kushan territory. As such Taxila represent the coins of both the series in considerable quantity. Thus looking to the coin designs, their relationship and find places of these coins on the one hand and their recovery from Taxila, the central place of the Kushans on the other, give us a very clear idea of the contemporary production of these two mints. Accordingly the two-armed Oesho coins were issued in the northwest regions in Bactria and traveled down to the central part of the kingdom and the Ardoxsho and Co. series coins were issued and circulated only in the central part of the said territory. Another new mint (at Mathura) which was operated along with the fore-mentioned two mints produced coins in the later phase of Huvishka for the eastern part. In this regard the interaction of the east series with northwest coins and northwest with the east is not very extensive as seen in the coins of early series. A single coin of the Mathura series from Taxila justifies the limited circulation of these coins in the central part.

## Catalogue of Huvishka Coins from Taxila

### I. Official Issues

#### Main Mint (Phase-I)

##### 1.1. King riding on elephant to right & Athsho (no. 1)

*Obv.* King riding on elephant to right, wears tall rounded hat with long ribbon, holds spear in right hand and elephant's goad in the left.

Bactrian legend: ΠΑΟΝΑΝΟ ΠΑΟ-ΟΟΗΡΚΕ ΚΟΡΑΝΟ ΠΑΟ 1 o'clock

*Rev.* Bearded male figure standing frontally with head in profile to left, nimbate, flaming shoulders, wears chlamys, holds fillet in extended right hand and tongs in the left resting on waist. Tamga (1) to left & legend ΑΘΡΟ down to right.

*Reference:* Göbl: 832

No.	CR #	MC #	FR #	Site	Location	Context (layer/depth)	Exc. Date	Wt (gm)
1	277.06	363	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	13.7

##### 1.2. King riding on elephant to right & Mao (nos. 2-8)

*Obv.* King riding on elephant to right as 1.1.

Bactrian legend as 1.1.

*Rev.* Moon-god standing frontally with head in profile to left, lunar crescent behind shoulders, wears tunic and mantle. The figure makes two-fingered gesture with extended right hand and left resting on the hilt of sword. Tamga (1) to left & legend ΜΑΟ down to right.

*Reference:* Göbl: 835 [1-19]

2	204.03	6	149	Dharmarajika	10' east of T-5	4-0 BS	29.03.18	15.3
3	204.02	7	2017	Dharmarajika	East of tope, Court-A	Debris	02.05.14	14.8
4	207.02	1	1927	Dharmarajika	B-11	10-0 BS	15.04.13	14.8
5	490.06	2	196	Jandial C	K-25	3-0 BS	11.04.13	14.6
6	204.04	5	1073	Dharmarajika	T-5	2-7 BS	15.05.17	14.5
7	204.05	4	853	Dharmarajika	T-2	2-6 BS	16.03.17	14.0
8	129.06	1	67	Sirsukh	Pindora	1-0 BS	04.04.16	14.0

##### 1.3. King riding on elephant to right & Miipo (nos. 9-11)

*Obv.* King riding on elephant to right as 1.1.

Bactrian legend as 1.1.

*Rev.* Sun-god standing frontally with head in profile to left, sun-rays halo around head, wears tunic and mantle. The figure makes two-fingered (little and forefinger) gesture with extended right hand and left resting on the hilt of sword. Tamga (1) to left & legend ΜΙΙΡΟ down to right.

*Reference:* Göbl: 820

9	207.04	2	2241	Dharmarajika	B-1	5-0 BS	19.04.13	15.7
10	273.01	830	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	15.1
11	136.05	1	220	Mahal	52-68	1-6 BS	12.11.25	15.0

##### 1.4. King riding on elephant to right & Uncertain (nos. 12-13)

*Obv.* King riding on elephant to right as 1.1.

Bactrian legend as 1.1.

**Rev.** Figure standing frontally with head in profile to left with right hand extended other features and attributes not clear. Tamga (1) to left & legend unclear.

12	207.03	3	270	Dharmarajika	-----	Surface	24.11.13	15.6
13	277.05	362	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	15.0

### 2.1. King reclining on couch to left & Mao (nos. 14-16)

**Obv.** King reclining on couch to left, left elbow resting on cushion, right leg bent resting on bench and left on low stool and both hands round waist.

Bactrian legend as 1.1.

**Rev.** Moon-god standing frontally with head in profile to left, lunar crescent behind shoulders, wears tunic and mantle. Makes two-fingered gesture with extended right hand and left resting on the hilt of sword. Tamga (1) to left & legend MAO down to right.

**Reference:** Göbl: 836 [1-18]

14	276.07	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	14.2
15	202.01	0002	1525	Dharmarajika	F-2, east	1-6 BS	23.03.14	14.0
16	276.05	0355	0000	-----	-----	-----	-----	13.2

### 2.2. King reclining on couch to left & Miiro (nos. 17-23)

**Obv.** King reclining on couch to left as 2.1.

Bactrian legend as 1.1.

**Rev.** Sun-god standing frontally with head in profile to left, sun-rays halo around head, wears tunic and mantle. The figure makes two-fingered (little and forefinger) gesture with extended right hand and left resting on the hilt of sword. Tamga (1) to left & legend MIIPO down to right.

**Reference:** Göbl: 821 [1-8]

17	202.02	1	2462	Dharmarajika	North of K	5-6 BS	22.04.13	16.0
18	210.03	1	2394	Sirkap	Kunala Stupa	-----	06.04.15	16.0
19	272.04	835	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	16.0
20	272.03	834	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	15.2
21	113.04	3	288	Jaulian	Room-6	11-0 Bs	23.03.17	14.6
22	140.05	1	88	Kalawan	B-21	Floor level	11.02.33	14.6
23	276.06	356	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	13.0

### 2.3. King reclining on couch to left & Nana (nos. 24-25)

**Obv.** King reclining on couch to left as 2.1.

Bactrian legend as 1.1.

**Rev.** Female deity standing frontally with head in profile to right, nimbate, wears long robe. She holds horse-protome sceptre in the right hand and bowl in the left. Tamga (1) to right & legend NANA up to left.

**Reference:** Göbl: 840

24	575.01	365	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	15.1
25	158.03	1	-----	Bhallar Tope	-----	-----	10.06.17	15.1

### 2.4. King reclining on couch to left & Four-armed Oesho (nos. 26-28)

**Obv.** King reclining on couch to left as 2.1.

Greek legend as 1.1.

**Rev.** Four-armed male figure standing facing with head in profile to left, nimbate, wears dhoti and necklace over left shoulder. He holds in lower right hand circlet, upper right thunderbolt, upper left trident and lower left antelope. Tamga (1) to left & legend OHPO down to right.

**Reference:** Göbl: 848 [1-2]

26	277.03	360	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	15.4
27	210.04	1	254	Sirkap	176-63	3-0 BS	06.04.15	14.5
28	113.05	1	211	Jaulian	Monastery north-west side	11-0 BS	17.03.17	21.1

### 3.1. King seated cross-legged on mountain & Athsho (no. 29)

**Obv.** King seated cross-legged upon mountain with head in profile to left, holds spear in raised right hand and left in lap and wears helmet, diadem and mantle.

Bactrian legend as 1.1.

**Rev.** Bearded male figure standing frontally with head in profile to left, nimbate, flaming shoulders, wears chlamys, holds fillet in extended right hand and tongs in the left resting on waist. Tamga (1) to left & legend AΘPO down to right.

**Reference:** Göbl: 834

29	206.04	1	956	Dharmarajika	Near eastern stairs	Floor level	13.12.13	14.8
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### 3.2. King seated cross-legged on mountain & Mao (no. 30-31)

**Obv.** King seated cross-legged as 3.1.

Bactrian legend as above 1.1.

**Rev.** Moon-god standing frontally with head in profile to left, lunar crescent behind shoulders, wears tunic and mantle. The figure makes two-fingered gesture with extended right hand and left resting on the hilt of sword. Tamga (1) to left & legend MAO down to right.

**Reference:** Göbl: 837 [1-24]

30	155.06	1	754	Dharmarajika	G-3	4-5 BS	02.04.22	14.8
31	277.01	358	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	13.5

### 3.3. King seated cross-legged on mountain & Miiro (no. 32)

**Obv.** King seated cross-legged as 3.1.

Bactrian legend as 1.1.

**Rev.** Sun-god standing frontally with head in profile to left, sun-rays halo around head, wears tunic and mantle. The figure makes two-fingered (little and forefinger) gesture with extended right hand and left resting on the hilt of sword. Tamga (1) to left & legend MIPO down to right.

**Reference:** Göbl: 822 [1-5]

32	210.01	1	250	Sirkap	50-55	3-9 BS	15.12.13	15.1
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### 3.4. King seated cross-legged on mountain & Mao/Miiro (no. 33)

**Obv.** King seated cross-legged as 3.1.

Bactrian legend as 1.1.

**Rev.** Figure standing frontally with head in profile to left with right hand extended other features and attributes not clear. Tamga (1) to left & legend unclear.

33	138.04	1	311	Kalawan	West of A-31	2-0 BS	21.03.33	15.1
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### 3.5. King seated cross-legged on mountain & four-armed Oesho (nos. 34-38)

**Obv.** King seated cross-legged as 3.1.

Bactrian legend as 1.1.

**Rev.** Four-armed male figure standing facing with head in profile to left, nimbate, wears skirt, and necklace over left shoulder. He holds in lower right hand circlet, upper right thunderbolt, upper left trident and lower left water flask. Tamga (1) to left & legend OHPO down to right.

**Reference:** Göbl: 851

34	654.02	1	76	Jandial D (?)	17-L	5-0 BS	19.03.13	15.8
35	272.06	829	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	15.8
36	272.05	828	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	14.7
37	206.03	1	829	Dharmarajika	T-5	3-0 BS	15.03.17	14.0
38	277.04	361	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	13.6

## **Main Mint (Phase-II)**

### **4.1. King riding on elephant to right & Mao (no. 39)**

**Obv.** King riding on elephant to right, wears tall rounded hat with long ribbon, holds spear in right hand and elephant's goad in the left.

Bactrian legend: PAONANO PAO-OOHPE KE KOPANO PAO 1 o'clock

**Rev.** Moon-god standing frontally with head in profile to left, lunar crescent behind shoulders, wears tunic and mantle. He makes two-fingered gesture with extended right hand and left resting on the hilt of sword. Tamga & legend unclear.

**Reference:** Göbl: 835-5 [18-28]

39	210.05	1	1754	Sirkap	56-74	4-0 BS	16.03.15	12.5
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### **4.2. King riding on elephant to right & Miiro (no. 40)**

**Obv.** King riding on elephant to right as 4.1.

Bactrian legend 4.1.

**Rev.** Sun-god standing frontally with head in profile to left, sun-rays halo around head, wears tunic and mantle. He makes two-fingered (little and forefinger) gesture with extended right hand and left resting on the hilt of sword. Tamga (1) to left & legend MIIPO down to right.

**Reference:** Göbl: 820 [14]

40	109.04	1	9	Mohra Moradu	North side, monastery	6-0 BS	08.11.15	10.2
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### **5.1. King reclining on couch to left & Mao (nos. 41-42)**

**Obv.** King reclining on couch to left, left elbow resting on cushion, right leg bent resting on bench and left on low stool and both hands round waist.

Bactrian legend as 4.1.

**Rev.** Moon-god standing frontally with head in profile to left, lunar crescent behind shoulders, wears tunic and mantle. The figure makes two-fingered gesture with extended right hand and left resting on the hilt of sword. Tamga (1) to left & legend MAO down to right.

**Reference:** Göbl: 836 [28-45]

41	276.04	354	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	09.7
42	266.04	461	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	08.2

### **5.2. King reclining on couch to left & four-armed Oesho (no. 43)**

**Obv.** King reclining on couch to left as 5.1.

**Rev.** Four-armed male figure standing facing with head in profile to left, nimbate, wears dhoti. He holds in upper right hand thunderbolt, upper left trident, lower left antelope and lower right hand is unclear perhaps carries a circlet (?). Tamga (1) to left & legend OHPO down to right.

**Reference:** Göbl: 848

43	278.05	409	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	09.1
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### 6.1. King seated cross-legged on mountain & Mao (no. 44)

**Obv.** King seated cross-legged upon mountain with head in profile to left, holds spear in raised right hand and left in lap and wears helmet, diadem and mantle.

Bactrian legend as 1.1.

**Rev.** Moon-god standing frontally with head in profile to left, lunar crescent behind shoulders, wears tunic and mantle. The figure makes two-fingered gesture with extended right hand and left resting on the hilt of sword. Tamga (1) to left & legend MAO down to right.

**Reference:** Göbl: 871

44	133.04	-----	192	Bhamala [Reference: RUC-264 & Göbl: 871.5]	East of main Stupa	3-9 BS	30.10.30	13.0
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### 6.2. King seated cross-legged on mountain & Miiro (no. 45)

**Obv.** King seated cross-legged as 6.1.

Bactrian legend as 1.1.

**Rev.** Sun-god standing frontally with head in profile to left, sun-rays halo around head, wears tunic and mantle. The figure makes two-fingered (little and forefinger) gesture with extended right hand and left resting on the hilt of sword. Tamga (1) to left & legend MIPO down to right.

**Reference:** Göbl: 822 [7-13]

45	113.03	1	232	Jaulian	Room-23	9-0 BS	14.03.17	08.1
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### 6.3. King seated cross-legged on mountain & Mao/ Miiro (no. 46)

**Obv.** King seated cross-legged as 6.1.

Bactrian legend as 1.1.

**Rev.** Figure standing frontally with head in profile to left with right hand extended other features and attributes not clear. Tamga & legend unclear.

46	281.02	367	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	04.5
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## Gandhara Mint (Phase-II)

### 7.1. King riding on elephant to left & Ardoxsho (no. 47)

**Obv.** King riding on elephant to left, wears rounded hat, diadem with long ribbon, tunic and trousers and holds club in the right hand.

Legend as above.

**Rev.** Female deity standing to right, nimbate, wears long robe and diadem, holds cornucopia with both hands. Tamga & legend left unclear.

**Reference:** Göbl: 897 (obverse same but new reverse deity)

47	202.03	2	105	Dharmarajika	20-O, south of monastery	46-0 BS	20.03.18	11.2
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## Oesho Mint (Phase-IIA)

### 8.1. King riding on elephant to right & Two-armed Oesho (nos. 48-59)

**Obv.** King riding on elephant to right, nimbate, wears three-pronged headdress or raised hair and diadem with long ribbon behind head, holds elephant's goad in the left hand, crude style.

Bactrian legend: ÐAONANO ÐAO-OOHÐKE KOÐANO ÐAO 1 o'clock (crude form)

**Rev.** Two-armed male figure standing facing with head in profile to left, wears dhoti, holds trident in raised right hand and animal pelt over left arm and water flask in lowered left hand. Deity had muscular body but in crude style. Crude tamga (2 or 3) in the left field & stylized *nandipada* (7) in the right & legend OHÐO down to right.

**Reference:** Göbl: 855

48	203.02	3	1467	Dharmarajika	East gate of Main Stupa	2-0 BS	10.04.16	10.5
49	202.05	7	379	Dharmarajika	T-2	2-0 BS	05.12.16	10.4
50	203.01	4	156	Dharmarajika	Debris	-----	30.03.18	10.3
51	203.04	1	575	Dharmarajika	P-1	East debris	09.12.14	10.1
52	266.02	465	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	10.1
53	203.03	2	870	Dharmarajika	T-2	5-0 BS	06.12.15	09.3
54	202.06	5	167	Dharmarajika	Debris	-----	02.04.18	09.0
55	277.02	359	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	08.9
56	266.01	464	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	08.8
57	491.02	1	-----	Jandial C	Fort outside	-----	00.11.13	08.8
58	177.05	1	82	Chir Tope B	East of A	2-6 BS	14.04.22	08.5
59	138.06	1	1	Kalawan	Cell-16, Court-B	-----	16.12.31	07.5

### **Ardoxsho & Co. Mint (Phase-IIA)**

#### **9.1. King riding on elephant to right & Ardoxsho (nos. 60-62)**

**Obv.** King riding on elephant to right, wears rounded hat, diadem with long ribbon, tunic and trousers. He holds spear or elephant's goad in his right hand.

Bactrian legend corrupt and illegible.

**Rev.** Female deity standing to right, nimbate, wears long robe and diadem, holds cornucopia with both hands. Tamga (4) to right & legend AÐAOXÐO up to left.

**Reference:** Göbl: 876

60	266.03	463	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	12.2
61	202.04	1	639	Dharmarajika	Tope-1, west	3-0 BS	01.12.15	11.0
62	574.06	463	364	-----	-----	-----	-----	09.0

#### **9.2. King riding on elephant to right & Mao (nos. 63-65)**

**Obv.** King riding on elephant to right as 9.1.

Bactrian legend as 9.1.

Moon-god standing frontally with head in profile to left, lunar crescent behind shoulders, wears tunic and mantle. The figure makes two-fingered gesture with extended right hand and left resting on the hilt of sword. Tamga (4) to left & legend MAO down to right.

**Reference:** Göbl: 869

63	160.02	1	12	Chir Tope C	Cell-31	1-3 BS	12.04.22	12.0
64	206.05	3	1413	Dharmarajika	South of T-2, monastery	5-0 BS	07.04.16	09.7
65	204.01	8	195	Dharmarajika	24-34 sq	12-0 BS	23.01.36	08.9

#### **9.3. King riding on elephant to right & Herakles (no. 66)**

**Obv.** King riding on elephant to right as 9.1.

Bactrian legend as 9.1.

**Rev.** Nude Herakles standing frontally with head in profile to right, holds raised club in crook of right arm and lion's skin in lowered left hand. Tamga (4) to right & legend HPAKIAO up to left.

**Reference:** Göbl: 887

66	203.05	2	983	Dharmarajika	West side	Spoil earth	10.04.17	11.0
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#### 9.4. King riding on elephant to right & Herakles (no. 67)

**Obv.** King riding on elephant to right as 9.1.

Bactrian legend as 9.1.

**Rev.** Nude Herakles standing facing, crowns himself with right hand and carries raised club and lion's skin in his left hand. Tamga (4) to left & legend HPAKIAO down to right.

**Reference:** Göbl: 892

67	203.06	1	453	Dharmarajika	F-3	1-0 BS	12.12.16	10.9
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#### 9.5. King riding on elephant to right & Pharro (nos. 68-70)

**Obv.** King riding on elephant to right as 9.1.

Bactrian legend as 9.1.

**Rev.** Male figure standing frontally with head in profile to left, wearing helmet with wing ornament, tunic and mantle, holds purse in the right hand and long staff in raised left. Tamga (4) to left & legend ΦAPPO down to right.

**Reference:** Göbl: 863/ 865

68	206.06	2	1024	Dharmarajika	In Kanjore stone	Steps west of main Stupa	29.03.15	11.2
69	207.01	2	75	Dharmarajika	Debris	-----	12.12.17	10.8
70	653.01	1	123	Giri [Reference: RUC-265 & Göbl: 865.4]	Corner north of Stupa C	3-0 BS	28.03.28	09.7

### Mathura Mint (Phase-IIA)

#### 10.1. King seated in squatting position & uncertain (no. 71)

**Obv.** King seated frontally in squatting position with head in profile to right, wears rounded headdress, diadem with long ribbons and mantle. He holds spear in raised left hand and right resting in lap.

Bactrian legend corrupt and illegible.

**Rev.** Figure standing frontally with head in profile to left with right hand extended other features and attributes not clear. Tamga (5) to left & legend unclear.

71	286.01	430	----	-----	-----	-----	-----	03.6
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## II. Non Official Issues

### A. Heavy Imitations (Thick Coins)

#### 11.1. King riding on elephant to right & uncertain Deities (nos. 72-76)

**Obv.** King riding on elephant to right wears tall rounded hat with long ribbon, holds spear or club or elephant's goad in right hand, the style is crude and barbarous.

Bactrian legend corrupt and barbarous.

**Rev.** Unidentified figures standing frontally with head in profile to left, barbarous and stylized, with right (or left) hand extended other features and attributes not clear. Tamga (nos. 3-6) stylized and variable to left & legend unclear.

72	268.05	477	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	13.5
73	138.05	1	87	Kalawan	B-16	9-0 BS	11.02.33	13.4
74	207.05	1	954	Dharmarajika	E-2	3-3 BS	04.04.13	11.3
75	278.06	410	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	11.0
76	215.01	2	173	Sirkap [Reference: RUC-267 & Göbl: 863.1]	176-43	2-0 BS	-----	08.0

### 12.1. King reclining on couch to left & uncertain Deities (nos. 77-78)

**Obv.** King reclining on couch to left, left leg bent resting on couch both hands rest on waist, halo around body, the style is crude and barbarous.

Bactrian legend corrupt and barbarous.

**Rev.** As 11.1.

77	201.06	1	354	Dharmarajika	Tamra Nala	-----	02.12.14	08.0
78	114.01	5	128	Jaulian	Room 11, Stupa A & A5	18-0 BS	21.02.17	06.4

## B. Light Imitations (Thin Coins)

### 13.1. King riding on elephant to right & uncertain Deities (nos. 79-84)

**Obv.** King riding on elephant to right wears tall rounded hat with long ribbon, holds spear or club or elephant's goad in right hand, the style is crude and barbarous.

Bactrian legend corrupt and barbarous.

**Rev.** Unidentified figures standing frontally with head in profile to left, barbarous and stylized, with right (or left) hand extended other features and attributes not clear. Tamga stylized and variable & legend unclear.

79	632.02	1	162	Giri [Reference: RUC-263 & Göbl: 979.4]	East of outer wall	4-0 BS	30.03.28	03.7
80	205.09	7	341	Dharmarajika	Debris East of T-2	2-0 BS	04.12.16	03.7
81	113.02	1	170	Jaulian	Between Stupa A & A-16	9-0 BS	27.02.17	01.6
82	205.10	6	317	Dharmarajika	West of K-1	2-0 BS	02.12.16	01.5
83	134.01	1	16	Kholay	Cell-5	7-6 BS	19.12.33	01.5
84	177.04	2	88	Chir Tope B	F-15	1-9 BS	14.04.22	01.5

### 14.1. King reclining on couch to left & uncertain Deities (nos. 85-93)

**Obv.** King reclining on couch to left, left leg bent resting on couch both hands rest on waist, halo around body, the style is crude and barbarous.

Bactrian legend corrupt and barbarous.

**Rev.** As 13.1.

85	660.02	1	1601	Dharmarajika [Reference: ASI-AR, 1915-16, no. 21, pl. XXV; p. 34; RUC-266 & Göbl: 978.7]	South quad. of Stupa	Debris	15.04.16	04.5
86	281.01	366	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	03.6
87	205.12	2	1958	Dharmarajika	West site of E	Debris	20.04.14	03.4
88	206.01	1	1384	Dharmarajika	West P-10	4-6 BS	14.03.14	03.2
89	205.08	8	940	Dharmarajika	Debris west of M-5A	3-0 BS	05.04.17	02.8

90	205.11	5	1379	Dharmarajika	East of N-11	Debris	05.04.16	02.4
91	214.12	3	186	Sirkap [Reference: <i>RUC-268</i> & <i>Göbl: 978.25</i> ]	179-53	-----	00.03.14	02.1
92	522.01	5	11	Giri [Reference: <i>RUC-334</i> ]	South east corner of Stupa C 5-6	5-6 BS	10.04.28	01-6
93	133.05	3	10	Kholay	Front of Cell-2	4-0 BS	16.12.33	01.4

### 15.1. King seated cross-legged & uncertain Deities (nos. 94-99)

**Obv.** King seated cross-legged upon mountain, with head in profile to right, halo around body, holds staff in raised left hand and right resting in lap, the style is crude and barbarous.

Bactrian legend corrupt and barbarous.

**Rev.** As 13.1.

94	210.02	2	143	Sirkap	Kunala Monastery	Entrance towards south	04.04.18	06.3
95	133.06	2	15	Kholay	Cell-5	7-8 BS	19.12.33	02.9
96	660.01	2	692	Dharmarajika [Reference: <i>RUC-335</i> ]	17-18	4-10 BS	08.04.31	02.8
97	520.05	1	67	Giri [Reference: <i>RUC-337</i> ]	Between Stupa 2 & 3	2-10 BS	17.03.28	01.7
98	134.04	1	18	Ghai	Monastery	-----	27.11.24	01.6
99	199.08	1	1530	Dharmarajika	Area D	5-7 BS	10.04.13	01.4

## 5. Coins of the Later Kushans from Taxila

### Coins of Vasudeva and Successors

#### Introduction to Vasudeva Copper

Vasudeva I, sixth ruler of the Kushans, developed his copper coins on those of the two-armed Oesho series of his predecessor, Huvishka. The combination of two-armed Oesho on the reverse and elephant rider on the obverse was the common design of the late phase copper coinage of Huvishka that issued from the main mint, located at Bactria. Vasudeva favourably retained the same deity both for his gold and copper coins. The copper coins of this ruler like Huvishka were struck at reduced weight 11.00-9.00 gm. Moreover he added the figure of bull, mount of Oesho, shown behind the deity like those of Vima Kadphises and some rare coins of Kanishka. But on Vasudeva coins the bull is facing to left. Apart from this he reverted to the obverse design of standing figure of king like those of Vima Kadphises and Kanishka. Except half unit coins of Vasudeva issued from a different mint the copper coins were unanimously inscribed with complete Bactrian legend showing name and title of the king on the obverse and name of deity on the reverse. In other characteristics the king wears chain mail dress, peaked helmet with earflaps and carries a trident in his raised left hand which distinguish his coins from those of the predecessors. All these features characterize the copper coins of Vasudeva. With the little bit changes this design was retained throughout the monetary history of Vasudeva. In course of time the copper coins progressively lost their weight and this devaluation was continued down till the end of the Kushan rule. The obverse design once developed by Vasudeva that was based on Vima Kadphises was uniformly used by the subsequent rulers. Moreover his successor, Kanishka II introduced another reverse design i.e. enthroned Ardoxsho, which was also used side by side with Oesho and bull. Later on from the time of Vasudeva II, the design of enthroned Ardoxsho became more popular than Oesho and bull. On the other hand the Oesho and bull coins were usually imitated by the Kushano-Sasanian kings for their monetary needs in the northwest regions, Bactria valley to Gandhara. After Kanishka II, the Bactrian legend gradually became off flan which always create a problem how to distinguish the coins of one ruler from the other. In this regard the copper coins displaying Oesho and bull design of Vasudeva, either issued by Vasudeva or successors are normally considered as the Vasudeva coins, or Vasudeva and successors. Similarly the Ardoxsho coins are commonly known for Kanishka II and successors. In earlier numismatic work both types of these coins either having Oesho and bull design or enthroned Ardoxsho of Kanishka II were treated likely and usually attributed to king Vasudeva. In this respect the report of Taxila excavations by Marshall is the obvious example for the analysis of copper coins of Vasudeva. The said author who reported over nineteen hundred copper coins of Vasudeva and successors mentioning both Oesho and bull and Ardoxsho designs are usually assigned to Vasudeva. The said report also doesn't furnish illustration or other information to find distinction of any group. This general categorization creates confusion as all these coins are obviously not belonged to one ruler or to say were issued after him by his successors. Off this assemblage about one hundred coins belonged to Vasudeva and so as the remaining to

his successors and imitation series. But such information reported by Marshall is not enough to understand the political as well as monetary history of the Later Kushans in Taxila, Pakistan and the region.

### **Analysis of Marshall Report**

As mentioned above, Marshall, in his Taxila reports, recorded a huge number of copper coins of Vasudeva. Accordingly this collection comprises two types of coins; the 'king standing at altar with Oesho and bull' and 'king standing at altar with seated goddess'. The first type has 1584 coins and the second 320 (Marshall 1951: 788). According to the excavation report the total number of Vasudeva coins from Taxila is 1904. These coins (with their number) reported from the various sites in Taxila are summarized as:

<b>Site</b>	<b>Number of Vasudeva coins by Marshall</b>
Sirkap	27
Jandial	8
Sir Sukh	11
Bhir Mound	1
Hathial	1
Dharmarajika	1334
Chir Tope B	253
Kalawan	165
Mohra Moradu	49
Jaulian	36
Bhamala	5
Giri	3
Piplan	3
Chir Tope A	2
Chir Tope D	2
Bhallar	2
Badalpur	2
<b>Total</b>	<b>1904</b>

Further he gives some important explanations regarding the discovery of this bulk of coins recovered from the various sites in Taxila such as; (a) Buddhism flourishing during the time of Vasudeva, (b) the coins were continued to circulate and imitated after his death, and (c) the coins were buried in hoards due to the foreign (Sasanian) invasion. All these points are valid and the second is more suitable where the coins of Vasudeva design would have issued for a long period.

The most important feature of these coins is the contextual record which is fairly presented by the said author. Most of these coins are recovered from the hoards found in different sites. These coins often belonged to the later rulers of the Kushans rather than Vasudeva (Table-B). These hoards are self explanatory showing that how and where they were found. Besides this the coins found in groups with other rulers are also well mentioned. Sometimes the coins found singly are also precisely described about their find spot and their association with structural remains or other antiquities. It is noteworthy to mention here that all these coins are well maintained with their contextual record. The coins of some notable sites described by John Marshall are briefly discussed

here for their attributions and re-identifications. The imitation coins of Vasudeva are found in abundance so not all of them are represented in catalogue. In this respect certain examples are usually referred to by their varieties and not by their specific catalogue number.

**Sirkap:** Marshall reported twenty seven coins of Vasudeva from Sirkap, sixteen of Oesho and bull type and eleven of seated Ardoxsho type. The number of these coins is given in summary of coins from Taxila and in the stratigraphical chart of Sirkap finds (Marshall 1951: 212, 788, 793). Of these two coins depicting Oesho and bull design of the said ruler were found in a group contained one Local Taxilan and two Kanishka coins ('standing kind sun-god') (Khan 2007: no. 54). This small group of coins was found in house 2C, [square 43-54'] (Marshall 1951: 149). In this group one coin is certainly of Vasudeva belonged to his early issue (cat. no. F1b.4). Apart from this, seven more coins known from various locations also belonged to the official issues of Vasudeva reign (cat. nos. F2b.5, F4a.3, F4b.12, FB.1, FB.8, FB.13 & FB.15). In this way eight coins out of sixteen [Oesho and bull type] belonged to the reign of Vasudeva and remaining to the various phases of imitations. The attribution of 'seated goddess' coins is quite different obviously not assignable to Vasudeva. Of these five belonged to Kanishka II (cat. nos. G1a.8, G1b.2, G1ab.2, G1ab.62 & G1ba.37) and one to his imitations (cat. no. G\*1a.19), two to Vasishka (cat. nos. H1a.4 & H2b.3) and one to his imitations (H\*1b.2). Two coins reported as 'seated goddess' are actually 'Oesho and bull' coins, belonged to the imitations of Vasudeva.

**Jandial:** Eight coins of Oesho and bull type were reported from the site of Jandial. Of these two coins came from mound B, four from mound C (temple site) and two from mound D ((Marshall 1951: 356, 225, 229). Only three coins are identified to Vasudeva (cat. nos. F2b.4, F4a.2 & FA.6), two from mound D and one from mound C. In new analysis three coins of Oesho and bull type belonged to the imitation series of Vasudeva and remaining are not traceable.

**Sirsukh:** Marshall recovered eleven coins of Vasudeva from Sir Sukh; eight of 'Oesho and bull' type and three 'seated goddess' (Marshall 1951: 221, 788). Of the earlier type three coins are assigned to the reign of Vasudeva (cat. nos. F4b.4, FB.6 & FB.7) and four to his imitations while one is re-identified to the 'seated goddess' type. In 'seated goddess' type, three coins are of Kanishka II (cat. nos. G1ab. 40, G1ba.10 & G1ba.43) and one is his imitation (G\*1a.5).

**Dharmarajika:** The author reported enormous number i.e. 1,334 copper coins of Vasudeva from the Buddhist site of Dharmarajika. But in view of proper identification and classification only thirty seven coins belonged to the reign of Vasudeva while remaining to his imitations and successors. This assemblage also includes coins from many hoards of various sizes found at the site. Amongst these hoards one contained 355 coins including one lead, found at *kanjūr* stone in *pradakshina patha* of the stupa. These coins belonged to different rulers such as Rajuvula, Azes II, Kadphises I, Soter Megas, Kanishka, Huvishka, Vasudeva, Shapur II and late Indo-Sasanian issues (Marshall 1951: 239). Vasudeva coins represent the 'Oesho and bull' type. But this description doesn't furnish proper information about the contents and number of coins to certain rulers. In this connection

the Museum documents and coins data also don't provide any help. It is difficult to say how many coins of this hoard belong to the ruler under discussion. Another similar copper hoard of 305 coins was found in the same area, i.e. in the northeast quadrant of the procession path. Accordingly, two coins were attributed to Vasudeva one each of 'Oesho and bull' and 'seated goddess' type, eighteen of bust of 'king and squad altar' of the Sasanians and 285 debased Indo-Sasanians (Marshall 1951: 240). Examining the two coins of Vasudeva, one (Oesho and bull type) belonged to the late phase of Vasudeva's imitation and another (seated goddess type) to the late phase of Kanishka II (cat. no. G1ba.6). Besides this, a small hoard containing four coins, was discovered in the same area. These coins are reported from the debris at the east entrance. The contents are well described i.e. one of Soter Megas, one of Kanishka (Khan 2007: no. 10) and two of Vasudeva (Marshall 1951: 240). Except one imitation of Vasudeva (Var. F\*2c), the remaining coins are well identified to other rulers. One certain coin of Vasudeva (cat. no. F4b. 21) is belonged to the late phase of his coinage.

According to Marshall's report, twenty one coins of Vasudeva came from different apartments i.e. E1, E2, F1-F3, T2-T7, but no proper information is provided about reverse types and their contexts (Marshall 1951: 247). However the Museum documents give some assistance to trace five coins of Vasudeva known from apartment T2 and one coin of Kanishka II from F2. The remaining coins are associated with the imitation series of Vasudeva. Along with these finds three small groups of coins were also reported from the same apartments. In first group, there were eight coins unearthed from T5 (or T15), contained two of Kanishka I (Khan 2007: nos. 19, 63), one of Huvishka and five of Vasudeva (Marshall 1951: 247). The coins of Vasudeva are not associated to his reign; two belonged to late imitations (Var. F\*4a), one to late phase of Kanishka II (cat. no. G1ba.32), one to the imitation series of Kanishka II (cat. no. G\*1a.10) and the fifth one is not traceable. The second small group recovered 2 feet below surface from T2, comprised three coins of Vasudeva (Marshall 1951: 247). Although they are in poor state of preservation but are traceable to the later varieties of Vasudeva (cat. nos. F3ab.5, FB.9 and FB.19). The find spot, contents and number of coins of the third group is identical to the second group of coins (Marshall 1951: 247). But these coins belonged to the imitation series of Vasudeva (Var. F\*2c & F\*4a).

Two small groups of coins, assigned to Vasudeva, were found in the chapel area of G3 (Marshall 1951: 258). The first group was reported 6 feet below surface from G3 comprised three coins of the 'seated goddess' type and two of the 'Oesho and bull' type. The 'seated goddess' type has four coins and they are not assignable to Vasudeva but to his successors. Accordingly two coins belonged to the late phase (cat. no. G1ab.66 & G1ba.36) and one to the imitation series (cat. no. G\*1a.26) of Kanishka II and one to Vasishka (cat. no. H2b.1). In this account the second type has one coin, which is associated to the imitation series (Var. F\*2c) of Vasudeva I. The second group found about 3 feet below surface in G4, also contained five coins but all of the 'seated goddess' type (Marshall 1951: 258). In view of my analysis, three coins attributed to Kanishka II (cat. no. G1ba.2-3 & G1ba.68) and one to his imitation (cat. no. G\*1a.3) series and the fifth one is uncertain as it is given in loan to other Museum.

Moreover four coins of 'seated goddess' and twelve of 'Oesho and bull' were separately reported from court-A area (Marshall 1951: 278). There is no clear and supportive information about these coins to trace them out precisely. However the coins of 'seated goddess' definitely belonged to Kanishka II or his successors and not Vasudeva.

A hoard containing 531 coins of Vasudeva and one of Kanishka was found in an earthen pot buried beneath the floor of cell-16, court G area. The hoard comprised two types of Vasudeva coins, viz. 474 of the 'king at altar and Oesho and bull' and 57 of the 'king at altar and seated goddess' (Marshall 1951: 282). Presently the Taxila Museum possesses 480 coins of this hoard, 434 examples of the 'Oesho and bull' and forty six of the 'seated goddess' (Table-B, Hoard-64). As far as the contents of 'Oesho and bull' type are concerned, they represent four official issues of Vasudeva, 413 imitations of Vasudeva, fourteen of Vasishka and his imitations and two uncertain. The second type 'seated goddess' yields thirty seven coins of Kanishka II, one of Vasishka and eight of Kanishka III. The remaining fifty one coins are given in loan to other museums. A small hoard of five coins was reported from debris outside the north wall perhaps came from relic chamber of a small stupa (Marshall 1951: 282). This information doesn't support to confirm the coins of this hoard as the types and proper location are not properly mentioned. However a hoard of same number of coins came from debris west of M-5/a is greatly corresponding to the cited above hoard. These are the 'Oesho and bull' coins belong to the imitation series (Var. F\*2c, F\* 4a & F\*4b) of Vasudeva.

One coin of 'Oesho and bull' type of Vasudeva was recorded from the assembly hall, found at the depth of 14 feet and another one from cell-17 of court-H (Marshall 1951: 283 & 286). But no such coins are traceable to the details given by the author. Similarly information regarding seven coins of 'Oesho and bull' of Vasudeva from room-12 and one from court and one coin of 'seated goddess' type from room-12 collected from court J (Marshall 1951: 288-89), are not corresponding to the contextual record found with the coins.

A small deposit of twelve coins was unearthed from monastery M, contained nice coins of Vasudeva - seven of his 'Oesho and bull' type and two of 'seated goddess' and three of Shapur II (Sasanians) (Marshall 1956: 291). These coins not belonged to Vasudeva but their distribution is as follows as: seven of his imitation series, one of Kanishka II (cat. no. G1a.1) and one of Shaka (cat. no. M1a.1) and the remaining three of the Kushano-Sasanians (see hoard table-1069).

About same kind of small deposit, comprised eleven coins, is known from the same area (Monastery 5). Of these, one coin was assigned to Menander, eight to Vasudeva with three of 'seated goddess' type and five of 'Oesho and bull' and two to the Sasanians (Marshall 1951: 291). As far as the analysis of Vasudeva issues is concerned, 'Oesho and bull' coins belonged to the imitations series of Vasudeva (Var. F\*2c, F\*2d, F\*4a & F\*4e) and one each of the 'seated goddess' type belonged to Kanishka II (cat. no. G1ab.78) and Vasishka (cat no. H2b.6) and one of the last type is not traceable (Table-B, Hoard-940). A third small deposit was also picked up from the same area (Monastery 5), comprised same kind of coins such as two of Vasudeva, 'Oesho and bull' and two of Sasanians 'bust of king and altar' (Marshall 1951: 291). But the coins associated to Vasudeva are not

traceable in the Museum record. Besides hoard finds, two more coins of 'seated goddess' type are singly reported from Monastery 5 area (Marshall 1951: 291). Of these, one example belonged to the late phase of Kanishka II coinage (cat. no. G1ba.63).

Apart from these finding there is a hoard of 421 coins belonged to the period of Kushano-Sasanians and late imitations of Vasudeva (Table-B, Hoard-A). Looking to the number of coins and their contents (Table-B, Hoard-A) it would be recovered from the site of Dharmarajika but it is not reported in the published reports.

Marshall presented a list of Vasudeva coins reported from the site of Dharmarajika and summarized these coins in the following categories (Marshall 1951: 293):

<b>No.</b>	<b>Category</b>	<b>Quantity</b>	<b>Reference</b>
1.	'King at altar and seated goddess'	195	PMC XIX, 228
2.	'King at altar and Oesho and bull'	524	PMC XIX, 216
3.	Similar to preceding but cruder	615	PMC XIX, 216
	Total:	1334	

**Chir Tope B:** Marshall reported 253 copper coins of Vasudeva from the Buddhist sacred site Chir Tope B, closely located to the famous site of Dharmarajika. The coins of this ruler are apparently predominant as compared to the nineteen coins of other Kushan rulers. Vasudeva coins are further classified into two groups, viz. 214 coins of 'Oesho and bull' type and thirty nine of 'seated goddess'. According to the excavation reports most of these coins were found in groups (Marshall 1951: 317). The groups that contained the coins of Vasudeva are as follow: group-A has three coins of Soter Megas, one Kanishka, and two of Vasudeva unearthed below floor of cell-F13; group-B has three coins of Vasudeva came from cell-F16; group-C has two coins of the same king from D2 and 238 coins found in a broken pot but its location is not mentioned. The big hoard comprised 202 coins of 'Oesho and bull' type and thirty six of 'seated goddess' of Vasudeva (Marshall 1951: 317). There are 194 coins of this hoard now in the cabinet of Taxila Museum, which comprises 172 of the first type and twenty of the latter. The remaining forty four coins both of 'Oesho and bull' and 'seated goddess' types are distributed to other museums. In view of reclassification, one coin belonged to the reign of Vasudeva (cat. no. FB.5), 162 to the imitation series of Vasudeva, twenty three to Kanishka II and his imitation, seven to Vasishka and his imitation while one is uncertain (Table-B, Hoard-69). Besides this one coin associated to a group of three coins, known from cell-F-16, belonged to the imitation series of Kanishka II (G\*1a.14).

**Kalawan:** According to Marshall, 165 coins of Vasudeva were excavated from the second largest Buddhist site, Kalawan (Marshall 1951: 788). Three coins of 'Oesho and bull' type of Vasudeva were found in Stupa A4 area (Marshall 1951: 324). Two of these coins belonged to the imitation series of Vasudeva (Var. F\*1a & F\*1b). Similarly of two coins, one each of 'Oesho and bull' and 'seated goddess' types reported from area of small Stupas A6-A10 (Marshall 1951: 325). The first one assigned to the imitation series of Vasudeva (Var. F\*2c) and second to Kanishka II (cat. no. G1ab.72). Some more coins of Vasudeva along with other rulers were found in the same vicinity. Accordingly four coins of 'Oesho and bull' type reported from A5, A21 and A34 and three of

‘seated goddess’ from A5, A15 and A33 (Marshall 1951: 332). Looking to the ‘Oesho and bull’ coins, one belonged to the reign Vasudeva (cat. no. FB.2) and remaining two to the imitation series of Vasudeva (Var. F\*1b & F\*4a). Of ‘seated goddess’ coins, two are attributed to Kanishka II (cat. no. G1ab.9 & G1ab.44) and one is not traceable. Eight coins of Vasudeva, four each of ‘Oesho and bull’ and ‘seated goddess’ types were picked from various locations in court-C area (Marshall 1951: 334). Some of them were distributed to other museums and some are not traceable in the Museum record. Of these only one coin is identified to Kanishka II (cat. no. G1ba.53).

A copper hoard of 118 coins was reported from a hole in the wall of cell-8, court-F area. It contained one coin of Soter Megas and 117 of Vasudeva. The latter comprised ninety one coins of the ‘Oesho and bull’ type and twenty six of the ‘seated goddess’ (Marshall 1951: 336). After distribution of many coins to other museums, the Taxila Museum now possesses only eighty four coins of this hoard. In this regard the ‘Oesho and bull’ comprises seventy three coins, of which sixty five belonged to the imitation series of Vasudeva and six to Vasishka. The second type (seated goddess) has eleven coins. They belonged to the official as well as imitation series of Kanishka II (Table-B, Hoard-373).

Four small groups of copper coins reported from different cells like 12, 16, 22 and 23 in court-F area (Marshall 1951: 336). Three coins identified for Vasudeva were known from cell-12, whereas one is on loan to other museum, one not traceable and one is assigned to Kanishka II (cat. no. G1ba.30). The second group perhaps reported from cell-16 contained two coins of Vasudeva, one belonged to his imitation series (Var. F\*4a) and one to Kanishka II (cat. no. G1ab.50). The third group unearthed from cell-22, comprised seven coins of Vasudeva. Six of them are distributed to other museum while the remaining one belonged to Vasudeva reign (cat. no. FA.7). The last group reported from cell-23, contained two coins of ‘Oesho and bull’ type of Vasudeva but the Museum record doesn’t furnish any information about them.

One coin of Vasudeva was known from inside cell-28, court-B area. It is of ‘Oesho and bull’ type and belonged to the imitation series of Vasudeva (Var. F\*4b). Similarly two coins of ‘seated goddess’ series were found in cell-15, court-B area (Marshall 1951: 340). As known from their reverse design both belonged to the coinage of Kanishka II (cat. nos. G1ab.8 & G1ab.68). Apart from these findings, some more coins of Vasudeva’s ‘Oesho and bull’ type were recovered individually from various cells such as 7, 9, 14, 17 and 18 in court-B. Four of them occurred in various groups of Vasudeva imitations (Var. F\*2d, F\*4a and F\*4b), whereas one is given in loan to other museum. Similarly one example of the ‘seated goddess’ type known from cell-3 is also loaned to other museum.

Few copper coins of Vasudeva were also reported from site-H in Kalawan (Marshall 1951: 341). One coin of ‘Oesho and bull’ type came from a passage way-26, belonged to the imitation series of Vasishka (cat. no. H\*1a.9) instead of Vasudeva. One coin of ‘seated goddess’ type recovered from cell-25, is now attributed to the official issue of Vasishka (cat. no. H2b.5). Of the two coins of ‘Oesho and bull’ type, known from chambers 3 and 10, one belonged to the imitation of Vasudeva (Var. F\*4c) and another loaned to other museum.

**Mohra Moradu:** Forty nine coins of Vasudeva, thirty six of ‘Oesho and bull’ type and thirteen of ‘seated goddess’, were excavated from this site (Marshall 1951: 364 & 788). Of them twelve coins were found in different groups usually associated with the coins of other rulers and dynasties. One group found in cell-6, contained one coin of punch-marked series, one of Kanishka (Khan 2007: no. 126) and two of Vasudeva. One coin of the latter belonged to the imitation series (Var. F\*4d), while another is not traceable. The second group known from cell-14 contained one coin of Azes II and five of Vasudeva. Amongst the five coins of the latter, one is attributed to the official issue (cat. no. F3ab.4) and two to the imitations series of Vasudeva (Var. F\*2c & F\*4a) and one coin of ‘seated goddess’ type belonged to the imitations of Kanishka II (G\*1a.1). The fifth example to be known in the name of Vasudeva is not corresponding to the Museum record. The third group reported from cell-1, comprised one coin of Kadphises and two of Vasudeva. Only one example of the latter is matching with the Museum record, which belonged to the ‘seated goddess’ type of Vasishka (cat. no. H2b.7). Two coins of the fourth group of Vasudeva were mentioned from cell-23 but no such entry, except Kanishka and Huvishka, is known from that area. One coin each of Vasudeva and of Sasanians was reported from south of Stupa. The coin marked for Vasudeva is the ‘seated goddess’ piece of Kanishka II (cat. no. G1b.1). The remaining coins identified for Vasudeva were found singly.

**Jaulian:** Marshall reported thirty six copper coins of Vasudeva from stupa and monastery areas of Jaulian (Marshall 1951: 788). Some of these coins were found in groups with other rulers and some picked up individually. One group known from cell-1 contained fourteen coins; one of Kanishka, six of Vasudeva ‘Oesho and bull’ and seven of Sasanians (Marshall 1951: 385). Of Vasudeva coins, one attributed to his reign (cat. no. FB.16), four to his imitation series (Var. F\*2d, F\*4a, F\*4b and F\*4c) and one to Vasishka (cat. no. H1b.16). The second group known from cell-2, yielded one coin of local Taxila and three of Vasudeva. Three coins of the latter attribution belonged to the imitation series of different rulers, one each to Vasudeva (Var. F\*4a), Kanishka II (cat. no. G\*1a.24) and Vasishka (cat. no. H\*1a.4). Another group reported from cell-3, comprised one coin of Soter Megas, two of Vasudeva and three of Sasanians. Of Vasudeva account, one coin is associated to his imitation series (Var. F\*2c) and one to Kanishka II (cat. no. G1ab.63). The fourth group recovered from cell-28, contained one coin of Kadphises (Augustus type), two of Vasudeva (Oesho and bull), one of Sasanian and one of late Indo-Sasanian. One coin of ‘Oesho and bull’ type belonged to the official issue (cat. no. F3ab.2) and another to the imitation series of Vasudeva (Var. F\*2d). The last group known from cell-29, comprised one coin of Vasudeva (Oesho and bull), fifteen of Sasanians and three of later Indo-Sasanians. A single coin of ‘Oesho and bull’ is attributed to the imitation series of Vasudeva (Var. F\*2c).

## **Identification and Classification: Vasudeva & Post-Vasudeva Copper**

### **Historiography**

In early scholarship, the Kushan coins were known as the issue of the Indo-Scythic kings. The Kushan copper coins for the first time were properly arranged and illustrated by Col. Todd in 1825 (Todd 1825: 318-42). In this

classification the coins of 2<sup>nd</sup> group actually belonged to Soter Megas and third group definitely to the Great Kushans. The coins of said groups were logically well organised. The coins of Soter Megas were followed by those of Vima Kadphises, Kanishka I, Huvishka and later on small coins of Kanishka I. This sequence of coins reveal a systematic chronology of the Kushan kings, such as Vima (I) Takto (Soter Megas), Vima (II) Kadphises, Kanishka I and Huvishka as known today. The copper series of Vasudeva I and his successors are not mentioned in this classification.

Soon after this, Wilson organised a new sequence of the Indian coins (Wilson 1832: 560-606). This classification comprised four groups in which the Kushan coins were placed in the last group, marked as the coins of Hindu origin. The copper coins of Kushans were arranged to represent Soter Megas, Vima Kadphises, Huvishka, Kanishka, Indian coins, and Huvishka seated cross-legged coins, Vasudeva and Post-Vasudeva and Indians (Gupta coins). The coins of Vasudeva were reported for the first time in the group of Kushan kings whereas the names of such rulers were not deciphered yet. It was due to the design similarities that the copper coins of Vasudeva were placed with those of Vima Kadphises. The differences of these coins were considered as a variety of the principal type of the said ruler. The overall sequence of the gold and copper coins presented by Wilson may be found as:

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

After a year, Prinsep compiled an article on the coins collected by James Burnes during his journey from India to Afghanistan and Central Asia (Bukhara), through Punjab (Pakistan) and Kabul Valley. In this classification the coins of Vima Takto (Soter Megas), second ruler of the Kushans, were placed among the kings of Bactria (Thomas 1858/1: 36, pl. II, 13). On the basis of style, designs and legend the author identified some more coins of the Kushans including those of Vasudeva I. Further he explained that the coins of this prince (Vasudeva) are common throughout upper Hindustan.

Charles Masson, in the third decade of nineteenth century, contributed a lot to the Oriental Numismatics by discovery of new finds. He carried out proper identification, classification and periodization of the new material collected by him in Afghanistan (Masson 1834, 1836/a, 1836/b: 3 Memoirs). In his first memoir, he arranged the coins of Kujula Kadphises including Su-Hermaeus series and Vima Takto (Soter Megas) in the 4<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> series of Greek coins (Masson, C., 1834: 155-174). Similarly in the Indo-Scythic group the coins of Kanishka were organised in the first series, Kadphises (including Vasudeva I) in the second and Huvishka, and Kanishka

II in the third. On some coins of Kanishka and Vima Kadphises he succeeded in deciphering the Greek legend properly. Like Wilson, he also placed the copper coins of Vasudeva with Vima Kadphises by the similarity of their coin designs. Further he suggested that the Oesho and bull coins are commonly found in this country which may be known to several princes as they are different in style and execution (Masson 1834: 174).

In his second memoir, Masson elaborated the Greek coins in great details while the Indo-Scythic (Kushan) coins were mentioned by their number and with a brief commentary on them (Masson 1836/a: 1-29). In this respect he attempted to decipher the Bactrian legend on some gold coins of the Kushans.

In his last memoir, Masson properly arranged all these coins by their number and sequence that he found during his expedition (Masson 1836/b: 537-351). He also briefly highlighted the mythological figures found on the coins of Kushans. Further he adopted new typological arrangements for the Kushan coins such as Kadphises, Kanishka (Kanerkos & Kanerki family), Huvishka (Series 3: Seated in native fashion, Series 4: Couch-lounger and Series-5: Elephant rider), Vasudeva (Series 6) and Kanishka II (Series 7). It was really a series scholarship of Masson which organised a sequence of the Indo-Greek, Indo-Scythian (also Indo-Parthians) and Kushan kings and their coins.

James Prinsep followed the same way of classification and sequence of the Kushan coins that arranged by Masson. In this work he distinguished two groups of Kanishka coins one marked by the Greek title BACIAEVC BACIAEWN and another by Bactrian PAONANO PAO (gold) or simply PAO (copper) (Thomas 1995 (1858/1): 127-28). He also read the name "Kanerkou" (of Huvishka) on the coins of this monarch which was unknown before this. It was due to the cursive style of Greek letters, he noticed some rude letters such as P, A, the K and M on the copper coins of Kadphises (Vasudeva). Accordingly he made the transliteration of this legend as *rao nano rao* and *korano*. The new understanding of this legend developed a concept for a new king other than the Kadphises coins (Thomas 1995 (1858/1): 129). Moreover he presented several explanations for the word *korano* (Kushan).

In the light of Masson and Prinsep work, Wilson composed a comprehensive book (*Ariana Antiqua*). This compilation was mainly based on Masson's discoveries made in Afghanistan. He arranged the Kushan coins and others in a proper sequence and illustrated them in the form of catalogue (Wilson 1841). Wilson explained that the Indo-Scythian coins were issued in gold and copper and Kadphises was the first to initiate this practice. Wilson like others also continued to place the copper coins of Vasudeva with those of Kadphises. But for the coins of Vasudeva he pointed out some dissimilarities like a different costume of the king likely a mail dress, left hand holds a trident or spear on the obverse. The reverse of these coins still exhibit the Indian figure (Oesho and bull) and the head of bull always turned to left, while on the perfect coins (Kadphises) it is to right. He conjectured that certain variations mark a different period or a provincial origin but still uncertain (Wilson 1841: 352).

Wilson properly arranged the gold coins of Vasudeva after those of Kanishka and Huvishka. On these coins he deciphered the Bactrian legend such as Baraoro (Vasudeva), Kanerki (Kanishka) and Oerki (Huvishka). Similarly the gold coins of Kanishka II and Vasishka were also arranged in a proper sequence after Vasudeva.

The first museum catalogue, comprising the coins of Greek and Scythic kings of Bactria and India, was written by Gardner (Garner 1886). In this work the author properly arranged the gold and copper coins of Vasudeva by their types after Kanishka and Huvishka. Gardner mentioned nine copper coins of Vasudeva with good one earlier, followed by tamga coins and finally the barbarous coins where legend is not legible. He systematically presented a proper sequence of such coins which showing an outline of Vasudeva pattern. After him this order is still valid and being used for the classification of Vasudeva coins. Gardner's classification of copper coins is as follows:

### Copper Coins

1	<i>Obv.</i> King at altar to left	<i>Rev.</i> Oesho and bull	(BMC: 25)
2	<i>Obv.</i> King at altar to left and tamga to right	<i>Rev.</i> Oesho and bull	(BMC: 26-27)
3	<i>Obv.</i> King at altar to left	<i>Rev.</i> Oesho and bull	(BMC: 28-29)
4	<i>Obv.</i> King at altar to left barbarous inscription	<i>Rev.</i> Oesho and bull	(BMC: 30-31)
5	<i>Obv.</i> King at altar to left trident disappears	<i>Rev.</i> Oesho and bull, inscription wanting	

These coins were generally considered as one type and the changes are known in two stages as no. 4 bears barbarous inscription and no. 5 lacking of inscription.

Masson, Prinsep and Wilson were the pioneers in this field who began the Indian numismatics, and then Alexander Cunningham systematically developed and established this art in a firm way (Cunningham 1892: 40-82, 98-159). Cunningham in his catalogue mentioned fifteen coins of Vasudeva of which nine are gold and six copper. Under new scheme six obverse varieties are known for gold such as A, B, C, D, E, and F and four for copper. The copper coins are known in following varieties.

1	<i>Obv.</i> Brahmi letter <i>vasu</i> only	<i>Rev.</i> Tamga of Vasudeva (Vasudeva II)
2	<i>Obv.</i> King at altar to left	<i>Rev.</i> Oesho and bull standing to left
3	<i>Obv.</i> King at altar to left	<i>Rev.</i> Oesho and bull to left (small coins)
4	<i>Obv.</i> King at altar to left	<i>Rev.</i> Enthroned Ardoxsho, facing frontally

In this classification variety nos. 2 & 3 certainly belonged to Vasudeva I while the coins of first and last varieties belonged to Vasudeva II. Besides this he mentioned some new types for Vasudeva I but they belonged to the later kings. The credit goes to Cunningham for recognising the later Kushan coins for the first time. Accordingly, the Oesho and bull coins were practiced in the Kabul valley and were followed by the Sasanian kings and the Ardoxsho coins were issued in the east and were likewise continued by the Gupta kings in the mid

of 4<sup>th</sup> century AD (Cunningham 1894: 115). He classified these coins into two classes, class A and class B. The certain coins constituted the money of Kabul valley and the Punjab from the time of Vasudeva's death till the time of Kidara Shahi i.e. from AD. 80 or 200 to 425 AD (Cunningham 1894: 115).

Smith in the Indian Museum Calcutta catalogue generally assigned 'Oesho and bull' coins to Vasudeva and classified them into three types (Smith 1906: 84-86). The first group comprises eighteen coins of Oesho and bull series, second has nine coins of the same series but mentioned them barbarous which appear to be imitations of Vasudeva and the third has nine coins of Ardoxsho type. The coins of last type certainly belong to Kanishka II or his successors. It is difficult to identify these coins from their description because only two coins are illustrated which are taken from early examples.

Whitehead in the Punjab Museum Catalogue followed the general pattern of Gardner and Smith (Whitehead 1914). He reported twenty two coins of Vasudeva; six are gold (PMC nos. 209-214) and remaining copper (PMC nos. 215-230). Further he added two more coins placed in supplementary list one each of gold and copper. He described the gold coins in one type with several varieties and copper coins in two types with few varieties. The first type of copper belonged to Vasudeva I as it showing Oesho and bull figures on the reverse. The second type displaying enthroned Ardoxsho on the reverse to be associated with Kanishka II. Similarly a single copper coin of Vasudeva in the supplementary list is of Vasudeva II as it bears Brahmi syllable *vasu* on the obverse and four-pronged tamga on the reverse.

Rosenfield, after a long interval after Whitehead's catalogue, described the gold coins of Vasudeva in a new sequence (Rosenfield 1967). But he didn't mention the copper coins of the same ruler.

It was Mitchiner who carried out a comprehensive classification both of the gold and copper coins of Vasudeva and successors (Mitchiner 1978). He classified these coins into several major and minor series. His mechanism is sometimes complicated as he usually finds out the association of such coins with particular mints. The said author arranged gold and copper coins of various series together and attempted to find out resemblance and links between the two.

Mitchiner broadly classified the gold and copper coins of Vasudeva into two parallel groups and attributed them to separate mints (Mitchiner 1978: 445). Accordingly the first major mint, known as mint-A, was located in the west i.e. Peshawar and the second major mint, known as mint-B, was located in the east i.e. Taxila. The third mint, different from the fore-mentioned major mints, was located in Mathura. Only copper coins are associated with this mint including those half coins of similar design of Oesho and bull series (1978: 445).

Moreover, he broadly divided the gold and copper coins into three major groups that developed chronologically. The first group comprises the early coins without trident (above altar) in the left field and are known with various legend dispositions such as 7, 11 and 1 o'clock. The second group represents the coins having trident above altar in the left field and the legend begins at 7 o'clock and the certain coins belonged to mint-A. The third group is almost similar to the previous one but is marked by the legend position which begins at 1 o'clock.

Besides this, Mitchiner further divided the copper coins of Vasudeva into several groups. Each group comprises three stages (or series) of development that systematically appeared in every mint (1978: 446).

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

**Series 1.** They contain early fabric and script with angular letters of the legend begins at 11 o'clock with trident above altar. Average weight is 9.50 gm.

**Series 2.** As series 1 and no distinctive feature of the intermediate phase.

**Series 3.** As 1 & 2, the legend has standard round letters begins at 7 o'clock; the early coins have no symbol but the later have *nandipada* on the obverse

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

**Series 1.** This series has early fabric and script with round letters of the legend begins at 1 o'clock. Weight ranges 9.50 to 10.00 gm.

- a. Early coins have no trident above altar
- b. Later coins with trident above altar
- c. As b, but of reduced weight and little corrupt legend.

**Series 2.** This series is known for intermediate fabric and late script with standard round letters of the legend begins at 1 o'clock. Weight ranges 8.50 to 9.50 gm.

- a. Normal trident stands behind altar
- b. Barred trident in the left field
- c. Laureate right trident (Semicircle of dots to the shaft of right trident)
- d. Symbol in obverse field (*tamga* in the right field)

**Series 3.** This series carries late fabric and script with standard round letters of the legend as above. Weight ranges 9.00 to 8.00 gm and it comprises two varieties.

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

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

They belonged to the early stage and known for their small denomination (half) (1978; 446-47).

Besides this Mitchiner also broadly classified the Post-Vasudeva copper series of Ardoxsho and Oesho and bull coins into several small periods up to the Kidarite and most of them are assigned to the Taxila mint. He always associated Oesho and bull coins to a certain ruler and didn't differentiate the imitation varieties from the official issues.

Robert Göbl produced a comprehensive work on the Kushan coins and their successors, Kushano-Sasanians (Göbl: 1984). In his gigantic work he distinctively classified the copper coins of Vasudeva I and successors. He attributed different series of Oesho and bull to Vasudeva I and his successors. His arrangement of these coins found as:

- 1000–1003 to Vasudeva I,
  - 1004 to Vasudeva II,
  - 1005–1007 to Vasudeva I or II,
  - 1008–1009 to regent unknown,
  - 1010–1010A to Vasudeva II and successors,
  - 1011–1011A to Vasishka,
  - 1012, and 1014 to Vasudeva I, 1013 to regent unknown.
- The Post-Vasudeva Ardoxsho series of copper coins also placed in the same way: 1015–1016 to Kanishka II,
- 1017–1019 to Kanishka II and successors and
  - 1020–1025 to Vasu(deva) III.

Few years later, Göbl reproduced the Kushan coins in a different way (Göbl 1993). Initially he retained the old order for the certain series of coins but sometimes modified the previous sequence of coins and as well as kings. In previous work there were many divisions of the copper coins of Vasudeva and successor but in recent work he attributed all Oesho and bull coins (1984 nos. 1000 to 1010 & 1014) to Vasudeva I and (1984 no. 1011) to Vasishka. In this regard copper coins of Vasudeva I range from nos. 481-594 and Vasishka from nos. 705 to 710. Similarly the Ardoxsho series of copper coins ranging from nos. 619 to 665 to Kanishka II, and nos. 727 to 743 to Vasudeva II. He abandoned the concept of another Vasudeva (III). The coins of Vasudeva are thus attributed to two kings named Vasudeva I (earlier Vasudeva I & II) and Vasudeva II (earlier Vasudeva III).

### **New Classification of Coins**

The copper coins of Vasudeva, as described above, represent standing figure of king on the obverse and Oesho and bull on the reverse. Like gold, the copper coins of this ruler were continued to issue after his death by the later Kushans and the Kushano-Sasanians in their respective territories. The later rulers retained the same design for their coins and in course of time the name of issuer king in Bactrian legend disappeared from the coins. Due to uniform design and absence of legend, it is difficult to differentiate the official issues of Vasudeva I from his imitations and successors. In this way the scholars usually assigned these coins to Vasudeva and successors.

Kanishka II initiated a new reverse design 'enthroned Ardoxsho' both for his gold and copper coins. After Kanishka II both the types i.e. Oesho and bull and enthroned Ardoxsho became the parallel designs for the coinage of Later Kushan rulers. After Kanishka II the legend became off flan on these coins. These coins sometimes bear Brahmi and Kharoshthi letters which greatly help to understand their identification to a particular king. Some coins also bears Brahmi syllable instead of imagery design which give very useful information to classify them in appropriate way.

### **Vasudeva I**

The copper coins of Vasudeva I, in terms of style, fabric, weight and denomination followed the two-armed Oesho series of Huvishka. As cited-above, for obverse design Vasudeva I reverted to the standing figure of king of Vima Kadphises and Kanishka. Like Vima Kadphises, he also reintroduced the figure of bull along with Oesho, facing to left for the reverse design. The gold and copper coins generally retain one design and with the passage of time varieties of symbols were added to them. The later symbol *nandipada* was equally appeared on both series of coins. The copper coins of this ruler usually struck in one design but they show stylistic changes, legend variations, use of symbols and addition or drop of different feature. All these features help us to organise Vasudeva coins in their proper sequence and further to distinguish them from his imitation series and later rulers. In this way the copper coinage were developed through different phases of transition thereafter with addition of new elements they were imitated and continued by the Kushano-Sasanians for their monetary purpose. All varieties of these coins and their successors are described as:

## Official Issues of Vasudeva (Oesho and Bull)

### Var.1a. Small (Drachm)

*Obv.* King at altar standing to left wears helmet, halo round head, right hand sacrificing over altar and left holds a trident.

Bactrian legend: ΠΑΟ ΒΑΖΟΔΗΘ 7 o'clock

*Rev.* Oesho and bull standing to left, Oesho holds diadem in the right hand and trident in the left. Legend ΟΗΠΟ in the left field and tamga in the right.

### Var.2. Large (Tetra-drachm)

These coins are known in thin and broader fabric. Similarly the concerned figures depicted on both sides are larger in size but stylistically cruder. The Bactrian legend on these coins is much cruder and inscribed with angular letter. The variety of these coins usually known by the application of pennants attached to the shafts of tridents sometimes one and sometimes two. Early coins are without trident but the later have a trident stands in the left field. The sub-varieties are as found:

#### 2a. Standing king & Oesho (three-headed) with bull: single pennant to trident

*Obv.* King at altar standing to left wears chain mail dress and helmet, right hand sacrificing over altar and holds a trident in the left and a pennant attached to the shaft of trident.

Bactrian legend: ΠΑΟΝΑΝΟΠΑΟ ΒΑΖΟΔΗΘ ΚΟΠΑΝΟ 1 o'clock

*Rev.* Three-headed Oesho standing to left and bull behind him facing to left, Oesho holds diadem in the right hand trident in the left. Legend ΟΗΠΟ in the left field and Tamga in the right.

#### 2b. Standing king & Oesho (single headed) with bull: single pennant to trident

*Obv.* As 2a.

*Rev.* As 2a, but figure of deity is single headed.

#### 2c. Standing king & Oesho with bull: two pennants to trident

*Obv.* As 2a but there are two pennants attached to the shaft of trident held by the king.

*Rev.* Oesho and bull standing to left, as 2b.

#### 2d. Standing king & Oesho with bull: use of single pennant & a trident in the left field

*Obv.* As 2a, but a single pennant attached to the shaft of trident held by the king in his left hand. These coins characteristically show a trident in the left field stands behind altar.

*Rev.* Oesho and bull standing to left, as 2b.

#### 2e. Standing king & Oesho with bull: use of two pennants & trident in the left field

*Obv.* As 2d, but two pennants each attached to the shaft of right and left tridents in their outer sides.

*Rev.* Oesho and bull standing to left, as 2b.

#### 2f. Standing king & Oesho with bull: pennants unclear, crude but legible legend

*Obv.* As 2e, but pennant uncertain.

Bactrian legend as 2a, but legible and the letters are shown in cursive style

*Rev.* Oesho and bull standing to left, as 2b.

#### 3a. Standing king & Oesho with bull: a bar to the left trident

In this type the figures particularly the obverse one is little reduced in size and well drawn. Pennants completely disappeared from these coins and most importantly the legend is well inscribed in cursive style.

*Obv.* As 2f, but there is the addition of a bar to the trident stands in the left field.

Bactrian legend as 2a, but well inscribed.

*Rev.* Oesho and bull standing to left, as 2b.

#### 3b. Standing king & Oesho with bull: a semi-circle to the right trident

**Obv.** As 3a, but bar removed trident and a semi-circle of dotes is added to the shaft of a trident held by the king in his left hand.

**Rev.** Oesho and bull standing to left, as 2b.

#### **4a. Standing king & Oesho with bull: symbols dropped, new style of king**

The figures on both sides are sharply reduced in size and well drawn in a standard style. There is no use of additional symbols on these coins. The legend is well inscribed, completely visible and cursive in style.

**Obv.** As 3b, no symbol is there and the figure is well drawn and reduced in size. Similarly legend is also better inscribed.

**Rev.** Oesho and bull standing to left, as 2b.

#### **4b. Standing king & Oesho with bull: no symbol, disposition of legend changed**

**Obv.** As 4a, but disposition of legend changed.

Bactrian legend: ΠΑΟΝΑΝΟΠΑΟ ΒΑΖΟΔΗΘ ΚΟΠΑΝΟ 7 o'clock

**Rev.** Oesho and bull standing to left, as 4a.

#### **5a. Standing king & Oesho with bull: Soter Megas tamga in right field**

The coins of this variety are generally similar to the previous variety (4) but they have symbols in the right field. The legend disposition is similarly found in different ways.

**Obv.** As 4a, but there is the addition of Soter Megas tamga in the right field.

Bactrian legend: ΠΑΟΝΑΝΟΠΑΟ ΒΑΖΟΔΗΘ ΚΟΠΑΝΟ 1 o'clock

**Rev.** Oesho and bull standing to left, as 4a.

#### **5b. Standing king & Oesho with bull: *nandipada* symbol in right field**

**Obv.** As 5a, but *nandipada* symbol replaces the Soter Megas tamga in the right field.

Bactrian legend: ΠΑΟΝΑΝΟΠΑΟ ΒΑΖΟΔΗΘ ΚΟΠΑΝΟ 7 o'clock

**Rev.** Oesho and bull standing to left, as 4a.

#### **5c. Standing king & Oesho with bull: *nandipada*, battle-axe to the right trident**

**Obv.** As 5b, but there is addition of a battle-axe attached to the trident stands in the left field.

Bactrian legend as 5b.

**Rev.** Oesho and bull standing to left, as 4a.

#### **5d. Standing king & Oesho with bull: delta symbol with underneath stroke in right field**

**Obv.** As 5c, but *nandipada* is replaced by a delta like symbol in the right field and battle-axe remained attached to the shaft of trident stands in the left field.

Bactrian legend unclear

**Rev.** Oesho and bull standing to left, as 4a

### **Post Vasudeva Copper (Imitations of Oesho & Bull coins)**

The copper imitations of Vasudeva usually retained the basic design of his life issues. Due to their close resemblance the scholars usually don't differentiate them and consider them the issues of Vasudeva until they are not found in debased style. But some good coins of this series are also imitations and not belong to the reign of Vasudeva. The close examination and analytical study reveal that these imitations came after some interval and were started in the later phase or after Kanishka II reign. There are some remarkable and clear demarcations between these coins which distinguish the official issues of Vasudeva from his imitations. The main features of early imitations as compared to the late Vasudeva coins are as follows:

No.	Vasudeva later coins	Early Imitation
1.	King wears armour	King wears kaftan like that of Kanishka II
2.	Bactrian legend well inscribed	Bactrian legend became off flan
3.	King holds trident in the left hand	King holds knobbed staff like that of Kanishka II

4.	Position of left hand is up and knee levelled with shoulders	Position of left hand bent down as shown on Kanishka II coins
5.	Symbols like <i>nandipada</i> in the right field	Symbols of official issues disappeared and there is use of swastika or triangle
6.	Vasudeva tamga on reverse is always in the right field	On these coins the stylised tamga on reverse is in the upper left field
7.	Similarly reverse legend OHPO is in upper left field	The reverse legend OHPO is placed in right field
8.	Weight ranges 11.00 to 7.00 gm	Weight progressively drop below 7.00 gm
9.	Figures on both sides are well drawn	Figures become stylized and degenerate

As described above these differences are seen in many fields which clearly distinguish the coins of two series. Moreover sub-varieties of imitations, which are going towards debased style, are as follows:

**1\*a. Standing king & Oesho with bull: Swastika in left field**

*Obv.* King at altar standing to left wears kaftan with lower hem curved and helmet, right hand sacrificing over altar and left bent down holds a trident.

Bactrian legend mostly off flan

*Rev.* Oesho standing to left and bull behind him facing to left, Oesho holds a diadem in the right hand trident in the left. Legend OHPO in the right field and tamga in the left.

**1\*b. Standing king & Oesho with bull: Swastika underneath left arm**

*Obv.* As 1\*a, but the position of swastika is changed from left field to right side and placed underneath left arm of king.

*Rev.* As 1\*a.

**1\*c. Standing king & Oesho with bull: Triangle below Swastika**

*Obv.* As 1\*b, but there is the addition of a triangle below swastika underneath left arm of king.

*Rev.* As 1\*a, but the figures partly become off flan.

**2\*a. Standing king & Oesho with bull: triangle with four-pronged symbol**

The coins of this variety are known by the use of a triangle. Triangle was earlier introduced with the last series of swastika symbols. Here triangle is the prominent feature which is annexed by another symbol underneath it i.e. four-prongs, perhaps the stylized form of Soter Megas tamga. The figures on such coins are stylized and Bactrian legend completely disappeared.

*Obv.* As 1\*b, but swastika is replaced by a four-pronged symbol which is shown underneath triangle, under left arm of king..

*Rev.* As 1\*c.

**2\*b. Standing king & Oesho with bull: two Triangles**

*Obv.* As 2\*a, a triangle replaces four-pronged symbol, hence two triangles shown one above the other under left arm of the king.

*Rev.* As 1\*c.

**2\*c. Standing king & Oesho with bull: single Triangle**

*Obv.* As 2\*b, but one triangle is removed and hence single triangle under left arm of king.

*Rev.* As 1\*c.

**2\*d. Standing king & Oesho with bull: Triangle with deep curved hem dress**

*Obv.* As 2\*c, triangle only under left arm of king but the king wears deep curved hem kaftan with prominent dots around body. The head is bigger in size and much stylized.

*Rev.* As 1\*c, but the head of Oesho is normally off flan.

**3\*a. Standing king & Oesho with bull: Circle under king's left arm**

*Obv.* As 2\*c, but triangle is replaced by a circle in the same position and the lower hem of king's dress slightly curved but not pointed.

*Rev.* As 1\*c.

**4\*a. Standing king & Oesho with bull: No triangle, shallow curved hem kaftan**

Symbols like triangle and circle are disappeared from this phase of coinage and afterwards certain elements not added to imitation coins.

*Obv.* As 2\*c, but triangle under king's left arm is removed and the lower hem of king's kaftan is slightly curved but not deep.

*Rev.* As 1\*c, the figures are stylized.

**4\*b. Standing king & Oesho with bull: No triangle, king wears deep curved hem kaftan**

*Obv.* As 4\*a, no triangle but king wears deep curved hem kaftan with prominent dots around it as seen on 2\*d.

*Rev.* As 4\*a.

**4\*c. Standing king & Oesho with bull: deep curved hem of king's kaftan, stylized**

*Obv.* As 4\*b, king wears deep curved hem kaftan with point ends, the figure is shown in stylized form, the position of arms with pointed hem are connected near chest and shown in crossed bands.

*Rev.* As 4\*b, but much stylized and the figures are changing into lines.

**4\*d. Standing king & Oesho with bull: deep curved hem of kaftan, details lost**

*Obv.* As 4\*c, king's kaftan has curved hem which became widens outside, the figure lost its details and originality.

*Rev.* As 4\*b.

**4\*e. Standing king & Oesho with bull: figures distorted**

*Obv.* As 4\*d, the figure is greatly distorted and body parts are disproportional.

*Rev.* As 4\*b, but figures almost turned into lines.

**4\*f. Standing king & Oesho with bull: figures are shown in outlines**

*Obv.* As 4\*e, but the figure is degenerate in style and merely represented in outlines.

*Rev.* As 4\*e, the figures are almost shown in parallel lines.

**4\*g. Standing king & Oesho with bull: figures are shown in lines**

*Obv.* As 4\*f, but the figure is completely degenerate in style.

*Rev.* As 4\*f and shown in parallel lines.

**Coins from Taxila****Vasudeva**

As shown in the chart (Table-A), this ruler is represented by ninety eight coins. With except few varieties mentioned above, these coins are found in different styles from early fabric down to late style. Most of these coins are in crude form and belonged to later phase of coinage. The greater part of this collection came from the Buddhist site, Dharmarajika. These coins, except few examples, are not reported from hoards but usually unearthed from stratified deposits. Apart from this one small hoard contained seven coins of Vasudeva was

recovered from Supa P6, Dharmarajika. These coins are not in good condition and they mostly belonged to the later phase of coinage.

### Imitations of Vasudeva

The huge bulk of Taxila coins referred to Vasudeva are consisting of the imitation series of Vasudeva. This series comprises 1282 copper coins. A big portion of these coins is contributed by the hoards unearthed from different sites. These coins were imitated on the pattern of Vasudeva coins showing standing figure of king on the obverse and Oesho with bull on the reverse. In view of design, range of weight and hoard evidences these coins were started to issue in the middle phase or at least later phase of Kanishka II reign. These coins were then issued for a longer period down to the end of Vasudeva II reign or middle of his career. These coins are said to have issued by the Kushano-Sasanian kings, the contemporary rulers of the Later Kushans.

These imitations, with except one variety (1\*c), are well represented in the proposed varieties described above. In this regard the serial number given to these varieties in catalogue are corresponding with those mentioned above. It is due to the large quantity of these coins only few of them are selected for catalogue. The following list of coins with their quantity thus summarise the imitations of Vasudeva known from Taxila.

No.	Variety (description)	Coins
1*a.	Standing king & Oesho with bull: Swastika in left field	8
1*b.	Standing king & Oesho with bull: Swastika underneath left arm	11
2*a.	Standing king & Oesho with bull: triangle with four-pronged symbol	64
2*b.	Standing king & Oesho with bull: two Triangles	2
2*c.	Standing king & Oesho with bull: single Triangle	355
2*d.	Standing king & Oesho with bull: Triangle with deep curved hem dress	75
3*a.	Standing king & Oesho with bull: Circle under king's left arm	20
4*a.	Standing king & Oesho with bull: No triangle, shallow curved hem kaftan	232
4*b.	Standing king & Oesho with bull: No triangle, king wears deep curved hem kaftan	131
4*c.	Standing king & Oesho with bull: deep curved hem of king's kaftan, stylized	162
4*d.	Standing king & Oesho with bull: deep curved hem of kaftan, details lost	37
4*e.	Standing king & Oesho with bull: figures distorted	47
4*f.	Standing king & Oesho with bull: figures are shown in outlines	84
4*g.	Standing king & Oesho with bull: figures are shown in lines	54

### Kanishka II

Kanishka is represented by 165 coins, known from different sites in Taxila. Of these sixty nine were found in different hoards while the remaining reported from various contexts. Most of the coins are in good conditions. Six coins bears Brahmi letter *vi* and two Kharoshthi letter *vi* on the obverse. There are many good coins but certain letters are not visible on them as the said area is usually off flan. The coins are further divided into two groups the early one of good style similar to those depicting letters and the later coins of crude and debased style.

## **Imitations of Kanishka II**

There are thirty one coins to be considered as the imitations of Kanishka II. They depict standing figure of king on the obverse and enthroned figure of Ardoxsho on the reverse, similar to those of Kanishka II. The coins not fitting with early standard coins and later debased coins of Kanishka II are grouped here under this category. The weight of these coins is also progressively dropped down and sometimes found below 2 gm. There is no special characteristic or symbol associated with them as appeared on those of the imitations of Vasudeva.

## **Vasishka**

Forty one coins are assigned to this Vasishka. This is the greatest number of coins so far known to this ruler from any where. Most of these coins are reported from major hoards (Table-B) and no one from minor hoards. These coins are classified into two main types; viz. (a) Oesho and bull & (b) enthroned Ardoxsho. The first type is represented by twenty nine coins and the latter by twelve coins. Each type is further classified into two varieties, which are differentiated by use of letters and other features.

### ***Oesho and bull coins***

This type is known by twenty nine coins and earlier all such coins were associated to the period of Vasudeva. This type has two varieties. (i) There are seven coins in this variety and they depict Brahmi letter *chhu* in the obverse right field. The king wears long armour with belt round body and Oesho figure on the reverse is well dawn with dotted halo round head. (ii) This variety is assigned by twenty two coins and they bear Brahmi letter *tha* between king's legs. The king wears short kaftan with flat lower hem and the figure of Oesho on the other side is comparatively short and boarder with similar kind of dotted halo round head.

### ***Ardoxsho coins***

This type is represented by twelve coins. The coins of this variety are rather in better style and they exhibit outstandingly fat figure of deity on the reverse. The king on certain coins uniformly wears kaftan with lower hem slightly curved. This type is further divided into two varieties. (i) There is only one coin in this variety characterised by Brahmi letters *ga* and *chhu* shown in the obverse right field. This is the first coins of its kind so far known in the published material of Kushans. (ii) This variety has eleven coins and the coins of this variety are not very common. These coins are differentiated from the previous variety only by a use of single Brahmi letter i.e. *chhu* in the obverse right field.

## **Imitations of Vasishka**

There are nine coins in this category, following the general pattern of Vasishka. They show standing figure of king on the obverse and Oesho with bull on the reverse. The normal coins of Vasishka usually bear variety of Brahmi letters and sometimes they also display traces of the Bactrian legend on the obverse. But the coins under discussion are stylistically crude and debased and don't exhibit any kind of letter. There are two varieties; (i) the king figure in normal size, and (ii) the king figure in sharply reduced size.

### **Kanishka III**

This ruler comprises eight coins and all are known from a single hoard, reported from Dharmarajika. The coins of this ruler, like Kanishka II and Vasishka, were also identified with Vasudeva. The coins of this ruler, like his predecessor, are also not common. These coins similar to the Ardoxsho variety of Vasishka but they are quite different. The copper coins of Kanishka III are uniform in their design and style but they depict two kinds of Brahmi letters, eight letter *hu* or letter *pri*. The Brahmi letter *hu* is clear on one example but uncertain on the others. The king wears chain-mail dress covered with dots.

### **Vasudeva II**

This ruler is known by six coins and they were recovered from five different sites. All coins are known Buddhist sites and with except one they were picked from different cells of monastery area. Unlike his predecessor no coin of Vasudeva II is reported from hoards. These coins are identified by two types. One type has standing figure of king on the obverse and enthroned figure of Ardoxsho on the reverse. Another depicts seated king on the obverse and enthroned figure of Ardoxsho on the reverse. The first type is consisting of four coins and the latter two. All coins are in poor state of preservations. These coins usually bear Brahmi syllable *vasu* and sometimes additional letters too, but here only one example shows some traces of the said letter.

### **Shaka**

Two coins from Taxila excavations are attributed to Shaka. Both the coins came from the Buddhist site of Dharmarajika and they were found in stratified deposits and not in hoards. They are known in one type, having standing figure of king on the obverse and enthroned figure of Ardoxsho on the reverse. Shaka coins sometimes bear Brahmi letters. But it is due to the poor condition of these coins no such letter is visible on them.

**Table-A: Frequency Chart showing distribution of Vasudeva Coins to the sites**

Sites	Typology												Total
	1a	1b	1c	2a	2b	3a	3b	3a/3b	4a	4b	A	B	
Sirkap		1			1				1	1		4	8
Mahal													-
Sirsukh												2	2
Jandial C (Temple)										1		2	3
Dharmarajika	2	3	1	2	2	5	1	2	1	4	7	7	37
Chir Tope B									2	2		1	5
Chir Tope C													-
Kalawan				1				1		1	1	2	6
Giri, (C, E & D)										3			3
Kunala Stupa/ Mon												1	1
Ghai													-
Jandial B													-
Jandial D					1				1				2
Mohra Moradu	1				1	2	1	2		4			11
Jaulian												2	2
Bhamala													-
Kholay													-
Bhalla □ Tope													-
Hathial			1										1
Other Stray finds		4	1				2		1	5	2	2	17
<b>Total</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>98</b>

**Table-B (i): Contents of Taxila Hoards (Main)**

<i>King</i>	<i>Typology/ Variety</i>	<i>Hoard 64</i>	<i>Hoard 69</i>	<i>Hoard 373</i>	<i>Unmark A</i>	<i>Total</i>
Kushano-Sasanians	1. Hormizd I				26	<b>26</b>
	1a. Hormizd overstrikes				22	<b>22</b>
	2. Peroz II				2	<b>2</b>
	3. Overstrike on Later Kushan				1	<b>1</b>
F. Vasudeva	Late coins	4	1			<b>5</b>
F* Vasudeva Imitations	F*1a. Swastika Left	4	2	1		<b>7</b>
	F*1b. Swastika Right	2	6	3		<b>11</b>
	F*2a. Triangle with prongs	30	25	1		<b>56</b>
	F*2b. Double triangle	2				<b>2</b>
	F*2c. Triangle shallow hem	182	83	31		<b>296</b>
	F*2d. Triangle deep hem	51				<b>51</b>
	F*3a. Circle	11	8	1		<b>20</b>
	F*4a. No Triangle: shallow hem	105	38	28	5	<b>176</b>
	F*4b. No Triangle: deep hem	26			47	<b>73</b>
	F*4c. No Triangle: stylized				144	<b>144</b>
	F*4d. Figures segmented				17	<b>17</b>
	F*4e. Figures distorted				26	<b>26</b>
	F*4f. Figures in outlines				82	<b>82</b>
	F*4g. Figures in parallel lines				47	<b>47</b>
G. Kanishka II	G1a. Br. letter <i>vi</i>	2				<b>2</b>
	G1a/G1b (G1ab). Good (Early)	23	9	2		<b>34</b>
	G1a/G1b (G1ba). Crude (Later)	13	12	6		<b>31</b>
G*Kanishka II Imitation	G*1a. Early imitation		2	3		<b>5</b>
	G*1b. Late imitation				2	
	G*2b. Circle					
H. Vasishka	H1a. Oesho-bull <i>chhu</i> (Armour)	2		2		<b>4</b>
	H1b. Oesho-bull <i>tha</i> (Kaftan)	7	6	6		<b>19</b>
	H2a. Ardoxsho <i>chhu, ga</i> (Kaftan)	1				<b>1</b>
	H2b. Ardoxsho <i>chhu</i> (Kaftan)					
H* Vasishka Imitation	H*1a. Tall figures, details lost	5	1			<b>6</b>
J. Kanishka III	J1a.	1				<b>1</b>
	J1a/J1b. Ardoxsho, Armour	7				<b>7</b>
Uncertain	Oesho & Bull	2	1			<b>3</b>
<b>Total</b>		<b>480</b>	<b>194</b>	<b>84</b>	<b>421</b>	<b>1178</b>

**Table-B (ii): Contents of Taxila Hoards (Minor)**

<b>King</b>	<b>Typology/ Variety</b>	<b>Hoard 617</b>	<b>Hoard 940</b>	<b>Hoard 1069</b>	<b>Hoard 2020</b>	<b>Total</b>
F. Vasudeva	2E/2F. Early (pennant – trident)				2	<b>2</b>
	3a. Barred Trident				1	<b>1</b>
	3b. Semi circle of dots				2	<b>2</b>
	4a. No Symbol				2	<b>2</b>
F* Vasudeva Imitations	F*1a. Swastika left					
	F*1b. Swastika right					
	F*2a. Triangle with prongs					
	F*2b. Double triangle					
	F*2c. Triangle ( <b>A</b> ) shallow hem		1	1		<b>2</b>
	F*2d. Triangle ( <b>B</b> ) deep hem	1	2	1		<b>4</b>
	F*3a. Circle					
	F*4a. No Triangle: shallow hem	2	1	2		<b>5</b>
	F*4b. No Triangle: deep hem	4		2		<b>6</b>
	F*4c. Stylized Figures		1			<b>1</b>
	F*4d. Figures in Segments			1		<b>1</b>
	F*4e. Figures distorted		1			<b>1</b>
G. Kanishka II	G1a. Brahmi letter <i>vi</i>		1			<b>1</b>
G* Kanishka II Imitation	G*					
H. Vasishka	H1a. Oesho-bull <i>chhu</i> (Armour)					
	H1b. Oesho-bull <i>tha</i> (Kaftan)					
	H2a. Ardoxsho <i>chhu, ga</i> (Kaftan)					
	H2b. Ardoxsho <i>chhu</i> (Kaftan)		1			<b>1</b>
J. Kanishka III	J1a. Ardoxsho, Armour					
Uncertain	Oesho & Bull					
<b>Total</b>		<b>7</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>29</b>

Figure 1.1. Var. F1a. No trident in the field

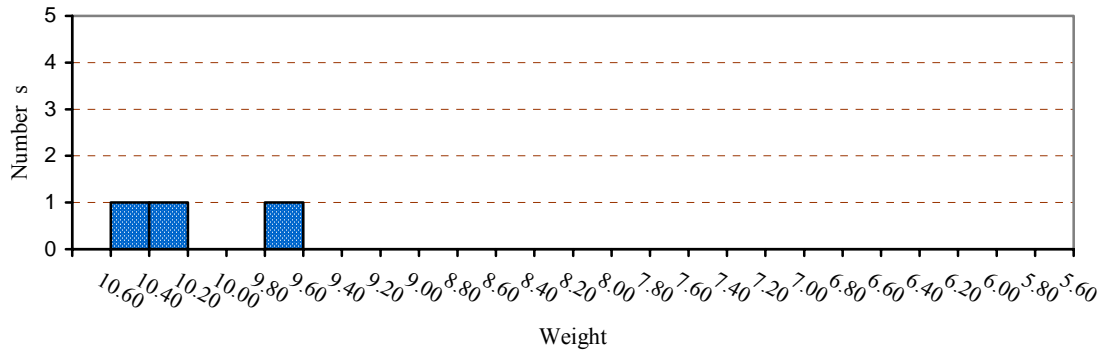


Figure 1.2. Var. F1b. Trident stands in the left field

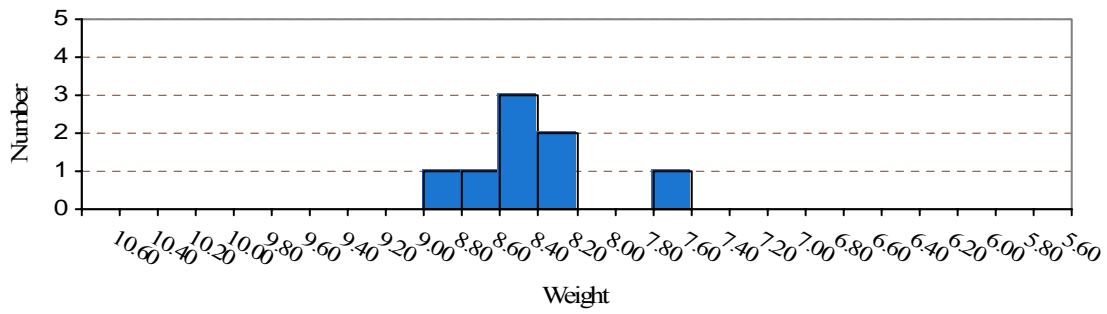


Figure 1.3. Var. F1c. Two Pennants to each Trident

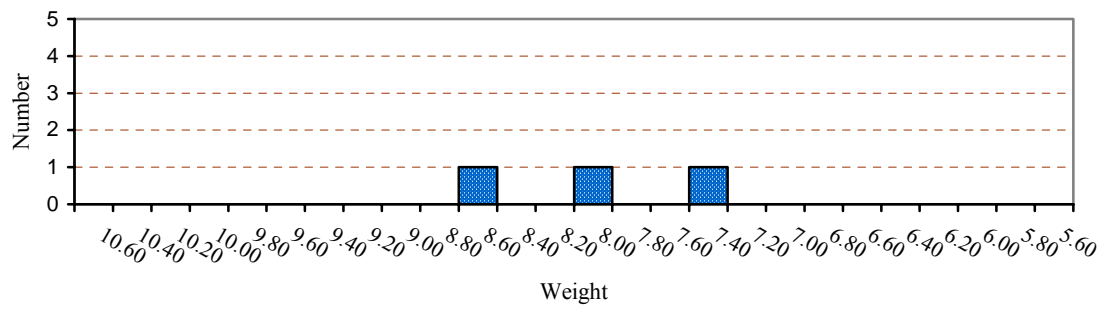


Figure 1.4. Var F2a. Trident with a Bar

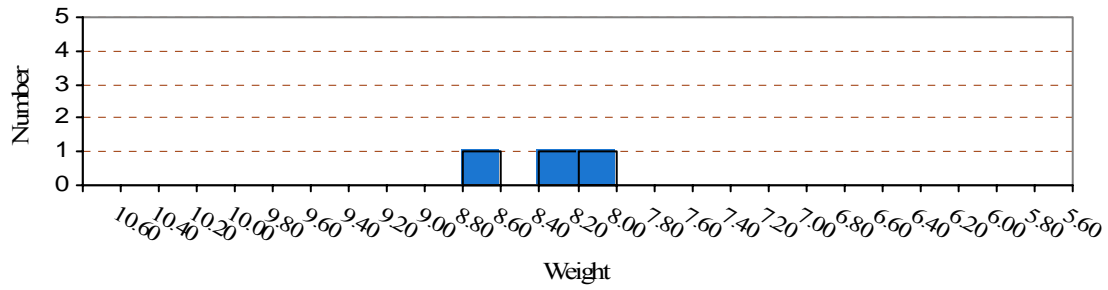


Figure 1.5. Var. F2b. Trident with semi-circle of dots

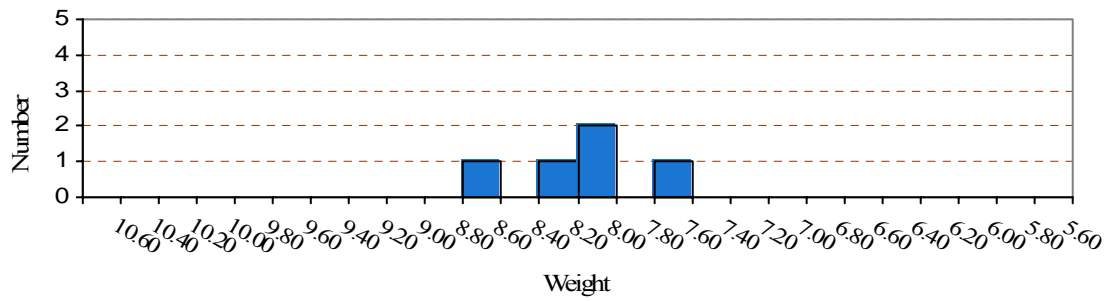


Figure 1.6. Var. F3a. Additional features removed

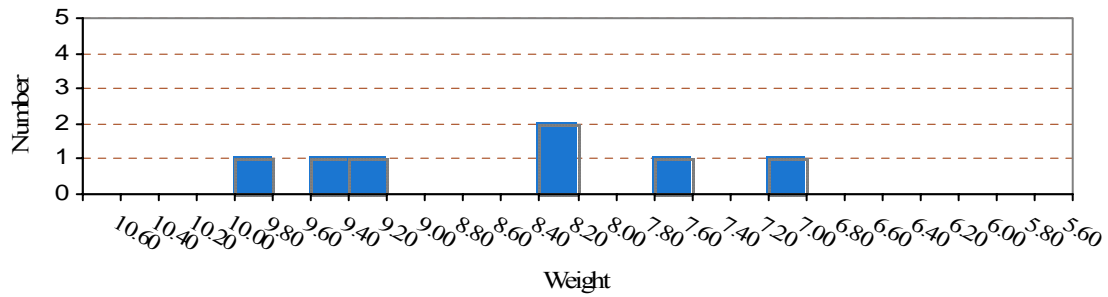


Figure 1.7. Var F3b. Legend disposition changed

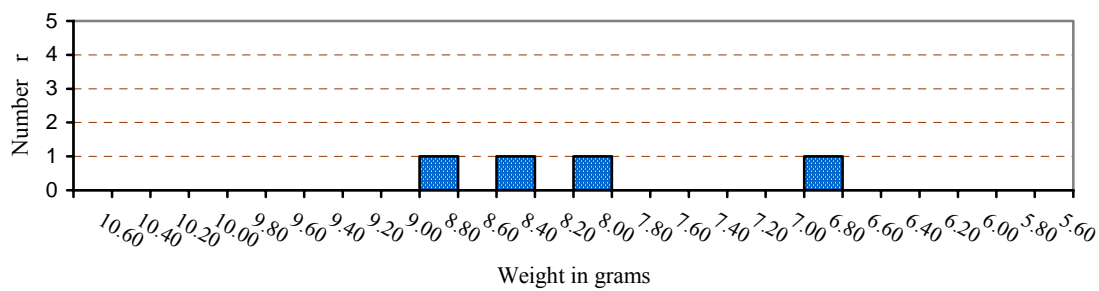


Figure 1.8. Var. F3a/3b. Legend unclear

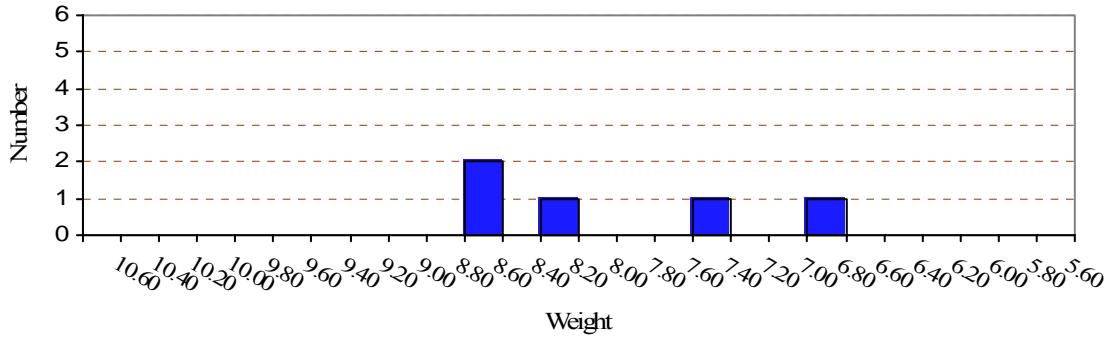


Figure 1.9. Var. F4a. Soter Megas Tanga in right Field

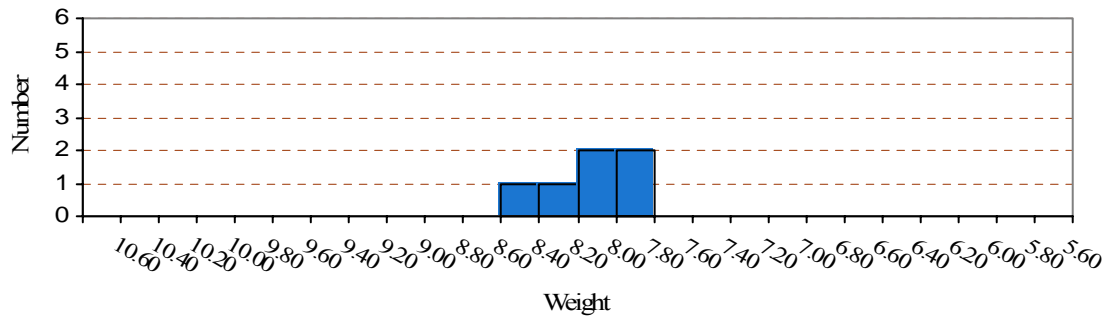


Figure 1.10. Var. F4b. Nandipada in right Field

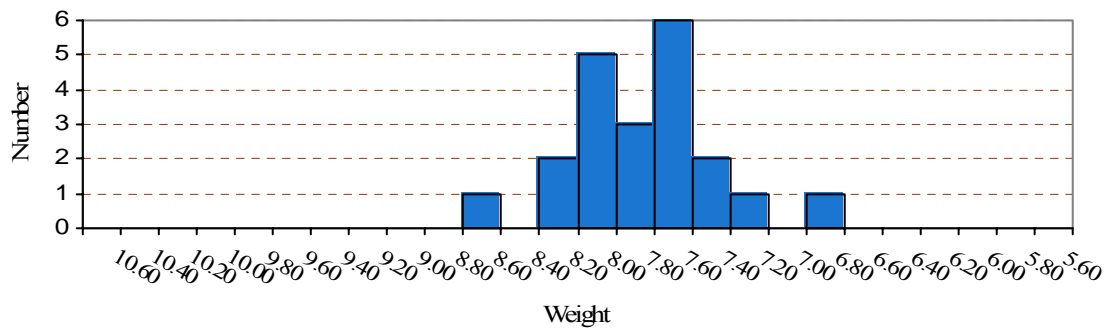


Figure 1.11. Var. FA. Mixed (Features unclear)

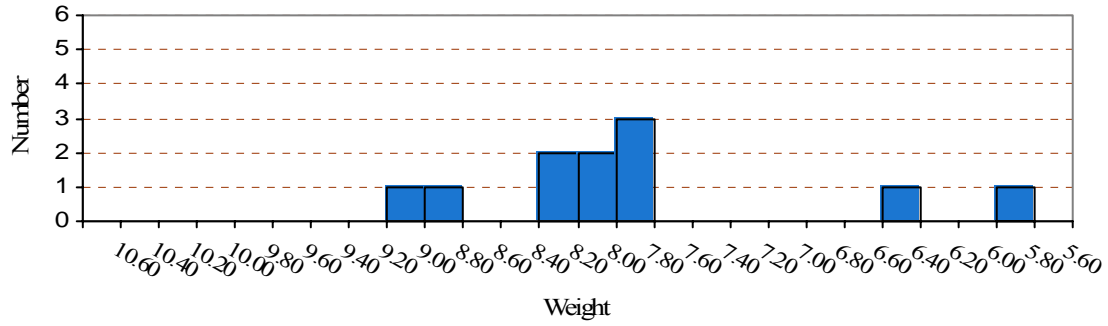


Figure 1.12. Var FB. Mixed (Features unclear, looking late)

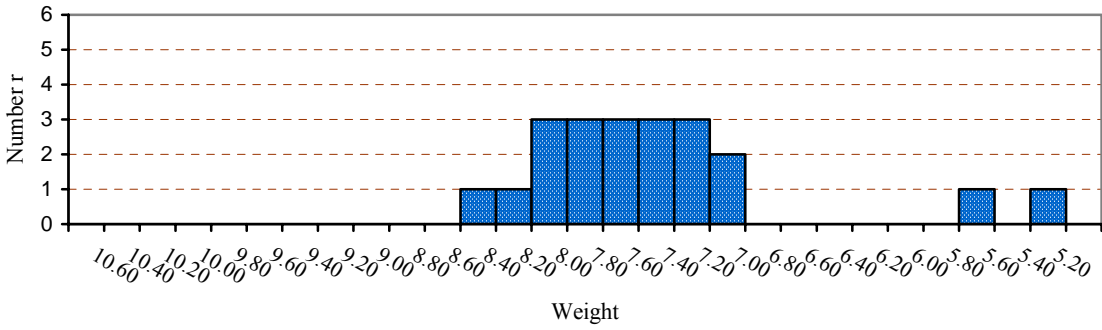
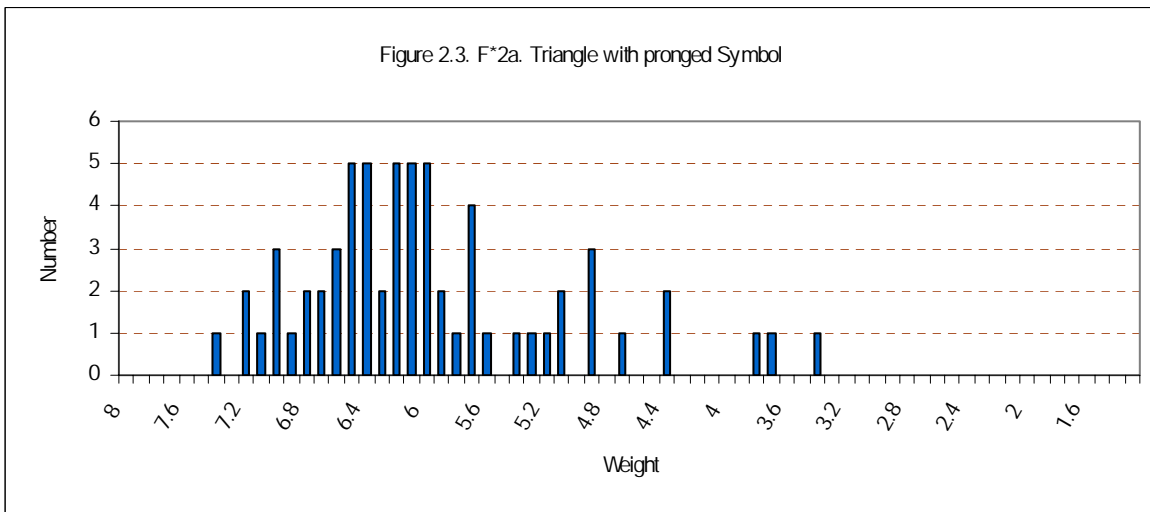
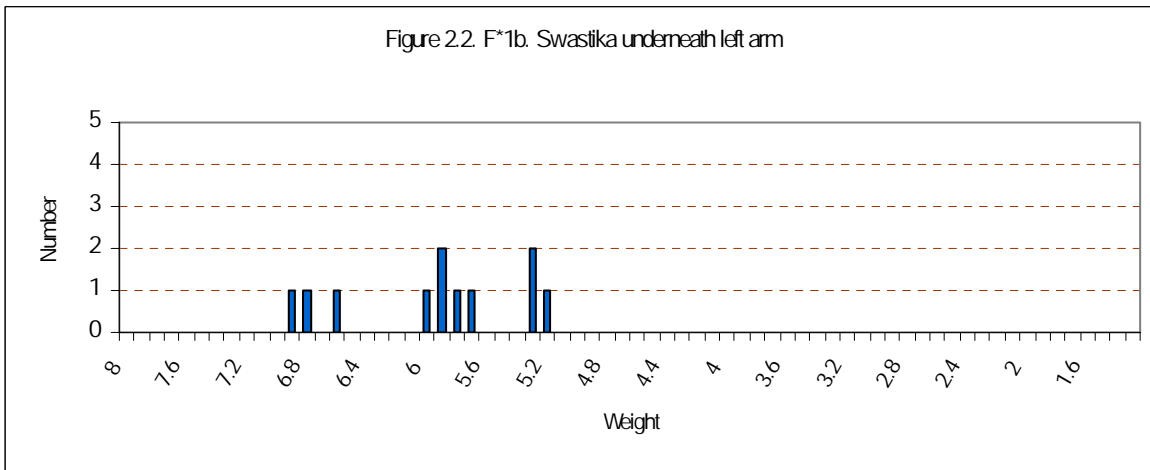
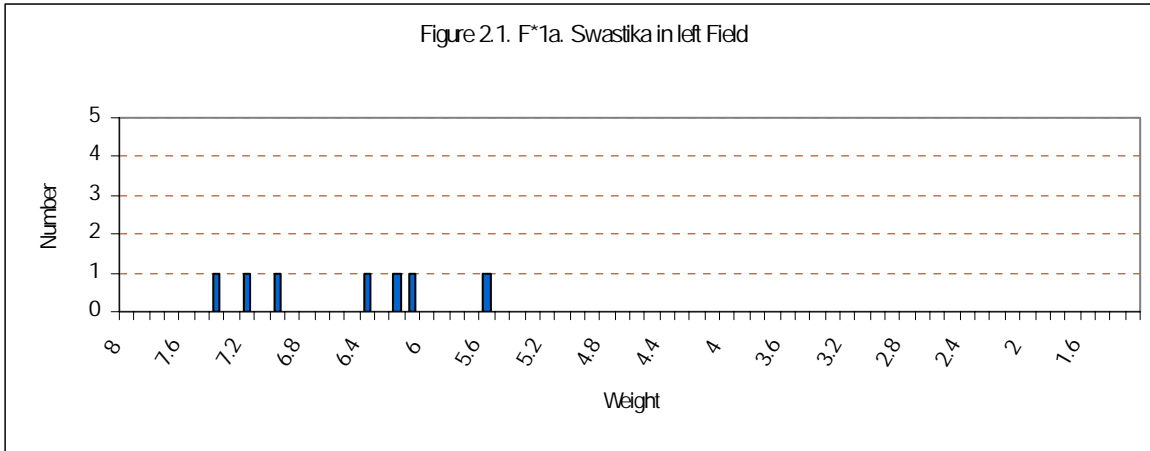
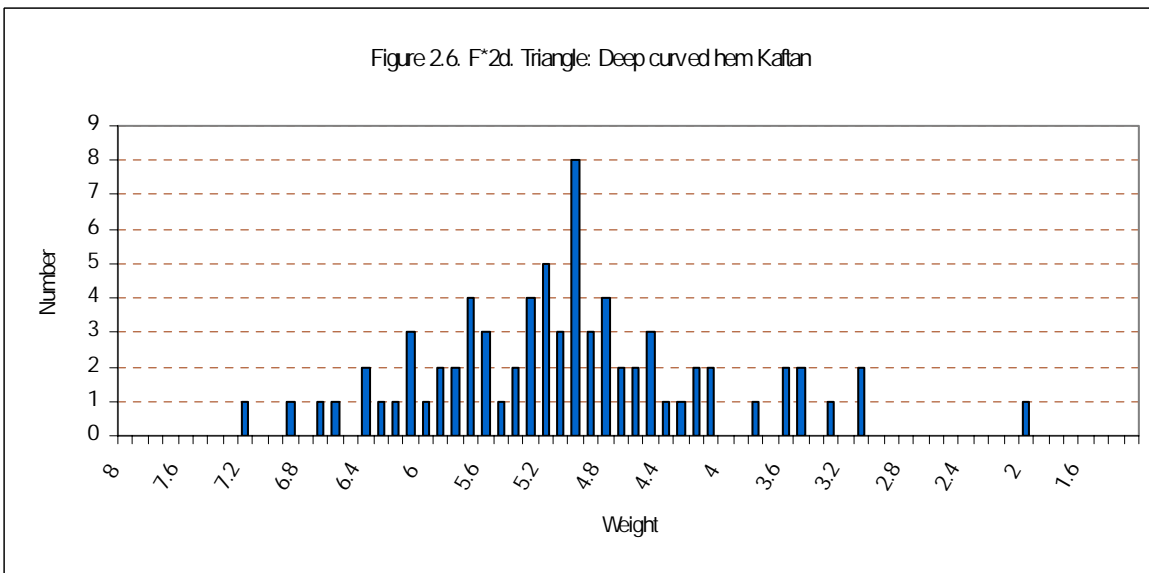
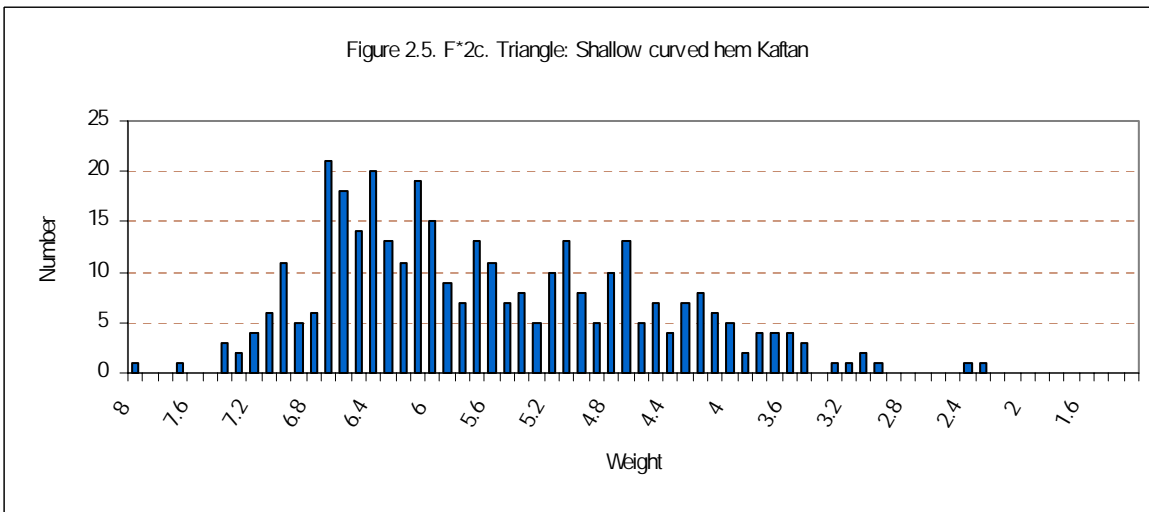
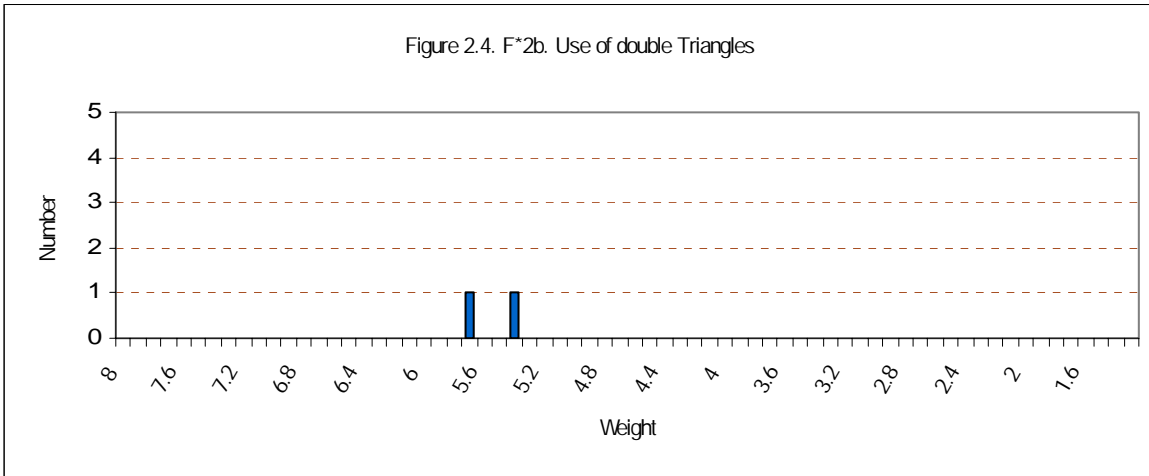
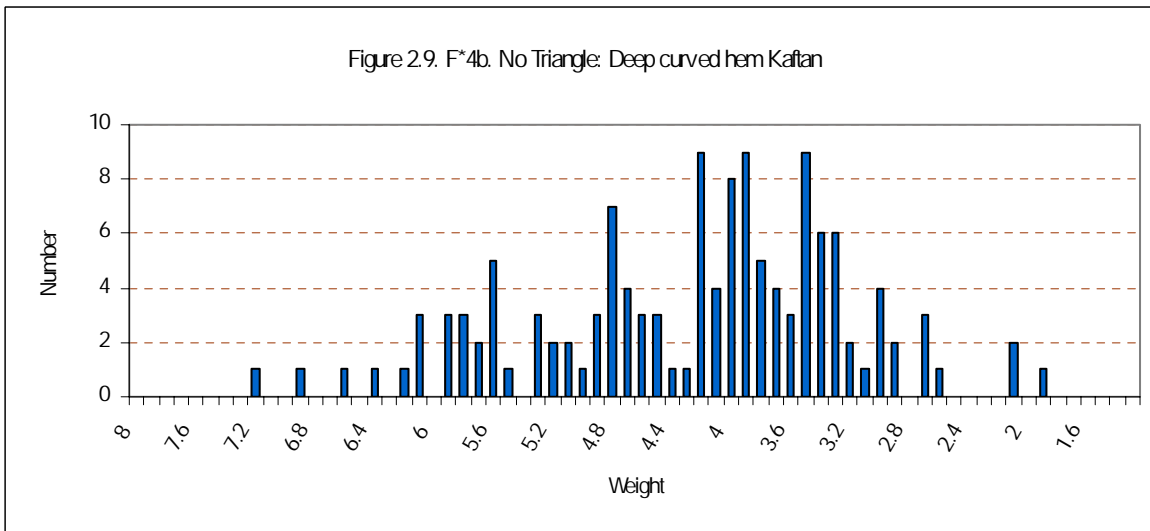
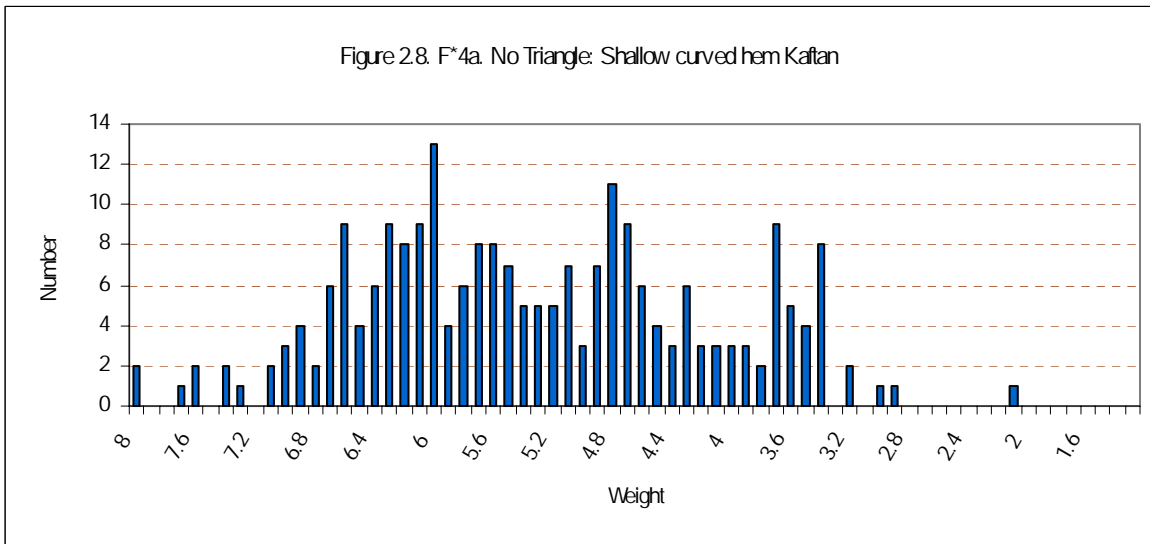
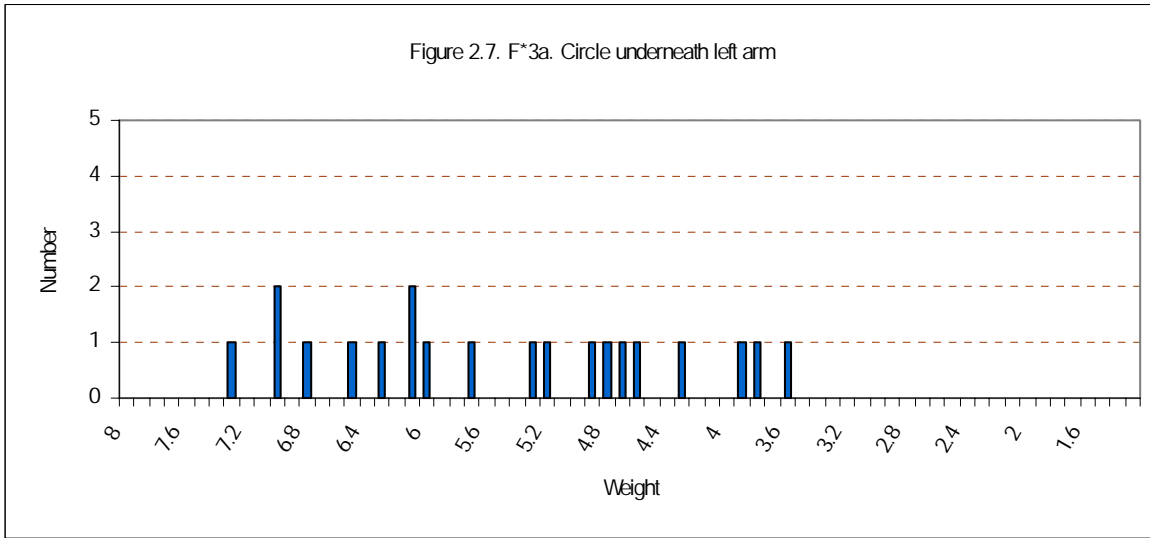
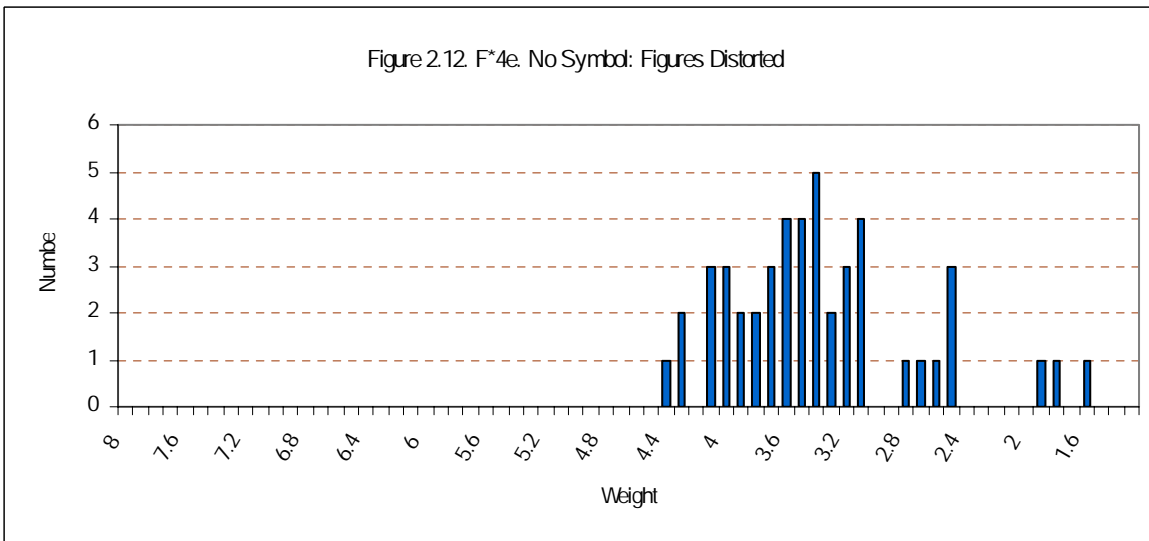
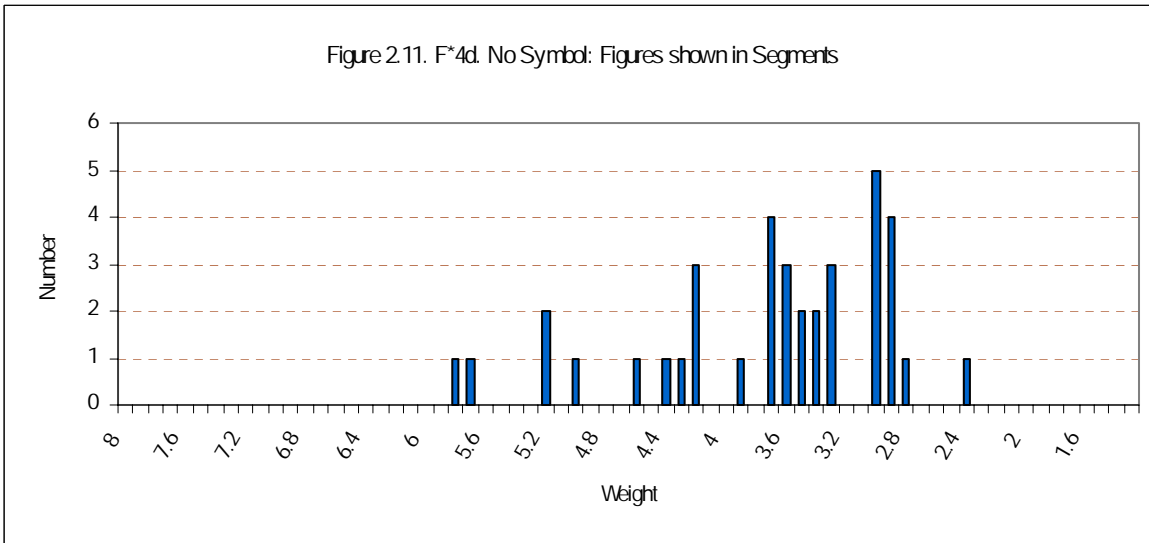
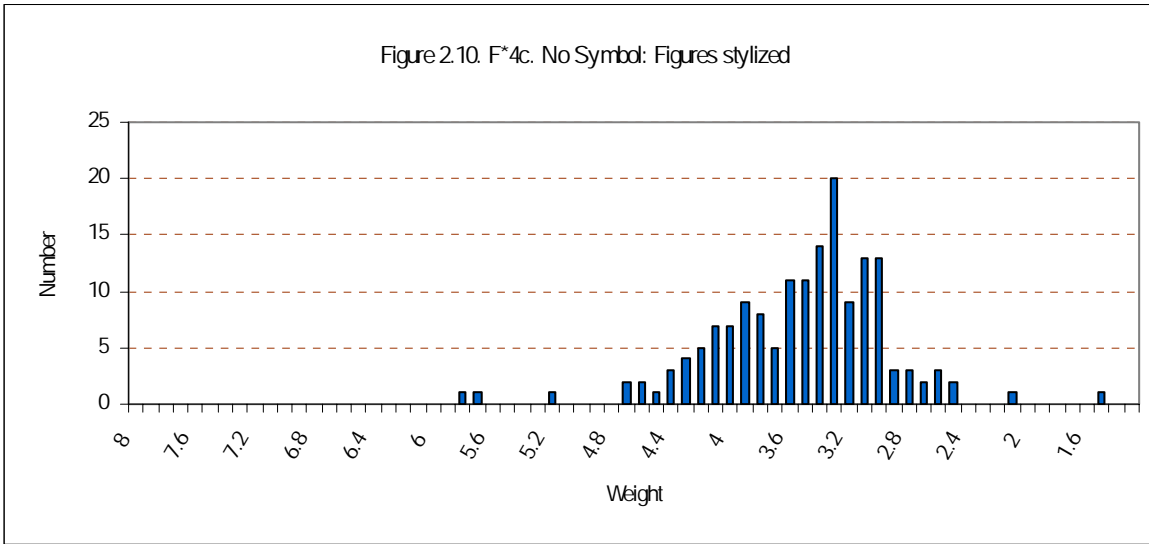


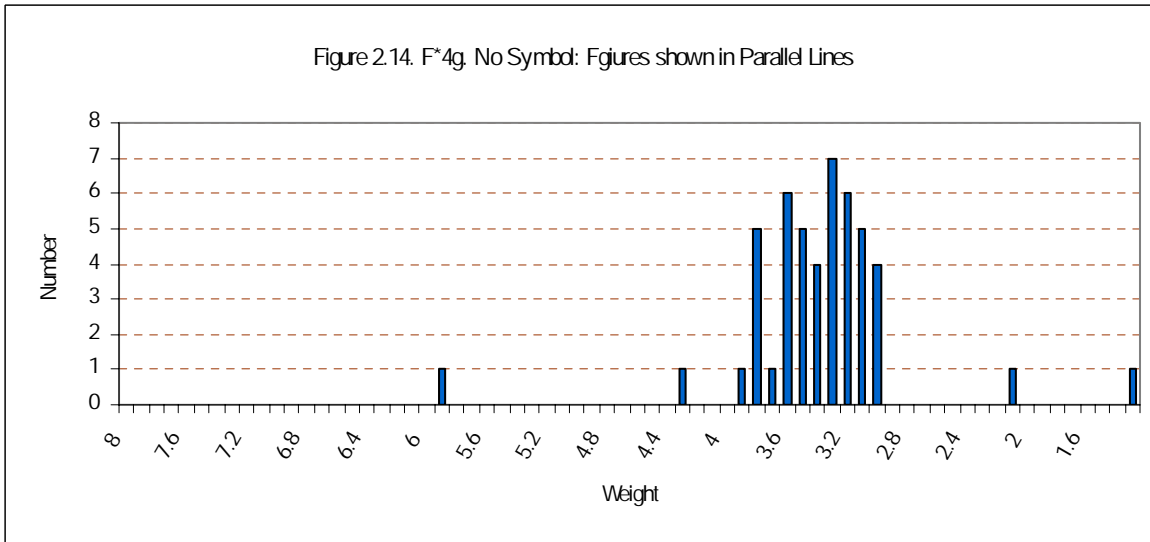
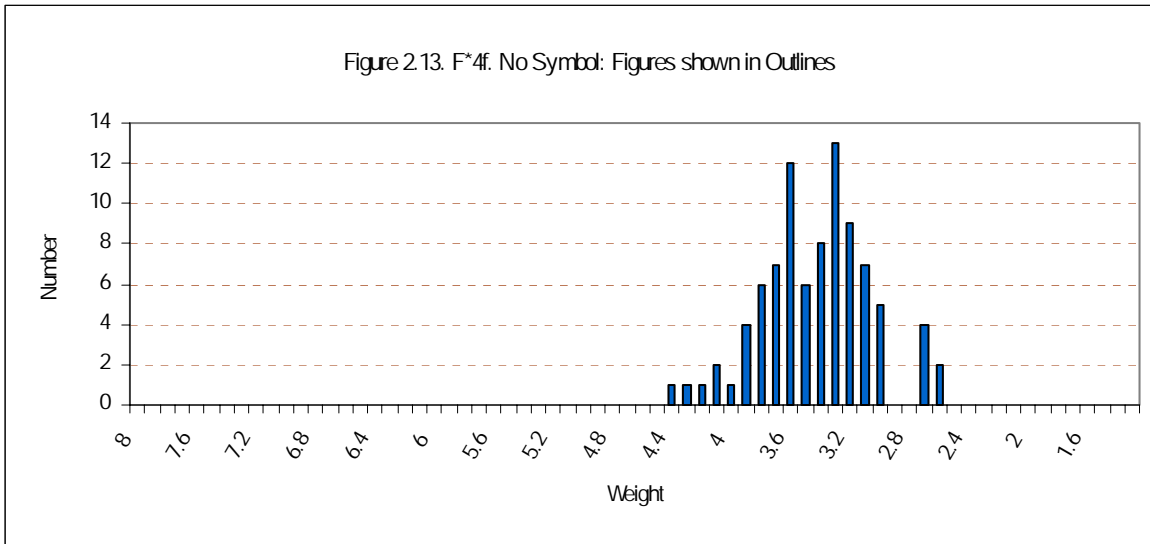
Chart 2. Imitations of Vasudeva I











## Catalogue of Vasudeva & Successor Coins from Taxila

### F. Vasudeva I

#### **Var. F1a: Early Issue, no trident in the field**

*Obv.* King standing frontally with head in profile to left; wears chain-mail dress and peaked helmet, right hand sacrificing over altar and holds a long trident in raised left hand. A single pennant attached to the shaft of trident in the right field.

Legend fragmentary PAO NANO PAO BAZOΔHO KOPANO

*Rev.* Two-armed Oesho standing to left, wears dhoti, holds a diadem in advanced right hand and long trident in raised left hand. Behind him bull standing to left.

Legend OHPO in upper left field and tamga in the right.

No.	CR #	MC #	FR #	Site	Location	Context (layer/depth)	Exc. Date	Wt (gm)
F1a.1	030.02	0003	0915	Dharmarajika	Main Stupa	East stair	13.12.13	10.5
F1a.2	030.01	0004	0916	Dharmarajika	Main Stupa	East stair	13.12.13	10.3
F1a.3	122.01	0015	0030	Mohra Moradu	Room-4	8-0 BS	15.11.15	09.8

#### **Var. F1b: Trident stands in the left field**

*Obv.* As 1a; a trident stands behind altar is added in the left field and a single pennant attached to the shaft of trident held by the king in his left hand.

Legend as 1a (fragmentary).

*Rev.* As 1a.

F1b.1	281.05	0371	0000	-----	-----	-----	-----	09.0
F1b.2	282.01	0373	0000	-----	-----	-----	-----	08.7
F1b.3	281.03	0370	0000	-----	-----	-----	-----	08.6
F1b.4	216.05	0013	0843	Sirkap	43-54	8-9 BS	17.03.25	08.5
F1b.5	025.02	0042	0188	Dharmarajika	Surface of Stupa	-----	09.04.18	08.5
F1b.6	024.06	0045	0087	Dharmarajika	7-16	13-11 BS	10.11.31	08.3
F1b.7	099.02	0522	0064	Dharmarajika	38-30	8-0 BS	02.12.35	08.3
F1b.8	282.05	0381	0000	-----	-----	-----	-----	07.8

#### **Var. F1c: Trident in the left field & two pennants each to the right and left tridents**

*Obv.* As 1b; a trident stands in the left field and two pennants attached to the right trident held by the king in his left hand and two to the trident stands in the left field behind altar.

Legend as 1a (fragmentary).

*Rev.* As 1a.

F1c.1	574.02	0043	0188	Dharmarajika	Surface of Stupa	30' high ground level	09.04.18	08.8
F1c.2	281.04	0368	0000	-----	-----	-----	-----	08.2
F1c.3	653.05	0001	0079	Hathial	-----	2-4 BS	11.03.13	07.6

#### **Var. F2a: Trident in the left field with a bar to the shaft below prongs**

*Obv.* As 1c; pennants removed and a bar is added to the shaft of trident stands in the left field.

Legend as 1a (fragmentary).

*Rev.* As 1a.

F2a.1	176.06	0004	0337	Kalawan	A-13 South East	Floor Level	26.01.32	08.7
-------	--------	------	------	---------	-----------------	-------------	----------	------

F2a.2	028.04	0015	2021	Dharmarajika	Stupa P6	Relic pot	14.05.14	08.4
F2a.3	027.06	0020	0670	Dharmarajika	P-4	-----	16.12.14	08.1

**Var. F2b: Trident in the left field, bar removed & use of Semi circle of dots**

*Obv.* As 2a; but bar is removed and a semi circle of dots attached to the shaft of trident held by the king in his left hand.

Legend as 1a, fragmentary.

*Rev.* As 1a.

F2b.1	149.06	0010	0294	Mohra Moradu	East side	2-9 BS	28.03.17	08.7
F2b.2	011.02	0083	0358	Dharmarajika	T-2	2-6 BS	05.12.16	08.4
F2b.3	029.01	0012	2020	Dharmarajika	Stupa P6	above Relic	14.05.14	08.2
F2b.4	490.04	0001	0102	Jandial D	G-13	3-0 BS	23.03.13	08.2
F2b.5	216.09	0009	0240	Sirkap	Spoil earth	-----	17.11.15	07.7

**Var. F3a: Trident in the left field & the additional features removed**

*Obv.* As 2a/2b; but additional features are removed.

Legend as 1a, begins at 1 o'clock (fragmentary).

*Rev.* As 1a.

F3a.1	028.06	0013	2020	Dharmarajika	Stupa P6	above Relic	14.05.14	09.9
F3a.2	120.01	0094	0022	Mohra Moradu	South East Room	12-0BS	07.12.15	09.5
F3a.3	028.03	0016	2021	Dharmarajika	Stupa P6	Relic pot	14.05.14	09.3
F3a.4	028.05	0014	2021	Dharmarajika	Stupa P6	Relic pot	14.05.14	08.4
F3a.5	029.02	0011	2020	Dharmarajika	Stupa P6	Relic pot	14.05.14	08.4
F3a.6	028.02	0017	2022	Dharmarajika	Stupa P6	below Relic	14.05.14	07.8
F3a.7	116.06	0182	0028	Mohra Moradu	Room-13	6-0 BS	22.02.16	07.1

**Var. F3b: Trident in the left field & disposition of legend changed**

*Obv.* As 3a; but the legend disposition changed from 1 o'clock to 7 o'clock.

*Rev.* As 1a.

F3b.1	575.02	0000	0375	-----	-----	-----	-----	09.0
F3b.2	575.06	0000	0000	-----	-----	-----	-----	08.6
F3b.3	029.05	0007	1479	Dharmarajika	P-4 North	3-6 BS	21.03.14	08.2
F3b.4	121.03	0049	0027	Mohra Moradu	South Room	3-6 BS	27.11.15	07.0

**Var. F3ab (F3a/ 3b): Trident in the left field & legend position uncertain**

*Obv.* As 3a/ 3b; the legend disposition is unclear.

*Rev.* As 1a.

F3ab.1	024.05	0048	0064	Dharmarajika	38-30	8-0 BS	02.12.35	08.7
F3ab.2	149.03	0015	0307	Mohra Moradu	Room-28	12-0BS	02.04.17	08.7
F3ab.3	163.05	0093	0375	Kalawan	Court E, Cell-8	0-6floor level	04.02.32	08.3
F3ab.4	117.01	0167	0026	Mohra Moradu	Room-14	3-0 BS	21.02.16	07.6
F3ab.5	026.05	0027	0616	Dharmarajika	T-2	2-0 BS	01.12.15	06.9

**Var. F4a: Trident in the left field & use of a Soter Megastamga**

*Obv.* As 3a; but a Soter Megastamga is added in the right field.

Legend as 1a (fragmentary).

**Rev.** As 1a.

F4a.1	183.03	0010	0090	Chir Tope B	East of A	2-6 BS	14.04.22	08.6
F4a.2	490.01	0004	0157	Jandial D	L-13	1-6 BS	02.04.13	08.3
F4a.3	216.12	0006	0493	Sirkap	60-68	6-0 BS	18.03.13	08.2
F4a.4	183.04	0009	0090	Chir Tope B	East of A	2-6 BS	14.04.22	08.1
F4a.5	027.04	0022	0737	Dharmarajika	B-20	3-6 BS	08.03.15	07.9
F4a.6	281.06	0372	0000	-----	-----	-----	-----	07.9

**Var. F4b: Trident in the left field & tamga is replaced by nandipada**

**Obv.** As 4a; but Soter Megas tamga in the right field is replaced by the *nanadipada* symbol.

Legend as 3b; begins at 7 o'clock (fragmentary).

**Rev.** As 1a

F4b.1	154.03	0004	0035	Chir Tope B	East of A-2	5-0 BS	07.04.22	08.7
F4b.2	282.06	0382	0000	-----	-----	-----	-----	08.4
F4b.3	151.01	0007	0234	Mohra Moradu	Room-4	5-0 BS	15.03.17	08.3
F4b.4	129.04	0022	0019	Sir Sukh	Pindora	3-0 BS	23.03.16	08.2
F4b.5	016.05	0050	0869	Dharmarajika	B 25 N	3-6 BS	18.03.15	08.2
F4b.6	116.05	0184	0045	Mohra Moradu	Room-7	3-6 BS	23.02.16	08.2
F4b.7	575.05	0000	0000	-----	-----	-----	-----	08.1
F4b.8	116.04	0188	0024	Mohra Moradu	Room-9	6-6 BS	24.02.16	08.1
F4b.9	001.05	0146	0691	Dharmarajika	12-39	16-0 BS	26.02.35	08.0
F4b.10	161.03	0111	0243	Kalawan	F-22	Floor level	07.03.33	08.0
F4b.11	283.03	0385	0000	-----	-----	-----	-----	07.9
F4b.12	217.03	0003	0044	Sirkap	-----	7-6 BS	01.03.13	07.8
F4b.13	083.04	0616	0064	Dharmarajika	41-22	0-5 BS	02.12.35	07.7
F4b.14	150.06	0003	0252	Mohra Moradu	Room-26	6-0 BS	17.03.17	07.7
F4b.15	497.05	0001	0030	Giri C	West of Stupa	2-6 BS	12.03.28	07.7
F4b.16	575.04	0000	0000	-----	-----	-----	-----	07.7
F4b.17	282.03	0379	0000	-----	-----	-----	-----	07.7
F4b.18	495.06	0002	0353	Giri E	R-12	5-3 BS	13.04.28	07.6
F4b.19	183.06	0005	0046	Chir Tope B	F-13	Surface	08.04.22	07.5
F4b.20	649.02	0002	0353	Giri D	R-12	5-3 BS	13.04.28	07.4
F4b.21	026.01	0031	1466	Dharmarajika	Main Stupa	East gate	10.04.16	06.9

**Var. FA: Trident in the left field; good style but features unclear**

**Obv.** King standing at altar to left, but symbol and additional feature uncertain and they are mixed with good style and seemingly early and middle stages.

Legend uncertain and fragmentary.

**Rev.** As 1a.

FA.1	019.03	0034	0440	Dharmarajika	R 03	Debris	07.12.14	09.1
FA.2	282.02	0374	0000	-----	-----	-----	-----	09.0
FA.3	026.02	0030	0109	Dharmarajika	B-3	Surface	20.03.16	08.4
FA.4	019.02	0035	0442	Dharmarajika	R 03	3-6 BS	07.12.14	08.3
FA.5	027.02	0024	1085	Dharmarajika	South East	-----	03.04.15	08.2
FA.6	490.03	0003	0239	Jandial C	22 Q	2-6 BS	19.04.13	08.2
FA.7	161.02	0116	0243	Kalawan	F-22	Floor level	07.03.33	08.0

FA.8	023.03	0010	1101	Dharmarajika	B-14	4-7 BS	05.04.13	08.0
FA.9	026.04	0028	0730	Dharmarajika	T-2	3-0 BS	03.12.15	07.9
FA.10	024.01	0006	0829	Dharmarajika	G-3	4-0 BS	03.04.13	06.5
FA.11	284.10	0417	0000	-----	-----	-----	-----	05.9

**Var. FB: Trident in the left field; late style and the symbols uncertain**

*Obv.* As A, but the symbols on such coins are not visible and they stylistically belong to late period.

Legend as A and fragmentary.

*Rev.* As 1a.

FB.1	217.05	0001	0000	Sirkap	Spoil Earth	-----	-----	08.5
FB.2	162.01	0104	0070	Kalawan	A-21	Floor level	10.02.33	08.3
FB.3	060.01	0493	0064	Dharmarajika	38-30	8-0 BS	02.12.35	08.2
FB.4	148.06	0018	0335	Jaulian	Relic Box	1-6 BS	03.05.17	08.2
FB.5	251.04	0022	0069	Chir Tope B	Broken Pot	-----	11.04.22	08.1
FB.6	129.03	0024	0020	Sir Sukh	Pindora	4-0 BS	23.03.16	08.0
FB.7	129.01	0056	0022	Sir Sukh	Pindora	6-0 BS	03.03.16	07.9
FB.8	137.03	0012	0000	Sirkap	Purchased	-----	-----	07.9
FB.9	026.06	0026	0615	Dharmarajika	T-2	2-0 BS	01.12.15	07.8
FB.10	176.01	0009	0367	Kalawan	Court e, Cell-8	0-6Floorlevel	03.02.32	07.8
FB.11	025.05	0034	0025	Dharmarajika	T-2 (South East)	2-0 BS	11.11.16	07.7
FB.12	216.04	0016	0143	Kunal Monastery	Entrance	10-0 BS	-----	07.6
FB.13	216.11	0007	0142	Sirkap	Spoil Earth	-----	04.12.13	07.6
FB.14	025.04	0036	0122	Dharmarajika	T-2	3-2 BS	17.11.16	07.5
FB.15	217.04	0002	0000	Sirkap	169-57	2-0 BS	-----	07.4
FB.16	153.02	0026	0049	Jaulian	Room-01	11-8BS	08.12.17	07.3
FB.17	284.08	0414	0000	-----	-----	-----	-----	07.3
FB.18	026.03	0029	0860	Dharmarajika	T-2	4-0 BS	04.12.15	07.2
FB.19	027.01	0025	0614	Dharmarajika	T-2	2-0 BS	01.12.15	07.2
FB.20	282.04	0380	0000	-----	-----	-----	-----	05.8
FB.21	029.04	0008	1761	Dharmarajika	G-04 W	3-0 BS	01.03.14	05.3

## **F\* Imitations of Vasudeva I**

### **Var. F\*1a: Early Imitation, Swastika in left field**

*Obv.* Figure of king standing with head in profile to left; wears kaftan (decorated with dots) and peaked helmet, belt round waist, right hand sacrificing over altar and holds knobbed staff in the raised left hand. Swastika symbol is placed in upper left field.

Bactrian legend off flan

*Rev.* Two-armed Oesho standing to left, wears dhoti, and holds a diadem in the advanced right hand and long trident in the raised left hand. Behind him bull standing to left.

Legend OHPO in right field and tamga in the upper left.

No.	CR #	MC #	FR #	Site	Location	Context (layer/depth)	Exc. Date	Wt (gm)
F*1a.1	099.06	0518	0064	Dharmarajika	38-30	8-0 BS	02.12.35	7.4
F*1a.2	258.10	0116	0069	Chir Tope B	Broken pot		11.04.22	7.2
F*1a.3	076.04	0394	0064	Dharmarajika	38-30	8-0 BS	02.12.35	7.0
F*1a.4	251.07	0025	0069	Chir Tope B	Broken pot		11.04.22	6.4
F*1a.5	069.01	0439	0064	Dharmarajika	38-30	8-0 BS	02.12.35	6.2
F*1a.6	163.02	0096	0543	Kalawan	East of A4	2-6 BS	24.02.32	6.1
F*1a.7	071.05	0423	0064	Dharmarajika	38-30	8-0 BS	02.12.35	5.6
F*1a.8	173.06	0026	0373	Kalawan	Cell-8, Court E	0.6 Floor lvl	03.02.32	5.2

### **Var. F\*1b: Early Imitation, Swastika in right field**

*Obv.* As F\*1a, but swastika is moved from left to right position and placed underneath left arm of the king.

Bactrian legend off flan

*Rev.* As F\*1a.

F*1b.1	257.12	0106	0069	Chir Tope B	Broken pot		11.04.22	6.9
F*1b.2	167.02	0071	0373	Kalawan	Cell-8, Court E	0.6 Floor lvl	03.02.32	6.8
F*1b.3	078.06	0380	0064	Dharmarajika	38-30	8-0 BS	02.12.35	6.6
F*1b.4	049.01	0232	0064	Dharmarajika	38-30	8-0 BS	02.12.35	6.0
F*1b.5	174.01	0025	0373	Kalawan	Cell-8, Court E	0.6 Floor lvl	03.02.32	5.9
F*1b.6	260.01	0131	0069	Chir Tope B	Broken pot		11.04.22	5.9
F*1b.7	253.05	0047	0069	Chir Tope B	Broken pot		11.04.22	5.8
F*1b.8	262.01	0155	0069	Chir Tope B	Broken pot		11.04.22	5.7
F*1b.9	175.03	0015	0373	Kalawan	Cell-8, Court E	0.6 Floor lvl	03.02.32	5.3
F*1b.10	259.12	0130	0069	Chir Tope B	Broken pot		11.04.22	5.3
F*1b.11	253.10	0052	0069	Chir Tope B	Broken pot		11.04.22	5.2

### **Var. F\*2a: Triangle with four Prongs**

*Obv.* As F\*1b, but swastika underneath left arm of the king is replaced by a triangle above four-pronged symbol.

Bactrian legend off flan

*Rev.* As F\*1a.

F*2a.1	036.01	0322	0064	Dharmarajika	38-30	8-0 BS	02.12.35	7.0
F*2a.2	001.02	0150	0064	Dharmarajika	38-30	8-0 BS	02.12.35	6.6
F*2a.3	002.01	0138	0222	Dharmarajika	09-22	16-6 BS	23.11.31	6.4
F*2a.4	033.05	0336	0064	Dharmarajika	38-30	8-0 BS	02.12.35	6.2
F*2a.5	038.02	0309	0064	Dharmarajika	38-30	8-0 BS	02.12.35	6.2
F*2a.6	032.03	0344	0064	Dharmarajika	38-30	8-0 BS	02.12.35	6.1

F*2a.7	001.07	0144	0397	Dharmarajika	16-38	16-0 BS	16.02.35	4.9
F*2a.8	015.02	0059	0703	Dharmarajika	T-2	2-6 BS	02.12.15	4.9
F*2a.9	039.05	0299	0064	Dharmarajika	38-30	8-0 BS	02.12.35	4.7
F*2a.10	031.04	0349	0064	Dharmarajika	38-30	8-0 BS	02.12.35	4.4
F*2a.11	008.06	0097	0928	Dharmarajika	South-east		30.03.17	3.7

**Var. F\*2b: Double Triangle with four Prongs**

*Obv.* As F\*1b, but two triangles placed one above the other instead of a triangle with four-prongs.

Bactrian legend off flan

*Rev.* As F\*1a.

F*2b.1	040.01	0296	0064	Dharmarajika	38-30	8-0 BS	02.12.35	5.7
F*2b.2	098.02	0528	0064	Dharmarajika	38-30	8-0 BS	02.12.35	5.4

**Var. F\*2c: Single Triangle without Prongs**

*Obv.* As F\*1b, but only one triangle underneath left arm of the king.

Bactrian legend off flan

*Rev.* As F\*1a.

F*2c.1	037.03	0314	0064	Dharmarajika	38-30	8-0 BS	02.12.35	7.6
F*2c.2	001.03	0148	0064	Dharmarajika	38-30	8-0 BS	02.12.35	7.2
F*2c.3	008.05	0098	0937	Dharmarajika	South east		31.03.17	6.9
F*2c.4	001.12	0139	1059	Dharmarajika	South east		05.05.17	6.5
F*2c.5	005.05	0116	1069	Dharmarajika	Monastery 5/b	3-3 BS	14.05.17	6.4
F*2c.6	001.06	0145	0064	Dharmarajika	38-30	8-0 BS	02.12.35	6.1
F*2c.7	004.03	0124	0076	Dharmarajika	C-3	4-4 BS	17.03.31	5.9
F*2c.8	007.04	0105	0953	Dharmarajika	South east		07.04.17	5.5
F*2c.9	009.02	0095	0915	Dharmarajika	South east		28.03.17	5.5
F*2c.10	008.01	0102	0940	Dharmarajika	M-5/9	3-0 BS	05.04.17	5.4
F*2c.11	009.03	0094	0900	Dharmarajika	South east		23.03.17	5.4
F*2c.12	040.02	0295	0064	Dharmarajika	38-30	8-0 BS	02.12.35	4.9
F*2c.13	009.01	0096	0922	Dharmarajika	South east		29.03.17	4.5

**Var. F\*2d: Single Triangle without Prongs, Deep curved hem**

*Obv.* As F\*2c, triangle underneath left arm and king's kaftan has deep curved hem.

Bactrian legend off flan

*Rev.* As F\*1a.

F*2d.1	011.06	0079	0076	Dharmarajika	T-2	3-6 BS	14.11.16	6.1
F*2d.2	012.04	0075	1597	Dharmarajika	E-4/1	8-0 BS	15.04.16	5.9
F*2d.3	001.10	0141	0283	Dharmarajika	13-43	7-6 BS	05.02.35	5.7
F*2d.4	067.02	0450	0064	Dharmarajika	38-30	8-0 BS	02.12.35	5.3
F*2d.5	031.01	0352	0064	Dharmarajika	38-30	8-0 BS	02.12.35	5.2
F*2d.6	005.06	0115	1069	Dharmarajika	Monastery 5/b	3-3 BS	14.05.17	5.0
F*2d.7	002.06	0133	0681	Dharmarajika	15-11	4-0 BS	07.04.31	4.8
F*2d.8	018.02	0041	0636	Dharmarajika	Debris west of P4		15.12.14	4.6
F*2d.9	007.06	0103	0940	Dharmarajika	M-5/9	3-0 BS	05.04.17	4.5
F*2d.10	068.02	0444	0064	Dharmarajika	38-30	8-0 BS	02.12.35	4.5
F*2d.11	001.09	0142	0319	Dharmarajika	19-37	6-0 BS	11.02.35	4.3
F*2d.12	003.05	0128	0617	Dharmarajika	14-11	5-0 BS	02.04.31	4.2

F*2d.13	016.06	0053	1024	Dharmarajika	West of Stupa		29.03.15	4.0
F*2d.14	008.02	0101	0940	Dharmarajika	M-5/9	3-0 BS	05.04.17	3.1

**Var. F\*3a: Circle underneath left arm**

*Obv.* As F\*2d, but no triangle and there is a circle underneath left arm of the king or sometimes near altar.  
Bactrian legend off flan

*Rev.* As F\*1a.

F*3a.1	065.01	0463	0064	Dharmarajika	38-30	8-0 BS	02.12.35	7.3
F*3a.2	054.05	0186	0064	Dharmarajika	38-30	8-0 BS	02.12.35	7.0
F*3a.3	259.01	0119	0069	Chir Tope B	Broken pot		11.04.22	7.0
F*3a.4	263.03	0169	0069	Chir Tope B	Broken pot		11.04.22	6.8
F*3a.5	077.01	0391	0064	Dharmarajika	38-30	8-0 BS	02.12.35	6.5
F*3a.6	260.10	0140	0069	Chir Tope B	Broken pot		11.04.22	6.3
F*3a.7	036.05	0318	0064	Dharmarajika	38-30	8-0 BS	02.12.35	6.1
F*3a.8	260.09	0139	0069	Chir Tope B	Broken pot		11.04.22	6.1
F*3a.9	041.03	0287	0064	Dharmarajika	38-30	8-0 BS	02.12.35	6.0
F*3a.10	255.06	0076	0069	Chir Tope B	Broken pot		11.04.22	5.7
F*3a.11	062.03	0479	0064	Dharmarajika	38-30	8-0 BS	02.12.35	5.3
F*3a.12	252.08	0038	0069	Chir Tope B	Broken pot		11.04.22	5.2
F*3a.13	054.04	0187	0064	Dharmarajika	38-30	8-0 BS	02.12.35	4.9
F*3a.14	044.03	0266	0064	Dharmarajika	38-30	8-0 BS	02.12.35	4.8
F*3a.15	050.06	0219	0064	Dharmarajika	38-30	8-0 BS	02.12.35	4.7
F*3a.16	253.06	0048	0069	Chir Tope B	Broken pot		11.04.22	4.6
F*3a.17	260.02	0132	0069	Chir Tope B	Broken pot		11.04.22	4.3
F*3a.18	051.06	0212	0064	Dharmarajika	38-30	8-0 BS	02.12.35	3.9
F*3a.19	091.01	0571	0064	Dharmarajika	38-30	8-0 BS	02.12.35	3.8
F*3a.20	007.02	0107	1018	Dharmarajika	South east		17.04.17	3.6

**Var. F\*4a: No Symbol like triangle or circle**

*Obv.* As F\*2d, but there is no triangle (or circle) and the figure is shown in crude style.

Bactrian legend off flan

*Rev.* As F\*1a.

F*4a.1	001.01	0149	0064	Dharmarajika	38-30	8-0 BS	02.12.35	7.0
F*4a.2	035.06	0323	0064	Dharmarajika	38-30	8-0 BS	02.12.35	6.9
F*4a.3	010.06	0087	0471	Dharmarajika	T-2	1-0 BS	14.12.16	6.4
F*4a.4	010.05	0086	0467	Dharmarajika	West of G5	3-6 BS	13.12.16	6.1
F*4a.5	003.02	0131	0617	Dharmarajika	14-11	5-0 BS	02.04.31	6.0
F*4a.6	004.06	0121	1073	Dharmarajika	T/5	2-7 BS	15.05.17	5.9
F*4a.7	031.03	0350	0064	Dharmarajika	38-30	8-0 BS	02.12.35	5.9
F*4a.8	007.03	0106	0977	Dharmarajika	South east		09.04.17	5.7
F*4a.9	035.05	0324	0064	Dharmarajika	38-30	8-0 BS	02.12.35	5.5
F*4a.10	033.02	0339	0064	Dharmarajika	38-30	8-0 BS	02.12.35	5.4
F*4a.11	010.04	0085	0390	Dharmarajika	T-2	2-6 BS	06.12.16	4.2
F*4a.12	003.04	0129	0617	Dharmarajika	14-11	5-0 BS	02.04.31	3.8
F*4a.13	006.03	0112	1046	Dharmarajika	R/1	Fountain lvl	27.04.17	3.8
F*4a.14	005.03	0118	1069	Dharmarajika	T-5/6	3-3 BS	14.05.17	3.5
F*4a.15	007.05	0104	0940	Dharmarajika	M-5/9	3-0 BS	05.04.17	3.5
F*4a.16	004.05	0122	0085	Dharmarajika	Debris	4-4 BS	18.03.18	3.4

F*4a.17	005.02	0119	1069	Dharmarajika	T-5/6	3-3 BS	14.05.17	3.2
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**Var. F\*4b: No Symbol, deep curved hem**

*Obv.* As F\*4a, but there is a deep curved hem of the king's dress and the figure is shown in crude style.

Bactrian legend off flan

*Rev.* As F\*1a.

F*4b.1	004.04	0123	0192	Dharmarajika	Debris	4-4 BS	14.04.18	6.2
F*4b.2	056.04	0168	0064	Dharmarajika	38-30	8-0 BS	02.12.35	6.1
F*4b.3	002.03	0136	0098	Dharmarajika	15-24	15-8 BS	11.11.31	5.7
F*4b.4	007.01	0108	1024	Dharmarajika	South east		19.04.17	4.9
F*4b.5	043.06	0269	0064	Dharmarajika	38-30	8-0 BS	02.12.35	4.8
F*4b.6	006.02	0113	1047	Dharmarajika	South east		27.04.17	4.6
F*4b.7	005.01	0120	1069	Dharmarajika	Monastery 5/b	3-3 BS	14.05.17	4.5
F*4b.8	036.02	0321	0064	Dharmarajika	38-30	8-0 BS	02.12.35	4.5
F*4b.9	003.03	0130	0617	Dharmarajika	14-11	5-0 BS	02.04.31	4.2
F*4b.10	005.04	0117	1069	Dharmarajika	Monastery 5/b	3-3 BS	14.05.17	4.2
F*4b.11	003.06	0127	0617	Dharmarajika	14-11	5-0 BS	02.04.31	4.1
F*4b.12	003.01	0132	0617	Dharmarajika	14-11	5-0 BS	02.04.31	4.0
F*4b.13	009.04	0093	0889	Dharmarajika	4	2-0 BS	21.03.17	3.9
F*4b.14	004.01	0126	0617	Dharmarajika	14-11	5-0 BS	02.04.31	3.7

**Var. F\*4c: No Symbol, the figures are stylized**

*Obv.* As F\*4a, but the figure is much stylized, and the body near chest appears in cross-bands.

Bactrian legend off flan

*Rev.* As F\*1a, but the figures are styled and shown in segments.

F*4c.1	006.04	0111	1040	Dharmarajika	M-5/E	1-8 BS	25.04.17	4.7
F*4c.2	012.02	0077	0021	Dharmarajika	Monastery S	5-6 BS	11.11.16	4.7
F*4c.3	341.11							3.8
F*4c.4	010.02	0089	0648	Dharmarajika	Corner yard	1-0 BS	21.01.17	3.7
F*4c.5	012.03	0076	0020	Dharmarajika	Monastery S	5-6 BS	11.11.16	3.4
F*4c.6	015.06	0055	0203	Dharmarajika	R-3	2-0 BS	10.11.15	3.4
F*4c.7	012.06	0073	1540	Dharmarajika	Monastery St2	8-0 BS	11.04.16	3.3
F*4c.8	152.06	0028	0028	Jaulian	Room 1	11-0 BS	10.12.17	3.3
F*4c.9	004.02	0125	0209	Dharmarajika	Surface		20.03.21	3.2
F*4c.10	006.05	0110	1031	Dharmarajika	M-5/C	1-6 BS	21.04.17	2.8
F*4c.11	020.05	0026	1775	Dharmarajika	West of Tope		01.04.14	2.7
F*4c.12	017.02	0047	0807	Dharmarajika	R-6	4-0 BS	16.03.15	2.5

**Var. F\*4d: No Symbol, the figures are in segments**

*Obv.* As F\*4a, but the figure is shown in segments.

*Rev.* As F\*1a, but the figures are styled and shown in segments.

F*4d.1	012.01	0078	0046	Dharmarajika	T-2	3-6 BS	11.11.16	4.4
F*4d.2	002.02	0137	0310	Dharmarajika	19-19	13-0 BS	01.12.31	4.2
F*4d.3	010.03	0088	0524	Dharmarajika	Monastery	1-6 BS	22.12.16	3.6
F*4d.4	006.01	0114	1069	Dharmarajika	Monastery 5/b	3-3 BS	14.05.17	3.5
F*4d.5	015.04	0057	0692	Dharmarajika	T-2	2-6 BS	01.12.15	3.3
F*4d.6	011.01	0084	0383	Dharmarajika	T-2	2-6 BS	05.12.16	3.0

F*4d.7	013.02	0071	1455	Dharmarajika	Monastery St2	6-0 BS	08.04.16	3.0
F*4d.8	121.05	0026	0025	Mohra Moradu	Room 6	6-0 BS	18.11.15	3.0
F*4d.9	002.05	0134	0729	Dharmarajika	21-17	7-8 BS	10.04.31	2.9
F*4d.10	015.03	0058	0702	Dharmarajika	T-2	2-6 BS	02.12.15	2.9
F*4d.11	154.01	0021	0031	Jaulian	Outside	Debris	12.04.18	2.9
F*4d.12	014.03	0064	0943	Dharmarajika	B 26	6-0 BS	07.12.15	2.4

**Var. F\*4e: No Symbol, the figures distorted**

*Obv.* As F\*4a, but the figure is distorted and lost its real form.

*Rev.* As F\*4d, the figures are shown converging into lines.

F*4e.1	341.01							4.3
F*4e.2	346.08							4.3
F*4e.3	341.08							4.1
F*4e.4	350.11							4.1
F*4e.5	350.09							3.7
F*4e.6	008.03	0100	0940	Dharmarajika	M-5/9	3-0 BS	05.04.17	3.6
F*4e.7	343.07							3.5
F*4e.8	152.04	0008	0308	Jaulian	Room-3	12-0 BS	02.04.17	3.1
F*4e.9	344.05							3.1
F*4e.10	214.11	0001	0628	Sirkap	87-69	10-0 BS	20.05.14	1.8

**Var. F\*4f: No Symbol, the figures are degenerate**

*Obv.* As F\*4da, but the figure is shown in outlines.

*Rev.* As F\*4d, the figures are usually shown in lines.

F*4f.1	145.04	0005	0268	Mohra Moradu	Room 2	13-0 BS	20.03.17	3.8
F*4f.2	341.04							3.7
F*4f.3	342.12							3.6
F*4f.4	343.10							3.6
F*4f.5	342.01							3.4
F*4f.6	341.07							3.3
F*4f.7	342.11							3.1
F*4f.8	341.02							3.0

**Var. F\*4g: No Symbol, the figures are shown in lines**

*Obv.* As F\*4g, but the figure is shown in lines.

*Rev.* As F\*4d, the figures are depicted in vertical parallel lines.

F*4g.1	344.06							3.8
F*4g.2	341.09							3.5
F*4g.3	346.06							3.4
F*4g.4	345.04							3.3
F*4g.5	345.12							3.3
F*4g.6	344.02							3.2
F*4g.7	344.04							3.1
F*4g.8	346.03							3.1
F*4g.9	344.07							3.0
F*4g.10	343.11							2.1

## Kanishka II & Successors

### G. Kanishka II

#### **Type. G1a: Standing king & Ardoxsho, Brahmi letter Vi**

*Obv.* King standing frontally with head in profile to left; wears kaftan (decorated with dots) and peaked helmet, belt round waist, right hand sacrificing over altar and holds knobbed staff in the raised left hand. Brahmi letter *vi* in the right field.

Bactrian legend ΠΑΟΝΑΝΟΠΑΟ ΚΑΝΗΠΚΟ ΚΟΠΑΝΟ 1 o'clock

*Rev.* Goddess Ardoxsho seated on a throne facing frontally, holds a diadem in the right hand and cornucopia in the left. Bactrian legend ΑΡΔΟΧΠΟ in the right field and tamga in the left.

No.	CR #	MC #	FR #	Site	Location	Context (layer/depth)	Exc. Date	Wt (gm)
G1a.1	191.12	0054	1069	Dharmarajika	S Monastery 5/b	3-3 BS	14.05.17	8.2
G1a.2	193.02	0036	1074	Dharmarajika	S of D10	6-0 BS	02.03.16	8.0
G1a.3	283.10	0398	0000					7.9
G1a.4	192.12	0039	0080	Dharmarajika	T 02	2-9 BS	15.11.16	7.6
G1a.5	117.05	0263	0065	Mohra Moradu	Outside	4-0 BS	22.03.16	7.0
G1a.6	184.07	0123	0064	Dharmarajika	38-30	8-0 BS	01.12.35	6.9
G1a.7	189.05	0091	0064	Dharmarajika	38-30	8-0 BS	01.12.35	6.9
G1a.8	215.05	0009	2435	Sirkap	Spoil earth		10.04.15	6.6

#### **Type. G1b: Standing king & Ardoxsho, Kharoshthi letter VI**

*Obv.* As G1a, but Brahmi letter (*vi*) is replaced by a Kharoshthi letter *vi*.

Bactrian legend as G1a

*Rev.* As G1a.

G1b.1	117.03	0285	0002	Mohra Moradu	Stupa	10-6 BS	31.03.16	7.7
G1b.2	215.06	0008	1509	Sirkap	61-73	3-10 BS	04.03.15	7.0

#### **Type. G1a/G1b: Standing king & Ardoxsho, early style but letter uncertain**

*Obv.* As G1a & G1b, but letter uncertain.

Bactrian legend as G1a

*Rev.* As G1a.

G1ab.1	184.10	0119	0064	Dharmarajika	38-30	8-0 BS	02.12.35	8.5
G1ab.2	215.11	0003	0000	Sirkap	46-76	3-0 BS	-----	8.5
G1ab.3	189.06	0090	0064	Dharmarajika	38-30	8-0 BS	02.12.35	7.9
G1ab.4	194.12	0010	1790	Dharmarajika	B 16	2-0 BS	14.04.13	7.9
G1ab.5	135.02	0025	0002	Badalpur Chapel	Chapel		22.11.16	7.8
G1ab.6	151.03	0007	0335	Jaulian	Relic casket	1-6 BS	03.05.17	7.8
G1ab.7	189.01	0095	0064	Dharmarajika	38-30	8-0 BS	02.12.35	7.8
G1ab.8	147.03	0038	0104	Kalawan	B 15	12-0BS	13.02.33	7.8
G1ab.9	147.06	0033	0677	Kalawan	S of A5	2-6 BS	08.03.32	7.8
G1ab.10	190.10	0072	0116	Dharmarajika	17-16	17.6 BS	12.11.31	7.7
G1ab.11	193.11	0025	1572	Dharmarajika	North of Tope	Debris	25.03.14	7.7
G1ab.12	283.07	0395	0000					7.7
G1ab.13	158.02	0001	0000	Bhallar Tope	-----	-----	10.12.16	7.7
G1ab.14	283.08	0396	0000					7.7
G1ab.15	183.11	0135	0064	Dharmarajika	38-30	8-0 BS	02.12.35	7.6

G1ab.16	190.04	0077	0429	Dharmarajika	17-38	15-0 BS	18.02.35	7.6
G1ab.17	201.05	0111	0064	Dharmarajika	38-30	8-0 BS	02.12.35	7.6
G1ab.18	191.03	0066	0006	Dharmarajika	+	+	30.10.17	7.6
G1ab.19	180.06	0001	0008	Chir Tope B	South of Stupa	5-8 BS	04.04.22	7.6
G1ab.20	188.11	0104	0064	Dharmarajika	38-30	8-0 BS	02.12.35	7.5
G1ab.21	191.01	0068	0144	Dharmarajika	Chapel 2 Varanda	3-0 BS	18.03.31	7.5
G1ab.22	253.07	0049	0069	Chir Tope B	Broken pot		11.04.22	7.5
G1ab.23	189.04	0093	0064	Dharmarajika	38-30	8-0 BS	02.12.35	7.4
G1ab.24	193.10	0027	1959	Dharmarajika	West of Tope		22.04.14	7.4
G1ab.25	283.09	0397	0000					7.4
G1ab.26	283.12	0400	0000					7.4
G1ab.27	117.06	0252	0066	Mohra Moradu	Room 24	9-0 BS	20.03.16	7.3
G1ab.28	184.06	0125	0064	Dharmarajika	38-30	8-0 BS	02.12.35	7.3
G1ab.29	184.12	0116	0064	Dharmarajika	38-30	8-0 BS	02.12.35	7.3
G1ab.30	185.02	0114	0064	Dharmarajika	38-30	8-0 BS	02.12.35	7.3
G1ab.31	188.04	0108	0064	Dharmarajika	38-30	8-0 BS	02.12.35	7.3
G1ab.33	189.11	0084	0064	Dharmarajika	38-30	8-0 BS	02.12.35	7.3
G1ab.34	284.01	0401	0000					7.3
G1ab.35	119.03	0039	0057	Mohra Moradu	Rm-02	4-8 BS	24.11.15	7.3
G1ab.36	152.01	0001	0000	Jaulian	Monastery		19.06.17	7.2
G1ab.37	119.01	0056	0058	Mohra Moradu	Rm-07	7-0 BS	29.11.15	7.2
G1ab.38	216.02	0015	0014	Kunal	Monastery E-7	1-6 BS	12.01.27	7.1
G1ab.39	283.11	0399	0000					7.1
G1ab.40	128.01	0060	0003	Sir Sukh	Pindora	5-6 BS	31.03.16	7.0
G1ab.41	142.03	0027	0373	Kalawan	Cell-8, Court 8	0.6 Floor lvl	03.02.32	7.0
G1ab.42	185.03	0112	0064	Dharmarajika	38-30	8-0 BS	02.12.35	6.8
G1ab.43	190.01	0080	0064	Dharmarajika	38-30	8-0 BS	02.12.35	6.8
G1ab.44	147.05	0036	0103	Kalawan	A 23	4-0 BS	13.02.33	6.8
G1ab.45	191.10	0056	1073	Dharmarajika	T 15	2-7 BS	15.05.17	6.8
G1ab.46	181.10	0026	0069	Chir Tope B	Broken pot		01.04.22	6.7
G1ab.47	184.11	0117	0064	Dharmarajika	38-30	8-0 BS	02.12.35	6.7
G1ab.48	188.01	0106	0064	Dharmarajika	38-30	8-0 BS	02.12.35	6.7
G1ab.49	188.07	0099	0064	Dharmarajika	38-30	8-0 BS	02.12.35	6.7
G1ab.50	146.11	0041	0233	Kalawan	Mon F16	6-0 BS	04.03.33	6.7
G1ab.51	205.03	0006	1035	Dharmarajika	F 02	1-5 BS	05.04.13	6.7
G1ab.52	183.10	0137	3579	Dharmarajika	41-22	5-0 BS		6.6
G1ab.53	190.11	0071	0059	Dharmarajika	09-17	14.6 BS	06.11.31	6.6
G1ab.54	284.02	0402	0000					6.6
G1ab.55	182.07	0010	0069	Chir Tope B	Broken pot		01.04.22	6.5
G1ab.56	148.03	0029	0375	Kalawan	Cell-8, Court 8	.6 FLL	04.02.32	6.5
G1ab.57	192.11	0041	0340	Dharmarajika	T 02	2-9 BS	04.12.16	6.5
G1ab.58	184.05	0126	0064	Dharmarajika	38-30	8-0 BS	02.12.35	6.3
G1ab.59	188.02	0110	0064	Dharmarajika	38-30	8-0 BS	02.12.35	6.3
G1ab.60	148.01	0031	0375	Kalawan	Cell-8, Court 8	.6 FLL	04.02.32	6.3
G1ab.61	182.09	0005	0069	Chir Tope B	Broken pot		01.04.22	6.1
G1ab.62	215.09	0005	0000	Sirkap	Debris Temple-A	1-0 BS		6.1
G1ab.63	151.05	0004	0300	Mohra Moradu	Room 3	13-2	10.03.17	6.0
G1ab.64	188.05	0107	0064	Dharmarajika	38-30	8-0 BS	02.12.35	6.0
G1ab.65	148.02	0030	0375	Kalawan	Cell-8, Court 8	.6 FLL	04.02.32	6.0
G1ab.66	205.04	0005	0928	Dharmarajika	G 03	6-0 BS	04.04.13	6.0

G1ab.67	181.12	0019	0069	Chir Tope B	Broken pot		01.04.22	5.9
G1ab.68	147.04	0037	0104	Kalawan	B 15	12-0BS	13.02.33	5.9
G1ab.69	142.02	0028	0373	Kalawan	Cell-8, Court 8	0.6 Floor lvl	03.02.32	5.8
G1ab.70	181.04	0036	0069	Chir Tope B	Broken pot		01.04.22	5.8
G1ab.71	189.08	0088	0064	Dharmarajika	38-30	8-0 BS	02.12.35	5.8
G1ab.72	192.09	0044	0937	Dharmarajika	Spoil earth		31.03.17	5.7
G1ab.73	118.05	0093	0059	Mohra Moradu	W Room	10-0BS	07.12.15	5.7
G1ab.74	255.02	0073	0069	Chir Tope B	Broken pot		11.04.22	5.6
G1ab.75	020.04	0027	1864	Dharmarajika	G 6 East	3-6 BS	04.04.14	5.2
G1ab.76	194.08	0016	0602	Dharmarajika	Main stupa	East of	01.12.13	5.1
G1ab.77	263.05	0075	0069	Chir Tope B	Broken pot		11.04.22	5.1
G1ab.78	192.06	0047	0940	Dharmarajika	Debris M 5/a	3-0 BS	05.04.17	5.0
G1ab.79	182.05	0013	0069	Chir Tope B	Broken pot		01.04.22	4.9
G1ab.80	188.12	0105	0064	Dharmarajika	38-30	8-0 BS	02.12.35	4.8
G1ab.81	127.03	0037	0004	SSP		4-0 BS	24.03.16	4.7
G1ab.82	135.03	0019	0000	Badalpur Chapel	Chapel	3-0 BS	18.11.16	4.4

### Type. G1a/G1b: Standing king & Ardoxsho, late style and letter uncertain

*Obv.* As G1a & G1b, letter uncertain, crude figure of late style.

Bactrian legend as G1a

*Rev.* As G1a but of crude style.

G1ba.1	118.03	0161	0063	Mohra Moradu	Room 9	3-6 BS	21.02.16	7.8
G1ba.2	205.02	0001	1108	Dharmarajika	G 04	2-9 BS	05.04.13	7.7
G1ba.3	204.06	0009	1627	Dharmarajika	G 04	3-3 BS	11.04.13	7.6
G1ba.4	119.02	0046	0061	Mohra Moradu	South wall	5-2 BS	26.11.15	7.6
G1ba.5	182.08	0009	0069	Chir Tope B	Broken pot		01.04.22	7.5
G1ba.6	143.02	0016	0373	Kalawan	Cell-8, Court F8	0.6 floor lvl	03.02.32	7.4
G1ba.7	143.01	0018	0373	Kalawan	Cell-8, Court F8	0.6 floor lvl	03.02.32	7.4
G1ba.8	189.03	0094	0064	Dharmarajika	38-30	8-0 BS	02.12.35	7.3
G1ba.9	589.02	0001	0000	Dharmarajika	Hoard (305 coins)		1912-13	7.3
G1ba.10	128.02	0056	0002	Sir Sukh	Pindora	6-0 BS	30.03.16	7.3
G1ba.11	183.09	0138	3579	Dharmarajika	41-22	5-0 BS	---	7.3
G1ba.12	191.05	0064	1073	Dharmarajika	T 15	2-7 BS	15.05.17	7.3
G1ba.13	182.01	0018	0069	Chir Tope B	Broken pot		01.04.22	7.2
G1ba.14	215.10	0004	0000	Kunal Stupa				7.2
G1ba.15	181.11	0021	0069	Chir Tope B	Broken pot		01.04.22	7.1
G1ba.16	184.09	0121	0064	Dharmarajika	38-30	8-0 BS	02.12.35	7.1
G1ba.17	189.10	0085	0064	Dharmarajika	38-30	8-0 BS	02.12.35	7.1
G1ba.18	142.06	0019	0373	Kalawan	Cell-8, Court F8	0.6 floor lvl	03.02.32	7.0
G1ba.19	188.06	1000	0064	Dharmarajika	38-30	8-0 BS	02.12.35	7.0
G1ba.20	192.04	0049	0990	Dharmarajika	D/4	Spoil earth	11.04.17	7.0
G1ba.21	183.07	0140	3579	Dharmarajika	41-22	5-0 BS	---	7.0
G1ba.22	182.12	0001	0061	Chir Tope B	F 16	7-0 BS	10.04.22	7.0
G1ba.23	182.06	0012	0069	Chir Tope B	Broken pot		01.04.22	6.9
G1ba.24	189.07	0089	0064	Dharmarajika	38-30	8-0 BS	02.12.35	6.9
G1ba.25	183.08	0139	3579	Dharmarajika	41-22	5-0 BS	---	6.9
G1ba.26	142.05	0021	0373	Kalawan	Cell-8, Court F8	0.6 floor lvl	03.02.32	6.8
G1ba.27	191.06	0063	1073	Dharmarajika	T 15	2-7 BS	15.05.17	6.8
G1ba.28	044.05	0263	0064	Dharmarajika	38-30	8-0 BS	02.12.35	6.7

G1ba.29	118.06	0088	0062	Mohra Moradu	North Room	5-0 BS	06.12.15	6.7
G1ba.30	147.01	0040	0205	Kalawan	F 12	2-6 BS	28.02.33	6.7
G1ba.31	180.05	0002	0008	Chir Tope B	South of Stupa	5-8 BS	04.04.22	6.7
G1ba.32	191.11	0055	1073	Dharmarajika	T 15	2-7 BS	15.05.17	6.7
G1ba.33	181.01	0039	0069	Chir Tope B	Broken pot		01.04.22	6.6
G1ba.34	182.02	0016	0069	Chir Tope B	Broken pot		01.04.22	6.6
G1ba.35	254.09	0067	0069	Chir Tope B	Broken pot		01.04.22	6.5
G1ba.36	191.02	0067	1082	Dharmarajika	G 03	6-0 BS	05.04.13	6.5
G1ba.37	216.01	0094	0000	Sirkap	Spoil earth			6.4
G1ba.38	191.04	0065	1073	Dharmarajika	T-15	2-7 BS	15.05.17	6.4
G1ba.39	181.09	0027	0069	Chir Tope B	Broken pot		01.04.22	6.3
G1ba.40	184.04	0128	0064	Dharmarajika	38-30	8-0 BS	02.12.35	6.2
G1ba.42	189.09	0086	0064	Dharmarajika	38-30	8-0 BS	02.12.35	6.2
G1ba.43	215.08	0006	0000	Sir Sukh	182-59	6-0 BS		6.2
G1ba.44	190.06	0075	0064	Dharmarajika	17-38	15-0BS	18.02.35	6.2
G1ba.45	191.07	0062	1073	Dharmarajika	T 15	2-7 BS	15.05.17	6.2
G1ba.46	194.02	0021	1437	Dharmarajika	G 06	1-0 BS	20.03.14	6.2
G1ba.47	194.04	0020	1284	Dharmarajika	D 12	4-0 Bs	10.03.14	6.2
G1ba.48	190.02	0079	0064	Dharmarajika	38-30	8-0 BS	02.12.35	6.1
G1ba.49	490.05	0006	0278	Jandial C	24 P	4-0	30.04.13	6.1
G1ba.50	193.06	0032	0631	Dharmarajika	P 04	Debris	15.12.14	6.1
G1ba.51	181.08	0030	0069	Chir Tope B	Broken pot		01.04.22	6.0
G1ba.52	283.06	0394	0000					6.0
G1ba.53	147.02	0039	0173	Kalawan	D 02	2-6 BS	25.03.33	5.9
G1ba.54	147.04	0037	0104	Kalawan	B 15	12-0BS	13.02.33	5.9
G1ba.55	261.05	0147	0069	Chir Tope B	Broken pot		01.04.22	5.8
G1ba.56	188.10	0096	0064	Dharmarajika	38-30	8-0 BS	02.12.35	5.8
G1ba.57	151.04	0005	0309	Mohra Moradu	Rm-03	5-4 BS	31.03.17	5.8
G1ba.58	143.03	0015	0373	Kalawan	Cell-8, Court F8	0.6 floor levl	03.02.32	5.6
G1ba.59	269.03	0408	0000					5.6
G1ba.60	159.01	0001	0040	Chir Tope D	Block C	3-0 BS	18.04.22	5.6
G1ba.61	181.03	0037	0069	Chir Tope B	Broken pot		01.04.22	5.5
G1ba.62	190.03	0078	0064	Dharmarajika	38-30	8-0 BS	02.12.35	5.5
G1ba.63	192.10	0042	0658	Dharmarajika	M 5/b	1-6 BS	31.01.17	5.5
G1ba.64	194.03	0022	1443	Dharmarajika	P 04	2-6 BS	20.03.14	5.5
G1ba.65	192.03	0050	0994	Dharmarajika	Stupa P7/a	5-0 BS	13.04.17	5.4
G1ba.66	261.06	0148	0069	Chir Tope B	Broken pot		01.04.22	5.3
G1ba.67	184.02	0133	0064	Dharmarajika	38-30	8-0 BS	02.12.35	5.2
G1ba.68	194.11	0011	2026	Dharmarajika	G 04	3-0 Bs	16.04.13	4.9
G1ba.69	183.12	0134	0064	Dharmarajika	38-30	8-0 BS	02.12.35	4.7
G1ba.70	143.04	0010	0373	Kalawan	Cell-8, Court F8	0.6 floor levl	03.02.32	4.3
G1ba.71	190.07	0070	0825	Dharmarajika	09-03	12-8BS	16.04.31	3.2
G1ba.72	144.01	0002	0221	Kalawan	A10	3-0	02.01.32	6.5

**G2a. Circle underneath left arm**

G2a.1	191.08	0061	1073	Dharmarajika	T 15	2-7 BS	15.05.17	06.4
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**G\* Imitations of Kanishka II**

**Type. G\*1a: Standing king & Ardoxsho, figures stylized**

**Obv.** King standing frontally with head in profile to left; wears kaftan (decorated with dots) and peaked helmet, right hand sacrificing over altar and holds a knobbed staff in the raised left hand. The figure is bulky and disproportional.

Bactrian legend off flan

**Rev.** Goddess Ardoxsho seated on a throne facing frontally, holds a diadem in the right hand and cornucopia in the left. Bactrian legend and tamga off flan.

No.	CR #	MC #	FR #	Site	Location	Context (layer/depth)	Exc. Date	Wt (gm)
G*1a.1	118.02	0191	0046	Mohra Moradu	Room 14	3-6 BS	28.02.16	7.9
G*1a.2	142.04	0025	0373	Kalawan	Cell-8, Court F8	0.6 floor level	03.02.32	7.1
G*1a.3	205.01	0008	1108	Dharmarajika	G 04	2-9 BS	05.04.13	6.5
G*1a.4	143.05	0007	0373	Kalawan	Cell-8, Court F8	0.6 floor level	03.02.32	6.4
G*1a.5	128.03	0004	0001	Sir Sukh	Pindora Trench	2-0 BS	17.03.16	6.1
G*1a.6	194.09	0015	0433	Dharmarajika	L	1-6 BS	27.11.13	6.1
G*1a.7	182.10	0004	0069	Chir Tope B	Broken pot		01.04.22	5.7
G*1a.8	143.06	0006	0373	Kalawan	Cell-8, Court F8	0.6 floor level	03.02.32	5.4
G*1a.9	182.03	0015	0069	Chir Tope B	Broken pot		01.04.22	5.4
G*1a.10	191.09	0060	1073	Dharmarajika	T-15	2-7 BS	15.05.17	5.3
G*1a.11	190.09	0073	0419	Dharmarajika	11-38	14-0 BS	18.02.35	4.8
G*1a.12	190.12	0069	0653	Dharmarajika	14-11	5-4 BS	04.04.31	4.8
G*1a.13	193.07	0031	0586	Dharmarajika	P-9	7-0 BS	14.12.14	4.5
G*1a.14	182.11	0002	0061	Chir Tope B	F 16	7-0 BS	10.04.22	4.4
G*1a.15	132.05	0299	0000	Bhamala	Front Cell 23	8-10 BS	13.11.30	4.2
G*1a.16	205.06	0002	0576	Dharmarajika	G-3	2-6 BS	31.03.13	4.2
G*1a.17	190.05	0076	0429	Dharmarajika	17-38	15-0 BS	18.02.35	4.0
G*1a.18	194.01	0023	1504	Dharmarajika	G-6	3-0 BS	23.03.14	4.0
G*1a.19	215.07	0007	0344	Sirkap		1-0 BS	12.03.15	4.0
G*1a.20	192.02	0000	0000	Dharmarajika	Hoard (305 coins)		1912-13	3.8
G*1a.21	590.02	0000	0000	Dharmarajika	Hoard (305 coins)		1912-13	3.8
G*1a.22	194.10	0014	2081	Dharmarajika	B-11	12-0 BS	17.04.13	3.6
G*1a.23	014.04	0063	0917	Dharmarajika	T-2	5-6 BS	07.12.15	3.4
G*1a.24	151.06	0003	0263	Jaulian	Room 2	9-0 BS	19.03.17	3.4
G*1a.25	190.08	0074	0429	Dharmarajika	17-38	15-0 BS	18.02.35	3.3
G*1a.26	205.05	0003	0928	Dharmarajika	G-3	6-0 BS	04.04.13	3.3
G*1a.27	142.01	0001	0261	Kalawan	F 23	4-0 BS	11.03.33	3.2
G*1a.28	193.05	0033	0397	Dharmarajika	K-1 W	2-0 BS	23.11.15	3.0
G*1a.29	194.06	0018	0913	Dharmarajika	M-5	4-3 BS	11.12.13	2.9
G*1a.30	205.07	0001	0187	Dharmarajika	F-1	2-0 BS	26.03.13	1.7
G*1a.31	193.09	0028	0083	Dharmarajika	Rz	4-6 BS	18.11.14	1.5

## **H. Vasishka**

### **Type. H1a: Standing king & Oesho and bull, Brahmi letter *Chhu***

**Obv.** King standing frontally with head in profile to left; wears armour and peaked helmet, right hand sacrificing over altar and holds a trident in the raised left hand. Brahmi letter *chhu* in the right field.

Bactrian legend off flan

**Rev.** Oesho and bull standing to left, deity has dotted halo round head, holds a diadem in extended right hand and trident in raised left. Bactrian legend and tamga off flan.

No.	CR #	MC #	FR #	Site	Location	Context (layer/depth)	Exc. Date	Wt (gm)
H1a.1	151.02	0002	0242	Mohra Moradu	Room 19	7-0 BS	15.03.17	6.7
H1a.2	165.06	0079	0373	Kalawan	Cell-8, Court F8	0.6 floor level	03.02.32	6.4
H1a.3	078.05	0381	0064	Dharmarajika	38-30	8-0 BS	02.12.35	6.0
H1a.4	217.02	0004	0367	Sirkap		5-0 BS	12.03.13	5.2
H1a.5	265.01	0387	0000					5.0
H1a.6	165.04	0080	0373	Kalawan	Cell-8, Court F8	0.6 floor level	03.02.32	4.9
H1a.7	054.01	0192	0064	Dharmarajika	38-30	8-0 BS	02.12.35	4.8

**Type. H1b: Standing king & Oesho and bull, Brahmi letter *Tha***

*Obv.* King standing frontally with head in profile to left; wears kaftan and peaked helmet, right hand sacrificing over altar and holds staff in the raised left hand. Brahmi letter *tha* between legs.

Bactrian legend off flan

*Rev.* As H1a.

H1b.1	209.03	0053	0069	Chir Tope B	Broken pot		01.04.22	6.8
H1b.2	257.10	0104	0069	Chir Tope B	Broken pot		01.04.22	6.4
H1b.3	251.06	0024	0069	Chir Tope B	Broken pot		01.04.22	6.3
H1b.4	258.07	0113	0069	Chir Tope B	Broken pot		01.04.22	6.0
H1b.5	029.03	0010	1962	Dharmarajika	South east		23.04.14	5.9
H1b.6	040.06	0291	0064	Dharmarajika	38-30	8-0 BS	02.12.35	5.8
H1b.7	164.06	0085	0373	Kalawan	Cell-8, Court F8	0.6 floor level	03.02.32	5.8
H1b.8	168.06	0059	0373	Kalawan	Cell-8, Court F8	0.6 floor level	03.02.32	5.7
H1b.9	256.06	0088	0069	Chir Tope B	Broken pot		01.04.22	5.7
H1b.10	008.04	0099	0937	Dharmarajika	South east		31.03.17	5.6
H1b.11	038.01	0310	0064	Dharmarajika	38-30	8-0 BS	02.12.35	5.6
H1b.12	046.02	0252	0064	Dharmarajika	38-30	8-0 BS	02.12.35	5.6
H1b.13	042.03	0280	0064	Dharmarajika	38-30	8-0 BS	02.12.35	5.4
H1b.14	168.04	0061	0373	Kalawan	Cell-8, Court F8	0.6 floor level	03.02.32	5.4
H1b.15	174.04	0021	0373	Kalawan	Cell-8, Court F8	0.6 floor level	03.02.32	5.1
H1b.16	150.03	0006	0268	Mohra Moradu	Room 7	12-0 BS	28.03.17	5.0
H1b.17	165.05	0080	0373	Kalawan	Cell-8, Court F8	0.6 floor level	03.02.32	4.9
H1b.18	170.03	0050	0373	Kalawan	Cell-8, Court F8	0.6 floor level	03.02.32	4.9
H1b.19	094.06	0548	0064	Dharmarajika	38-30	8-0 BS	02.12.35	4.5
H1b.20	091.04	0568	0064	Dharmarajika	38-30	8-0 BS	02.12.35	3.6
H1b.21	090.05	0573	0064	Dharmarajika	38-30	8-0 BS	02.12.35	3.4
H1b.22	257.09	0103	0069	Chir Tope B	Broken pot		01.04.22	3.0

**Type. H2a: Standing king & Ardoxsho, Brahmi letter *Ga* & *Chhu***

*Obv.* As H1b, but Brahmi letter *ga* and *chhu* in the right field.

Bactrian legend off flan

*Rev.* Ardoxsho seated on a throne but throne unclear, deity has dotted halo round head, holds a diadem in extended right hand and cornucopia in the left. On these coins the deity is enormously fat. Tamga in the left field and legend off flan.

H2a.1	188.09	0097	0064	Dharmarajika	38-30	8-0 BS	02.12.35	5.0
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**Type. H2b: Standing king & Ardoxsho, Brahmi letter *Chhu***

*Obv.* As H2a, but Brahmi letter *chhu* only in the right field.

Bactrian legend PAONANOPAO ..... 1 o'clock (fragmentary)

*Rev.* As 2a.

H2b.1	023.06	0007	928b	Dharmarajika	G 3	6-0 BS	04.04.13	6.1
H2b.2	117.04	0271	0003	Mohra Moradu	Stupa	4-0 BS	24.03.16	5.7
H2b.3	215.12	0002	0000	Sirkap	51-77	4-3 BS		5.7
H2b.4	285.01	0420	0000					5.7
H2b.5	146.10	0042	0255	Mohra Moradu	H 25	7-0 BS	10.03.33	5.1
H2b.6	192.07	0046	0940	Dharmarajika	M-5/a	Debris	05.04.17	5.0
H2b.7	118.01	0199	0064	Mohra Moradu	Room 1	7-6 BS	03.03.16	4.8
H2b.8	193.08	0030	0516	Dharmarajika	N 5	0-6 BS	09.12.14	4.7
H2b.9	193.03	0035	0914	Dharmarajika	K1 E	6-0 BS	07.12.15	4.4
H2b.10	193.12	0024	1571	Dharmarajika	Main Stupa	Debris	25.03.14	3.9
H2b.11	190.07	0070	0825	Dharmarajika	9-3	12-8 BS	16.04.31	3.2

### **H\* Vasishka Imitations**

**Type. H\*1a: Standing king & Oesho and bull, No letter, tall figure**

*Obv.* King standing frontally with head in profile to left; wears armour and peaked helmet, right hand sacrificing over altar and holds a trident in the raised left hand. No use of Brahmi letter and the figure is comparatively taller.

Bactrian legend off flan

*Rev.* As H1a.

H*1a.1	056.05	0167	0064	Dharmarajika	38-30	8-0 BS	02.12.35	5.2
H*1a.2	058.05	0501	0064	Dharmarajika	38-30	8-0 BS	02.12.35	5.2
H*1a.3	259.09	0127	0069	Chir Tope B	Broken pot		01.04.22	4.8
H*1a.4	150.04	0005	0263	Jaulian	Room 2	9-0 BS	19.03.17	4.6
H*1a.5	042.01	0282	0064	Dharmarajika	38-30	8-0 BS	02.12.35	4.4
H*1a.6	070.01	0433	0064	Dharmarajika	38-30	8-0 BS	02.12.35	4.4
H*1a.7	058.02	0504	0064	Dharmarajika	38-30	8-0 BS	02.12.35	4.3
H*1a.8	284.05	0412	0000					4.1
H*1a.9	161.01	0118	0247	Kalawan	H 26	6-0 BS	08.03.33	3.7

**Type. H\*1b: Standing king & Oesho and bull, No letter, short figure**

*Obv.* As H\*1a, but the figure of king is quite smaller in size

*Rev.* As H\*1a.

H*1b.1	017.04	0045	0724	Dharmarajika	Main stupa	Front Room	04.03.15	4.8
H*1b.2	216.07	0011	0084	Sirkap	Yard	6-3 BS	10.04.18	4.7

### **J. Kanishka III**

**Type. J1a: Standing king & Ardoxsho, Brahmi letter *Hu***

*Obv.* King standing with head facing to left, wears chain mail dress with pronounced dots, right hand sacrificing over altar and holds a trident in raised left. Brahmi letter *hu* in the right field, [*gho* between legs] and *ga* between right leg and altar.

Bactrian legend off flan

**Rev.** Ardoxsho seated a throne, holds a diadem in extended right hand and cornucopia in the left, the figures is fat and round from bottom. Tamga in the left field and legend off flan.

J1a.1	184.01	0133	0064	Dharmarajika	38-30	8-0 BS	02.12.35	5.2
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### **Var. J1a or J1b: Standing king & Ardoxsho, Brahmi letter uncertain**

**Obv.** As J1a, but Brahmi letter in the right field is uncertain.

**Rev.** As J1a.

J1ab.1	188.08	0098	0064	Dharmarajika	38-30	8-0 BS	02.12.35	6.1
J1ab.2	185.01	0115	0064	Dharmarajika	38-30	8-0 BS	02.12.35	5.9
J1ab.3	189.12	0083	0064	Dharmarajika	38-30	8-0 BS	02.12.35	5.9
J1ab.4	189.02	0092	0064	Dharmarajika	38-30	8-0 BS	02.12.35	5.6
J1ab.5	122.06	0133	0064	Dharmarajika	38-30	8-0 BS	02.12.35	5.2
J1ab.6	184.08	0122	0064	Dharmarajika	38-30	8-0 BS	02.12.35	4.9
J1ab.7	188.03	0109	0064	Dharmarajika	38-30	8-0 BS	02.12.35	4.4

## **K. Vasudeva II**

### **Type. K1a: Standing king & Ardoxsho, Brahmi letter *Vasu***

**Obv.** King standing with head facing to left wears kaftan, right hand sacrificing over altar and holds a staff in raised left. Brahmi letter *vasu* in the right field (seen on one example).

Bactrian legend off flan

**Rev.** Ardoxsho seated a throne, holds a diadem in extended right hand and cornucopia in the left. Tamga in the left field and legend off flan.

K1a.1	152.02	0010	0313	Mohra Moradu	Room 29	12-3 BS	03.04.17	3.6
K1a.2	118.04	0096	0060	Mohra Moradu	Room 8	9-6 BS	08.12.15	2.9
K1a.3	546.08	0001	0270	Jaulian	Mon. Room 19	4-9 BS	20.03.17	2.6
K1a.4	495.05	0001	0110	Giri (E)	Wall debris	3-0 BS	21.03.28	2.3

### **Type. K2a: Enthroned king & Ardoxsho, letter (*Vasu*) unclear**

**Obv.** King seated on a throne facing frontally, wears conical headdress and holds a diadem in extended right hand. Brahmi letter (*vasu, ga, bha*) unclear.

**Rev.** As K1a.

K2a.1	138.01	0001	0320	Bhamala	Room 29	5-0 BS	15.11.30	3.1
K2a.2	206.02	0001	0378	Dharmarajika	R 8	2-0 BS	02.12.14	3.3

## **M. Shaka**

### **Type. M1a: Standing king & Ardoxsho, no letter**

**Obv.** King standing with head facing to left wears kaftan, right hand sacrificing over altar and holds a trident in raised left. No use of Brahmi letter

**Rev.** Ardoxsho seated a throne, holds diadem in extended right hand and cornucopia in the left. The figures is tall and fat. Tamga and legend off flan.

M1a.1	192.01	0053	1069	Dharmarajika	S Monastery 5/b	3-3 BS	14.05.17	2.8
M1a.2	192.05	0048	0989	Dharmarajika	D 4	Spoil earth	11.04.17	2.6

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## APPENDIX – A

*Index to the Sequence of the Copper Coins of the Kushans (including Imitations)*

## A. KUJULA KADPHISES

## 1. Heruas Series (Oxus Issues)

Variety	Wt (gm)	Ref. No.	Features
A1a.	10.40	Mitchiner, BM 1890-0404-13; 1894-0506-1724	<b>Bust of king to right</b> , legend <i>maharayasa rayatirayasa devaputrassa kuyula kata kapasa</i> ; <b>Mounted king</b> to right with Nike behind him, TYPANNNOYNTTOY HIAOY KOIIANOY (4)

## 2. Steros Su (Kabul Issues)

A2ai.	4.75	Mitchiner 1046	<b>Bust of king to right</b> , wears diadem, legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ CTHP□C CV EPMAI□V; <b>Zeus enthroned</b> to left, <i>maharajasa mahatasa heramayasa</i> , tamga to left ☒, tamga ☒ and letter <i>pra</i> to right
A2aii.	14.25	Mitchiner 1047	<b>Bust of king to right</b> , wears diadem, legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ CTHP□C CV EPMAI□V; <b>Zeus enthroned</b> to left, <i>maharajasa mahatasa heramayasa</i> , tamga to left ☒, tamga ☒ and letter <i>pra</i> to right
A2bi.	4.10	Mitchiner 1048	<b>Bust of king to right</b> , wears diadem, legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΤΗΡ□Σ ΣΥ EPMAI□Y; <b>winged Nike</b> to left, <i>maharajasa rajarajasa mahatasa heramayasa</i> , tamga ☒ to right, letter <i>pra</i> to left
A2bii.	2.80-	Mitchiner 1066 (a-b)	<b>Bust of king to right</b> , wears diadem, legend corrupt; <b>winged Nike</b> to left, <i>maharayasa rayatirayasa mahatasa heramayasa</i> , tamga ☒ to right, letter <i>pra</i> to left (5)
A3ai.	9.50	Mitchiner 1044 (a)	<b>Bust of king to right</b> , wears diadem, legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΤΗΡ□Σ ΣΥ EPMAI□Y; <b>Herakles</b> standing with head to left, legend <i>Kujula kasasa kushana yavugasa dhramathidasa</i> ,
A3aii.	9.50	Mitchiner 1044 (b)	<b>Bust of king to right</b> , wears diadem, legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΤΗΡ□Σ ΣΥ EPMAI□Y; <b>Herakles</b> standing with head to left, legend <i>Kujula kasa kushana yavugasa dhramathidasa</i> ,
A3aiii.	9.00-7.00	Mitchiner 1045	<b>Bust of king to right</b> , wears diadem, legend same; <b>Herakles</b> standing with head to left, legend same, stylistically degenerate with corrupt Greek legend

## 3. Kujula Series

A4ai.	9.50	Mitchiner 1049 (a)	<b>Bust of king to left</b> , wears diadem, legend Κ□Ζ□VΛ□ ΚΑΔΦΙΖ□V Κ□PC□N□; <b>Herakles</b> standing with head to right, legend <i>Kujula kasasa kushana yavugasa dhramathidasa</i> , control mark to left & control mark to right
A4aii.	9.50	Mitchiner 1049 (b)	<b>Bust of king to left</b> , wears diadem, legend Κ□Ζ□VΛ□ ΚΑΔΦΙΖ□V Κ□PC□N□; <b>Herakles</b> standing with head to right, legend <i>Kujula kasasa kushana yavugasa</i>

			<i>dhramathidasa</i> , control mark to left
<b>A4bi.</b>	9.50	Mitchiner 1050 (a)	<b>Bust of king to left</b> , wears diadem, legend ΚΖΩΛ ΚΑΔΦΙΖV ΚPCN; <b>Herakles</b> standing with head to left, legend <i>Kujula kasasa kushana yavugasa dhramathidasa</i> , control mark to left & control mark to right
<b>A4bii.</b>	9.50	Mitchiner 1050 (b)	<b>Bust of king to left</b> , wears diadem, legend ΚΖΩΛ ΚΑΔΦΙΖV ΚPCN; <b>Herakles</b> standing with head to left, legend <i>Kujula kasasa kushana yavugasa dhramathidasa</i> , control mark to left &
<b>A4biii.</b>	9.50	Mitchiner 1050 (c)	<b>Bust of king to left</b> , wears diadem, legend ΚΖΩΛ ΚΑΔΦΙΖV ΚPCN; <b>Herakles</b> standing with head to right, legend <i>Kujula kasasa kushana yavugasa dhramathidasa</i> , no control mark
<b>A5a.</b>	5.00-4.00	Mitchiner 1052	<b>Bust of king to right</b> , wears helmet, legend ΚΟΖΟΥΛΟ ΚΑΔΑΦΙΕΙ ΚΟΡCΑΝ; <b>Soldier</b> to right with shield and spear, legend <i>Kushana yavugasa kuyula kasvasa</i>
<b>A6ai.</b>	2.24-1.40	Mitchiner 1054 (a)	<b>King seated cross-legged</b> , legend <i>Kuyula kadaphasa kushanasa</i> ; <b>Zeus</b> to right, ΚΟΖΟΛΑ ΧΟΡΑΝCΥ ΖΑΟΥΥ, letter <i>pa</i> or <i>pu</i> to left
<b>A6aii.</b>	2.24-1.40	Mitchiner 1054 (b)	<b>King seated cross-legged</b> , legend <i>Kuyula kadaphasa kushanasa</i> ; <b>Zeus</b> to right, ΖΑΟΥΥ ΚΟΖΟΛΑ ΧΟΡΑΝCΥ, letter <i>va</i> to right
<b>A7ai.</b>	3.50-3.00	Mitchiner 1053 (a)	<b>Augustus head to right</b> , legend ΖΑΟΥΥ ΚΟΖΟΛΑ ΚΑΔΑΦΕC ΧΟΡΑΝCΥ 1 o'clock; <b>King on curule chair</b> to right, <i>Khushanasa yauasa kuyula kaphasa sacha dhramathidasa</i> , monogram to left, letter <i>du</i> to right
<b>A7aii.</b>	3.50-3.00	Mitchiner 1053 (b)	<b>Augustus head to right</b> , legend ΖΑΟΥΥ ΚΟΖΟΛΑ ΚΑΔΑΦΕC ΧΟΡΑΝCΥ 1 o'clock; <b>King on curule chair</b> to right, <i>Khushanasa yauasa kuyula kaphasa sacha dhramathidasa</i> , monogram to left, no letter to right
<b>A7bi.</b>	3.30	Mitchiner 1053 (c)	<b>Augustus head to right</b> , legend ΖΑΟΥΥ ΚΟΖΟΛΑ ΚΑΔΑΦΕC ΧΟΡΑΝCΥ 1 o'clock; <b>King on curule chair</b> to left, <i>Khushanasa yauasa kuyula kaphasa sacha dhramathidasa</i> , monogram to right, no letter
<b>A7ci.</b>	2.33	Mitchiner 1053 (d)	<b>Augustus head to left</b> , legend corrupt; <b>King on curule chair</b> to left, legend fragmentary, monogram unclear, no letter
<b>A7ai.</b>	10.50-8.00	Mitchiner 1055 (a)	<b>Bull to right</b> , Greek legend illegible; <b>Two-humped camel</b> to right, nandipada symbol above back, <i>pu</i> below neck; legend <i>maharayasa rayatirayasa devaputra kuyula kara kapasa</i> , letter, <i>ghi, dra, cha</i>
<b>A7aii.</b>	10.50-8.00	Mitchiner 1055 (b)	<b>Bull to right</b> , Greek legend illegible; <b>Two-humped camel</b> to right, nandipada symbol above back, <i>pu</i> below neck; legend <i>maharayasa rayatirayasa devaputra kuyula kara kapasa</i> , letter, <i>ghi, a,sa</i>
<b>A7aiii.</b>	10.50-8.00	Mitchiner 1055 (c)	<b>Bull to right</b> , Greek legend illegible; <b>Two-humped camel</b> to right, nandipada symbol above back, <i>pu</i> below neck; legend <i>maharayasa rayatirayasa devaputra kuyula kara kapasa</i> , letter, <i>chra</i>
<b>A7aiv.</b>	10.50-8.00	Mitchiner 1055	<b>Bull to right</b> , Greek legend illegible; <b>Two-humped camel</b>



















		(d)	to right, nandipada symbol ☞ above back, <i>pu</i> below neck; legend <i>maharayasa rayatirayasa devaputra kuyula kara kapasa</i> , letter, <i>pi, ji</i>
<b>A7av.</b>	10.50-8.00	Mitchiner 1055 (e)	<b>Bull to right</b> , Greek legend illegible; <b>Two-humped camel</b> to right, nandipada symbol ☞ above back, <i>pu</i> below neck; legend <i>maharayasa rayatirayasa devaputra kuyula kara kapasa</i> , letter, <i>pu, dra</i>
<b>A7avi.</b>	10.50-8.00	Mitchiner 1055 (f)	<b>Bull to right</b> , Greek legend illegible; <b>Two-humped camel</b> to right, nandipada symbol ☞ above back, <i>bu</i> below neck; legend <i>maharayasa rayatirayasa devaputra kuyula kara kapasa</i> , letter, <i>ji, cha</i>
<b>A7avii.</b>	10.50-8.00	Mitchiner 1055 (g)	<b>Bull to right</b> , Greek legend illegible; <b>Two-humped camel</b> to right, nandipada symbol ☞ above back, <i>bu</i> below neck; legend <i>maharayasa rayatirayasa devaputra kuyula kara kapasa</i> , letter, <i>ghi, dra, cha</i>


### A\*. KUJULA'S IMITATION

<b>A*2a.</b>	2.40	Mitchiner 1066 (b....)	<b>Bust of king to right</b> , wears diadem, legend corrupt; <b>winged Nike</b> to left, legend corrupt, tamga ☒ to right, letter <i>pra</i> to left
<b>A*2b.</b>	2.40	Mitchiner 1066 (c), Taxila 625.6	<b>Bust of king to right</b> , wears diadem, legend corrupt; <b>winged Nike</b> to right, ..... <i>sa ray</i> ....., tamga ☒ to left, letter <i>pra</i> to right
<b>A*2c.</b>	2.50	Mitchiner 1066 (d)	<b>Bust of king to left</b> , wears diadem, legend fragmentary; <b>winged Nike</b> to left, legend fragmentary, tamga ☒ to right, letter <i>pra</i> to left (6)
<b>A*2d.</b>	2.50	Mitchiner 1066 (e)	<b>Bust of king to left</b> , wears diadem, legend fragmentary; <b>winged Nike</b> to right, legend corrupt, tamga & letter not visible
<b>A*3a.</b>	9.00-7.00	Mitchiner 1051 (b)	<b>Bust of king to left</b> , wears diadem, Greek legend corrupt; <b>Herakles</b> standing with head to right, legend corrupt, no control mark
<b>A*3b.</b>	6.70-2.80	Mitchiner 1051 (b)	<b>Bust of king to left</b> , wears diadem, Greek legend corrupt; <b>Herakles</b> standing with head to right, legend corrupt, no control mark (13)









### B. VIMA TAKTU (SOTER MEGAS)

Variety	Wt (gm)	Ref. No.	Features
<b>B1ai.</b>	13.00	Cribb 3a; BM 1894-0506-763; 1894-0506-765	<b>Bust of king to left</b> , wears helmet, reel and beaded border, 3-pronged tamga ☞ to right and letter <i>vi</i> to left; Horseman to right, 3-pronged tamga ☞ to right, BACIAEWC BACIAEWN CWTHP MEGAC 1 o'clock (cursive form)
<b>B1aii.</b>	13.00	Cribb 3b; BM 1956-0409-169; 1894-0506-762	<b>Bust of king to left</b> , wears helmet, reel and beaded border, 3-pronged tamga ☞ to right and letter <i>vi</i> to left; Horseman to right, 3-pronged tamga ☞ to right, BACIAEWC BACIAEWN CWTHP MEGAC 1 o'clock (square form)
<b>B2ai.</b>	8.50	Cribb 5a;	<b>Bust of king to right</b> , wears diadem, rays emanating from head, 3-pronged tamga ☞ to left; Horseman to right, 3-

			pronged tamga  to right, BACIAEWC BACIAEWN CWTHP MEΓAC (cursive form)
<b>B2aii.</b>	8.50	Cribb 5a;	<b>Bust of king to right</b> , wears diadem, rays emanating from head, 4-pronged tamga  to left; Horseman to right, 3-pronged tamga  to right, BACIAEWC BACIAEWN CWTHP MEΓAC (cursive form)
<b>B2aiii.</b>	8.50	Cribb 5a;	<b>Bust of king to right</b> , wears diadem, rays emanating from head, 4-pronged tamga  to left; Horseman to right, 4-pronged tamga  to right, BACIAEWC BACIAEWN CWTHP MEΓAC (cursive form)
<b>B2aiv.</b>	8.50	Cribb 5a;	<b>Bust of king to right</b> , wears diadem, rays emanating from head, 3-pronged tamga  to left; Horseman to right, 3-pronged tamga  to right, BACIAEWC BACIAEWN CWTHP MEΓAC (square form)
<b>B2bi.</b>	2.10	Cribb 5a;	<b>Bust of king to right</b> , wears diadem, rays emanating from head, 4-pronged tamga  to left; Horseman to right, 4-pronged tamga  to right, BACIAEWC BACIAEWN CWTHP MEΓAC (square form)
<b>B2bii.</b>	2.10	Cribb 5a;	<b>Bust of king to right</b> , wears diadem, rays emanating from head, 4-pronged tamga  to left; Horseman to right, 3-pronged tamga  to right, BACIAEWC BACIAEWN CWTHP MEΓAC (square form)
<b>B2biii.</b>	2.10	Cribb 5a;	<b>Bust of king to right</b> , wears diadem, rays emanating from head, 3-pronged tamga  to left; Horseman to right, 3-pronged tamga  to right, BACIAEWC BACIAEWN CWTHP MEΓAC (cursive form)
<b>B2biv.</b>	2.10	Cribb 5a;	<b>Bust of king to right</b> , wears diadem, rays emanating from head, 3-pronged tamga  to left; Horseman to right, 3-pronged tamga  to right, BACIAEWC BACIAEWN CWTHP MEΓAC (square form)
<b>B3a.</b>	4.20	Cribb 4	<b>Bust of king to right</b> , wears diadem, arrow not shown, tamga  in front of king (to right); Zeus standing to left with a long thunderbolt set in a stand, BACIAEWC BACIAEWN CWTHP MEΓAC (corrupt style)
<b>B4a.</b>	1.50	Mitchiner, BM	<b>Oesho standing facing</b> , no legend, tamga  to left and letter <i>vi</i> to right; <b>Ardoxsho</b> to right, nandipada  to left and flower pot to right.
<b>B5ai.</b>	10.5	Cribb 6a	<b>Bull to right</b> , legend illegible, letter <i>pu</i> before it; <b>two-humped camel</b> to right, letter <i>chu</i> before it, legend [ <i>deva</i> ]putrasa vema tak[ <i>ta</i> ] maha
<b>B5aii.</b>	10.5	Cribb 6b	<b>Bull to right</b> , legend illegible, letter <i>pu</i> before it; <b>two-humped camel</b> to right, letter <i>chu</i> before it, legend maharayasa rayatirayasa devaputrasa vema tak[ <i>ta</i> ] maha
<b>B5aiii.</b>	10.5	Cribb 6c	<b>Bull to right</b> , legend illegible, letter <i>pu</i> before it; <b>two-humped camel</b> to right, letter <i>samasa</i> before it, legend maharayasa rayatirayasa devaputrasa [ <i>vema</i> ] tak[ <i>ta</i> ]

<b>B5aiv.</b>	10.5	Cribb 6d	<b>Bull to right</b> , legend illegible, letter <i>pu</i> before it; two- <b>humped camel</b> to right, letter <i>adhra</i> before it, legend <i>ma[harayasa] rayatirayasa devapu [trasa]</i>
<b>B5av.</b>	10.5	Cribb 6d	<b>Bull to right</b> , legend illegible, letter <i>pu</i> before it; two- <b>humped camel</b> to right, letter <i>vero</i> before it, legend <i>maharayasa [raya]tirayasa devaputrasa vema tak[ta] mahatasa</i>
<b>B5bi.</b>	4.5	Cribb 7a	<b>Bull to right</b> , legend illegible, letter <i>na</i> before it; Greek legend ΒΑΠΝΕΙ ΒΑΠΝΕΙΝ ΝΑΟΟΤΙ, two- <b>humped camel</b> to right, letter <i>davu</i> before it, legend [ <i>maharajasa rajatirajasa</i> ] <i>vema tak [tho]</i>
<b>B5bii.</b>	4.5	Cribb 7b	<b>Bull to right</b> , legend illegible, letter <i>na</i> before it; Greek legend ΒΑΠΝΕΙ ΒΑΠΝΕΙΝ ΝΑΟΟΤΙ, two- <b>humped camel</b> to right, letter <i>davu</i> before it, legend <i>maharajasa rajatirajasa devaputrasa vema [takho]</i>
<b>B5biii.</b>	4.5	Cribb 7c	<b>Bull to right</b> , legend illegible, letter <i>na</i> before it; Greek legend ΒΑΠΝΕΙ ΒΑΠΝΕΙΝ ΝΑΟΟΤΙ, two- <b>humped camel</b> to right, letter ‘o’ before it, legend <i>maharajasa rajatira[jasa devaputrasa ve]ma takho</i>
<b>B5biv.</b>	4.5	Cribb 7d	<b>Bull to right</b> , legend illegible, letter <i>na</i> before it; Greek legend ΒΑΠΝΕΙ ΒΑΠΝΕΙΝ ΝΑΟΟΤΙ, two- <b>humped camel</b> to right, letter <i>bhra</i> before it, legend <i>maharajasa rajatirajasa deva[putrasa ve]ma takho</i>
<b>B6a.</b>	4.0	Cribb 8	<b>King seated on a throne</b> , tamga  to left, legend ΟΟΗΜΟ ΤΑΚ [ΤΟ]; two figures standing facing, legend ΤΑΡΟ ΟΑΝΑΧΑΟ.....

### C. VIMA KADPHISES

Variety	Wt (gm)	Ref. No.	Features
<b>C1a.</b>	17.00	G	<b>King standing at altar to left</b> , tamga to  right, legend ΒΑCΙΑΕΥC ΒΑCΙΑΕΩΝ CΩΤΗΡ ΜΕΓΑC ΟΟΗΜΟ ΚΑΔΦΙΧC 1 o'clock; Oesho and bull, bull facing right, nandipada  to left, no legend
<b>C1b.</b>	4.20		<b>King standing at altar to left</b> , tamga to  right, legend ΒΑCΙΑΕΥC ΒΑCΙΑΕΩΝ CΩΤΗΡ ΜΕΓΑC ΟΟΗΜΟ ΚΑΔΦΙΧC 1 o'clock; Oesho and bull, bull facing right, nandipada  to left, no legend
<b>C2a.</b>	17.00		<b>King standing at altar to left</b> , tamga to  right, legend ΒΑCΙΑΕΥC ΒΑCΙΑΕΩΝ CΩΤΗΡ ΜΕΓΑC ΟΟΗΜΟ ΚΑΔΦΙΧC 1 o'clock; Oesho and bull, bull facing right, nandipada  to left, legend <i>Maharajasa rajadirajasa sarvaloga ishvarasa mahishvarasa Vima Kathphishasa tratara</i>
<b>C2b.</b>	8.40		<b>King standing at altar to left</b> , tamga to  right, legend ΒΑCΙΑΕΥC ΒΑCΙΑΕΩΝ CΩΤΗΡ ΜΕΓΑC ΟΟΗΜΟ ΚΑΔΦΙΧC 1 o'clock; Oesho and bull, bull facing right, nandipada  to left, legend <i>Maharajasa rajadirajasa sarvaloga ishvarasa mahishvarasa Vima Kathphishasa tratara</i>

C2c.	4.10		<i>King standing at altar to left</i> , tamga to  right, legend BACIAEYC BACIAEWN CWTWP MEFAC OOHMO KAAΦICHC 1 o'clock; Oesho and bull, bull facing right, nandipada  to left, legend <i>Maharajasa rajadirajasa sarvaloga ishvarasa mahishvarasa Vima Kathphishasa tratara</i>
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## D. KANISHKA I ISSUES

### 1. Mint A (General Issues)

Variety	Wt (gm)	Ref. No.	Features
D1a. Small	3.54	Göbl, 810	<i>King at altar to left</i> ; carries <b>club</b> in left hand near waist; <b>Nanashao</b> to right, NANAPAO left up
D2a. medium	8.00	Göbl, 766-1	<i>King at altar to left</i> , wears crescent, Greek legend; <b>Helios</b> standing to left, HAIOC right dn
D2b.	8.00	Göbl, 767-7, 15	Same as D2a, wears crescent; <b>Nanaia</b> standing to right, NANAIA left up
D3a.	8.00	Göbl, 766-4, 8	<i>King at altar to left</i> , wears bonnet, Greek legend; <b>Helios</b> standing to left, HAIOC right dn
D3b.	8.00	Göbl, 767-4, 8	As D3a, wears crescent; <b>Nanaia</b> standing to right, NANAIA left up
D4a.	Δ/2	Göbl, 779-1, 2	<i>Bust of king to left</i> , Bactrian legend but unclear; <b>Nana</b> standing to right, NANA left up
D5a.	4Δ	Göbl, 772	<i>King at altar to left</i> , wears low headdress, Bactrian legend; <b>Athsho</b> standing to left, holds fillet in adv. right hand, tamga to left, AΘPO to right dn
D5bi.	4Δ	Göbl, 785	As D5a; <b>Buddha standing</b> facing in abhayamudra, tamga to left (inside legend), CAKAMANO BOYΔO 1h-5h
D5bii.	4Δ	Göbl, 786	As D5a; <b>Buddha standing</b> facing in abhayamudra, tamga to left (outside legend), CAKAMA-NO BOYΔO 11h
D5ci.	4Δ	Göbl, 790	As D5a; <b>Buddha seated</b> on a throne, without tamga, MHTPAYO B-OYΔO 6h
D5cii.	4Δ	Göbl, 791	As D5a; <b>Buddha seated</b> on a throne, tamga to left, MH[TPAY]OB-OΛΔO (oy –OBOΛΔO) 6h
D5ciii.	4Δ	Göbl, 792	As D5a; <b>Buddha seated</b> on a throne in abhayamudra, tamga to left, MHTRAY-OBOYΔO 6h
D5civ.	4Δ	Göbl, 793	As D5a; <b>Buddha seated</b> on a throne, no tamga, MHTRAYOBOYΔO 11h
D5d.	4Δ	Göbl, 774	As D5a; <b>Mao</b> standing to left, crescent behind shoulders, right hand with 2-fingered gesture, left with sword at waist, tamga to left, MAO right dn
D5ei.	4Δ	Göbl, 768	As D5a; <b>Miuro</b> standing to left, sun-rays halo round head, right hand with 2-fingered gesture, left with word at waist, tamga to left, MIPO right dn
D5eii.	4Δ	Göbl, 770	As D5a; <b>Miuro</b> as D5ei, tamga to left, MIOPO right dn
D5fi.	4Δ	Göbl, 776	As D5a; <b>Nana</b> standing to left, holds scepter and bowl, tamga to right, NANA left up
D5fii.	4Δ	Göbl, 777	As D5a; <b>Nana</b> as D5fi, tamga to right, NANA left dn
D5g.	4Δ	Göbl, 783	As D5a; <b>Oado</b> running to left, tamga to left, OΔO right dn

<b>D5h.</b>	4Δ	Göbl, 781	As D5a; 4-armed <b>Oesho</b> to left, holds diadem, thunderbolt, trident and water flask, tamga to left, OHPO right dn
<b>D6a.</b>	2Δ	Göbl, 773	<b>King at altar to left</b> , wears low headdress; <b>Athsho</b> as D5a, tamga to left, AΘPO right dn
<b>D6b.</b>	2Δ	Göbl, 787	As D6a; <b>Buddha standing</b> facing in abhayamudra, tamga to left (outside legend), legend CAKAMA-NO BOYΔO 11h
<b>D6c.</b>	2Δ	Göbl, 775	As D6a; <b>Mao</b> as D5d, tamga left, MAO right dn
<b>D6di.</b>	2Δ	Göbl, 769	As D6a; <b>Miiro</b> as D5ei, tamga to left, MIPO right dn
<b>D6dii.</b>	2Δ	Göbl, 771	As D6a; <b>Miiro</b> as D5eii, tamga to left; MIOPO right dn
<b>D6e.</b>	2Δ	Göbl, 778	As D6a; <b>Nana</b> as D5fii, tamga to right, NANA left dn
<b>D6f.</b>	2Δ	Göbl, 784	As D6a; <b>Oado</b> as D5g, tamga to left, OΔO right dn
<b>D6g.</b>	2Δ	Göbl, 782	As D6a; <b>four-armed Oesho</b> as D5h, tamga to left, OHPO right dn
<b>D7a.</b>	Δ	Göbl, 788	<b>King at altar to left</b> , wears low headdress; <b>Buddha standing</b> facing in abhayamudra, tamga unclear, legend unclear
<b>D7b.</b>	Δ	Göbl, 782A	As D7a; <b>four-armed Oesho</b> as D5h, tamga to left, OHPO right dn
<b>D8a.</b>	4Δ	Göbl, 780	<b>King at altar to left</b> , wears low headdress, Bactrian legend; <b>enthroned Ardoxsho</b> to right, tamga to right, AΠOXPO left up
<b>D8b.</b>	4Δ	Göbl 1993, 163	As D8a; <b>enthroned Pharro</b> to left, tamga to left, ΦAPPO right dn
<b>D9a.</b>	Δ	G 779A	<b>King at altar to left</b> , wears low headdress, Bactrian legend; <b>Nana</b> standing to right, tamga to right, NANAPAO left up
<b>D10a.</b>	4Δ	G 795	<b>King at altar to left</b> ; wears low headdress, Bactrian legend, tamga in the left field (inside circle); <b>Athsho</b> to left as D5a, tamga to left, AΘPO right dn
<b>D10b</b>	4Δ	G 794	As D10a; <b>Miiro</b> standing left, two-fingered gesture with right hand, sword in the left near waist, tamga to left, MIOPO right dn

## 2. Mint B (Tamga Type)

<b>D11a.</b>	4Δ	G 801	<b>King at altar to left</b> , but tamga in the left field (outside circle); <b>Mao</b> to left, two-fingered gesture with right hand, sword in the left near waist, staff across body, tamga to left, MAO right dn
<b>D11b.</b>	4Δ	G 796	As D11a; <b>Miiro</b> standing to left, Miiro as D10b, tamga to left, MIPO right dn
<b>D11c.</b>	4Δ	G 805	As D11a; <b>Nana</b> to right, holds scepter and bowl, tamga to right, NANA left up
<b>D11d.</b>	4Δ	G 816	As D11a; <b>Oado</b> running to left, tamga to left, OΔO right dn
<b>D11ei.</b>	4Δ	G 811	As D11a; <b>four-armed Oesho</b> to left, holds diadem, thunderbolt, trident and water flask, tamga to left, OHPO right up
<b>D11eii.</b>	4Δ	G 812	As D11a; <b>four-armed Oesho</b> as D11ei, tamga to left, OPO right dn

### 3. Mint C (Kharoshthi Letter)

<b>D12ai.</b>	Δ	G 802-11, ACW 3179	<b>King at altar to left</b> , Kharoshthi letter <b>Cha</b> , legend <b>1 o'clock</b> ; <b>Mao</b> to left, two-fingered gesture with right hand, sword in the left near waist, tamga to left, MAO right dn
<b>D12aii.</b>	Δ	G 802-5, ACW 3177, 3178	As D12ai, but letter <b>Ji</b> ; <b>Mao</b> as D12ai, MAO right dn
<b>D12aiii.</b>	Δ	BM 648-6-9, G802	As D12ai, but letter <b>Se</b> ; <b>Mao</b> as D12ai, MAO right dn (150)
<b>D12bi.</b>	Δ	ACW 3175, 3176, G797	As D12ai, letter <b>Ji</b> ; <b>Miuro</b> to left, two-fingered gesture with right hand, sword in the left near waist, tamga to left, MIYPO right dn (155)
<b>D12ci.</b>	Δ	BM 649-1-2, ACW 3180, 3181, G 806	As D12ai, letter <b>Cha</b> ; <b>Nana</b> to right, holds scepter and bowl, tamga to right, NANA left up (158)
<b>D12cii.</b>	Δ	G 809-2, ACW 3182-84	As D12ai, letter <b>Cha</b> ; <b>Nana</b> to left, holds scepter and bowl, tamga to left, NANA right dn (160)
<b>D12ciii.</b>	Δ	G 809-3	As D12ai, letter <b>Ji</b> ; <b>Nana</b> to left as D12cii, NANA right dn (161)
<b>D12di.</b>	Δ	G 817-6, ACW 3188-89	As D12ai, letter <b>Cha</b> ; <b>Oado</b> running to left, tamga to left, OAAO right dn
<b>D12dii.</b>	Δ	G 817-1	As D12ai, letter <b>Ji</b> ; <b>Oado</b> running to left, tamga to left, OAAO right dn (163)
<b>D12ei.</b>	Δ	G 813-2, ACW 3185-87	As D12ai, letter <b>Cha</b> , <b>two-armed Oesho</b> to left, holds trident-axe and water flask, tamga to left, OHPO right dn (166)
<b>D12eii.</b>	Δ	G 813-6	As D12ai, letter <b>Ji</b> ; <b>two-armed Oesho</b> to left, holds trident-axe and water flask, tamga to left, OHPOO right dn (167)
<b>D12eiii.</b>	Δ	G 813-5	As D12ai, letter <b>Cha</b> ; <b>two-armed Oesho</b> facing right, holds trident-axe and water flask, tamga to right, OHPO left up (169)
<b>D13ai.</b>	Δ	BM 648-7-1	<b>King at altar to left</b> , Kharoshthi letter <b>Cha</b> , legend <b>7-9 o'clock</b> ; <b>Mao</b> to left, two-fingered gesture with right hand, sword in the left near waist, tamga to left, MAO right dn (143)
<b>D13aii.</b>	Δ	ACW 3161-62	As D13ai, letter <b>Ji</b> ; <b>Mao</b> as D13ai, tamga to left, MAO right dn (144)
<b>D13aiii.</b>	Δ	G 802-9	As D13ai, letter <b>Se</b> ; <b>Mao</b> as D13ai, tamga to left, MAO right dn (145)
<b>D13bi.</b>	Δ	G 797-2	As D13ai, letter <b>Cha</b> ; <b>Miuro</b> to left, two-fingered gesture with right hand, sword in the left near waist, tamga to left, MIYPO right dn (151)
<b>D13bii.</b>	Δ	G 797-4, ACW 3158-59	As D13ai, letter <b>Ji</b> ; <b>Miuro</b> as D13bi, tamga to left, MIYPO right dn (152)
<b>D13biii.</b>	Δ	G 797-9	As D13ai, letter <b>Sam</b> ; <b>Miuro</b> as D13bi, tamga to left, MIYPO right dn (153)
<b>D13ci.</b>	Δ	G 806-6	As D13ai, letter <b>Cha</b> , <b>Nana</b> to right, holds scepter and bowl, tamga to right, NANA left up (156)
<b>D13di.</b>	Δ	G 817-2, 6, ACW 3173	As D13ai, letter <b>Ji</b> , <b>Oado</b> running to left, tamga to left, OAAO right dn (162)

<b>D13dii.</b>	Δ	G 819-1, 3, ACW 3174	As D13ai, letter <i>Ji</i> , <b>Oado</b> running to right, tamga to right, OAAO left up (164)
<b>D13ei.</b>	Δ	G 813-1	As D13ai, letter <i>Cha</i> , <b>two-armed Oesho</b> facing left, holds trident-axe and water flask, tamga to left, OHPO right dn (165)
<b>D13eii.</b>	Δ	BM 649-2-5	As D13ai, letter <i>Cha</i> , <b>two-armed Oesho</b> facing right, holds trident-axe and water flask, tamga to right, OHPO left up (168)
<b>D14a.</b>	Δ/2	G 804-2	<i>King at altar to left</i> , Kharoshthi letter <i>Cha</i> , legend <b>1 o'clock</b> , <b>Mao</b> to left, two-fingered gestured with right hand, left holds sword near waist, tamga to left, MAO right dn (170)
<b>D15a.</b>	Δ/2	G 800-1, 2	<i>King at altar to left</i> , Kharoshthi letter <i>Cha</i> , legend <b>7-9 o'clock</b> , <b>Miuro</b> to left, two-fingered gestured with right hand, left holds sword near waist, tamga to left, MIOPO right dn (172)
<b>D15b.</b>	Δ/2	G 808-1, 2	As D15a, letter <i>Cha</i> (?), <b>Nana</b> to right, holds scepter and bowl, tamga to right, NANA left up (173)
<b>D15c.</b>	Δ/2	G 815-2	As D15a, letter <i>Cha</i> , <b>two-armed Oesho</b> to left, holds trident-axe and water flask, tamga to left, OHPO right dn (174)
<b>D16a.</b>	Δ	BM 649-7-6, G-803	<i>King seated on a throne</i> facing left, wears wide brimmed hat, letter <i>Cha</i> (?), legend (?); <b>Mao</b> to left, two-fingered gesture with right hand, left holds sword in the left near waist, tamga to left, MAO right dn (176)
<b>D16b.</b>	Δ	G 798-1	As D16a; <b>Miuro</b> to left, two-fingered gesture with right hand, left holds sword in the left near waist, tamga to left, MIYPO right dn (177)
<b>D16c.</b>	Δ	G 807-1	As D16a; <b>Nana</b> to right, holds scepter and bowl, tamga to right, NANA left up (178)
<b>D16d.</b>	Δ	G 818-1	As D16a; <b>Oado</b> running to left, tamga to left, OAAO right dn (179)
<b>D16e.</b>	Δ	BM 647-7-8, G-814	As D16a; <b>two-armed Oesho</b> to left, holds trident-axe and water flask, tamga to left, OHPO right dn (180)

## E. HUVISHKA ISSUES

### Phase I

#### Main Mint (Bactria Mint)

<b>E1a.</b>	4Δ 15.35-14.54	G 832	<i>King riding on elephant to right</i> , holding scepter, legend 1 o'clock, <b>Athsho</b> standing to left, holding fillet and tong, tamga-A to left, AΘPO right dn (409)
<b>E1b.</b>	4Δ 16.30-13.49	G 835	As E1a; <b>Mao</b> standing to left, two-fingered gesture with right hand, left holds sword at waist, tamga-A to left, MAO right dn (410)
<b>E1ci.</b>	4Δ 15.80-14.07	G 820	As E1a; <b>Miuro</b> standing to left, two-fingered gesture with right hand, left holds sword at waist, tamga-A to left, MIPO right dn (411)
<b>E1cii.</b>	4Δ 16.00-14.89	G 823	As E1a; <b>Miuro</b> to left as E1ci, tamga-A to left, MIOPO right dn (412)
<b>E1ciii.</b>	4Δ 15.32	G 826	As E1a; <b>Miuro</b> to left as E1ci, tamga-A to left, MIPO right dn
<b>E1d.</b>	4Δ 15.40-13.59	G 839	As E1a; <b>Nana</b> standing to right, holds scepter and bowl,

			tamga-A to right, NANA left up (413)
<b>E1ei.</b>	4Δ 15.62-14.59	G 847	As E1a; <b>four-armed Oesho</b> standing to left, holds diadem, thunderbolt, trident and antelope, tamga-A to left, OHPO right dn (415)
<b>E1eii.</b>	4Δ 15.39-14.40	G 849	As E1a; <b>four-armed Oesho</b> as E1ei, but holds water flask in the fourth hand, tamga-A, OHPO right dn (416)
<b>E2a.</b>	4Δ 15.56-14.51	G 833	<b>King reclining on couch to left</b> , legend 1 o'clock; <b>Athsho</b> to left as E1a, tamga-A to left, AΘPO right dn (418)
<b>E2b.</b>	4Δ 16.00-14.35	G 836	As E2a; <b>Mao</b> to left as E1b, tamga-A to left, MAO right dn (419)
<b>E2ci.</b>	4Δ 14.61	G 821	As E2a; <b>Miuro</b> to left as E1cai, tamga-A to left, MIPO right dn (420)
<b>E2cii.</b>	4Δ 15.99-14.51	G 824	As E2a; <b>Miuro</b> to left as E1cii, tamga-A to left, MIOPO right dn (421)
<b>E2ciii.</b>	4Δ 15.53	G 827	As E2a; <b>Miuro</b> to left as E1ciii, tamga-A to left, MIIPO right dn
<b>E2di.</b>	4Δ 13.59	G 840	As E2a; <b>Nana</b> to right as E1d, tamga-A to right, NANA left up (422)
<b>E2dii.</b>	4Δ 14.20	G 842	As E2a; <b>Nana</b> to right as E1d, tamga-A to right, NANA left dn (423)
<b>E2e.</b>	4Δ 15.43	G 853	As E2a; <b>Oado</b> running to left, tamga-A to left, OAΔO right dn (424)
<b>E2fi.</b>	4Δ 14.79-14.28	G 848	As E2a; <b>four-armed Oesho</b> to left (with antelope) as E1ei, tamga-A to left, OHPO right dn (425)
<b>E2fii.</b>	4Δ 16.97-14.40	G 850	As E2a; <b>four-armed Oesho</b> to left (with water flask) as E1eii, tamga-A to left, OHPO right dn (426)
<b>E3a.</b>	4Δ 15.37-14.38	G 834	<b>King seated cross-legged facing right</b> , legend 1 o'clock; <b>Athsho</b> to left as E1a, tamga-A to left, AΘPO right dn (827)
<b>E3b.</b>	4Δ 15.60-14.24	G 837	As E3a; <b>Mao</b> to left as E1b, tamga-A to left, MAO right dn (828)
<b>E3ci.</b>	4Δ 14.61	G 822	As E3a; <b>Miuro</b> to left as E1ci, tamga-A to left, MIPO right dn (429)
<b>E3cii.</b>	4Δ 15.21-14.83	G 825	As E3a; <b>Miuro</b> to left as E1cii, tamga-A to left, MIOPO right dn (430)
<b>E3ciii.</b>	4Δ	G 828	As E3a; <b>Miuro</b> to left as E1ciii, tamga-A to left, MIIPO right dn
<b>E3di.</b>	4Δ 15.01-14-73	G 841	As E3a; <b>Nana</b> to right as E1d, tamga-A to left, NANA left up (431)
<b>E3dii.</b>	4Δ	G 843	As E3a; <b>Nana</b> to right as E1d, tamga-A to left, NANA left dn (432)
<b>E3e.</b>	4Δ 15.52	G 854	As E3a; <b>Oado</b> running to left, tamga-A to left, OAΔO right dn (433)
<b>E3f.</b>	4Δ 15.63-15.62	G 851	As E3a; <b>four-armed Oesho</b> to left (with water flask) as E1eii, tamga-A to left, OHPO right dn (434)
<b>E4a.</b>	4Δ 15.37-14.42	G 838	<b>King seated cross-legged facing left</b> , legend 1 o'clock; <b>Mao</b> to left as E1b, tamga-A to left, MAO right dn (435)

### Gandhara Mint

<b>E5a.</b>	4Δ 16.17	BM 1991-0416-7	<b>King on elephant to right</b> holds club; <b>Ardoxsho</b> to right holds diadem, tamga-B to right, legend corrupt
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<b>E5b.</b>	4Δ 16.39	BM 1893-0506-25	<i>King on elephant to right</i> , holds elephant's goad, legend ..AONONOPO....KIK..; male figure ( <b>Athsho</b> ) to left, holds diadem or fillet in extended right hand, left with tong at waist, tamga-E to left, legend corrupt OH right dn
<b>E5c.</b>	4Δ 17.76	BM 1991-0416-8	<i>King on elephant to right</i> holds club?; <b>Mao</b> to left, right hand extended, left holds sword near waist, crescent (?) behind shoulders, tamga-F to left, legend corrupt
<b>E5d.</b>	4Δ 15.59	BM 1991-0416-19	<i>King on elephant to right</i> , holds elephant's goad; Figure ( <b>female</b> ) standing facing, right hand raised up to right shoulder, left akimbo, tamga-E to left, legend corrupt ΔOO right dn
<b>E5e.</b>	4Δ 16.24	BM 1991-0416-12	<i>King on elephant to right</i> , holds elephant's goad, legend ....PKO 1h; male figure ( <b>Miuro</b> ) to left with plain double halo round head, two-fingered gesture with right hand, left holds sword at waist, tamga-E to left, legend illegible,
<b>E5f.</b>	4Δ 18.09	BM 1991-0416-9	<i>King on elephant to right</i> , holds club, traces of legend; <b>Bowman</b> standing facing, holds bow in the left hand, tamga-B/C? to left, no legend
<b>E5gi.</b>	4Δ 17.38	BM 1991-0416-17	<i>King on elephant to right</i> , holds elephant's goad, legend..AOPONO...OHPK..1 o'clock; <b>Male</b> figure to right with sun-rays hallow round head, right hand at waist and holds staff or spear in raised left hand, tamga-E to right, legend illegible
<b>E5gii.</b>	4Δ 16.19	BM 1991-0416-18	<i>King on elephant to right</i> , holds elephant's goad, legend illegible; <b>Male</b> figure to right with sun-rays hallow round head, holds staff or spear in raised right hand, left at waist, tamga-E to right, legend illegible
<b>E5h.</b>	4Δ 16.80	G 896-1	<i>King riding on elephant to right</i> , holds elephant's goad , legend corrupt; <b>Nana</b> standing to left, right hand extended left akimbo, tamga-C to left, tamga-E, legend corrupt
<b>E6a.</b>	4Δ 16.24	BM 1991-0416-15	<i>King on elephant to left</i> , holds elephant's goad, legend OO...; male figure ( <b>Athsho</b> ) to left, holds diadem or fillet in right hand, left akimbo, tamga-H to left, no legend
<b>E6b.</b>	4Δ 16.45	BM 1892-0207-19	<i>King on elephant to left</i> , holds elephant's goad, legend ...POH...O; male figure to left ( <b>Mao/Miuro</b> ), two-fingered gesture with right hand, left holds sword at waist, tamga-I to left, legend illegible
<b>E6c.</b>	4Δ 16.45	BM 1991-0416-16	<i>King on elephant to left</i> , holds elephant's goad, legend illegible; male figure to left ( <b>Miuro?</b> ) with plain halo round head, two-fingered gesture with right hand, left holds sword at waist, tamga-I to left, legend illegible
<b>E6d.</b>	4Δ 17.33	BM 1991-0416-14	<i>King on elephant to left</i> , holds elephant's goad, legend illegible; male figure to left ( <b>Miuro</b> ) with plain double halo round head, two-fingered gesture with right hand, left holds sword at waist, tamga-J to left, no legend
<b>E6e.</b>	4Δ 18.73	BM 1991-0416-13	<i>King on elephant to left</i> , holds diadem?, no legend; male figure to left ( <b>Mao/Miuro</b> ) with plain halo round head, two-fingered gesture with right hand, left holds sword at waist and knobbed staff across the body, tamga-K to left, legend corrupt
<b>E7ai.</b>	4Δ 15.17	G 919-1/ BM	<i>King reclining on couch</i> to left, legend ....OOHP...;

		1989-1203-59	Female figure ( <b>Nana</b> ) to left, right hand extended, left at waist, tamga-E to left, legend OHPOO right up
<b>E7a</b>	4Δ	G 898	<b>King reclining on couch to left</b> , crude style with rude halo around figure, legend fragmentary; <b>Nana</b> to left, holds diadem in extended right hand, left akimbo, tamga-H to left, legend corrupt
<b>E7b.</b>	4Δ 18.15	BM 1991-0416-11	<b>King reclining on couch</b> to left, legend PAON....OOHPK...1 o'clock; Male figure ( <b>two-armed Oesho</b> ) to left, water flask in right hand, club or sword in the left at waist, tamga-E to left, legend OHPO right up
<b>E8a.</b>	4Δ 20.07	BM 1991-0416-10	<b>King seated cross-legged</b> to right, holds spear in raised left hand, right before chest, legend PAON....OOHPK 1 o'clock; Male figure ( <b>Mao</b> ) to left with crescent behind shoulders, two-fingered gesture with right hand, right holds sword at waist, tamga-E to left, legend illegible
<b>E9a.</b>	4Δ 16.80	G 844	<b>King riding on elephant to right</b> , legend 1 o'clock; king kneeling before standing <b>Nana</b> (right), tamga-B to left, ....NA-OMOIAΛONO-PAO 9 o'clock
<b>E10a.</b>	4Δ 16.80	G 846	<b>King seated cross-legged on cushion to left</b> , legend 1 o'clock; king kneeling before standing <b>Nana</b> (right), tamga-B to left, ....NA-OMOIAΛONO-PAO 9 o'clock
<b>E11a.</b>	4Δ 13.85	G 891A/ BM 1922-0424-3617	<b>King on elephant to right</b> , holds club, traces of legend; male figure bent to left ( <b>Herakles</b> ) holds club in raised left hand, right akimbo, tamga-E to right, no legend
<b>E11b.</b>	4Δ 16.98	BM 1991-0416-5	<b>King on elephant to right</b> , holds club, legend PAONANOPAOOOHP.... 1 o'clock; <b>Oado</b> running to right, tamga-D to left, legend <i>Yodhavade</i>
<b>E11c.</b>	4Δ 16.80	BM 1991-0416-4	<b>King on elephant to right</b> , holds club, legend POANPKOHOA.... 1 o'clock; six (or)-armed figure ( <b>Vishnu</b> ) standing facing, tamga-J to left, legend <i>Yodhavade</i>
<b>E12a.</b>	4Δ 16.64	BM 1991-0416-6	<b>King on elephant to left</b> , holds club, legend PAONANOPAO.... 1 o'clock; <b>Ardoxsho</b> to right, holds cornucopia, tamga-D to right, legend <i>Yodhavade</i>
<b>E 12b.</b>	4Δ 13.19	G 897-1	<b>King on elephant to left</b> holds club; legend illegible; <b>Nana</b> standing to left, holds lion-protome scepter in right hand and staff in crook of left arm, tamga-E to right, legend right but unclear

### Kashmir Mint

Variety	Wt (gm)	Ref. No.	Features
<b>E14a.</b> small	Δ	BM 648-6-9, ACW 3260, 3263	King standing at altar to left, Kharoshthi letter <i>Se</i> ; legend unclear, <b>Mao</b> to left, two-fingered gesture with right hand, left holding sword near waist, tamga to left, MAO right dn (150)
<b>E14b.</b>	Δ	BM 648-7-3, ACW 3259	As E14a, letter <i>Su</i> ( <i>sam?</i> ); legend KIPAOO, <b>Mao</b> to left, as E14a, tamga to right, MAO right dn (147)
<b>E14c.</b>	Δ	G 806-8	As E14a, letter <i>Su</i> ; legend KIPAOO, <b>Nana</b> to right, holds scepter and bowl, tamga to right, NANA left up (157)
<b>E15a.</b>	Δ/2	G 799-1	King standing at altar to left, Kharoshthi letter <i>Cha</i> ; legend PAO NANO PA 7 o'clock; <b>Miuro</b> to left, two-

			fingered gesture with right hand, left holding sword near waist, tamga to left, MIIRO right dn (171)
<b>E15b.</b>	Δ/2	G 815A-1	As E5a, letter <i>Cha</i> ; <b>four-armed Oesho</b> to left, holds diadem, thunderbolt, trident and antelope, tamga to left, OHPO right dn (175)

**Phase II**  
**Main Mint (Bactria)**

<b>E16a.</b>	4Δ	G 832?	King riding on elephant to right, holding scepter, legend 1 o'clock, <b>Athsho</b> standing to left, holding fillet and tong, tamga-A to left, AΘPO right dn (409)
<b>E16b.</b>	4Δ 11.07-8.91	G 835, 23-28	As E16a; <b>Mao</b> standing to left, two-fingered gesture with right hand, left holds sword at waist, tamga-A to left, MAO right dn (410)
<b>E16c.</b>	4Δ 12.30	G 820-14	As E16a; <b>Miuro</b> standing to left, two-fingered gesture with right hand, left holds sword at waist, tamga-A to left, MIIPO right dn (411)
<b>E16d.</b>	4Δ 13.67	G 839-5	As E16a; <b>Nana</b> standing to right, holds scepter and bowl, tamga-A to right, NANA left up (413)
<b>E16e.</b>	4Δ	G 847	As E16a; <b>four-armed Oesho</b> standing to left, holds diadem, thunderbolt, trident and antelope, tamga-A to left, OHPO right dn (415)
<b>E17a.</b>	4Δ	G 833	<b>King reclining on couch to left</b> , legend 1 o'clock; <b>Athsho</b> to left as E3a, tamga-A to left, AΘPO right dn (418)
<b>E17b.</b>	4Δ 9.76-7.53	G 836, 28-45	As E17a; <b>Mao</b> to left as E3b, tamga-A to left, MAO right dn (419)
<b>E17ci.</b>	4Δ 11.50-7.65	G 821, 8-18	As E17a; <b>Miuro</b> to left as E3cai, tamga-A to left, MIIPO right dn (420)
<b>E17cii.</b>	4Δ 10.04-8.24	G 824, 6-9	As E17a; <b>Miuro</b> to left as E3cii, tamga-A to left, MIOPO right dn (421)
<b>E17d.</b>	4Δ	G 840	As E17a; <b>Nana</b> to right as E3d, tamga-A to right, NANA left up (422)
<b>E17e.</b>	4Δ	G 853	As E17a; <b>Oado</b> running to left, tamga-A to left, OAAO right dn (424)
<b>E17f.</b>	4Δ 11.70-8.79	G 848, 3-4	As E17a; <b>four-armed Oesho</b> to left (with antelope) as E3ei, tamga-A to left, OHPO right dn (425)
<b>E18a.</b>	4Δ	G 834	<b>King seated cross-legged facing right</b> , legend 1 o'clock; <b>Athsho</b> to left as E3a, tamga-A to left, AΘPO right dn (827)
<b>E18b.</b>	4Δ 9.96-8.49	G 837, 30-32	As E5a; <b>Mao</b> to left as E3b, tamga-A to left, MAO right dn (828)
<b>E18c.</b>	4Δ 9.97-7.65	G 822, 7-11	As E5a; <b>Miuro</b> to left as E3ci, tamga-A to left, MIIPO right dn (429)
<b>E18d.</b>	4Δ	G 841	As E5a; <b>Nana</b> to right as E3d, tamga-A to left, NANA left up (431)
<b>E18e.</b>	4Δ	G 854	As E5a; <b>Oado</b> running to left, tamga-A to left, OAAO right dn (433)
<b>E18f.</b>	4Δ	G 851	As E5a; <b>four-armed Oesho</b> to left (with water flask) as E3eii, tamga-A to left, OHPO right dn (434)

## Gandhara Mint

<b>E21a.</b>	4Δ 12. 64-11.35	G 900-1/ BM 1894-05060- 1496; 1843-0812- 38; GDB 369, TD Khar. 2	<b>King on elephant to right</b> holds club; legend PAONANOPAO...PKOKOPANO 1 o'clock; <b>Ardoxsho</b> standing to right, holds cornucopia with both hands, tamga-K to right, legend corrupt left
<b>E21b.</b>	4Δ 12.31-11.54	G 899-2/ BM 1894-0506- 1505	<b>King on elephant to right</b> holds club; legend ....PKOKOPANO 1 o'clock; <b>Athsho</b> standing to left, holds diadem (fillet) in right hand and hammer in crook of left arm, tamga-I to left, Khar. legend right
<b>E21ci.</b>	4Δ 9.19-8.63	G 895-2/ BM 1922-0213-47	<b>King on elephant to right</b> holds club; legend ....HOPKO...1 o'clock; <b>Bowman</b> standing frontally with head to left, holds arrow in the right hand and big bow in the left, tamga-E to left, Khar. legend right
<b>E21cii.</b>	4Δ 12. 55	G 893	<b>King on elephant to right</b> holds club; legend PAONANOPAO...1 o'clock; <b>Bowman</b> standing facing, holds arrow in the right hand and big bow in the left, tamga-D to right, legend corrupt left
<b>E21ciii.</b>	4Δ 12.59-11.85	G 894-2/ BM 1922-0213-46	<b>King on elephant to right</b> holds club; legend PAONANOPAO...1 o'clock; <b>Bowman</b> standing facing, holds arrow in the right hand and big bow in the left, tamga-D to right, legend corrupt left
<b>E21di.</b>	4Δ 12.61	G 896-4 BM 1922-0424- 3622	<b>King on elephant to right</b> holds club; legend ....OPUN...1 o'clock; <b>Miuro</b> to left with plain halo round head, holds diadem in extended right hand and left akimbo, tamga-? to left, Khar. legend right
<b>E21dii.</b>	4Δ	TD Khar. 1	<b>King on elephant to right</b> holds club; legend fragmentary, <b>Miuro</b> to left with plain halo round head, holds diadem in extended right hand and staff in crook of left arm, tamga-J to left, Khar. legend right
<b>E21ei.</b>	4Δ 12.46	G 896-2	<b>King on elephant to right</b> holds club; legend illegible; <b>Nana</b> to left, right hand extended and left akimbo, tamga-H to left, legend to right illegible
<b>E21eii.</b>	4Δ 11.58	G 899-1/ BM 1922-0423-26	<b>King on elephant to right</b> holds club; legend illegible; <b>Nana</b> to left, right hand extended and holds staff/ scepter in crook of left arm, tamga-J to left, Bactrian (NANA dn) and Khar. legend (dn) right
<b>E21f.</b>	4Δ 8.51	G 907-1/ BM 1956-0409-171	<b>King on elephant to right</b> holds club; legend illegible; <b>Oado</b> running to right, tamga-E to left, legend illegible
<b>E21gi.</b>	4Δ 12.10	G 901/ BM 1894-0506- 1504	<b>King on elephant to right</b> holds club; legend PA.....OOOO (illegible) 1 o'clock; <b>two-armed Oesho</b> standing facing with halo round head, holds trident in raised left hand and right hand unclear, tamga-E to left, Khar. legend right
<b>E21gii.</b>	4Δ 12.65	G 903-1/ BM 1894-0506- 1503	<b>King on elephant to right</b> holds club; legend PAONANO..... 1 o'clock; <b>two-armed Oesho</b> standing facing with halo round head, holds trident in raised right hand and water flask in the left, tamga-? to left, Khar. legend right
<b>E22a.</b>	4Δ 11.20	Taxila 202.3	<b>King on elephant to left</b> holds club; legend illegible; <b>Ardoxsho</b> standing to right, holds cornucopia with both hands, tamga-E to right, Khar. legend right but unclear

<b>E23a.</b>	4Δ	TD eBay	<b>King seated cross-legged facing</b> , spear in raised left hand, legend ....KOPANO 1 o'clock, <b>Ardoxsho</b> standing to right, holds cornucopia with both hands, tamga-D to right, Khar. legend left
<b>E23b.</b>	4Δ 10.95	G 1993, 367	<b>King seated cross-legged facing</b> , holds spear in right hand, legend PAONANO....1 o'clock, <b>Bowman standing facing</b> , holding club and bow, tamga-E to left, legend illegible
<b>E23c.</b>	4Δ	G 906	<b>King seated cross-legged facing</b> , spear in raised left hand, legend fragmentary, <b>Oado</b> running to left, tamga-E to right, Khar. legend left

### Oesho Mint

<b>E26a.</b>	4Δ 10.90-8.10	G 855	<b>King riding on elephant to right</b> , holds elephant's goad, legend PAONANOPAO OOHPKKE KOPANO 1 o'clock; <b>two-armed Oesho</b> standing to left, holds trident in raised right hand and water flask in the left, tamga-B/C to left, OHPO right dn
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### Ardoxsho Mint

<b>E29ai.</b>	4Δ 12.80-10.45	G 876	<b>King riding on elephant to right</b> , holds elephant's goad, legend PAONANOPAO OOHPKKE KOPANO 1 o'clock; <b>Ardoxsho</b> to right, holds cornucopia with both hands, tamga-L to right, APΔOXPO left up
<b>E29aii.</b>	4Δ 11.32	G 877	<b>King riding on elephant to right</b> , holds elephant's goad, legend 1 o'clock; <b>Ardoxsho</b> to left, holds cornucopia with both hands, tamga-L to left, APΔOXPO right dn
<b>E29aiii.</b>	4Δ	G 879	<b>King riding on elephant to right</b> , holds elephant's goad, legend 1 o'clock; <b>Ardoxsho</b> to left, holds cornucopia with both hands, tamga-L to left, APΔOXPO right up
<b>E29aiv.</b>	4Δ 11.03-9.32	G 878	<b>King riding on elephant to right</b> , holds elephant's goad, legend 1 o'clock; <b>Ardoxsho</b> to left, holds cornucopia diadem in extended right hand cornucopia in crook of left arm, tamga-L to left, APΔOXPO right dn
<b>E29bi.</b>	4Δ 12.95-11.24	G 880	<b>King riding on elephant to right</b> , holds elephant's goad, 1 o'clock; <b>Ardoxsho</b> to right, holds cornucopia with both hands, tamga-L to right, MAO left dn
<b>E29bii.</b>	4Δ 11.29	G 881	<b>King riding on elephant to left</b> , holds elephant's goad, legend 1 o'clock; <b>Ardoxsho</b> to right, holds cornucopia with both hands, tamga-L to right, MAO left up
<b>E29biii.</b>	4Δ 11.49-9.93	G 882	<b>King riding on elephant to right</b> , holds elephant's goad, 1 o'clock; <b>Ardoxsho</b> to left, holds cornucopia with both hands, tamga-L to left, MAO right dn
<b>E29biv.</b>	4Δ 11.80-10.30	G 883	<b>King riding on elephant to left</b> , holds elephant's goad, 1 o'clock; <b>Ardoxsho</b> to left, holds cornucopia with both hands, tamga-L to left, MAO right dn
<b>E 29ci.</b>	4Δ 11.65	G 867	<b>King riding on elephant to right</b> , holds elephant's goad, 1 o'clock; <b>Athsho</b> to left, holds hammer in the right hand and tong in crook of left arm, tamga-L to left, MAO right dn
<b>E29cii.</b>	4Δ 11.65	G 867A	<b>King riding on elephant to right</b> , holds elephant's goad, 1

			o' clock; <b>Athsho</b> to left, holds hammer in the right hand and tong in crook of left arm, tamga-L to left, PNAO right dn
<b>E29d.</b>	4Δ 11.60-8.12	G 869	<b>King riding on elephant to right</b> , holds elephant's goad, 1 o' clock; <b>Mao</b> to left, crescent behind shoulders, two-fingered gesture with right hand and holds sword in the left at waist, tamga-L to left, MAO right dn
<b>E29ei.</b>	4Δ 12.24-11.77	G 886	<b>King riding on elephant to right</b> , holds elephant's goad, 1 o' clock; <b>Herakles</b> to left, holds club in the right hand and lion's skin in the left, tamga-L to left, HPAKIAO right dn
<b>E29eii.</b>	4Δ	G 886A	<b>King riding on elephant to right</b> , holds elephant's goad, 1 o' clock; <b>Herakles</b> to left, holds club in the right hand and lion's skin in the left, tamga-L to right, HPAKIAO left up
<b>E29eiii.</b>	4Δ 13.23-9.32	G 887	<b>King riding on elephant to right</b> , holds elephant's goad, 1 o' clock; <b>Herakles</b> to right, holds club in crook of right arm and lion's skin in the left hand, tamga-L to right, HPAKIAO left up
<b>E29eiv.</b>	4Δ 10.54-8.86	G 889	<b>King riding on elephant to right</b> , holds elephant's goad, 1 o' clock; <b>Herakles</b> to right, holds club in crook of right arm and lion's skin in the left hand, tamga-L to left, HPAKIAO right dn
<b>E 29ev.</b>	4Δ	G 890	<b>King riding on elephant to right</b> , holds elephant's goad, 1 o' clock; <b>Herakles</b> to left, holds club in crook of left arm and lion's skin in the left, right hand extended, tamga-L to left, HPAKIAO right dn
<b>E29evi.</b>	4Δ 12.92	G 891	<b>King riding on elephant to right</b> , holds elephant's goad, 1 o' clock; <b>Herakles</b> standing facing, holds club in crook of left arm and right hand at waist, tamga-L to left, HPAKIAO right dn
<b>E29evii.</b>	4Δ 12.11-9.80	G 892	<b>King riding on elephant to right</b> , holds elephant's goad, 1 o' clock; <b>Herakles</b> standing facing, crowning himself with right hand and holds club in crook of left arm and lion's skin in the left hand, tamga-L to left, HPAKIAO right dn
<b>E29eviii.</b>	4Δ 11.6-8.12	G 869	<b>King riding on elephant to right</b> , holds elephant's goad, 1 o' clock; <b>Mao</b> to left, crescent behind halo, two-fingered gesture with right hand and left at waist, tamga-L to left, MAO right dn
<b>E29fi.</b>	4Δ 10.54	G 859	<b>King riding on elephant to right</b> , holds elephant's goad, 1 o' clock; <b>Miuro</b> to left, sun-rays halo behind head, two-fingered gesture with right hand and left holds sword at waist, tamga-L to left, MIPO right dn
<b>E29fii.</b>	4Δ 11.39-10.54	G 856	<b>King riding on elephant to right</b> , holds elephant's goad, 1 o' clock; <b>Miuro</b> to left, sun-rays halo behind head, two-fingered gesture with right hand and holds scepter in raised left, tamga-L to left, MIYPO right dn
<b>E29g.</b>	4Δ 9.22	G 93, 332	<b>King riding on elephant to right</b> , legend 1 o'clock; king kneeling before standing Nana (left), tamga-L to left, ...NANO right dn
<b>E29h.</b>	4Δ 10.46-10.23	905-1, 2	<b>King riding on elephant to right</b> , holds elephant's goad, legend 1 o' clock; <b>Oado</b> running to left, holds veil with both hand, tamga-L to left, OAAO right dn

<b>E29j.</b>		New	<i>King riding on elephant to right</i> , holds elephant's goad, legend illegible; <b>three-headed two armed-Oesho</b> standing facing, holds antelope in the left hand and right at waist, trident-axe and tamga-L to left, OOH... right dn
<b>E29ki.</b>	4Δ 11.58-10.96	G 863	<i>King riding on elephant to right</i> , holds elephant's goad, legend 1 o'clock; <b>Pharro</b> to left, halo behind head, holds purse in extended right hand and staff in raised left, tamga-L to left, ΦAPPO right dn
<b>E29kii.</b>	4Δ 12.01-10.29	G 864	<i>King riding on elephant to right</i> , holds elephant's goad, legend 1 o'clock; <b>Pharro</b> to left, halo behind head, holds flames in extended right hand and staff in raised left, tamga-L to left, ΦAPO right dn
<b>E29kiii.</b>	4Δ	New	<i>King riding on elephant to right</i> , holds elephant's goad, legend illegible; <b>Pharro</b> to left, halo behind head, holds purse in extended right hand and staff in raised left, tamga-L to left, ΦAPPO (?) right dn
<b>E29kiv.</b>	4Δ	BM 1988-0322-091	<i>King riding on elephant to right</i> , holds elephant's goad, legend illegible; <b>Pharro</b> to left, halo behind head, holds diadem in extended right hand and staff in raised left, tamga-L to left, ΦAPO right dn
<b>E29kv.</b>	4Δ	BM 1989-0104-71	<i>King riding on elephant to right</i> , holds elephant's goad, legend illegible; <b>Pharro</b> to left, bird insignia at top head, halo behind head, holds diadem in extended right hand and staff in raised left, tamga-L to left, OAPO right up
<b>E30a.</b>	4Δ	G 887A	<i>King reclining on couch to left</i> , legend fragmentary; <b>Herakles</b> standing facing, holds club in crook of right arm and lion's skin in the left hand, tamga L to left, PMA right dn
<b>E30b.</b>	4Δ 11.38-7.51	G 870	<i>King reclining on couch to left</i> , legend 1 o'clock; <b>Mao</b> to left with crescent behind shoulders, two-fingered gesture with right hand and left holds sword at waist, tamga-L to left, MAO right dn
<b>E30ci.</b>	4Δ	BM 1988-0322-015	<i>King reclining on couch to left</i> , legend 1 o'clock; <b>Miuro</b> to left with sun-rays behind head, two-fingered gesture with right hand and left holds sword at waist, tamga-L to left, MIYPO right dn
<b>E30cii.</b>	4Δ	BM 1988-0322-021	<i>King reclining on couch to left</i> , legend fragmentary; <b>Miuro</b> to left with sun-rays behind head, right hand extended and left at waist, tamga-L to left, NPAO right dn
<b>E30ciii.</b>	4Δ	G 857	<i>King reclining on couch to left</i> , legend 1 o'clock; <b>Miuro</b> to left with sun-rays behind head, two-fingered gesture with right hand and holds staff in raised left, tamga-L to left, MIYPO right dn
<b>E30d.</b>	4Δ	L 1988-0322-020	<i>King reclining on couch to left</i> , legend 1 o'clock; <b>Oado</b> running to left, tamga-L to left, MNOP right dn
<b>E31ai.</b>	4Δ 12.33	G 93, 356	<i>King seated cross legged</i> , holds sceptre in raised left hand, legend 1 o'clock; <b>Ardoxsho</b> to left, holds diadem in right hand and cornucopia in the left, tamga-L to right, ARΔOXPO right dn
<b>E31aii.</b>	4Δ	New	<i>King seated cross legged</i> , holds sceptre in raised right hand, legend fragmentary; <b>Ardoxsho</b> to left, holds diadem in right hand and cornucopia in the left, tamga-L to right,

			ARΔOXPO right dn
<b>E31b.</b>	4Δ 12.52	G 868	<b>King seated cross legged</b> , holds sceptre in raised left hand, legend 1 o'clock; <b>Athsho</b> to left, holds hammer in right hand and tong in crook of left arm, tamga-L to right, PNAO right dn
<b>E31b.</b>	4Δ 9.54-9.32	G 888	<b>King seated cross legged</b> , holds sceptre in raised right hand, legend fragmentary; <b>Herakles</b> to right, holds club in crook of right arm and lion's skin in the left hand, tamga-L to right, HPAKIAO left up
<b>E31di.</b>	4Δ 13.80-9.31	G 871	<b>King seated cross legged</b> , holds sceptre in raised left hand, legend 1 o'clock; <b>Mao</b> to left with crescent behind shoulders, two-fingered gesture with right hand and left holds sword at waist, tamga-L to left, MAO right dn
<b>E31dii.</b>	4Δ 9.54	G 873	<b>King seated cross legged</b> , holds sceptre in raised right hand, legend 1 o'clock; <b>Mao</b> to left with crescent behind shoulders, two-fingered gesture with right hand and left holds sword at waist, tamga-L to left, MAO right dn
<b>E31diii.</b>	4Δ 10.32	G 874	<b>King seated cross legged</b> , holds sceptre in raised left hand and right hand extended, legend illegible; <b>Mao</b> to left with crescent behind shoulders, two-fingered gesture with right hand and left holds sword at waist, tamga-L to left, MAO right dn
<b>E31div.</b>	4Δ 11.66	G 875	<b>King seated cross legged</b> , holds sceptre in raised left hand, legend illegible; <b>Mao</b> to left with crescent behind shoulders, holds diadem in right hand and left sword at waist, tamga-L to left, MAO right dn
<b>E31ei.</b>	4Δ 11.42	G 858	<b>King seated cross legged</b> , holds sceptre in raised left hand, legend 1 o'clock; <b>Miuro</b> to left with sun-rays halo behind head, two-fingered gesture with right hand, holds sceptre in raised left, tamga-L to left, MIYPO right dn
<b>E31eii.</b>	4Δ 11.06	G 860	<b>King seated cross legged</b> , holds sceptre in raised left hand, legend illegible; <b>Miuro</b> to left with sun-rays halo behind head, two-fingered gesture with right hand, holds sword in the left at waist, tamga-L to left, MIPO right dn
<b>E31eiii.</b>	4Δ	G 861	<b>King seated cross legged</b> , holds sceptre in raised left hand and right hand extended, legend illegible; <b>Miuro</b> to left with sun-rays halo behind head, two-fingered gesture with right hand, holds sword in the left at waist, tamga-L to left, MIYPO right dn
<b>E31f.</b>	4Δ 1074	G 884	<b>King seated cross legged</b> , holds sceptre in raised left hand and right hand raised up to head, legend illegible; <b>Nana</b> to left, diadem in extended right hand, lest at waist, tamga-L to left, NANA right dn
<b>E31g.</b>	4Δ 12.96	G 885	<b>King seated cross legged</b> , holds sceptre in raised left hand, legend fragmentary; <b>Oado</b> running to left holds veil with both hand, tamga-L to left, OΔΔO right dn
<b>E31h.</b>	4Δ	New	<b>King seated cross legged</b> , holds sceptre in raised left hand and right extended, legend fragmentary; <b>three-head four-armed Oesho</b> to left, holds water flask (?), thunderbolt, trident and antelope, tamga-L to left, legend illegible
<b>E31ji.</b>	4Δ 11.14	G 862	<b>King seated cross legged</b> , holds sceptre in raised left hand and right extended, legend fragmentary; <b>Pharro</b> to left

			carries flames in the right hand and staff in raised left, tamga-L to left, legend illegible
<b>E31jii.</b>	4Δ	G 866	<b>King seated cross legged</b> , holds sceptre in raised left hand and right extended, legend fragmentary; <b>Pharro</b> to left carries purse in the right hand and staff in raised left, tamga-L to left, legend fragmentary

### Mathura Mint

<b>E 34a.</b>	4Δ 8.08-7.22	G 939	<b>King riding on elephant to right</b> , holds spear, legend 1 o'clock but corrupt; <b>Mao</b> to left, holds diadem in the right hand and sword in the left at waist, tamga-J, F to left, MAO right dn
<b>E34bi.</b>	4Δ 8.08-6.83	G 933	<b>King riding on elephant to right</b> , holds spear, legend 1 o'clock but corrupt; <b>Miuro</b> to left, sun-rays halo behind head, two-fingered gesture with right hand, left holds g sword at waist, tamga-E to left, MIPO right dn
<b>E34bii.</b>	4Δ 8.57-6.99	G 936	<b>King riding on elephant to right</b> , holds spear, legend 1 o'clock but corrupt; <b>Miuro</b> to left, sun-rays halo behind head, holds diadem in the right hand and sword in the left at waist, tamga-E to left, MIPO right dn
<b>E34c.</b>	4Δ	G 943A	<b>King riding on elephant to right</b> , holds spear, legend fragmentary; <b>four-armed Oesho</b> to left, thunderbolt, trident and animal pelt, tamga-L to left, OHPO right dn
<b>E35a.</b>	4Δ 8.08	G 945	<b>King relining on couch to left</b> , legend fragmentary; <b>four-armed Oesho</b> to left holds flask, thunderbolt, trident and animal pelt, tamga-A to left, OHPO right dn
<b>E36a.</b>	4Δ 4.87	G 943	<b>King relining but shown as both legs turned to left with hands before chest</b> , legend fragmentary; <b>Ardoxsho</b> to left, holds cornucopia with both hands, tamga-E to left, APΔOXPO right dn
<b>E36b.</b>	4Δ 9.19-8.73	G 941	<b>King relining but shown as both legs turned to left with hands before chest</b> , legend fragmentary; <b>Mao</b> to left, holds diadem in the right hand and sword in the left at waist, tamga-E to left, MAO right dn
<b>E36ci.</b>	4Δ 1027-7.91	G 935	<b>King relining but shown as both legs turned to left with hands before chest</b> , legend fragmentary; <b>Miuro</b> to left, sun-rays halo behind head, holds diadem in the right hand and sword in the left at waist, tamga-E to left, MIPO right dn
<b>E36cii.</b>	4Δ 9-85-7.67	G 938	<b>King relining but shown as both legs turned to left with hands before chest</b> , legend fragmentary; <b>Miuro</b> to left, sun-rays halo behind head, holds diadem in the right hand and sword in the left at waist, tamga-E to left, MIPO right dn
<b>E37a.</b>	4Δ 9.14-7.22	G 942	<b>King seated crossed legged shown as squatting to left holds sceptre in raised left hand</b> , legend fragmentary; <b>Ardoxsho</b> to left, holds cornucopia with both hands, tamga-E to left, APΔOXPO right dn
<b>E37b.</b>	4Δ 10.43-8.39	G 940	<b>King seated crossed legged shown as squatting to left holds sceptre in raised left hand</b> , legend fragmentary; <b>Mao</b> to left, holds diadem in the right hand and sword in

			the left at waist, tamga-E to left, MAO right dn
<b>E37ci.</b>	4Δ 9.30-8.31	G 934	<i>King seated crossed legged shown as squatting to left holds sceptre in raised left hand</i> , legend fragmentary; <b>Miuro</b> to left, sun-rays halo behind head, holds diadem in the right hand and sword in the left at waist, tamga-E to left, MIPO right dn
<b>E37cii.</b>	4Δ 9.29-6.95	G 937	<i>King seated crossed legged shown as squatting to left holds sceptre in raised left hand</i> , legend fragmentary; <b>Miuro</b> to left, sun-rays halo behind head, holds diadem in the right hand and sword in the left at waist, tamga-E to left, MIPO right dn
<b>E37ciii.</b>	4Δ 6.23	G 946	<i>King seated crossed legged shown as squatting to left holds sceptre in raised left hand</i> , legend fragmentary; <b>Miuro</b> to left, sun-rays halo behind head, holds diadem in the right hand and sword in the left at waist, tamga-E to left, AIOPO right dn
<b>E3cv.</b>	4Δ	New	<i>King seated crossed legged shown as squatting to left holds sceptre in raised left hand</i> , legend fragmentary; <b>eight armed Oesho</b> standing facing with different attributes, tamga-L to left, OHPO right dn
<b>E37civ.</b>	4Δ	New	<i>King seated crossed legged shown as squatting to left holds sceptre in raised left hand</i> , legend fragmentary; <b>Pharro standing</b> to left, holds staff in raised right hand and sword in the left at waist, tamga-L to left, ΦAPPO right dn

#### F. VASUDEVA OFFICIAL ISSUES (↗, ↘ stands for the direction of legend)

Variety	Wt (gm)	Ref. No.	Features
<b>F1a.</b> Small	05.50-03.40	Göbl, 1014	King at altar; no trident; short legend like Kanishka ↗
<b>F2a.</b> Large		Karachi	King at altar to left, no trident, <b>single pennant</b> to trident in the right field, tri-cephalic Oesho standing with bull ↘
<b>F2b.</b>	11.00-09.70	Göbl, 1000-4	Same as F2a, <b>single pennant</b> to trident, but mono-cephalic Oesho standing with bull ↘
<b>F2c.</b>	10.78-10.30	_____	As F2b, but application of <b>double pennants</b> to the trident stands in the left field ↘
<b>F2d.</b>	10.20-07.50	Göbl, 1001-1	As F2b, but addition of <b>a trident</b> in the left field, <b>single pennant</b> to the right trident ↘
<b>F2e.</b>	10.10-07.00	Göbl, 1001-7	As F2d, but use of <b>double pennants</b> both to the right and left tridents ↘
<b>F2f.</b>	08.80-08.40	_____	As F2b, <b>a single pennant</b> to the right trident and a <b>bar</b> at the trident in the left field, ↘
<b>F3a.</b>	09.00-07.50	Göbl, 1005	As F2f, <b>barred</b> trident in left field, pennant removed ↘
<b>F3b.</b>	08.80-07.00	Göbl, 1006	As F3a, no bar or pennant, but addition of a <b>semi-circle</b> of dots to the right trident ↘
<b>F4a.</b>	09.00-06.80	Göbl, 1002	As F3b, no additional feature in the field or with tridents, <b>small stature</b> of the king ↘

<b>F4b.</b>	08.80-07.00	_____	Same as 4a, but <b>disposition of legend</b> changed ↗
<b>F5a.</b>	09.70-07.60	Göbl, 1003	As F4a, small stature of king, Soter Megas <i>tamga</i> added in the right filed ↘
<b>F5b.</b>	09.10-07.00	Göbl, 1004	As F5a, but <i>nandipada</i> in the right field, plain trident ↗
<b>F5c.</b>	8.60-6.00	Göbl, 1007	As F5a, <i>nandipada</i> in the right field, <b>trident-cum-battle-axe</b> in the left field ↗
<b>F5a or F5b.</b>	7.60-6.40	_____	Stylistically same as F5a & F5b ( <i>nandipada</i> series) but features unclear ↗
<b>F5d.</b>	9.30-8.00		As F5a, but the figures are tall, a delta like symbol with line underneath in right field, trident-cum-battle-axe in the left filed as F5c.
	_____	_____	The remaining coins are known as post-Vasudeva coins, king wears kaftan and the figures on both sides distorted, crude, stylized and degenerate and the legend off flan.

### F\*. VASUDEVA IMITATIONS

<b>F*1a.</b>	6.56-3.40		The king's figure is little stylized, hands particularly the right one becomes away from the body, a <b>swastika</b> is added in the left field near left trident, King wears kaftan like that used by Kanishka II
<b>F*1b.</b>	6.50-570	Göbl, 1009	As F*1a, but the <b>swastika</b> symbol is changed to the right filed under left arm of king
<b>F*1c.</b>			As F*1b, a <b>triangle</b> is placed below <b>swastika</b> under left arm of the king
<b>F*2a.</b>	7.00-3.50	Göbl, 1008	As F*1c; swastika-triangle combination is replaced by a <b>triangle and four pronged</b> symbol (below it)
<b>F*2b.</b>	5.70	Taxila	As F*2a, but pronged symbols is replaced by one more triangle, so <b>two triangles</b> are placed together.
<b>F*2c.</b>	6.60-2.00	Göbl, 1010-1	As F*2a; but only one triangle is applied
<b>F*2d.</b>	6.00-1.50	Göbl, 1010-17	As F*2a having single triangle underneath left arm of the king but king wears deep curved-hem dress with pronounced dots all around the body, <b>triangle</b> is seen
<b>F*3a.</b>	7.0 – 4.8	Taxila	As F*2c, but triangle is replaced by a circle in the same position.
<b>F*4a.</b>	7.00-1.20	Göbl, 1010-43	As F*2c with shallow curved-hem but triangle disappears
<b>F*4b.</b>	6.00-2.20	Göbl, 1010-39	As F*2d with deep curved-hem dress but triangle disappears like F*4a.
<b>F*4c.</b>	4.00-1.50	Göbl, 1010-90	As F*4b, but the figures are reduced in size and shown as stylized; the deep curved hem is more elongated with pointed ends and shown in crossed bands connected with the hanging arms of thin figures. Similarly the reverse figures of Oesho and bull are shown in segments.
<b>F*4d.</b>	4.50-2.30	Göbl, 1010a-8	As F*4c, the figure of king is thin with more pointed hem of his dress and Oesho and bull are shown in segments
<b>F*4e.</b>	5.00-3.00	Göbl, 1010a-15	The figures on both sides are distorted and irregular and the coins are small and thicker in fabric.
<b>F*4f.</b>	5.40-2.70	Göbl, 1010a-2	The obverse figure are shown in outline with irregular arms, legs and pointed hem of dress and the reverse figures losing their originality and are changing into lines, the coins are thick and dumpy.
<b>F*4g.</b>	4.20-1.30	Göbl, 1010-12	The obverse figure is completely distorted and shown in

			lines and the reverse figures are absolutely converted into parallel lines, coins are thick and smaller in size.
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### G. KANISHKA II

<b>G1a.</b>	8.50-6.50	Göbl, 1015	King wearing kaftan, shown as well proportioned figure, Brahmi letter <i>vi</i> in the right field and enthroned figure of Ardoxsho on the reverse.
<b>G1b.</b>	8.00-6.00	Göbl, 1016	Same as G1a, but Kharoshthi letter <i>vi</i> in the right field.
<b>G1a or G1b.</b>	8.30-5.00	Göbl, 1017-5	Either G1a or G1b because the letter is not visible, the style is still very good
<b>G1ai or G1bi.</b>	8.30-5.00	Göbl, 1017-5	Same as like proceeding but the figures style is crude and rather bigger in size than earlier and both the arms of king dropped down and becoming away from the body.

### G\*. KANISHKA II IMITATION

The remaining coins are known as imitations of Kanishka or his successors, where the king's figure is crude, stylized and degenerate and the legend off flan.

<b>G*1a.</b>	7.50-4.50	Göbl, 1017-12	King wears kaftan, un-proportioned, letter disappears, the figure is bulky and both arms shown away from body and the lower hem of dress is curved
<b>G*1b.</b>	6.00-1.50	Göbl, 1017-195	As G*1a, but the figures are much cruder debased in style and execution, they are of reduced weight
<b>G*2a.</b>		Mitchiner, 3524 Göbl 93, 1017D	As G*1a, crude and bulky figures, and there are pronounced dots all around the body, a triangle is underneath left arm.
<b>G*2b.</b>		Göbl 93, 1017B	As G*2a, tall figure of king the dots around body not visible, but there is a circle underneath left arm.
<b>G*2c.</b>		Göbl 93, 1017C	As G*2b, but no circle and there are three dots in the right field.
<b>G*2d.</b>			As G*2b, having degenerate figures, a crescent like symbol near outer left leg and the similar upside down symbol near outer left leg of the king. The reverse also depicts similar crescent symbols but the normal one in the left field and upside down in the right.

### H. VASISHKA

<b>H1a.</b>	6.00-4.30	Göbl, 1011	Tall figure of king, wearing armour, Br. letter <i>chhu</i> in the right field, Oesho and bull on the reverse
<b>H1b.</b>	5.80-5.50	Göbl, 1013	As H1a, but small figure of standing king, wearing kaftan with lower hem is widened, legs open enough to accommodate Br. letter <i>tha</i>
<b>H2a.</b>	5.00	Taxila, 188.9	Standing king and enthroned Ardoxsho, king wears kaftan, letter <i>chhu &amp; ga</i> in the right field
<b>H2b.</b>	5.70-5.00	Taxila, 117.4	As H2a, but letter <i>chhu</i> only in the right field
<b>H3c.</b>		Internet	As H2a, but no letter on the obverse

### J. KANISHKA III

<b>J1a.</b>	5.65	Göbl 93, 659-	Standing king, wearing armour, Brahmi letter <i>hu</i> in the
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		660	right field, <i>gho</i> between legs and <i>ga</i> between right leg and altar, fat figure of enthroned Ardoxsho on the reverse with letter <i>ha</i> in the right field
<b>J1b.</b>	6.50-5.00	BM, OR-7124	As J1a, but Brahmi letter <i>pri</i> in the right field, <i>gho</i> between legs and <i>ga</i> between right leg and altar
<b>J2a.</b>		www.Zeno.ru, 37305, July 2009	King stands on the obverse, as J1a, Brahmi letter <i>gho</i> between legs and <i>ga</i> between right leg and altar, and <b>tamga</b> on the reverse instead of Ardoxsho

## K. VASUDEVA II

<b>K1a.</b>	4.20-3.50	Göbl, 1021	Standing king and enthroned Ardoxsho, both the figures are well proportioned, Brahmi letter <i>vasu</i> in the right field, <i>ka</i> under left arm
<b>K1ai.</b>	4.50-4.40		As K1a, only letter <i>vasu</i> is seen in the right field but these coins are <b>overstruck</b> on the Kushano-Sasanian king Peroz I,
<b>K1b.</b>	4.30-3.46		As K1a, letter <i>vasu</i> may be in the right field but letter <i>ka</i> disappears
<b>K1c.</b>	3.20-3.00		As K1a, well executed showing complete details of letter, and big head of the deity, the Br. letter <i>vasu</i> in the right field, <i>vi</i> between legs, and <i>bha</i> in the left field
<b>K1d.</b>	4.25-3.30	Göbl 93, 733	Same as K1c, king's figure is smaller and reduced size of the coin, Br. letter <i>vasu</i> in the right field while the other letters disappear
<b>K1e.</b>	3.70-2.70		As K1d, but cruder figures on both the sides only letter <i>vasu</i> is seen in the right field
<b>K1f.</b>	4.90-4.50		As K1e, but the figures are much cruder and the Brahmi letter <i>vasu</i> in the right field completely disappear
<b>K1g.</b>	4.70-4.10		As K1f, letter is not visible and the lower hem of king's dress is widely curved and pointed and the reverse figure is un-proportionally fat and tall
<b>K2a.</b>	4.70-3.70	Göbl, 1022	Enthroned king on the obverse, well made, Brahmi letter <i>vasu</i> in the right field, sometimes letter <i>ga</i> underneath left arm and <i>bha</i> in the left field, and seated Ardoxsho on the reverse with ΑΡΔΟΧΡΟ in the right field
<b>K2ai.</b>	4.00-2.80		Same as K2a, but sometimes they are <b>overstruck</b> on the coins of Kushano-Sasanian king, Hormizd I
<b>K2b.</b>	2.70-2.60		As K2a, the coins and the corresponding figures are smaller in size, letter <i>vasu</i> is in the right field and others unclear
<b>K3a.</b>	3.52		Standing king on the obverse and Oesho and bull on the reverse, Brahmi letter <i>vasu</i> in the right field, <i>vi</i> between legs
<b>K3b.</b>		Göbl, 1025	As K3a, Brahmi letter <i>vasu</i> in the right field, <i>ka</i> under left arm and <i>vi</i> between legs, decent figures on both the sides
<b>K3c.</b>	3.25	Göbl 93, 742	As K3b, left hand of deity resting on waist instead of raising position and <b>three dots</b> shown to left or right or to both the sides
<b>K3d.</b>	2.89	Göbl 93, 742	As K3b same style of Oesho and bull, but there is the addition of a <b>rosette</b> in the left field

<b>K4a.</b>	4.30-3.50	Göbl, 1020	No figure on the either side, only Brahmi letter <i>vasu</i> in the obverse and tamga in the reverse
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### K\*. VASUDEVA II IMITATIONS

<b>K*1a.</b>	4.40-3.00		Standing king and enthroned Ardoxsho, but of crude style and the figures often shown off flan
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### M. SHAKA

<b>M1a.</b>	3.70-2.50	Göbl 93, 663	Standing king and enthroned Ardoxsho, king wears belt and lower hem of dress is curved, Br. letter <i>dhe</i> under left arm of the king
<b>M1b.</b>			As M1a, but Br. letter <i>de</i> under left arm
<b>M1c.</b>	3.77		As M1a, but Br. letter <i>ru</i> under left arm
<b>M1d.</b>	3.42		As M1a, but Br. letter <i>pra</i> under left arm, the figures are little crude and bigger in size
<b>M1e.</b>	2.80-2.10	Göbl 93, 664	As M1a, but Br. letter <i>vi</i> under left arm
<b>M1f.</b>	3.00-2.30		As M1a, but Br. letter <i>sha</i> under left arm, fat Ardoxsho on the reverse
<b>M1g.</b>			As M1a, but Br. letter <i>ga</i> under left arm
<b>M1h.</b>			As M1a, but Br. letter <i>sha</i> under left arm
<b>M1i.</b>	3.30-3.00	Göbl 93, 661-62	As M1a, but Br. letter <i>jha</i> under left arm
<b>M1j.</b>	2.77		As M1a, but Br. letter <i>ma</i> under left arm
<b>M1k.</b>	3.39		As M1a, but Br. letter <i>chhu</i> under left arm
<b>M1l.</b>	3.23	Khan 2008,271	As M1a, but uncertain Br. letter under left arm
<b>M2a.</b>	3.70-1.60		Same as the other coins of Shaka series but without letters, the figures are larger in size
<b>M2b.</b>	3.70-1.60		As M2a, but the reverse figure is fat and stylized
<b>M3a.</b>	3.00-2.80		The obverse figure of standing king is same as Shaka Var. M2b, but the reverse has Oesho and bull figures
<b>M4a.</b>	2.92	Göbl 93, 728	Brahmi letter <i>pra</i> on the obverse and tamga on the reverse

### N. KIPUNADHA

<b>N1a.</b>	2.2		Standing figure on the obverse and enthroned Ardoxsho on the reverse, the figures are larger in size and coins much reduced so the figures usually off flan particularly their upper bodies, the coins are not in round shape
<b>N1b.</b>	2.70-1.70		As N1a, the king's figure is reduced but reverse figure of Ardoxsho is tall and fat

### Z\*. LATER KUSHAN IMITATIONS

<b>Z*1.</b>	2.40-1.90		Crude figures; standing king on the obverse and Oesho and bull on the reverse
<b>Z*2.</b>	2.40-1.30		Crude style; standing king on the obverse and parallel lines on the reverse
<b>Z*3.</b>	2.23		Crude style; enthroned Ardoxsho on the obverse and parallel lines on the reverse

**ZA\*. UNKNOWN LATER IMITATION (Local coins in Kushan style)**

<b>ZA*</b>	1.36		Standing figure on the obverse and wheel on the reverse
<b>ZB*</b>	2.70-1.20		Enthroned Ardoxsho on the obverse and wheel on the reverse
<b>ZC*</b>	1.60-1.40		Parallel lines on the obverse and wheel on the reverse
<b>ZD*</b>	2.00-1.30		Obverse unclear and wheel on the reverse

## Appendix – B Sequence of the Kushan Kings marked by ‘Roman Letters’

<i>Letter</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Period</i>	<i>Date</i>
A.	Kujula Kadphises		c. AD. 40 – 90
B.	Vima Taktu (Soter Megas)		c. AD. 90 – 110
C.	Vima Kadphises		c. AD. 110 – 129
D.	Kanishka I	KEI 1-24	c. AD. 129 – 152
E.	Huvishka	KEI 28-64	c. AD. 156 – 192
E*.	Imitation of Huvishka		
F.	Vasudeva I	KEI 64-99	c. AD. 192 – 228
F*.	Imitation of Vasudeva I		
G.	Kanishka II	KEII 1-20	c. AD. 229 – 249
G*.	Imitation of Kanishka II		
H.	Vasishka	KEII 24-28	c. AD. 249 – 260
J.	Kanishka III	KEII 41=270	c. AD. (270)
K.	Vasudeva II		c. AD. 280 – 310
<b>L.</b>	<b>Mahi</b>		<b>c. AD. 310 – 315</b>
M.	Shaka		c. AD. 315 – 335
N.	Kipunadha		c. AD. 335 – 356
P.			
Z*	Later Kushan Imitations		

### Use of Letters for the Sequence and Typology of Coins

The series, types and varieties of Kushan coins are usually designated by three digit numbers and if there is any sub-variety than extendable to the four digits also. The first digit stands for king’s order and his coinage, second for series or type and third for variety and the fourth for sub-variety. Accordingly the first digit is taken from Roman capital alphabets, second from Arabic numerals, third Roman small characters and the fourth from Roman numeral (lower case).

The Roman letters used here to denote the sequential order of the Kushans kings such as letter ‘A’ stands for the first ruler, letter ‘B’ for the second, letter ‘C’ for the third and son on. Letter I and O are dropped from the process as they seem to be identical with numerals 1 and 0. The remaining letters are hereby applied to formulate the kings’ sequence and these letters will be used as the order for their copper coins. Accordingly Kujula coins are marked by letter A, Vima Taktu by B, etc. as given in the above chart of Kushan kings.

Besides the main series of official coinage issued by the Kushan rulers, there are various imitations of some of the rulers like Kujula, Huvishka, Vasudeva etc. are also known. To find a room for these coins struck on the designs of known official coinage are marked by a star “\*”. The imitation series are usually placed after the end of certain ruler. In the end there are some unknown imitations of the Later Kushan king so they are represented by a letter Z with star. One Later Kushan king known as Mahi from his gold coins but no copper coin is identified yet for this ruler. So a place is left open for him after Vasudeva II. If we identify or get any copper for this ruler the certain coins will be marked in Series ‘L’ as based on the king’s order.