CORPUS OF INDO-GREEK COINS
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With a Foreword by
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To the memory of
JAMES PRINSEPP
What the learned world demand of us in India is to be quite certain of our data, to place the monumental record before them exactly as it now exists, and to interpret it faithfully and literally.

—James Prinsep,
*JASB* 1838, p. 227.
FOREWORD

It is a bare truism to say that we cannot conceive of the structure of modern civilization without coins. Equally true, though in a different sense, is the statement that we cannot build up the structure of ancient Indian history without a knowledge of coins. It is now a matter of common knowledge that a very substantial part of our information about ancient India is derived from the study of her coins. Apart from the data on social, economic and religious conditions, these coins reveal the names of kings and non-monarchical clans unknown from any other source. The most typical illustration is supplied by the coins of more than thirty Greek kings who ruled in India and Bactria, and whose names and memory had passed into oblivion not only in India but even in their original homelands. The Greeks, justly famous for their keen historical sense, do not seem to have possessed any knowledge of the fact that a long line of kings bearing Greek names and keeping up the traditions of Hellenic culture ruled in India and Afghanistan about two thousand years ago. Modern Europe was equally ignorant of this fact until the discovery during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries of the fine artistic coins issued by them in those regions. Since the first discovery these coins have been collected, in thousands, described in antiquarian journals or catalogues of different museums, and studied by scholars. Along with the Greek coins were discovered those of other foreign conquering tribes such as the Šakas, Parthians and Kushānas, and Indian rulers and non-monarchical States, of whom practically nothing was known before. All these revealed almost a new world in the political history of India.

Indian numismatics thus forms today an essential part of Indological studies. But the accumulation of discoveries extending over more than two centuries, the scattered notices of them in numerous journals, not always easily available today, and gradually improving technique in their study and interpretation, have rendered the study of Indian numismatics a task of considerable difficulty. In order to remove it, at least partially, the need is now felt of scholarly handbooks dealing with all the known coins of a particular class or category. The present work of Dr. A. N. Lahiri—Corpus of
Indo-Greek Coins—is an excellent book of this kind. It gives an accurate
description of all the different types of coins issued by the Indo-Greek kings,
and therefore marks an advance on the accounts furnished in the catalogues
of different museums by bringing together in one place all the relevant
information on the subject.

The usefulness of the book is further enhanced by the addition of a
learned Introduction which gives a broad chronological survey of the history
of the discovery and study of these coins up to the present time, their artistic
merit, and various technical aspects, such as the metals used, the standard
of weights followed, method of striking, the various devices, legends and
monograms found on the coins, etc. The critical discussion on these points
will help the readers to grasp the significance of these coins as materials of
ancient Indian history. It gives me great pleasure to introduce this scholarly
treatise to the students of Indian history and culture, and I have no doubt
that it will remain a standard work on the subject for many years to
come.

R. C. Majumdar.
PREFACE

Though considerable research work has been done on the coinage and history of the Greek rulers of Bactria and India since Bayer published his Latin treatise, Historia Regni Graecorum Bactriani in 1738, no single volume contains all the necessary information suitably arranged for the use of the students of early Indian numismatics and history. The present work embodying the results of a thorough objective study of the extensive numismatic records of the Indo-Greeks is expected to remove the want.

The book is divided into three main parts: Introduction, Catalogue of Coins, and Appendices.

The Introduction covers elaborate objective studies of almost all aspects of Indo-Greek coinage. Of considerable interest to the students of Greek iconography is the second section (pp. 20-35) that deals with 'Devices', which occur on both the obverse and reverse of the coins, and consist of figures of divine, human, and semi-human beings and of animals and objects of divine and secular association. The depiction of royal portraits with or without a head-gear on the one hand and the iconographic features of the Greek gods and goddesses on the other have been elaborately discussed here. Appendix I (pp. 195-213) giving 'Coin-types' in an alphabetical order will form a useful supplement to this section.

The fourth section entitled 'Language, Script and Arrangement of Legends' (pp. 38-52) will also be of considerable interest to the students of linguistics and epigraphy, as it discusses in some detail the forms of the Greek legends, the mode of adoption of the various epithets by different rulers, and the question as to who amongst the Indo-Greek kings introduced the bilingual currency by literally translating the Greek legend into Prakrit (p. 39). The sub-section, "List of Rulers with their Coin-legends" (pp. 42-49) which for the first time gives all the hitherto known forms of Greek and Prakrit legends found on Indo-Greek coins, should actually be treated as an appendix, while Appendix IV (pp. 256-262) enumerating 'Titles and Epithets of Indo-Greek Rulers' may be considered as a supplement to this section.
Section V entitled 'Monograms' (pp. 52-62) and its two exhaustive supplements in the forms of Appendix II (pp. 214-233) and Appendix III (pp. 214-255) supply almost all the necessary information for a systematic subjective study of the vexed problem of Indo-Greek monograms. The problem of forged coins, which often mislead an unalert student of numismatics and history, has been dealt with in detail as a necessary and relevant topic in the last section (pp. 62-68).

Catalogue of Coins, which forms the second part, is a Corpus of almost all coins of the Greek rulers of Bactria and India, known to the author. No pains have been spared to make the Corpus up to date and exhaustive. The names of rulers have not been arranged in the Corpus in chronological order, precisely because the chronology of the Indo-Greeks is far from settled. The names are, therefore, arranged alphabetically. Coins of individual kings have been listed under their respective Attic and/or Indian weight standards, more or less, in some chronological order, and according to their respective types and varieties and sub-varieties, if any. First occurs the ruler’s name together with his or her epithet, if any, in brackets, followed by the weight standard. Then is given a short type head-line preceded by the type-number and abbreviations of the metal and shape. After this, comes the description of the obverse and reverse designs in two paragraphs. In the next line or paragraph occur the name of the denomination of the coins, the plate numbers of monograms seen on the known specimens, their forms arranged serially, being illustrated in the Monogram Plates A, B, and C at the end of the book. The following paragraph gives the details of the known specimens with reference to publications. Necessary notes have been added whenever called for.

Part III, which comes last, consists of five appendices: (1) Coin-types, (2) Monograms and Kings, (3) Kings and Monograms, (4) Titles and Epithets of Indo-Greek Rulers, and (5) Problem of the Attributions of Coins bearing certain Royal names. The first three of these appendices were compiled according to the original scheme of the book, while Appendix IV and Appendix V which embody some important matters relevant to Section IV of the Introduction and the Catalogue of Coins respectively were added later on as their supplements.

The term ‘Indo-Greek’ has been used to apply to the independent Greek rulers of Bactria (Northern Afghanistan) and the north-western parts of the undivided India, beginning with Diodotus I. The Roman way of spelling
has been adopted for the Greek royal names, while the names of Greek deities and the royal epithets have been written in the Greek way.

Shortly after leaving the university about two decades ago, I started collecting materials for a book on the history of the Greek rulers of Bactria and India. The idea that the mass of material collected by me would make a Corpus of Indo-Greek coins as well was first suggested to me in 1948 by Mr A. Ghosh, now Director General of Archaeology in India. Accordingly, a scheme for a work in two volumes was prepared, the first to comprise a Corpus of the coins with an objective study of their various aspects and the second to embody the subjective reconstruction of the history on their basis. But due to adverse circumstances, only the first volume could be made ready for the press about eight years ago when I had to leave Calcutta for joining the Government Epigraphist's office at Ootacamund. Because of some typological difficulties peculiar to the work, as also due to my absence from Calcutta, the work of printing was delayed and the progress was rather slow. In the meantime, on the advice of Dr D. C. Sircar, then Government Epigraphist for India, the book was thoroughly revised with considerable additions and was submitted by me to the Calcutta University for the degree of Doctor of Literature in April 1962. But, as by that time the main body of the book had already been printed off, there was hardly any scope to incorporate the additional matters into the book and thus make it up to date. I, therefore, crave the indulgence of my readers for all the shortcomings of the book, which I may rectify in a future edition.

Now, there remains for me the pleasant duty of thanking various scholars and friends who have in some way or other helped me in the publication of the book. It would not have seen the light of day but for the kind and liberal patronage of Mr H. P. Poddar, the well-known lover and collector of Indian coins and art treasures. I am sincerely grateful to him not only because he has met the entire cost of publication, but has all through encouraged and helped me in my research work.

At the initial stage of my research Professor J. N. Banerjea, Mr H. K. Deb and Mr Ajit Ghosh offered me some valuable suggestions. Later on when the present volume was complete, Dr Klaus Bruhn of Hamburg who was for sometime working for his researches in the office of the Government Epigraphist for India at Ootacamund, critically went through the typescript and suggested some improvements. Dr D. C. Sircar, now Carmichael Professor of Ancient Indian History and Culture, Calcutta University, has put
me under eternal debt of gratitude by going through a large portion of the work and offering a number of suggestions for its improvement. My wife Bela has been a constant source of inspiration to me.

Mr Motamedi, Director, Kabul Museum, permitted me to illustrate and republish a number of specimens of Indo-Greek coinage from the Museum collection, the photographs of which were received through the kindness of Mr A. Ghosh who kindly permitted me to utilise them. Mr Ghosh also got the casts of some rare (often unillustrated) Indo-Greek coins, which I received from Dr John Walker, Keeper of Coins and Medals, British Museum, photographed for me. Mr H. P. Poddar and Mr N. Singh Singhi, another famous collector of Indian coins and art objects, were very kind to permit me to illustrate and publish a few coins from their respective collections. I am indebted to them all as well as to the publishers of the various books and journals from which I have illustrated some coins.

My wife and Professors D.C. Sircar have read the proof of some sections of the book, while Mr K. V. Ramesh, one of my colleagues and good friends in the Government Epigraphist’s office, went through the entire proof more than once as well as prepared the Index of the book. My young friend Mr Prakash Das has designed the cover of this book. I am grateful to them all.

In fine, I offer my respectful thanks to Professor R. C. Majumdar, for writing the Foreword of my book.

A. N. Lahiri

Calcutta
May 1964
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<td>AE.</td>
<td>Copper.</td>
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<tr>
<td>AIU</td>
<td><em>The Age of Imperial Unity</em>—Edited by R. C. Majumdar and A. D. Pusalkar, Bombay, 1951.</td>
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<tr>
<td>ANS.</td>
<td>American Numismatic Society.</td>
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<tr>
<td>AR.</td>
<td>Silver.</td>
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<tr>
<td>AV.</td>
<td>Gold.</td>
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<tr>
<td>BM</td>
<td>British Museum.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BMQ</td>
<td>British Museum Quarterly, London</td>
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<td>C</td>
<td>Monogram as illustrated by Cunningham in <em>NC</em> 1868, Pl. VII or <em>IMC</em>, Pl. VII.</td>
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<td>CASE</td>
<td><em>Coins of Alexander's Successors in the East</em>—A. Cunningham, appearing in <em>NC</em> 1868-70, 1872-73.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ci.</td>
<td>City.</td>
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<tr>
<td>CMB</td>
<td>Seaby's <em>Coin and Medal Bulletin</em>, London.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Co.</td>
<td>Country.</td>
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<td>CN.</td>
<td>Cupro-Nickel</td>
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<td>Col.</td>
<td>Column.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dr.</td>
<td>Drity.</td>
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<td>(?)</td>
<td>doubtful.</td>
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<td>Drachm.</td>
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<td>GBI</td>
<td><em>The Greeks in Bactria and India</em>—W. W. Tarn, 1951.</td>
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<td>Gk.</td>
<td>Greek.</td>
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<td>GT</td>
<td><em>Guide to Taxila</em>—J. Marshall, Delhi, 1936.</td>
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<tr>
<td>IHQ</td>
<td><em>The Indian Historical Quarterly</em>, Calcutta.</td>
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<td>IM.</td>
<td>Indian Museum.</td>
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<tr>
<td>JAS</td>
<td><em>Journal of the Asiatic Society</em>, Calcutta.</td>
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<tr>
<td>JASB</td>
<td>Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta.</td>
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<tr>
<td>JNSI</td>
<td><em>Journal of the Numismatic Society of India</em>.</td>
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<td>JRAS</td>
<td><em>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society</em>, London.</td>
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<td>K</td>
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Kh. Kharoshthi.
KM (MZ 1) Kabul Museum (coins from Mir Zakah as listed in TMA, pp. 75-79).
KM(MZ 2) Kabul Museum (coins from Mir Zakah as listed in TMA, p. 96).
L or l Left (of reader).
M or Mon. Monogram or kindred mark.
N. Cir. Spinks’ Numismatic Circular, London.
NNM Numismatic Notes and Monographs (of the American Numismatic Society), New York.
NNM I (NST) Numismatic Notes and Monographs, No. I, Numismatic Society of India, Bombay, 1955
NNN “Numismatic Notes and Novelties,” JASB 1897-98—V. A. Smith.
NS Numismatic Supplement to JASB.
Obv. or obv. Obverse.
p. page.
PC Coin in the Collection of Mr H. P. Poddar, Calcutta.
PE Prinsep’s Essays on Indian Antiquities—Edited by E. Thomas, London, 1858.
Pl. Plate.
PM Punjab Museum, Lahore.
QH Qunduz Hoard, unearthed in 1948 (N. Cir., 1954 May, Cols. 1 ff.)
Q. Queen.
R or r Right (of reader).
Rd. Round.
Rect. Rectangular.
Rev. or rev. Reverse.
S. Size (in inches).
S.a. Same as.
SC Manuscript Catalogue of Coins in the Collection of Mr N. Singhi, Calcutta (ex M.F.C. Martin).
Sqr. Square.
T Monogram as illustrated by E. Thomas in PE, Vol. II.
Tdr. Tetradrachm.
Tp. Type.
Var. Variety.
W Monogram as illustrated by Whitehead in PMC.
WKSC White King Sale Catalogue, Part I, Amsterdam, 1904
Wt. Weight (in grains).
INTRODUCTION

IMPORTANCE OF THE GREEK COINS OF BACTRIA AND INDIA

To the students of ancient Indian history coins and inscriptions are of great value, for, as materials for historical studies, their evidence is most trustworthy. They not only corroborate facts known from other sources, but also supply information otherwise unknown.

For the history of the Greek kings who ruled in Bactria and India our information is extremely meagre. Classical writers casually referred to a few of the earlier princes and a few events of their careers. We are told that a certain Diodotus, originally a Seleucid satrap, revolted against his overlord and made Bactria independent. We know from those authors that the son who succeeded this first independent king of Bactria was also called Diodotus and that there was a tough fight between Euthydemus, a usurper of the Bactrian throne, and the Seleucid emperor Antiochus III, at the close of which Euthydemus was recognized as the king of Bactria and his son Demetrius was offered a Seleucid princess. This Demetrius, we are told, invaded India, but was ultimately subdued by another military usurper, Eucratides, who in his turn invaded India and was killed on the way of his victorious return therefrom. This is practically all that the classical writers tell us.

We have, of course, two inscriptions that refer to two Greek princes of India, viz. Menander I, mentioned in the Bajaur inscription and Antialcidas, king of Taxila, referred to in the Besnagar Pillar epigraph.

References to the Greeks in Indian literature are not only casual and general, but in almost all cases vague. They add very little to our knowledge of the Indo-Greek period beyond the facts that the
Importance of Greek Coins

Yavanas (Greeks) once exploited Madhyamikā, Mathurā, Sāketa and Pañchāla, and even came to Pātaliputra and besieged it for some time, but were ultimately forced to leave the Madhya deśa due to a terrible war started in their own country. We are also told that the horse of Pushyamitra’s Aśvamedha-yajña, while roaming on the banks of the Sindhu, was captured by the Yavanas, but was ultimately brought back by Vasumitra, who drove the Yavanas away. Beyond this there is practically not much useful information about the Greeks in the literature of ancient India. Yet the Greeks conquered India and at least forty-two of their princes ruled over parts of north-western India for a considerable period of time. All this information we derive from the evidence of coins.

Fortunately for us, hundreds of coins bearing the names of forty-two Greek sovereigns have come to light. These are our only evidence regarding their existence and rule.

Apart from revealing the otherwise lost names of so many Greek princes, these innumerable coins, housed in various museums and private cabinets all the world over, provide us with many an interesting information. These coins mirror events that would otherwise remain unknown to us. We often get a glimpse of various aspects of the life lived by those virtually isolated Greek princes of the farthest East. Their monetary system is almost thoroughly known to us. We see their portraits on these coins and get a fair idea of their bearings and different stages of manhood as well as dress. We see the deities that they worshipped, and mark their iconographical peculiarities. We know from their legends which language those Greek princes used in their Indian courts. In fine, this interesting series of coins reveals also a good deal of information, both political and administrative.

Certain common features, types and monograms help us in reconstructing the history of many of these Greek rulers and give us a clue to their chronology. Gardner, the author of the British Museum Catalogue of 1886, however, thought otherwise. "Any attempt finally to arrange the kings in dynastic lists by means of the types and legends which they use is destined to failure"—was his verdict of despair. He tried in this connection to prove "that identity of types between two kings is no proof of their relation to one another, nor is divergence of
types any proof that they were not related” (BMC, p. xxxv). But with the progress of time, specially with the discovery of innumerable interesting coins and their prolonged scientific study, modern scholars have been able to reconstruct to some extent the history of these kings and to arrange them in some sort of a dynastic order. Students of these Greek coins of Bactria and India do not now share the despair that beset Gardner seventy-four years ago.

We can piously hope that, with the progress of research on these coins, we shall not only know more about the political and administrative conditions of this dark period of Indian history, but also have a fairer idea of its socio-religious conditions. The contribution of the Greeks towards the political, economic and artistic thoughts of ancient India was certainly not small. We should make an attempt to know its precise extent and nature.

The Indo-Greek coins have already proved helpful in the field of palaeography. For, it must not be forgotten that the bilingual coins of the Indo-Greek princes have provided us with the Rosetta-stone for the decipherment of the Kharoshṭhī alphabet, which the great Aśoka had earlier employed for recording two of his edicts. James Prinsep, the father of Indian palaeography and numismatics, unravelled the mystery of the Kharoshṭhī alphabet only with the help of the bilingual Indo-Greek coins.

Thus, so far as the reconstruction of the political, social and cultural history of the Greek kingdoms in India is concerned, the importance of these Graeco-Bactrian and Indo-Greek coins cannot be over-estimated.

HISTORY OF THE STUDY OF GREEK COINS

The history of the study of the Greek coins of Bactria and India was first narrated in English by Professor H. H. Wilson in the Numismatic Journal (London) in 1838. Later on he elaborated it in his epoch-making book, Ariana Antiqua, sponsored by the East India Company and published in London in 1841.

A tetradrachm of Eucratides of the types of “Helmeted bust of King and Mounted Dioskouroi” as well as a coin of Menander I (wrongly attributed to a “Theodotus”) formed the corner-stone of Theophilus Bayer’s Latin work Historia Regni Graecorum Bactriani, which was
published in St. Petersburg as early as 1738. Bayer not only illustrated the coin of Eu克拉底s, but tried to connect it, for the first time, with the Eu克拉底s of Bactria, about whom some writers of classical antiquity had preserved a brief record.

"Something later in the course of the same century, a gold coin published by the celebrated numismatist Pellerin, confirmed the existence of another Bactrian monarch mentioned by Greek writers, Euthydemos" (Ari. Ant., p. 3). In 1799 was discovered a coin of Heliocles whom M. Mionnet placed amongst the kings of Bactria. These coins were described later in the numismatic publications of Mionnet in 1811 and of Visconti in 1814. Other specimens of them, however, were sparingly multiplied in Europe through Russia and Persia.

In 1822 another king, Antimachus Theos, was added to the list by Köhler, who again in the next year published the description of a tetradrachm of Demetrius procured from Bokhara by the Russian Ambassador Count Meyendorff, along with some barbarous tetradrachms and small coins of Eu克拉底s.

With the publication by Col. Tod in the first volume of the Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society (1824) of two bilingual coins of Menander and Apollodotus a great deal of interest was aroused amongst scholars of Europe. These coins, for the first time, confirmed the account of the author of the Periplus of the Erythrean Sea, in whose time (circa 1st century A.D.) coins of Menander and Apollodotus were circulating in the port of Barygaza. Tod’s article enkindled keen interest in Augustus Wilhelm von Schlegel, who wrote an interesting paper on Tod’s coins in the Journal Asiatique, November, 1828.

Duplicates (one each) of the coins of Eu克拉底s and Heliocles acquired by the British Museum through R. P. Knight were published in 1830 in a descriptive catalogue of the museum’s collection.

The above tetradrachm of Demetrius ultimately passed into the cabinet of Baron Chaudoir who in the meantime collected some other coins of Euthydemos; and their descriptions were published by the Abbé Sestini at Florence in 1831.

Within a few years, a lively interest was created by the discoveries of a great number of Indo-Greek, Indo-Scythian and Kushān coins
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from Manikyala, Karnal and other places by General Ventura, Lieut. Burnes and Dr Swiney. Some of the coins of Gen. Ventura were discussed by M. Reinaud and M. Saint-Martin in the *Journal Asiatique*, March, 1832. In India, again, many of these coins were published by James Prinsep in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* in 1833, and the publication soon started a spirited enquiry about them.

Charles Masson, an Englishman resident in Kabul, collected mainly from Begram and nearby places a large number of such coins and published on them a detailed memoir in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, April, 1836 with 6 plates. James Prinsep’s enquiries received further impetus from these and other coins that he received for publication in the same journal. By following up a clue from Masson regarding the Indian transcripts of the Greek names of Menander, Apollodotus and Hermaceus as well as the Indian equivalents of the Greek titles *ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ* and *ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ*, Prinsep successfully recognized no less than 16 out of 33 Kharoshthi letters, including three initial and two medial vowels.

By the time Masson published his second memoir on the Graeco-Bactrian, Indo-Greek and later coins in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* (1836), a sort of sensation had already been created in the academic circles of London, Paris, Vienna, Berlin, Göttingen and Bonn. The celebrated French academician, Raoul Rochette, was the first in Europe to make a special study of these coins. He made the best use of all numismatic materials that reached Europe through Russia and discussed them in the *Journal des Savants*, 1834. Rochette’s second article in the same journal (1834) dealt with coins collected by Dr Martin Honigberger, a German from Vienna, who had widely travelled in places near Afghanistan. A rich crop of such coins collected on the spot by three Frenchmen in the service of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, viz. Gen. Ventura, Gen. Allard and M. Court, was subsequently published by Rochette in 1836, 1838 and 1839 in the *Journal des Savants*.

Other notable journals of Europe did not lag behind the two celebrated journals of Calcutta and Paris. In the *Göttingen Anzeigen*.

1 Christian Lassen also independently determined the value of some of the Kharoshthi letters almost simultaneously with Prinsep. The credit of deciphering the rest of these letters, however, goes mainly to A. Cunningham, E. Norris and J. Dowson.
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of 1835 and 1838 were published detailed accounts of these coins by K. O. Müller. M. Jacquet wrote a series of articles in the Journal Asiatique between 1836 and 1839. Mionnet’s 8th Supplément to his book, Description de médailles grecques et romaines, published in 1837 dealt with some Graeco-Bactrian coins, chiefly of the French Imperial Collection. As already noted, Wilson published in the Numismatic Journal (1838) of London a good many of these coins along with a detailed history of the study of Graeco-Bactrian and Indo-Greek numismatics. But the most remarkable book on the subject was Christian Lassen’s Zur Geschichte der Griechischen Könige in Baktrien, Kabul und Indien durch Entzifferung der Altindischen Legenden auf ihren Münzen (Bonn, 1838), which was within a short time translated by Dr Roer and published in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1840.


H. T. Prinsep, a brother of James Prinsep, made full use of the latter’s researches in his book, Historical Results deducible from recent discoveries in Afghanistan (1844). James Prinsep’s Essays on Indian Antiquities was critically edited, supplemented and published by E. Thomas in two volumes in 1858. Thomas also wrote some interesting articles in the Numismatic Chronicle.

In the meantime, however, had appeared since 1840 a few articles by Alexander Cunningham on counterfeit Bactrian coins as well as on the decipherment of some of the remaining Kharoshthi letters, which Prinsep did not survive to decipher. Cunningham’s ingenious studies on the monograms on Bactrian and Indian coins of the Greek rulers appeared in the Numismatic Chronicle, Vol. VIII. But his most comprehensive studies were the series of papers entitled Coins of Alexander’s Successors in the East, which appeared in the same journal in the years 1868-1870, 1872 and 1873. Lapse of time, subsequent discoveries of coins and researches based on them have made much of Cunningham’s studies out of date, “but these essays,” as aptly pointed out by Whitehead, “still remain the only full accounts of the Indo-Greek
series of coins, and are remarkable testimony to the knowledge and ingenuity of their author” (PMC, p. 4).

A notable German contribution on Indo-Greek numismatics was a series of papers entitled *Nachfolger Alexanders des Großen in Baskrien und Indien*, written by Alfred von Sallet and published in the *Zeitschrift für Numismatik* between 1879 and 1883.

The first scientific catalogue of the British Museum coins of the Graeco-Bactrian and Indo-Greek rulers as well as their foreign successors in India was published by Prof. P. Gardner in 1886. The British Museum possessing the most representative collection of such coins, Gardner’s catalogue has always been a source-book of undiminished value.

The first part (1904) of the *Sale Catalogue* of coins acquired by Sir Lucas White King contained descriptions and illustrations of a good number of highly interesting coins of the Greek kings of Bactria and India.

In 1906 was published V. A. Smith’s *Catalogue of Coins of the Indian Museum, Calcutta*, in which were included the coins of our period, acquired by the Indian Museum as well as the Asiatic Society of Bengal. H. G. Rawlinson’s *Bactria*, being the Hare University Prize Essay for 1908, came out in 1909. It narrated in a scholarly way the history of the Greek rule in Bactria and India.

Prof. E. J. Rapson contributed some interesting papers in the meantime. His series of articles entitled “Notes on Indian Coins and Seals” (*JRAS*, 1900-1905), dealt with some important Indo-Greek coins. He also published in the *Numismatic Chronicle* (1904) some small coins, the most important of which are the unique obols of Pantaleon and Euthydemus II. His paper in the *Corolla Numismatica* (1906) on the coins of Agathocleia and the two Stratos, proved conclusively the relation between India’s first coin-issuing queen and Strato I.

Since 1910, however, Dr R. B. Whitehead has been dominating the field of studies in Indo-Greek numismatics. His first paper, “Some Rare Indo-Greek and Scythian Coins,” describing several new and interesting types, was modelled on Smith’s “Numismatic Notes and Novelties” (*JASB*, 1897-98), and was published in the *Numismatic Supplement XIV, JASB*, 1910. Whitehead’s *Punjab Museum*
Catalogue of Indo-Greek Coins, 1914, has revealed much newer material on the subject. His booklet (1922) on India’s pre-Mohammedan coinage, published as No. 13 of the Numismatic Notes and Monographs series of the American Numismatic Society, is also interesting, as it, amongst others, deals briefly but critically with the coins of this period. But the most remarkable is the series of his papers entitled, Notes on Indo-Greek Numismatics, describing unique and interesting types of coins acquired by the British Museum and other official and private cabinets. These papers appeared in the Numismatic Chronicle in 1923, 1940, 1947 and 1950.

In 1938 appeared Dr W. W. Tarn’s remarkable book, The Greeks in Bactria and India, which is a mine of information on the subject. It has presented for the first time a somewhat plausible chronology of the Greek rulers of Bactria and India.

Several articles on the coins of Graeco-Bactrian and Indo-Greek rulers have also appeared in different numbers of the Journal of the Numismatic Society of India since 1939.

The two interesting articles recently published in Numismatic Chronicle are Gen. H. L. Haughton’s “A Note on the Distribution of Indo-Greek Coins” (NC 1943) and Dr A. D. H. Bivar’s “Coins of Euthydemus and Demetrius of the Bactra Mint” (NC 1951). Bivar’s researches have considerably added to our knowledge of the coinage and history of the Greek rulers of Bactria and India. He has done a great service to the students of these coins by publishing two reports (in Spink’s Numismatic Circular, May 1953 and May 1954 and later on in JNSI, XVII, pp. 37-52) about the discovery of a great hoard of at least 5 Attic double-decadrachms (about 1300 grains each) and 605 Attic tetradrachms from “a place halfway between Qunduz and Khanabad in N. Afghanistan.” These coins have since been acquired by the Kabul Museum.

The importance of the great Qunduz hoard cannot be overestimated as it includes 17 new and historically important Attic coins of 7 Indo-Greek kings, who were so far known only from coins, struck

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1 See author’s article, “Importance of the Qunduz Hoard of Attic Tetradrachms” in JAS, Vol. XXI (Letters), pp. 53-58.
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in an improvised light-weight Indian standard. All Greek kings of Bactria except Pantaleon are also represented in the hoard by at least 589 tetradrachms showing (besides some highly interesting novelties) a good many types and varieties of coins hitherto known from unique or rare specimens.

The French Archaeological Mission working in Afghanistan has brought to light a very large number of Graeco-Bactrian and Indo-Greek coins along with others, mostly found at Mir Zakah, a village forty miles south-east of Kabul. These coins have been dealt with in the second section (Le Trésor de Mir Zakah près de Gardêz) of the book entitled Trésors Monétaires d’Afghanistan by Raoul Curiel and Daniel Schlumberger (Mémoires de la Délégation Archéologique Française en Afghanistan, Tome XIV), Paris, 1953.

The authors of the above French book have listed the coins of the main hoard between pp. 75 and 79 comprising the collections of the Kabul Museum, of S.A.R. Shah Mohmoud Khan, Prime Minister, and of M. Marc Le Berre, the architect of the French delegation. In an appendix, p. 96, they have also listed another hoard of coins, unearthed at Mir Zakah between June 27 and July 5, 1948. In three foot-notes, pp. 71-72, they have given us the details of the coins in the collections of M. J.-M. Casal, Dr J. Sénécal and M. K. A. Gai. The source of many of the coins in these private collections is believed to be Mir Zakah, though they were procured from the bazars of Kabul, Gardêz and Peshawar.

An Indian Archaeological Delegation led by Mr T. N. Ramachandran, the then Joint Director-General of Archaeology, reached Kabul in May, 1956 and visited almost all the important sites and museums of Afghanistan in two and a half months’ time. The Delegation’s preliminary report provides us with a good deal of information regarding the coins of our period, as housed in different Afghan museums. Besides the Kabul Museum collection of coins secured mainly from the Qunduz and the Mir Zakah hoards, we get somewhat detailed lists of Indo-Greek coins belonging to the museums of Kandahar, Herat and Mazar-i-Sharif. The Delegation has also brought for study a large number of photographs of coins from the collections of various museums. The results, when published, will surely enrich our

Two recent contributions to the subject are, however, F. Altheim’s *Weltgeschichte Asiens in griechischen Zeitalter*, Vol. I (1947) and Vol. II (1948) and A. K. Narain’s *The Indo-Greeks* (1957). Narain’s book, which is available to us, deals with the subject lucidly but critically, and is based on the latest historical and numismatic studies.

This, in brief, is more than two hundred years’ history of the study of the Greek coins of Bactria and India. Students should, however, be critical about the earlier writings, a good deal of which, though interesting for their treatment of the subject, has become out of date due to the progress of research. Informative portions of such writings can, of course, be relied on in very many cases.

**ART AND TECHNIQUE**

**A. ARTISTIC MERITS**

The coins of the Greek kings of Bactria were modelled on those of the Seleucid monarchs of Syria. They are in all aspects basically Greek money, strictly conforming to the numismatic standard established by Athens. Irrespective of their metals, they are in fineness and weight coins purely of the Attic standard, and are die-struck and round in shape. In a word, every feature of these coins is Hellenistic. But in artistic merits they very often surpass their Seleucid prototypes.

The obverse of the gold and silver coins, as a rule, bears within a circular border the bust of the king. And the bust, being executed with meticulous care, is always characterised by a refined realism that
is almost unique in the history of ancient numismatic art. The artist belonging to a race of sculptors did his work in unusually high relief, which in effect gave an additional grace and beauty to the royal portrait. On the coins, however, of Diodotus as well as on the earlier ones struck by Euthydemos I, the royal portraits, though sought to be realistic, are rather conventional, and generally do not present any remarkable feature. But with the consolidation of his powers, Euthydemos I seems to have taken particular care to make his coins conform to a high artistic standard. A band of master die-sinkers were employed at the royal mints and, as a result, perfect gems of portrait coins emerged out of the pressing dies that the artists prepared. Euthydemos' successors in Bactria, including the members of a rival house, viz. Eu克拉ides I, Eu克拉ides II, Plato and Heliocles, were equally careful in selecting artists for their respective mints. The realistic depiction of the royal portraits, of course in a refined manner, was what the Bactrian artists aimed at. The dynamic personality of the first Euthydemos in mature manhood, the air of mockery on the smiling face of Antimachus who called himself "God", and the dignified amiableness of the youthful Euthydemos II were all depicted on coins with equal and comparative ease, that is characteristic of the numismatic art-pattern Bactria evolved. In the cases of Demetrios I (Tp. 2: WKSC, Pl. X. 955) and Eu克拉ides I (GC, Pl. LV. 5)—and that too at the later stages of their manhood—we find sometimes a touch of idealism that is essentially un-Bactrian.

The reverse of all the gold and silver Bactrian coins bears the figure of a Greek deity as well as the name and title of the king in Greek, together, almost invariably, with a monogram. "The types," as rightly observed by Sir John Marshall, "are taken from Greek mythology, and are ... designed with a grace and beauty reminiscent of the school of Praxiteles and Lysippus" (GT, p. 29).

But when struck in distant India beyond the Hindu Kush, the coins of the same Bactrian kings as well as their successors underwent a new orientation. The realistic Greek mind, conscious, on the one hand, of its characteristic artistic values of life and endowed, on the other, with a sound commercial instinct, at once felt the need of a new currency which would be readily acceptable to the Greek neighbours and allies
as well as to the newly conquered Indian subjects. As a result, the coins that were evolved for the Indian territories, though they throughout remained Hellenistic in features, underwent an appreciable change in their fabric and appearance as well as in their weights and sizes and sometimes in their shape.

Being far removed from Bactria and other important centres of Greek culture, the mints in India were unable to produce coins of the high artistic standard that was characteristic of Bactria. First-rate artists were not readily available; so inferior artists had to be employed at the new Indian mints. The introduction of the legend on the obverse put a further restriction to their freedom of work; they had to execute the royal bust on a much smaller scale. As minute details were not expected of the full figures of the deities on the reverse, the reverse designs did not suffer much artistically.

Earlier coins, struck mostly by kings who could maintain some contact with Bactria and import good Bactrian artists, were naturally of somewhat superior workmanship. But as time passed on and as the Greek kings of India gradually spread towards the east and consequently lost contact with Bactria, degeneration set in in the artistic quality of their coins.

Whitehead, while discussing the artistic merits of the coins struck by the Greek kings of India has grouped them "into three main classes, those of superior, intermediate, and inferior style and workmanship, each with its own group of monograms. The classes are associated respectively with the western, middle, and eastern Yavana domains, or Kābul, Gandhāra, and the Punjab (Siālkot)" (NC 1923, p. 310).

The upper Kabul valley, Alexander’s satrapy of the Paropamisadæ, with Alexandria-under-the-Caucasus for its capital, was the centre whence Bactrian culture radiated and where it persisted in its purest form. Coins, specially of Heliocles, Strato I, Archebius, Amyntas and Hermaeus fall into this superior Kabul class. Some coins of Menander I, the most noteworthy of the Indo-Greek kings, belong to this class also.

The intermediate or Gandhāra class of coins belongs to the middle-land of the Yavana domains, “the region of Taxila and Pushkalāvatī (Peucolatotis), of Rāwalpindi and Peshāwar, together with Hazāra, Pūntch, Kāpisa (Kāfiristān), and the Salt Range,” i.e. the satrapy of
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Philip, the son of Machatas, together with the satrapy of Abhisāra. Of this Gandhāra class of coins, special mention should be made of those of Menander I, Philoxenus, Antialcidas, Diomedes, Apollodotus I, Lysias and Antimachus II.

The eastern or the Punjab class of coins, typified by those of Zoilus II, Dionysius, Apollodotus II, Apollophanes and Strato II (with Greek as well as Kharoshṭhī monograms) was struck in the region centred around Sialkot (Sākala or Euthydemia), an area corresponding to Alexander’s third Indian satrapy.

Coins of some important kings like Menander I, Apollodotus II, Hippostratus and Strato I who had wide territories, were struck in more than one of the above regions and naturally, therefore, fall into more than one distinct class.

B. Metals Used

The Greek kings of Bactria struck coins in all the three universally used metals—gold, silver and copper. Gold, however, was used very sparingly by Diodotus, Euthydemos I, and Eu克拉ides I in Bactria, while in India Menander’s queen Agathoclea alone struck some coins in that precious metal. Silver was abundantly used for coining standard money by all Greek kings of Bactria and India. Copper, likewise, was the popular metal for minor Greek coins. A fourth metal, nickel, the existence of which was known in Europe only in the seventeenth century, was employed for striking minor coins by three Greek kings—Euthydemos II, Pantaleon and Agathocles. The nickel of their coins is, however, not in its purest state. These so-called nickel coins contain about four-fifths of copper and one-fifth of nickel, almost like our present-day cupro-nickel coins.\footnote{For actual composition of such coins, see NC 1868, p. 306.} These Indo-Greek cupro-nickel coins replaced the then smallest silver coins, the obols. It is interesting to note that in 1918 India’s smallest silver coins—two-anna bits—were similarly replaced by cupro-nickel 2-anna pieces. Only one king, Strato II, used billon and lead for coining purposes.

C. Weight Standard

(a) Gold: Except in Aegina, the weight universally used for gold
throughout the ancient Greek world, had a unit of 130 grains. Athens seems to have standardised this gold unit at 132 grains, which became well-known as the Attic standard. Alexander adopted this gold standard for his empire, and his successors, including the Seleucids of Syria, followed him.

Diodotus I and II, who severed their connections with Syria and made Bactria independent, adhered to the same Attic standard for their gold coins. Euthydemus I and Eucratides I, the other two Bactrian monarchs to strike coins in gold, also followed the Attic system; and it is interesting to note that the legendless staters with the types of "Helmeted head of Athena and Owl," struck in India by Agathocleia, the queen of Menander I, were also of the same standard.

The standard denomination of gold coins was the stater, struck by Diodotus I and II, Euthydemus I and Eucratides I in Bactria and by Queen Agathocleia in India. A unique 20-stater piece (wt. 2593.5 grains) with his usual types is, however, known of Eucratides I. This coin seems to be a "victory medallion."

(b) Silver: According to the universally accepted Attic weight system, the standard unit of silver coins was of 66 grains—just half in weight of the 132-grain gold stater. This 66-grain silver coin was known as drachm. And the ratio between gold and silver being 1 to 10, twenty of these drachms would be equal to a gold stater. The Greek kings of Bactria, again, inherited this Attic silver weight-standard from the Seleucids and maintained it in their coinage up to the end of their rule in Bactria.

Of the three denominations known—tetrodrachm (4-drachm), drachm and obol (½ drachm)—tetrodrachms and drachms were widely struck by all Bactrian kings. Obols are known only of six Bactrian kings, viz. Demetrius I, Euthydemus II, Pantaleon, Agathocles, Antimachus I and Eucratides I. Unique Attic hemidrachms (half-drachms of 33 grains) are known of Antimachus I and Agathocles. Only one Indo-Greek king, Apollodotus I, however, struck a few Attic but bilingual Indian-type hemidrachms.

Besides Apollodotus I, Antialcidas alone, amongst the Greek kings of India, was so long known to have struck Attic coins—and that too from two unique specimens, one tetrodrachm and another drachm. But
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recently Attic tetradrachms of six more Indo-Greek kings, viz. Menander I, Lysias, Theophilus, Archebios, Philoxenus and Hermæus, have come to light from a great hoard of Attic tetradrachms discovered near Qunduz in N. Afghanistan; and it is very interesting that the same Qunduz hoard has yielded five Attic double-decadrachms (20-drachm pieces, each about 1300 grains in weight) of another Indo-Greek king, Amyntas. These gigantic Attic 20-drachm coins were struck like the 20-stater piece of Eucratides I as "victory medallions." But Eucratides I introduced, for reasons discussed below, a lighter silver weight-standard in India. A few of his bilingual drachms (Tp. 14) probably speak of this pioneer attempt at standardising the Greek silver currency in India. And it is interesting that all his Greek successors in India, as also the Indo-Scythians and Indo-Parthians, adhered to that lighter weight-standard which Eucratides I introduced.

According to Cunningham, the standard silver coins of the Indo-Greek system weighing 37 (or to be more correct 38) grains were actually Attic hemidrachms and those with four times their weight, didrachms (NC 1888, pp. 216 ff.). But Gardner thought that they belonged to some Persian standard (BMC, p. Ixviii), while von Sallet saw in the Indo-Greek system—to quote Whitehead—"a reduced standard, by which he meant the 37 and 148 grain coins to be reduced drachms and tetradrachms" (NC 1923, p. 297).

But, as observed by Whitehead, Cunningham's theory involves a complete break in continuity between Graeco-Bactrian and Indo-Greek coinages, for his hypothetical Indo-Greek tetradrachm of 296 grains does not exist. Again, Gardner's "Persian standard" theory is a mere conjecture. Cunningham even was unaware of such a standard with coin-denominations of 38 and 152 grains. It is, on the other hand, apparent that the Indo-Greek currency grew out of the Graeco-Bactrian currency, as there was overlapping—coins of both standards being almost simultaneously struck by kings who ruled both in Bactria and in India, viz. Demetrius I, Eucratides I and Heliocles. Apollodorotus I, whose rule was confined to Indian territories, also struck a few bilingual silver coins (hemidrachms) in Attic standard, while his more abundant silver coins were of light-weight Indian system. Moreover, as we have already noted, eight other Indo-Greek rulers
struck Attic tetradrachms along with their normal light-weight Indian coins. There were thus two distinct series of Greek silver coins struck in two different weight-standards—Attic and Indian.

Economic and commercial reasons favoured the innovation of the light-weight Indian currency. The Greeks with their keen and sound commercial instinct would, while choosing their monetary standard, certainly take into consideration motives of commercial convenience, and "issue coins of such a weight as to pass easily among their neighbours and allies." Now, Eucriatides I, when he saw that his newly conquered Indian subjects were accustomed to use small punch-marked coins, found it profitable to introduce in India an arbitrary and hybrid standard of coinage, of which the drachms would be readily acceptable to his Indian subjects and allies and the tetradrachms to his Greek subjects and Western neighbours. Even Demetrius (II?) who was the bitter foe of Eucriatides I realised the advantage of this new standardisation and readily adopted it—as did all Greek, Scythian and Parthian rulers who came after him.

Only two denominations of coins, the drachms and the tetradrachms are known of the hybrid Indo-Greek standard. Except eleven rulers, viz. Agathocleia, Antimachus II, Apollodotus I, Apollophanes, Lysias, Menander Dikaios, Polyxenus, Strato II, Telephus, Theophilus and Zoilus II, other Indo-Greek kings struck light-weight tetradrachms. Rulers of the Kabul valley struck abundant tetradrachms. But while tetradrachms of the kings of the Gandhāra region are fairly common, those of the Punjab rulers are scarce. A bilingual silver coin of Philoxenus (Tp. 2) is, however, said to weigh 216 grains (hexadrachm?)—see WKSC, p. 13, Pl. I. 153, and NC 1923, p. 303. Unique hemidrachms of the Indian standard are, again, known of Apollodotus I (Tp. 3: BMC, p. 34, No. 12) and Hermaeus (NC, 1955, p. xiv). The former weighs 18.3 grains and the latter, 17.9 grains.

(c) Copper: Of the numismatists of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries who actually handled abundant Graeco-Bactrian and Indo-Greek coins, Cunningham alone made a somewhat detailed study of the copper coins. And it seems almost impossible now to make any further scientific study of the copper currency of the Greeks of Bactria and India, unless one gets access to coins in the different museums
of the world. According to Cunningham, however, the Greek copper unit was the chalkon which was equal in weight to a drachm. In value eight such chalkaus were equal to an obol, and forty-eight of them to a drachm.

That time in India, the ratio between silver and copper was "1 to 50, the karsha of 44.8 grains of silver, being worth 16 pañas of copper of 140 grains each, or $16 \times 140 = 2,240$ grains of copper were equivalent to 44.8 grains of silver, which gives exactly 50 rates. The small difference of 2 ratis between 48 and 50 is caused by the difference of weight between the Indian paña of 140 grains, and the Greek dichalkon of 134.4 grains" (NC 1873, p. 216).

According to Cunningham, the copper coins of the Greek kings of Bactria adhered to the Greek or Attic standard, while those struck in India would seem to have been raised to the Indian standard. Thus, the chalkon of the Attic standard weighing 67.2 grains was raised to 70 grains in order to unify the Greek and Indian systems by making the Greek chalkon exactly equal to half an Indian paña.

But due to a comparatively long use and a highly corrosive property in the metal itself, copper coins have very seldom come down to us in their original weights. Anyhow, 5, 4, 2$\frac{1}{2}$, 2, 1 and $\frac{1}{4}$ Bactrian chalkon pieces are known; while of the Indian series 5, 2$\frac{1}{2}$, 1$\frac{1}{2}$, 1, $\frac{1}{4}$ and $\frac{1}{2}$ paña pieces have come to light.

(d) Cupro-Nickel: Cunningham thought that nickel coins were substituted for obols (equal to 8 chalkaus). Nickel coins of the weight of Attic didrachms (134.4 grains) are called by Cunningham obolus, while those with half their weight (67.2 grains) were called hemi-obolus.

Cunningham’s nomenclature seems to be appropriate, as the double-unit coins were struck by all the three nickel-issuing kings, viz. Euthydemos II, Pantaleon and Agathocles, while the single-unit coins are known of Agathocles alone. It is also interesting to note that nickel was used only by those three Greek princes who struck obols very sparingly. In an event of scarcity of silver, it seems, the three rulers took recourse to the alloys of copper and nickel and substituted silver obols by nickel—or rather cupro-nickel—obolus, just as in the reign of George V in India (1918) small silver two-anna coins were replaced by cupro-nickel 2-anna pieces.
The few Greek cupro-nickel coins that have so far come to light are very rarely in good state of preservation. So their original weight is uncertain. We note here the recorded weights of some of these coins.

Hemi-obolus (63·5 grains): *BMC*, p.11, No.7 Pl. IV. 7.

D. Fineness

It is doubtful if any numismatist has ever determined the fineness of gold and silver coins of the kings of Bactria and India by chemical analysis. Dr A. D. H. Bivar seems to be the only numismatist to record specific gravity of coins he discussed (see *NC* 1951, pp. 22 ff.). A few gold coins that we have seen appear to have been struck in the purest possible form of the metal; and this seems also true of the silver coins of all the Graeco-Bactrian and most of the Indo-Greek princes. Some of the silver coins of the later Indo-Greek rulers of the Eastern Punjab are more or less debased. Strato II took recourse even to coining in lead and billon.

E. Shape

As regards shape, with the exception of a few bilingual drachms of Apollodotus I and Philoxenus, all Greek gold and silver coins are round. Apollodotus' light-weight bilingual drachms as well as some similar coins of Philoxenus are square, a shape popular with the Indians, whose primary silver issues (the punch-marked coins) were generally squarish.

Bactrian copper coins of the Greeks are always round. But the Indo-Greek copper coins are generally square, though some Greek princes of India struck round copper pieces along with their square money. Being Bactrian money, nickel (or cupro-nickel) coins are always round.

The shape-controlling collar or ring being unknown to the Greeks, their coins, whether round or square, were apt to present some sort of irregularity in shape. Thus, perfectly round or square coins are hardly met with.
F. Method of Striking

Before discussing the obverse and reverse devices of the Graeco-Bactrian and Indo-Greek coins, it is necessary that a few words are said about their method of striking.

"The technique of production of coins and medals," says a numismatist, "has remained in principle the same from the earliest period of coinage to the present day." So, although very little is known about the method of striking the Greek money of Bactria and India, we may still form a good idea about it on the analogy of ancient and comparatively modern practices.

The punch-marked system and the method of casting coins with molten metal were peculiar to ancient India. The Greeks seem never to have taken recourse to them. Both in Bactria and in India they produced coins by the striking process. For these they used two separate engraved dies for the obverse and reverse devices. Dies were prepared either directly or by what is known as the "hubbing and cutting" process. By the former process single and separate dies were cut directly as intaglio gems, and by the latter a positive hub or punch was carved in relief in hard metal and hammered into a piece of softer metal, which was then hardened for use as a die. Though the latter process would save much time and labour, as with one single punch many dies could be made, the Bactrian Greeks do not seem to have taken recourse to it, at least in the manufacture of their gold and silver money. For no two Graeco-Bactrian coins appear to be similar in minute details. They seem to be specimens struck by separately prepared dies which would break or wear out before many coins were made.

The coin-blank conforming to the standard weight and shape was first prepared. It was then placed on the lower (obverse) die (let into an anvil), while the upper die occurring at the end of a cylindrical bar was placed above it, and a sledge-hammer would complete the process by being brought down on the upper end of the bar. The Bactrian Greeks and their successors in India did not know the use of a collar that keeps the coin-blank in perfect shape.\(^1\)

The Greeks being a race of sculptors always struck their coins in

\(^1\) Adapted from the article "Numismatics" in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica.*
unusually high relief. This sculptural effect is specially prominent on Bactrian coins. The Greco-Bactrian artist was also eager to delineate faithfully the features of his royal master. On some series of bigger coins the king appears even in different stages of manhood on the different pieces issued during his rule (see specially the coins of Demetrius I).  

It seems likely that well-sculptured busts of kings were duly supplied to principal mints to enable mint artists to reproduce faithfully the features of their royal patrons on coins.

Axis. The early Seleucid coins had opposite axis, i.e. they were struck in such a way that the obverse and reverse designs were placed in exactly opposite directions (↑↓). Likewise the axis of all the coins of Diodotus I and II, as also that of early Bactrian staters, shows opposite directions. This is true of most of the coins of Euthydemus I with "Herakles-with-club-on-rock" reverse. But, from the time he struck his "Herakles-with-club-on-knee" variety of coins, the designs on both the sides of all Graeco-Bactrian coins generally point to the same direction (↑↑). Thus, so far as the axis is concerned, "on all the gold and silver Bactrian coins, the designs are carefully struck so as to point either in opposite directions, as on the earliest types, or in the same direction" (PMC, pp. 10-11, n. 3). And, as a general rule, Indo-Greek coins follow in this respect their Bactrian counterparts of the later period.

DEVICES
A. DEVICES ON GOLD AND SILVER COINS

The obverse and reverse devices of Greek gold and silver coins of Bactria and India were throughout the same in principle. The obverse in Bactria bore the bust of the king and the reverse, his name and title as well as the figure of a Greek deity. Only in India the reverse Greek legend was transferred to the obverse, while its literal Prakrit translation was written on the reverse instead.

This was, however, not the case with the Seleucid satrap Diodotus I who ultimately severed his connection with his overlord and made Bactria independent. He started his coin-issuing career by imitating the coins of Antiochus II, altering his reverse type from the "Seated Apollo"

1 Cf. tetradrachms—NC 1951, Pl.IV.20; ibid., Pl.IV.19; ibid., Pl.IV.14; NNM 13, Pl. II. 1; NC 1934, Pl. III. 1; and White King Sale Cat., Part I, Pl. IX. 955.
to the "Thundering Zeus," but retaining both the head and name of Antiochus II on his coins. The next series of his "Thundering Zeus" coins bore his own head, though the name of Antiochus II was still on them. The third series of these coins, apparently issued by his son Diodotus II, shows the final stage of evolution of the independent currency of Bactria; it not only replaces the portrait of the Seleucid overlord but removes his name as well. His successors in Bactria and India followed him by showing their own heads and names on their coins, specially of gold and silver.

(a) The Head or the Bust

The royal head or bust on gold and silver coins of Bactria and India are always to the right. Diodotus I and II and Euthydemos I showed their heads on coins, as was the general custom in those days. Demetrius I was the first king to start showing the bust on coins; and all succeeding Greek princes of Bactria and India followed him. The bust, however, does not show the shoulders, as on all the "Javelin-thruster" coins, but only a small portion of them along with the draperies. On the "Javelin-thruster" types, the king's bust is always to the left, as seen from the rear. In order to depict the vigorous action, greater parts of the shoulders are shown. The right shoulder is covered either by the aegis or by a chainarmour. This is, however, not the case with Eu克拉ides I, who alone struck the type in Bactria. Both his shoulders are depicted as bare.

The kings are depicted on coins as having front-brushed curly hair without showing any sign of parting. They are always clean-shaven. The only exception to this rule is Strato I who on some of his Indian tetradrachms is seen as wearing a beard. The bust of the only known reigning queen, Agathocleia, as seen on a rare Indian drachm, reveals that Greek queens too wore their hair in Indian fashion.

(b) Occasional Absence of the Royal Bust

Three Indo-Greek kings, viz. Apollodotus I, Antimachus II and Telephus, who struck bilingual drachms in silver, never showed their busts on coins. The usual royal bust does not also appear on some rare silver coins of Menander I (Tp. 10) and Hermaeus (Tp. 4).
On the obverse of these coins are depicted the "Helmeted bust of Athena" and a "Mounted Horseman" respectively.

(c) Conjugate Busts

On three occasions, on the other hand, we see conjugate busts (on silver coins only). On the so-called "Pedigree" coins of Eucratides I we find conjugate busts of his parents—Heliocles and Laodice. On the regular series of coins, however, the joint issues of Agathocleia and Strato I and of Hermaeus and Calliope depict conjugate busts. These conjugate busts are always to the right.

(d) Royal Diadem

All kings as portrayed on the coins of Bactria and India wear the royal diadem. "This was," says Whitehead, "originally the blue and white band tied round the tiara of the Persian monarchs and was the old Asiatic symbol of royalty. It later took the form of a white silk ribbon sometimes embroidered with pearls" (NNM 13, p. 17).

Diadem-ends: The two ends of the diadem, worn without exception by Graeco-Bactrian and Indo-Greek rulers, are depicted as falling or flying behind their heads. But they are differently treated on coins of different kings. The treatment of diadem-ends on the money of the Greek princes of Bactria and India is an interesting subject.

The coins of Diodotus, Euthydemus I and Demetrius I show almost similar arrangement of the diadem-ends with the upper one flying upwards (BMC, Pl. I. 6, 11 and Pl. II. 9), while both the ends of the diadem of Euthydemus II, Pantaleon and Agathocles fly in almost similar fashion (CHI, Pl. III. 4, 6 and 7). Similar is also the arrangement of some Bactrian coins of Heliocles (BMC, Pl. VII. 1).

But the diadem-ends of Antimachus I are differently arranged and show at least two variant treatments (cf. BMC, Pl.V. 1 and 2). Eucratides I's diadem-ends are rather thin and fall in almost parallel straight lines (BMC, Pl. V. 6, 7 and 8). The diadem-ends of the Athena series of Demetrius II's coins are thick and show two different treatments; on some coins (NC 1951, Pl. IV.11) one end flies upwards in a peculiar way, on others (NC 1951, Pl. IV. 12) both the ends fall downwards in almost parallel straight lines. The latter arrangement is seen on all
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hitherto illustrated Apollo coins of Eucratides II (NC 1947, Pl. I. 1 and 2) and on some Attic coins of Heliocles (BMC, Pl. VII. 2).

The treatment of diadem-ends on the coins of the Indo-Greek kings is rather stereotyped, generally showing two styles only. On the coins of some kings both the ends fall in parallel straight lines like those of the coins of Eucratides I, while on the coins of other kings, only one of the two ends flies upwards, as on the coins of Antialcidas (BMC, Pl. VII.9).

The diadem-ends on the “Javelin-thruster” type of coins are carefully depicted quite in keeping with the spirit of the vigorous action. On such coins, one end of the diadem falls on the king’s back, while the other flies in the wind. This is, however, not the case with the “Javelin-thruster” coin of Eucratides I who introduced the type in Bactria; on his coins (CHI, Pl. IV. 6) the artist seems to have failed to represent the details of the movement, and unlike later “Javelin-thruster” coins both the ends fall behind the king’s back.

(e) The Head-gear

On the coins of Diodotus I and II and Euthydemus I the royal head depicted on the obverse is diademmed only, and is never shown with any head-gear. Demetrius I introduced a sort of head-dress in Bactria—the elephantscalp head-piece of a peculiar design (see BMC, Pl. II. 9). Three other kings, viz. Eucratides I, Plato and Antimachus I wear some sort of head-dress. Eucratides I and Plato wear smooth crested helmets, while Antimachus I wears a kausia. Other Bactrian princes are never shown with any head-dress.

While almost all the Indo-Greek rulers wear some sort of head-piece on their coins, eight of them, viz. Apollodotus II, Dionysius, Hippostratus, Peucelaus, Polyxenus, Theophilus, Zoilus I and Zoilus II are depicted as diademmed only. The bust in Phrygian cap on coins of Amyntas (Tp. 9) and Hermaeus (Tp. 6) may not be that of the king.

(i) The Elephant’s Scalp

The craze amongst Greek kings for the elephant, the veritable living tank on ancient battle-fields, is well depicted on coins of Demetrius I. On all his “Herakles-crowning-himself” coins the obverse bust of Demetrius is adorned with the scalp of an elephant. One Indo-Greek
king, Lysias (Tp. 1), possibly a scion of Demetrius' house, also depicted himself on some of his coins as wearing this extra-ordinary head-dress.

(ii) The Kausia

As on the "Athena" type copper coins of Diodotus (II?) (Tp. 7), Antimachus I always wears a kausia. On the unique bilingual tetradrachm with the name of "King Demetrius the Invincible" the royal bust is adorned with a kausia (see Demetrius I, Tp. 6). Four other Indo-Greek kings—Eu克拉tides I (Tp. 21), Antialcidas (Tp. 3), Lysias (Tp. 4) and Amyntas (Tp. 4)—have kausia-wearing busts on some of their coins.

(iii) Helmets

The "Dioskouroi" type of gold, silver and copper (bilingual) coins of Eu克拉tides I with the title ΜΕΓΑΣ invariably depict him as wearing a crested helmet which bears the ear and horn of a bull. Besides Eu克拉tides, Plato in Bactria and no less than fourteen¹ Greek princes in India wear on their coins this popular head-piece, originally worn by Seleucus I. This is generally called the smooth (crested) helmet as against another variety of a crested helmet which bears the head and wings of Medusa. The latter may be called the Medusa or the Aegis helmet, introduced in India by Menander I and used by seven other Indo-Greek princes.²

(f) The Border

The king's bust on the obverse of gold and silver coins of Bactria is always in a circular border formed either of dots or of reels and beads. The former variety is called the pellet border and the latter, the astragalus border. Generally Bactrian portrait coins have the pellet border on the obverse. The astragalus border is found on all big coins of Eu克拉tides I and his Bactrian successors, viz. Eu克拉tides II, Heliocles and Plato. A few "Herakles" and "Athena" tetradrachms with the names of Demetrius I and II respectively also bear on the obverse this astragalus border.

It is, however, clear from the evidence of the Qunduz hoard of Attic tetradrachms that the reel-and-bead bordering was used mainly for

¹ See Appendix 1 under "King, Bust of, in smooth helmet."
² See Appendix 1 under "King, Bust of, in Medusa helmet, etc."
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decorating big Attic coins, specially those struck in India. For, irrespective of their affinities to either houses of Euthydemos and Eu克拉底, all the Indo-Greek princes use this particular type of border on their big Attic pieces. It is also interesting that all known gold and silver "victory medallions", very big as they are, bear on the obverse the astragalus border. No smaller Attic silver coin other than the unique Attic drachm of Antialcidas is known to us as bearing the bead-and-reel bordering [NC 1869, Pl(C).VIII. 6].

Some of the Bactrian copper coins bear pellet borders on either sides. The barbarous pieces struck in the name of Heliocles have astragalus bordering.

Some of the square copper coins of the Indo-Greek kings also bear borders, but these borders surround the device only, not the outer legend (see Apollodotus II, Tp. 6). These borders are generally composed of dots or pellets and rarely of beads. Worthy of special mention is, however, the unique round coin of Apollodotus II (Tp. 1), which has two distinct types of circular borders on its two sides. While the obverse bears a border of a formal wreath, quite unknown on any ancient Indian coin, the reverse has a circular astragalus bordering that occurs perhaps on no other Indo-Greek copper coin.

(g) Reverse Devices on Gold and Silver Coins

As already observed, the reverse of the gold and silver coins of the Greek kings of Bactria and India generally bears the figure of a Greek deity. There are, of course, a few exceptions. These relate specially to those silver coins of Apollodotus I (Tp. 1-3), Antimachus II (Tp. 7), Telephus (Tp. 1) and Menander I (Tp. 10), which do not depict royal busts on the obverse. On the reverse of these coins we find respectively a bull, a mounted horseman, the sceptred Helios beside a female figure, and an owl. Silver coins of Philoxenus (Tp. 1), Hermaeus and and Calliope, Menander II (Tp. 3) and Hippostratus (Tp. 5) also have on the reverse a mounted horseman, instead of a Greek deity. Types 2 and 3 of Agathocleia and Types 3 and 4 of Nicias depict a male figure on the reverse. The staters of Agathocleia and obols of Eu克拉底 I bear on the reverse an owl and palms-and-piloi respectively.
B. Devices on Copper and Cupro-Nickel Coins

(a) Devices Common to Copper and Cupro-Nickel Coins

Unlike the obverse and reverse devices on gold and silver coins, no fixed rule is applicable to the occurrence of devices on copper and cupro-nickel coins.

Royal portraits are rare on copper coins. On many of them the obverse bears either the full figure or the bust of a Greek deity, and the reverse, some attributive emblem of, or some animal or bird sacred to, the same divinity. It is not uncommon, however, that an animal or object quite unconnected with the deity on the obverse occurs on the reverse of the coins,¹ while the same coin often bears one deity on the obverse and another deity on the reverse.²

On the obverse of many coins, again, appears an animal instead of a deity,³ while one and the same coin bears on many an occasion two different animals on its two sides.⁴

An object attributable to a certain deity also occurs on the reverse of a coin, the obverse of which bears an animal that is not in any way connected with the deity in question.⁵ But, except on a few "Aegis and Palm-and-Wreath" type of coins of Antimachus II no weapon, object or attribute relating to a divinity occurs on the obverse, which is generally reserved for the figure of a deity or an animal, or rarely for the bust of the king.

Nickel (or rather cupro-nickel) coins of Euthydemus II and of Panteleon and Agathocles bear, like those on their copper pieces, the figure of a deity on the obverse and an object or animal, associated with the same deity, on the reverse.

(b) Devices on Copper Coins only

Whenever a king's bust occurs on a copper coin, it is found on the obverse. Diodotus (II ?) and Eu克拉tes I were the only two kings in Bactria to show their busts on copper coins. Copper coins bearing Heliocles' bust seem to have been barbarous imitations of his silver

¹ E.g. Lysias, Tp. 8, and Theophilus, Tp. 4.
² E.g. Menander I, Tp. 18.
⁴ E.g. Apollodotus I, Tp. 1, and Heliocles, Tp. 11.
⁵ E.g. Demetrios I, Tp. 5, and Menander I, Tp. 25
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pieces. On the coins of Diodotus his bust wears a kausia, and on the coins of Eu克拉ides I appears his diadem as well as helmeted bust.

Of copper coins struck in India, those of Agathoclea, Antialcidas, Demetrius I, Eu克拉ides I, Heliocles, Menander I and Polyxenus bear royal busts on the obverse.

C. Devices Common to Coins of All Metals

(a) Deities

Deities that appear on Greek gold and silver coins of Bactria and India are Apollo, Artemis, Athena, Demeter, the Dioskuroi, Hekate, Helios, Herakles, Nike, Poseidon and Zeus. Besides those depicted on gold and silver coins, Greek copper coins bear the figures of Dionysos and some unidentified deities. Athena (also called Pallas), Demeter, Hekate and Nike are female deities.

Though essentially Greek in nature, the above deities are sometimes depicted with features characteristic of their oriental counterparts.

(i) Apollo

On a series of tetradrachms struck by Eu克拉ides II the naked Apollo is shown as standing and holding the bow and arrow.

Apollo plays a very important role on Greek copper coins of Bactria and India. The Apollo-type coins generally bear the tripod-lebes on the reverse. But the figure of Apollo never occurs on the reverse, nor does the tripod-lebes occur on the obverse of any copper coin.

The full figure of Apollo, standing to right or to front and holding the bow and arrow in various ways, is a common type which was used by Apollodotus I and II, and Dionysius, Hippostratus, Strato I and Zoilus II. (Tp. 2), again, an elephant appears along with the standing Apollo. He is seen seated only on a rare coin of Apollodotus II (Tp. 9).

The head of Apollo occurs on the copper coins of Strato I (Tp. 5) and Eu克拉ides II (Tp. 2) and on the copper as well as the cupro-nickel coins of Euthydemos II (Tps. 3 & 2).

The tripod-lebes, the characteristic attribute of Apollo, generally occurs on the reverse of Apollo-type coins; but on a few “Tripod-re-
verse" coins of Apollodotus I (Tp. 6), Menander I (Tp. 23) and Zoilus II (Tp. 5) we see on the obverse a bull, a bull’s head and an elephant respectively, instead of the figure of Apollo.

(ii) Artemis

The standing figure of Artemis occurs with her attributes, the bow and arrow and the quiver on the silver coins of Artemidorus.

The full figure of Artemis, however, occurs on either sides of the Greek copper coins of Bactria and India. The "Zeus-head" coins of Diodotus (Tp. 8) bear on the reverse the figure of Artemis running with a torch, while on the reverse of the "Bust-of-Herakles" coins of Demetrius I (Tp. 4) she appears as standing and holding a bow in her left hand and drawing an arrow from the quiver with the right. Artemis appears in almost similar attitude on the obverse of some copper coins of Artemidorus (Tp. 4) and Peucolaus (Tp. 2) that bear a bull and a city-goddess respectively on the reverse.

(iii) Athena (or Pallas)

On a series of silver coins struck by Demetrius II, Athena stands facing, holding the lance and shield. But, starting from Menander I, Athena on the coins of many an Indo-Greek king is depicted as hurling a thunderbolt.

An unusual concept of Athena was so long known from a few tetradrachms of Strato I (Tp. 19), on which the helmented shielded deity stands holding Victory (Nike) on her outstretched right hand. The recently discovered Qunduz hoard has revealed an Attic tetradrachm of Theophilus, where the concept is the same, but the goddess is seated.

The concept of Athena supporting Zeus with her counsel finds its place in a somewhat modified form on the silver coins of Amyntas (Tp. 1), where her shielded figure is depicted as standing on the right hand of the enthroned Zeus.

Athena occurs on many an Indo-Greek copper coin. As on silver, when her full figure occurs, it is found on the reverse. Her helmeted bust is depicted on the obverse of several coins of Agathocleia and Menander I and apparently one (aegis-reverse) coin of Polyxenus (Tp. 2). A square copper coin of Menander I (Tp. 16; PMC, Pl. VI. 506)
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is the only piece to show Athena on both the sides: her helmeted bust appears on the obverse and her standing figure (thundering) on the reverse. On the obverse of two other "Athena-thundering" copper coins of Menander I, however, occurs the king's own bust.

Athena's sacred bird owl appears on the reverse of a few coins of Archebius (Tp. 9) and Menander I (Tp. 9). Her aegis is depicted on coins of Antimachus II (Tp. 2) and Polyxenus (Tp. 2).

(iv) Demeter

Demeter, enthroned, finds her place on three recently discovered silver double-decadrachms of Amyntas (Tp. 2). Some of the "Bull-reverse" copper coins of Philoxenus (Tp. 9) bear Demeter on the obverse. A goddess, styled as "city-goddess" in the catalogues, appears on the reverse of the silver coins of Hippostratus (Tp. 1) as standing and holding the cornucopiae, a well-known attribute of Demeter. A unique "Bull-reverse" copper coin of Philoxenus (Tp. 11) also bears on the obverse a deity holding the cornucopiae. The "Bust-of-Herakles" coins of Theophilus (Tp. 4) bear, on the reverse, the cornucopiae (possibly of Demeter).

(v) Dionysos

On some cupro-nickel and copper coins of Pantaleon and Agathocles the obverse bears the head of Dionysos, and the reverse, a panther. The "Yakshini Aśvamukhi" or the so-called "Dancing Girl" type of copper coins of the same two princes show again a panther—apparently the panther of Dionysos (see GB1, p. 158). The panther also occurs on some copper coins of Menander II Dikaios (Tp. 4) and Artemidorus (Tp. 6); but we do not know if the animal has any association with Dionysos there.

(vi) The Dioskuroi

Eucratides I introduced the Dioskuroi on the Bactrian coinage. On his characteristic gold and silver coins they are depicted as mounted on horseback and charging with spears. Diomedes, possibly a scion of his house, depicted them similarly on his silver coinage.

Again, on the bilingual silver coins of Eucratides I (Tp. 14) and
Diomedes (Tp. 4), as also on the coins of the Indo-Scythic king Azilises, the Dioskuroi stand facing side by side, each holding a long spear and bearing a sword.

On the obols of Eu克拉ides I and the Saka Satrap Liäka Kusuluka the palms and piloi of the Dioskuroi are depicted instead of the twins themselves. A unique (gold) stater of Eu克拉ides I in the collection of Mr M. Azizbeglu of Teheran is reported to show also the palms and piloi (Tp. 4).

Copper coins with the Dioskuroi were only struck by Eu克拉ides I and Diomedes. The Dioskuroi mounted on horseback and charging occur on the reverse of most of the characteristic coins of Eu克拉ides I, while one of the Dioskuroi, similarly mounted and charging, adorns the reverse of a few pieces of the same king (Tp. 12). On a “Bull-reverse” coin of Diomedes (Tp. 6), however, the Dioskuroi appear on the obverse as standing with long spears.

The palms and piloi of the Dioskuroi occur on the reverse (never obverse) of the copper coins of Eu克拉ides I (Tp. 19), Antialcidas (Tp. 10), Lysias-and-Antialcidas, and Archebius (Tp. 8).

(vii) Hekate

Hekate never appears alone on coins. Her three-headed figure is depicted as standing upon the outstretched right hand of the enthroned and the standing Zeus on the silver coins of Pantaleon and Agathocles respectively.

(viii) Helios

Helios was so long known to appear on a unique Attic tetradrachm of Plato (Tp. 2: BMC, Pl. VI. 11) as well as on a few very rare Indian drachms of Telephus. The recently discovered Kunduz hoard has revealed the existence of a few more Attic tetradrachms of Plato with newer concepts of Helios.

On the hitherto unique British Museum coin of Plato, the radiate Helios with flowing draperies drives a quadriga to the right. On a Kunduz tetradrachm (Tp. 3) this concept of Helios is also noticed, but the quadriga is driven to front and its square structure is fully visible. The execution of the latter device, far inferior as it is, gives it altogether
an Iranian appearance, for which Dr A.D.H. Bivar, who published the coin, called the deity Mithra. On another Quanduz coin of Plato (Tp. 4) this radiate Helios-Mithra does not drive a quadriga, but stands to front with the right hand raised and the left hand holding a sceptre. Telephus' Indian drachms depict Helios also as radiate and standing to front with a helmeted figure beside him.

The standing figure of Helios occurs on the obverse of a "Nike-reverse" copper coin of Philoxenus (Tp. 10).

(ix) Herakles

Euthydemus I introduced Herakles on the Bactrian coinage. Though his chief weapons were the club and the bow and arrow, he is often seen on Graeco-Bactrian and Indo-Greek coins as standing with his club and lion's skin. On the coins of Euthydemus I, the nude Herakles sits on a rock with his club either on the stone or on his knee.

The concept of a tired and resting Herakles did not find favour with Euthydemus' conquering son Demetrius I, who adopted for his coinage the type of a vigorous Herakles who was a "great adventurer and is said to have reached India." On Demetrius' characteristic silver coins, an erect Herakles crowns himself with his right hand and holds the club and the lion's skin in the left. This "Herakles-crowning-himself" type is also depicted on some silver coins of Lysias (Tp. 1) and Theophilus (Tp. 2). Euthydemus II slightly modified the type for his silver coins, on which the already-crowned Herakles holds a wreath in his right hand and the club and the lion's skin in the left. This type of Euthydemus II is adopted by Zoilus I for his normal silver coinage, while on one of his rare drachms (Tp. 2) Herakles standing in a similar pose is being crowned by Nike, who stands on his left shoulder. On a unique drachm of Theophilus (Tp. 3) in Mr N. Singhvi's collection the crowned Herakles stands with his right hand resting on the club and holding the lion's skin in the left.

The standing figure of Herakles, however, does not appear on any Bactrian or Indian Greek copper coin. As on the gold and silver coins of Euthydemus I, the "Herakles-seated-on-rock" type occurs on the copper coins of Agathocleia and Strato I.

The bust of Herakles, however, occurs on the Bactrian coins of
Euthydemus I (Tp. 4), Demetrius I (Tp. 4) and Euthydemus II (Tp. 4) as well as on the Indian coins of Lysias-and-Antialcidas, Lysias (Tp. 8), Strato I (Tp. 4), Theophilus (Tp. 4) and Zoilus I (Tp. 3).

The club, one of Herakles’ attributes, occurs on the reverse of a copper coin of Menander I (Tp. 25) and Theophilus (Tp. 5), while the lion’s skin of Herakles is depicted on the reverse of a copper portrait-coin of Menander I (Tp. 13).

(x) Hermes

Hermes, never appears on any coin of the Greek kings of Bactria or of India. But on some big copper pieces of Demetrius I (Tp. 5) and Maues occurs his characteristic emblem, the caduceus.

(xi) Nike, Winged

Nike with her well-known attributes, the wreath and palm-branch, appears on the silver coins of Antimachus II, Artemidorus (Tp. 3) and Menander II (Tp. 1). But, although the reverse is the usual place for the deities on Greek gold and silver coins, Antimachus II depicted her on the obverse of his silver drachms. Nike often appears on the outstretched right hand of Zeus, as on the coins of Antialcidas and Heliocles (Tp. 2). On two rare coins of Strato I (Tp. 19) and Theophilus (Tp. 1) she stands on Athena’s outstretched right hand. On a rare drachm of Zoilus I (Tp. 2) Nike stands on the shoulder of Herakles and crowns him. Types 8 and 9 of Antialcidas, again, depict her as being carried by an elephant walking beside Zeus.

As on silver, Nike always appears on copper coins in full figure; and except on those of Archebius and Epander she always, again, appears on the reverse. The figure of the standing Nike appears on the reverse of the copper coins of Antimachus I, Eucratides I (Tp. 17), Hermaeus (Tp. 8), Menander I (Tp. 12), Strato I (Tp. 4) and Philoxenus (Tp. 10).

Nike’s palm and wreath occur on the reverse of the coins of Antimachus II (Tp. 2), while her palm alone is depicted on some coins of Menander I (Tp. 27). On a copper coin of Antimachus I (Tp. 5), Nike stands on the prow of a ship.
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(xii) Poseidon

Poseidon stands facing with his characteristic attributes, the trident and the palm-branch, on the normal silver coins of Antimachus I.

The head of Poseidon with his characteristic trident appears on the obverse of a copper coin of Nicias (Tp. 8). The trident alone occurs on a big copper coin of Demetrius I (Tp. 3).

(xiii) Unidentified Deities

The copper coins of Hippostratus (Tp. 4) and Peucolaus (Tp. 2) bearing on the obverse Triton and Artemis respectively bear female deities, generally called "city-goddesses". These deities are unidentified, and we do not know if they were actually "city-goddesses". The enthroned deity appearing on the "Horse-reverse" copper coin of Hippostratus (Tp. 6) also remains unidentified.

The most discussed Indo-Greek coin is a square copper piece of Eucratides I (Tp. 15), the obverse of which bears the king's helmeted bust and the reverse, an enthroned palm-bearing deity wearing a mural crown—labelled as καβίσι μανγκραν-देवता (city-deity of Kāpiśi). Alfred von Sallet found a similarity between this deity and the goddess on Hippostratus' coins, but some scholars took the enthroned figure for the male divinity Zeus and associated all other "Enthroned Zeus" types of coins with Kāpiśi. But Whitehead has recently found out a well-preserved coin of the same type in the British Museum and tried to show that the figure in question is that of a female divinity¹ like the city-deity of Pushkalāvati occurring on a unique gold piece (CHI, Pl.VI. 10). According to Sir John Marshall, the "Zeus" type "seems to be associated less with Kāpiśi than with Arachosia, where it was subsequently carried on by Heliocles and became specially distinctive of the coinage of Śpalahores, Śpalagadames, Śpaliris and Azes I" (Taxila, Vol. I, p. 29).

(xiv) Zeus

The figure of Zeus adorns the gold and silver coins of Diodotus I and II: it was their canting type. Gold and silver coins of Bactria and India present different concepts of Zeus. He is depicted either as standing or as seated on a throne.

¹ See NC 1947, p. 30, Fig. 1.
On the coins of Diodotus I and II the naked Zeus shielded by aegis and brandishing a thunderbolt is depicted as standing to left, with an eagle at his feet. Another aspect of Zeus, bearded and clad in himation, is depicted as standing, facing, and holding a long sceptre in his left hand and the thunderbolt in his right, as on some coins of Demetrius I (Tp. 6) and Heliocles (Tp. 1). On some coins of Archebius (Tp. 7) Zeus thus depicted actually brandishes the thunderbolt; and, again, on a few others (Tp. 4a) the same thundering Zeus holds in his left hand the aegis instead of the sceptre.

On some bilingual silver coins of Antialcidas (Tp. 9), the sceptred Zeus walks by the side of an elephant that carries Nike. Some silver coins of Peucolaus (Tp. 7) again depict the figure of the sceptred standing Zeus as holding in his right hand "a small two-horned object." On Agathocles’ regular silver coins Zeus is depicted as standing and carrying the three-headed Hekate in his right hand and his sceptre in the left.

When represented as an enthroned god, Zeus also holds various attributes and objects. On older Greek coins, like those of Alexander (as represented on Agathocles’ so-called “pedigree” tetradrachm, BMC, Pl. IV. 1), the enthroned Zeus holds the eagle in the right hand and the sceptre in the left. Pantaleon’s silver coins depict the enthroned sceptred Zeus as holding the three-headed Hekate in his right hand. The figure of Zeus enthroned and holding Nike sometimes occurs on coins of Heliocles (Tp. 2). This type is very common with Antialcidas, on whose coins the forepart of an elephant always occurs by the side of the enthroned god. Some of Antialcidas’ coins (Tp. 7), again, depict the enthroned Zeus as holding the palm and wreath of Nike. Most of Amyntas’ silver coins show the enthroned Zeus, but there Zeus holds the shield-bearing Athena, not Nike. When represented as enthroned Zeus-Mithra (as on the coins of Hermaeus), he seems to hold an indefinitely shaped object with his right hand. Mr E. T. Newell took it for a pair of callipers (NNM 82, p. 92).

The obverse of some copper coins of Telephus (Tp. 2) also bears the enthroned Zeus-Mithra.

Zeus’ lauriated head adorns the obverse of some Bactrian coins of Diodotus (Tp. 8) and Euthydemus I (Tp. 5). On the obverse of the
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round as well as the square coins of Antialcidas appears the bare-headed bust of the thundering Zeus, while the diademed head of Zeus occurs on some coins of Archebius (Tp. 8).

The thunderbolt, characteristic of Zeus, occurs on the reverse of the rare bilingual copper coins of Demetrius I and the monolingual ones struck by an otherwise unknown king named Antimachus (NC 1940, p. 104, No.4 Pl.VIII.2).

(b) Animals, etc.

Animals appear on a good number of our coins. The silver coins of Apollodotus I bear the elephant and the bull on the obverse and the reverse respectively. Full figures of the bull, camel, elephant, horse and panther occur on many copper coins, while the heads of the boar, elephant and ox are seen only on a few of them.

Of birds, as seen above, only the eagle (along with the thundering Zeus) and the owl occur on a few coins. The legendless Indo-Greek staters with the “Helmeted bust of Athena” shows an owl on the reverse but the bird there “appears to be a horned owl, possibly the Indian eagle owl,” while the owl that occurs on the reverse of some coins of Menander I (Tps. 9, 10 & 21) and Archebius (Tp. 9) is of the Athenian type. The dolphin, however, is the only aquatic creature to be depicted on some copper coins of Menander I (Tp. 22) and Nicias (Tp. 8).

SPECIAL ISSUES

Besides the regular series of gold and silver types there are the so-called Commemorative or Pedigree-Coins, the Victory Coins, the Joint Coins and the Overstruck Coins.

A. Commemorative or Pedigree Coins

Of unusual historical interest are the so-called Commemorative (or Pedigree) series of coins issued by Antimachus I, Agathocles and Eucratides I. Being struck in Bactria they are in the Attic standard and generally tetradrachms in denomination. Of Eucratides I alone a unique drachm is also known. While the parallel series of coins of Antimachus I and Agathocles relate to their predecessors, Eucratides’ coins bear the names and portraits of his parents.
The obverses of the coins of Antimachus I and Agathocles bear the well-known heads as well as the names and respective epithets of their predecessors (like Euthydemos I and Diodotus I), while on the reverses occur the respective characteristic coin-types of these predecessors along with the name, royal title and epithet of the issuing ruler—\textit{BAΣΙΛΕΥONΤΟΣ ΘΕΟΥ ANTΙΜΑΧΟΥ} or \textit{BAΣΙΛΕΥΟΝΤΟΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ}.

\textbf{Antimachus I:—}

(1) Diodotus I’s diademated head—\textit{ΔΙΟΔΟΤΟΥ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ}.
\textit{Rev.} Zeus thundering.

(2) Euthydemos I’s diademated head—\textit{ΕΥΘΥΔΗΜΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ}.
\textit{Rev.} Herakles seated on rock.

\textbf{Agathocles Dikaios:—}

(1) Alexander’s head in lion’s skin—\textit{ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ}.
\textit{Rev.} Zeus thundering.

(2) Antiochus I’s diademated head—\textit{ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ ΝΙΚΑΤΟΡΟΣ}.
\textit{Rev.} Zeus thundering.

(3) Diodotus I’s diademated head—\textit{ΔΙΟΔΟΤΟΥ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ}.
\textit{Rev.} Zeus thundering.

(4) Euthydemos I’s diademated head—\textit{ΕΥΘΥΔΗΜΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ}.
\textit{Rev.} Herakles seated on rock.

(5) Demetrius I’s diademated bust in elephant’s scalp—\textit{ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ ΑΝΙΚΗΤΟΥ}.
\textit{Rev.} Herakles crowning himself.

Euocratides’ commemorative coins bear on the obverse the helmeted bust of Eu克拉底斯 I himself with his name, royal title and epithet (\textit{BAΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΜΕΓΑΣ ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΗΣ}) and on the reverse the conjugate busts and names of Heliaclus and Laodice (\textit{HAΙΟΚΛΑΕΟΥΣ ΚΑΙ ΛΑΩΑΙΚΗΣ}). When we insert the Greek word \textit{ΥΙΟΣ} [son] between the obverse and the reverse portions of the legend, we know the significance of these coins: they reveal the ‘pedigree’ of Eu克拉底斯 I, for the complete legend then reads, \textit{BAΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΜΕΓΑΣ ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΗΣ}
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[ὙΙΟΣ] ἩΔΙΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ ΚΑΙ ΛΑΟΔΙΚΗΣ, ‘King Eucratides the Great, [son] of Heliocles and Laodice.’ (See Case, p. 163). Eucratides, thus, “was careful to differentiate his commemorative pieces from his other issues by putting his own name in the nominative instead of in the genitive, very much in the spirit in which Agathocles and Antimachus employed ΒΑΣΙΛΙΕΥΟΝΤΟΣ in place of the normal ΒΑΣΙΛΙΕΩΣ.” (Chi, p. 453).

A coin with the diademed head of a mature person on the obverse, and the figure of the thundering Zeus with the legend ΔΙΟΔΟΤΟΥ ΣΩΘΡΟΣ and monogram No. 102 on the reverse is possibly of the commemorative nature. It could not have been a regular issue of Diodotus I. For, as Macdonald observes, “The coincidence of the reverse inscription with the obverse inscription used on the commemorative tetradrachms of Agathocles and Antimachus is remarkable, the omission of ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ being quite as noteworthy as the addition of ΣΩΘΡΟΣ. The style and fabric, too, are out of harmony with those of the regular coinage of Diodotus. In particular, the dies are adjusted ↑ ↑, instead of ↑ ↓, as is the invariable custom in Bactria before the reign of Euthydemus I. Lastly, the mint-mark (M 102) is not found on the money either of Diodotus or of his immediate successor” (Chi, p. 451).

B. Victory Coins

Whether of gold or of silver, the so-called “Victory Coins” or medallions of unusually big size are all struck in the Attic standard.

Of gold only a unique twenty-stater piece (2593·5 grains) of Eucratides I exists. It is of the usual type of his regular series of coins and bears a monogram (M 76) that is found also on the coins of some other Indo-Greek rulers.

The Indo-Greek king Amyntas struck at least two types of “victory” coins in silver. The Kabul Museum has recently acquired from the Qunduz hoard five such pieces of the denomination of Attic double-decadrachms or 20-drachms (about 1300 grains).

There is another legendless Attic decadrachm (10-drachm) piece which seems also to be a “victory” medallion (NC 1887, pp. 177 ff., Pl. VII. 1). It bears on the obverse a retreating elephant carrying two
fighters, whom a warrior mounted on horseback vigorously pursues, and on the reverse the standing figure of Zeus holding thunderbolt. It is commonly called the "Porus" medal, though Gardner has shown some grounds to prove that it was struck either by Eucratides I or by his son Heliocles to mark a victory over the Scythian barbarians.

C. JOINT COINS

There is another class of unusual silver pieces which may be called "Joint Coins". On one series of coins the names of Queen Agathoclea and Strato I occur separately on the obverse and the reverse, while on another series one side shows conjugate busts with the two names and the other side the names along with the thundering Athena. On a third series of coins, again, Strato II is associated with his grandson (?) Strato III. Conjugate busts with names of Hermaeus and his queen Calliope are depicted on yet another series of tetradrachms and drachms. Names and types of Lysias and of Antialcidas are seen respectively on the obverse and reverse of a rare copper coin.

D. OVERSTRUCK COINS

There are some overstruck pieces which may be called "Necessity Money." In times of scarcity of the coining metal, available coins of earlier or contemporary rulers were picked up and hurriedly overstruck with the name and devices of another ruler. These are copper coins.

LANGUAGE, SCRIPT AND ARRANGEMENT OF LEGENDS

As already observed, coins of Bactria bear Greek legends on the reverse only, while those of India show Greek legends on the obverse and Kharoshthi legends on the reverse.

On the coins of earlier Bactrian rulers the legends are simple—consisting of the royal title and name of the king, such as, \( \text{ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ} \ \text{ΔΙΟΔΟΤΟΥ} \) or \( \text{ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ} \ \text{ΕΥΘΥΔΗΜΟΥ} \). Early Bactrian monarchs, viz. Diodotus II, Euthydemus I, Demetrius I, Euthydemus II, Demetrius II and Pantaleon, as also Agathocles on most of his regular coins and Eucratides I and Eucratides II on their initial coinages rest content with the simple royal title—\( \text{ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ} \). Whether with or without other epithets, all kings of Bactria and India, however, bore this universal royal title \( \text{ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ} \) before their names.
A. Epithets

Antimachus I adopted the lofty and unique epithet ΘΕΩΣ. Initial coins of both Eucratides I and Eucratides II do not bear any epithet; they are seen bearing the epithets ΜΕΓΑΣ and ΣΩΤΗΡ respectively on their later coins. Plato’s epithet was ΕΙΠΙΦΑΝΗΣ, and Heliocles’, ΔΙΚΑΙΟΣ. The latter epithet was also borne by Agathocles on a few of his normal and on all his “pedigree” coins, one of which reveals that Demetrius I bore the legendary epithet of Alexander the Great, viz. ΑΝΙΚΗΤΟΣ.

Eucratides I was, however, the first Greek king to adopt the epithet ΜΕΓΑΣ. He was possibly also the world’s first ruler to issue a bilingual currency. To mark his Indian conquests and for the knowledge of his new subjects, he struck coins with Greek and Prakrit legends. The Greek legend (normally adorning the reverse of the Bactrian coins) was transferred to the obverse, while on the reverse was introduced a literal Prakrit translation of the obverse Greek legend, written in the Kharoshṭhī script from right to left. On his Indian drachms (Tb. 14) the obverse Greek legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΟΥ is translated as Rajasa mahatakasa Evukratidasa. But except on coins of Type 15 (where the Kharoshṭhī legend does not correspond to the Greek legend), on his other Indian copper coins the Greek words ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ and ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ are translated by maharajasa, the words rajasa and mahatakasa being amalgamated into one compound form. This was, however, not the case with kings who came after Eucratides I. Their coins show that mahārāja became subsequently the universal rendering for the Greek word ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ alone. Even though they did not bear the epithet ΜΕΓΑΣ, all kings other than Eucratides I were mahā-rājās. It may also be pointed out that the words ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ and ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ occurring on Hippostratus’ coins have separate Prakrit equivalents maharajasa and mahatasa.

It will not be out of place to discuss here Seltman’s observation regarding Eucratides’ adoption of the epithet ΜΕΓΑΣ. “He (Eucratides),” says Seltman, “was the first Greek king to describe himself as ‘the Great’ upon a coin, but this was merely because βασιλέως μεγαλοῦ was the translation of Maharajasa, and was therefore
no mere piece of bombast” (GC, p. 235). But as we have seen above, the Indian word mahārāja was not at all responsible for Eu克拉底斯’ adoption of the Greek epithet ΜΕΓΑΣ. His Greek titles ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΜΕΓΑΣ previously adopted for his abundant Bactrian coinage were, on the contrary, responsible for his use of the word mahā-rāja upon his Indian copper coins, struck subsequent to the bilingual drachms (Tp. 14). Eu克拉底斯’ adoption of the epithet ΜΕΓΑΣ was probably due to Persian influence, as was undoubtedly the case with his additional epithet rajadiraja found on a few of his bilingual copper coins (Tp. 16). King Darius I called himself ‘Great’ (Vazrka) and ‘King of kings’ (Khshāyathiyanām Khshāyathiya) long before the advent of Eu克拉底斯 (see Sirscar, Select Inscriptions, pp. 3-4).

Eu克拉底斯 I was, however, the first king in India to call himself mahārāja. For, although mahā-rāja, “great king”, is frequently referred to in the Brāhmaṇaś, Upanishads and later literature, there is no epigraphic or numismatic record to show that it was used by any king of India prior to Eu克拉底斯 I. Even the great Aśoka was satisfied with the simple title rājan.

Theophilus on his unique (monolingual) Attic tetradrachm (Tp. 1) used the strange epithet ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΩΡ, which occurs neither on his bilingual coinage nor on any coin of the Greek rulers of Bactria and India. The epithet ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΩΡ, however, occurs on a unique silver coin of a later king, Parthian Gondophares, apparently struck outside India (BMC, Pl. XXXII. 10). Queen Agathocleia bore on her initial coins the royal title ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ and the epithet ΘΕΟΤΡΟΠΟΣ, for which no equivalent Prakrit terms are met with, because the reverse of those coins does not bear the translation of the obverse Greek legend, but the title, name and epithet of her son Strato I.

Different Greek rulers of Bactria and India, however, adopted one or more of the following epithets:

ANIKHTOΣ = Ἀπαδήκα (aṣparajīta in the case of Demetrius I only): Artemidorus, Demetrius I, Lysias and Philoxenus.

ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΩΡ: Theophilus.

ΔΙΚΑΙΟΣ = Dhramika (or dhramia): Agathocles (Greek only),
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Archebius, Heliocles, Menander II, Peucolaus, Strato I, Theophilus and Zoilus I.

ΕΠΙΦΑΝΗΣ = Prachachha (pratyaksha): Plato (Greek only), Polynxenus and Strato I.

ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΗΣ = Kalanakrama (? kalyānakarma): Telephus.

ΘΕΟΤΡΟΠΟΣ: Agathocleia.

ΘΕΟΣ: Antimachus I and Euthydemus I (after death).

ΜΕΓΑΣ = Mahata (mahatakā): Apollodotus II (Greek only), Eucretides I and Hippostratus.

ΝΙΚΑΤΩΡ = Jayadhara: Amyntas.

ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΣ = Jayadhara: Antialcidas, Antimachus II, Archebius and Epander.

ΣΩΘΗΡ = Tatraka: Apollodotus I, Apollodotus II, Apollophanes, Diodotus I (after death), Diomedes, Dionysius, Eucretides II, Hermaeus, Hippostratus, Menander I, Nicias, Peucolaus, Polynxenus, Strato I, Strato II and Zoilus II.

ΦΙΛΟΠΑΤΩΡ = Priyapita: Apollodotus II and Strato III.

B. DISCREPANCIES BETWEEN GREEK AND PRAKRIT LEGENDS

Indo-Greek kings, as a rule, were very scrupulous about the Prakrit translations of their Greek legends. Every obverse Greek word had its literal Prakrit rendering on the reverse. Thus both the Greek and Prakrit legends of the Indo-Greek coins had exactly the same meaning. There are, however, a few instances where this rule is not strictly observed. The Greek legend of the joint coins of Agathocleia and Strato I does not correspond to the Kharoshthi legend. Same is the case with the joint coin of Lysias and Antialcidas. The Prakrit legend of Type 15 of Eucretides I, again, is not the translation of the normal obverse Greek legend; it is actually a name-label for the reverse deity: Kaviṣīye nagara-devata. There are also other types of irregularity. Greek epithets of some of the kings are not rendered into Prakrit word for word: this is peculiarly the case with Apollodotus II. Some coins, again, bear on the Kharoshthi side additional epithets, for which there are no Greek equivalents on the obverse. Type 16 of Eucretides I, as seen above, and also Types 5-7 of Hippostratus
and Types 6-9 of Strato I provide instances of such irregularity. Type 11 of Agathocles, Types 14 and 15 of Apollodotus II, Type 4 of Dionysius and Types 5-7 of Zoilus II do not bear any Greek legend at all.

C. The Use of Brāhmī

Another noteworthy feature of some copper coins of Pantaleon and Agathocles is the use on them of the other script of ancient India, viz. Brāhmī, which had been prevalent in all parts of the country (except, of course, the north-west) since the time of Aśoka.

Pantaleon, Tp. 4:

Obv. Panther. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΠΑΝΤΑΛΕΟΝΤΟΣ.

Agathocles, Tp. 10:

Obv. Panther. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ.

D. The Use of Kharoṣṭhī Alone

Some other coins of Agathocles, again, use exclusively the Kharoṣṭhī legend on both sides (see Agathocles, Tp. 11):—


E. List of Rulers with their Coin Legends

Here is a list of Greek rulers of Bactria and India, arranged alphabetically. Various legends as found on their coins are given along with the names of respective rulers. Prakrit equivalents written in Kharoṣṭhī are shown against Greek legends, wherever they occur.

1. Agathocleia Theotropos with Strato I

(a) Tp. 2: (obv.) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΙΑΣ, (rev.) Maharajasa tratarasa dhramikasa Stratasa (TMA, Pl. VIII. 17).

(b) Tp. 3: (obv.) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΘΕΟΤΡΟΠΟΥ ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΙΑΣ, (rev.) Maharajasa tratarasa dhramikasa Stratasa (NC 1923, Pl. XVI. 6).

(c) Tp. 5: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΣΤΡΑΤΩΝΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΓΑΘΟΚ-
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ΔΕΙΛΑΣ = Maharajasa Tratarasa Stratasa Agathukriäe (NC 1950, p. 215, Fig.).
(d) Tp. 6: (obv.) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΣΤΡΑΤΩΝΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΔΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΙΑΣ, (rev.) Maharajasa tratarasa dhramikasa Stratasa (NC 1923, Pl. XVI. 5).

2. Agathocles Dikaios
(a) Tp. 6: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ (BMC, Pl. IV. 4).
(b) Tp. 9: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ ΔΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ (JNSI, XVI, Pl. II. 1).
(c) Tps. 1-5: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΟΝΤΟΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ ΔΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ (BMC, Pl. IV. 1, Pl. XXX. 5, Pl. IV. 2, Pl. IV. 3 and NC 1934, Pl. III. 1). The obverses of these coins bear the names and epithets of the kings commemorated, viz. (1) ΔΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ, (2) ΑΝΤΙΧΟΥ ΝΙΚΑΤΟΡΟΣ, (3) ΔΙΟΔΟΤΟΥ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ, (4) ΕΥΘΥΔΗΜΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ and (5) ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ ΑΝΙΚΗΤΟΥ respectively.
(d) Tp. 10: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ = Rajañë Agathukleyasa in Brähmi (BMC, Pl. IV. 9).
(e) Tp. 11: (obv.) Agathukreyasa, (rev.) Hirañasame (PMC, Pl. II. 52).

3. Amyntas Nikator
(a) Tp. 1: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΝΙΚΑΤΟΡΟΣ ΑΜΥΝΤΟΥ (JNSI, XVII, Pl. VII. 1-2).
(b) Tp. 3: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΝΙΚΑΤΟΡΟΣ ΑΜΥΝΤΟΥ = Maharajasa Jayadharasa Amitasa (BMC, Pl. XIV. 10).

4. Antialcidas Nikephoros
(a) Tp. 1: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ ΑΝΤΙΑΛΚΙΔΟΥ (BMC, Pl. VII. 9).
(b) Tp. 8: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ ΑΝΤΙΑΛΚΙΔΟΥ = Maharajasa Jayadharasa Anthialitasa (NC 1923, Pl. XV. 5).

5. Antimachus Theos
(a) Tp. 3: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΘΕΟΥ ΑΝΤΙΜΑΧΟΥ (BMC, Pl. V. 1).
(b) Tps. 1-2: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΟΝΤΟΣ ΘΕΟΥ ΑΝΤΙΜΑΧΟΥ (IMC, Pl. II. 3 and JNSI, XVII, Pl. III. 1). The obverses of these coins bear the names and epithets of the kings commemorated,
viz. (1) ΔΙΟΔΟΤΟΥ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ and (2) ΕΥΘΥΔΗΜΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ respectively.

6. Antimachus II Nikephoros
   (a) Tp. 1: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ ΑΝΤΙΜΑΧΟΥ = Maharajasa jayadharasa Anitimakhasa (BMC, Pl. XIII. 3).

7. Apollodotus I Soter
   (a) Tp. 1: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΠΟΛΛΟΔΟΤΟΥ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ = Maharajasa Apaladatasa tratarasa (BMC, Pl. IX. 8). Apollodotus I was the only king to put the epithet after his name.

8. Apollodotus II Megas Soter Philopator
   (b) Tp. 1: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΠΟΛΛΟΔΟΤΟΥ = Maharajasa tratarasa Apaladatasa (IG, Pl. IV. 5).
   (c) Tp. 2: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΑΠΟΛΛΟΔΟΤΟΥ = Maharajasa tratarasa Apaladatasa (BMC, Pl. X. 4).
   (d) Tp. 10: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΦΙΛΟΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ ΑΠΟΛΛΟΔΟΤΟΥ = Maharajasa tratarasa Apaladatasa (BMC, Pl. X. 2).
   (e) Tp. 13: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΦΙΛΟΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ ΑΠΟΛΛΟΔΟΤΟΥ = Maharajasa tratarasa Apaladatasa (BMC, Pl. X. 1).

9. Apollophonnes Soter
   (a) Tp. 2: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΑΠΟΛΛΟΦΑΝΟΥ = Maharajasa tratarasa Apalavinasa (BMC, Pl. XIII. 1).

10. Archebicus Dikaios Nikephoros
    (a) Tp. 1: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ ΑΡΧΕΒΙΟΥ (JNSI, XVII, Pl. VIII. 3).
    (b) Tp. 2: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ ΑΡΧΕΒΙΟΥ = Maharajasa dhramikasa jayadharasa Arkhebiyasa (BMC, Pl. IX. 1).

11. Artemidorus Aniketos
    (a) Tp. 1: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΙΚΗΤΟΥ ΑΡΤΕΜΙΔΩΡΟΥ = Maharajasa apaçihatasa Atrimitorasa (PMC, Pl. VII. 551).

12. Demetrius I Aniketos
    (a) Tp. 2: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ (BMC, Pl. II. 9).
    (b) Tp. 7: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΙΚΗΤΟΥ ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ = Maharajasa
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aparajitasa Dime... (PMC, Pl. I. 26) or Dimetriyasa (Tp. 6: NC 1923, Pl. XIV. 2).

(c) The Demetrius pedigree coins of Agathocles bear on the obverse the well-known bust of Demetrius I and legend ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ ΑΝΙΚΗΤΩΥ (NC 1934, Pl. III. 1).

13. Demetrius II

(a) Tp. 1: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ (NC 1951, Pl. IV. 11).

14. Diodotus

(a) Tp. 2: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ (CHI, Pl. II. 11).
(b) Tp. 5: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΙΟΔΟΤΟΥ (BMC, Pl. I. 5).
(c) The Diodotus pedigree coins of Agathocles and Antimachus I bear on the obverse the head of Diodotus I and legend ΔΙΟΔΟΤΟΥ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΥ (BMC, Pl. XXX. 5 and IMC, Pl. II. 6 respectively).

15. Diomedes Soter

(a) Tp. 1: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΥ ΔΙΟΜΗΔΟΥ = Maharajasa tratarasa Diyamedasa (BMC, Pl. VIII. 12).

16. Dionysius Soter

(a) Tp. 1: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΥ ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΥ = Maharajasa tratarasa Dianisiyasa (BMC, Pl. XII. 9).
(b) Tp. 4: (obv.) No Greek legend. (Rev.) Maharajasa tratarasa Dianisiyasa (BMC, Pl. XXXI. 14).

17. Epanter Nikephoros

(a) Tp. 1: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ ΕΠΑΝΑΠΟΥ = Maharajasa jayadharasa Epadrasa (PMC, Pl. VI. 516).

18. Eu克拉底斯 I Megas

(a) Tp. 2: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΟΥ (BMC, Pl. V. 6).
(b) Tp. 8: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΟΥ (GC, Pl. LV. 5).
(c) Tp. 1: (obv.) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΜΕΓΑΣ ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΗΣ [ΥΙΟΣ] (rev.) ΗΔΙΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ ΚΑΙ ΛΑΟΔΙΚΗΣ (CHI, Pl. IV. 3).
(d) Tp. 14: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΟΥ = Rajasa maha-takasa Evukratidasa (GC, Pl. LVI. 1).
(e) Tp. 16: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΟΥ = Maharajasa rajadirajasa Evukratidasa (Ari. Ant., Pl. XXI. 6). This is the only Indo-Greek coin to bear the Persian title rajadiraja, besides
the barbarous coins with Hermaeus' name (Tp. 8: PMC, Pl. IX. 682), which have rajaraja as the epithet.
(f) Tp. 18: ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΟΥ = Maharajasa Evukratidasa (BMC, Pl. VI. 7).
(g) Tp. 19: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΟΥ = Maharajasa Evukratidasa (BMC, Pl. VI. 5).
(h) Tp. 15: (obv.) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΟΥ, (rev.) Kaviśīye nagarādeva (NC 1947, p. 30, Fig. 1).

19. Eucretides II Soter
(a) Tp. 1: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΟΥ (BMC, Pl. V. 4).
(b) Tp. 3: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΟΥ (NC 1947, Pl. I. 1).

20. Euthydemus I (Theos)
(a) Tp. 1: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΕΥΘΥΔΗΜΟΥ (BMC, Pl. I. 10).
(b) The Euthydemus pedigree coins of Agathocles and Antimachus I bear on the obverse the head of Euthydemus I and legend ΕΥΘΥΔΗΜΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ (BMC, Pl. IV. 3 and JNSI, XVII, Pl. III. 1 respectively).

21. Euthydemus II
(a) Tp. 1: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΕΥΘΥΔΗΜΟΥ (BMC, Pl. III. 3).

22. Heliocles Dikaios
(a) Tp. 1: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ ΗΛΙΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ (BMC, Pl. VII. 1).
(b) Tp. 5: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ ΗΛΙΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ = Maharajasa dhramikasa Heliyakreyasa (BMC, Pl. VII. 5) or Heliyakresasa.

23. Hermaeus Soter
(a) Tp. 1: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΕΡΜΑΙΟΥ (JNSI, XVII, Part I. Pl. VIII. 5).
(b) Tp. 2: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΕΡΜΑΙΟΥ = Maharajasa tratarasa Heramayasa (BMC, Pl. XV. 1).
(c) Tp. 8: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣΥ ΕΡΜΑΙΟΥ = Maharajasa rajaraja mahatasa Heramayasa (PMC, Pl. IX. 682).

24. Hermaeus Soter with Calliope
(a) Tp. 1: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΕΡΜΑΙΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΚΑΛΛΙΟΠΗΣ
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*Maharajasa tratarasa Heramayasa Kaliyapaya* (NC 1923, Pl. XVII. 8).

25. *Hippostratus Megas Soter*

(a) Tp. 1: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΙΠΠΟΣΤΡΑΤΟΥ = Maharajasa tratarasa Hibustratasa (*BMC*, Pl. XIV. 1).

(b) Tp. 5: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΙΠΠΟΣΤΡΑΤΟΥ = Maharajasa tratarasa jayaṁtasa Hipuustratasa (*BMC*, Pl. XIV. 5).

(c) Tp. 7: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΙΠΠΟΣΤΡΑΤΟΥ = Maharajasa tratarasa mahatasa jayaṁtasa Hipuustratasa (*BMC*, Pl. XIV. 2).

26. *Lysias Aniketos*

(a) Tp. 1a: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΙΚΗΤΟΥ ΛΥΣΙΟΥ (JNSI, XVII, Pl. VI. 3).

(b) Tps. 5 & 3: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΙΚΗΤΟΥ ΛΥΣΙΟΥ = Maharajasa aparāihatasa Lisiāsa or Lisikasa (*BMC*, Pl. VIII. 7 and 5).

26a. *Lysias with Antialcidas*

(a) Tp. 1: (obv.) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΙΚΗΤΟΥ ΛΥΣΙΟΥ, (rev.) Maharajasa jayaḍharasa Aṃṭialikitasa (*BMC*, Pl. XXXI. 2).

27. *Menander I Soter*

(a) Tp. 1: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΜΕΝΑΝΔΡΟΥ (IG, Pl. II. 7).

(b) Tp. 2: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΜΕΝΑΝΔΡΟΥ = Maharajasa tratarasa Menadrasa (*BMC*, Pl. XI. 10).

28. *Menander II Dikaios*


29. *Nicias Soter*

(a) Tp. 1: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΝΙΚΙΟΥ = Maharajasa tratarasa Nikiāsa (NC 1940, Pl. VIII. 4).

30. *Pantaleon*

(a) Tp. 1: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΠΑΝΤΑΛΕΟΝΤΟΣ (CHI, Pl. III. 7).

(b) Tp. 4: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΠΑΝΤΑΛΕΟΝΤΟΣ = Rajañe Patalevasa in Brāhmī (*BMC*, Pl. III. 9).
31. Pausilaos Dikaios Soter
   (a) Tp. 1: \( \text{B} \text{A} \text{S} \text{I} \text{L} \text{E} \text{O} \text{Σ} \text{Δ} \text{ΙΚ} \text{ΑΙ} \text{ΟΥ} \text{Κ} \text{Α} \text{Ι} \text{Σ} \text{Ο} \text{T} \text{H} \text{R} \text{O} \text{Σ} \text{ΠΕΥΚΟΛΑ} \text{Α} \text{ΟΥ} = \) Maharajasa dhramikasa tratarasa Peukulaasa (NC 1923, Pl. XV. 4).

32. Philoxenus Aniketos
   (a) Tp. 1: \( \text{B} \text{A} \text{S} \text{I} \text{L} \text{E} \text{O} \text{Σ} \text{Α} \text{ΝΙΚ} \text{Η} \text{T} \text{ΟΥ} \text{ΦΙΛΟΣΕΝΟΥ} \) (JNSI, XVII, Pl. VIII. 4).
   (b) Tp. 2: \( \text{B} \text{A} \text{S} \text{I} \text{L} \text{E} \text{O} \text{Σ} \text{Α} \text{ΝΙΚ} \text{Η} \text{T} \text{ΟΥ} \text{ΦΙΛΟΣΕΝΟΥ} = \) Maharajasa apâdihatasa Philasinasa (BMC, Pl. XIII. 5).

33. Plato Epiphanes
   (a) Tp. 2: \( \text{B} \text{A} \text{S} \text{I} \text{L} \text{E} \text{O} \text{Σ} \text{ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ \ ΠΙΑΤΩΝΟΣ} \) (BMC, Pl. VI. 11).

34. Polyxenus Epiphanes Soter
   (a) Tp. 2: \( \text{B} \text{A} \text{S} \text{I} \text{L} \text{E} \text{O} \text{Σ} \text{ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ} \text{ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΠΟΛΥΣΕΝΟΥ} = \) Maharajasa prachachhasa tratarasa Palisinasa (PMC, Pl. V. 372 or Paliksinasa (NC 1940, p. 107, No. 7).

35. Strato I Soter Epiphanes Dikaios
   (a) Tp. 2: \( \text{B} \text{A} \text{S} \text{I} \text{L} \text{E} \text{O} \text{Σ} \text{ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΣΤΡΑΤΩΝΟΣ} = \) Maharajasa tratarasa Stratasa (BMC, Pl. X. 12).
   (b) Tp. 6: \( \text{B} \text{A} \text{S} \text{I} \text{L} \text{E} \text{O} \text{Σ} \text{ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΣΤΡΑΤΩΝΟΣ} = \) Maharajasa tratarasa dhramikasa Stratasa (NC 1923, Pl. XVI. 3). In this case the Prakrit epithet dhramikasa is extra, as there is no equivalent Greek term on the obverse.
   (c) Tp. 12: \( \text{B} \text{A} \text{S} \text{I} \text{L} \text{E} \text{O} \text{Σ} \text{ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ ΣΤΡΑΤΩΝΟΣ} = \) Maharajasa tratarasa dhramikasa Stratasa (NC 1923, Pl. XV. 11.) On some coins KAI is written between \( \text{ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ} \) and \( \text{ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ} \) (NC 1948, Pl. VIII. 5).
   (d) Tp. 21: \( \text{B} \text{A} \text{S} \text{I} \text{L} \text{E} \text{O} \text{Σ} \text{ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ} \text{ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΣΤΡΑΤΩΝΟΣ} = \) Maharajasa prachachhasa tratarasa Stratasa (NC 1923, Pl. XVI. 2). For legends on joint coins see 'Agathocleia with Strato I' above.

36. Strato II Soter
   (a) Tp. 1: \( \text{B} \text{A} \text{S} \text{I} \text{L} \text{E} \text{O} \text{Σ} \text{ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΣΤΡΑΤΩΝΟΣ} = \) Maharajasa tratarasa Stratasa (PMC, Pl. V. 361).

37. Strato II Soter with Strato III Philopator
   (a) Tps. 1-2: (obv.) Corrupt Greek legend. (Rev.) Maharajasa or
Introduction

Maharajanam tratarasa Stratasa potrasa chasa priyapita Stratasa
(Corolla Numismatica, Pl. XII. 12, 13).

38. Telephus Euergetes

(a) Tp. 1: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΟΥ ΘΗΛΕΦΟΥ = Maharajasa
kalanakramasa Teliphasa (PMC, Pl. IX. x).

39. Theophilus Autokrator Dikaios

(a) Tp. 1: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΟΣ ΘΕΟΦΙΛΟΥ (JNSI,
XVII, Pl. VI. 5).

(b) Tp. 2: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ ΘΕΟΦΙΛΟΥ = Maharajasa dhram-
ikasa Theophilasa (PMC, Pl. IX. viii).

40. Zoilus I Dikaios

(a) Tp. 1: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ ΖΩΙΛΟΥ = Maharajasa dhrami-
kasā Jhoilasa (NC 1947, Pl. I. 7).

41. Zoilus II Soter

(a) Tp. 1: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΕΩΣΘΡΟΣ ΖΩΙΛΟΥ = Maharajasa tratar-
asa Jhoilasa (BMC, Pl. XII. 11).

(b) Tp. 5: (obv.) No Greek legend. (Rev.) Maharajasa tratarasa
Jhoilasa (PMC, Pl. VII. 546).

F. ARRANGEMENT OF LEGEND

Bactrian (monolingual) coins bear legends only on the reverse.
Earlier coins having simple and short legends would show them in two
straight lines, written vertically or horizontally, according to the space
permitted by the reverse devices. As the reverse of the gold and silver
coins bore generally the standing figure of a deity, two straight vertical
lines on either sides of the device were convenient (cf. coins of Diodo-
tus, Euthydemus I, Demetrius I, Euthydemus II, Demetrius II,
Pantaleon, and Eu克拉底底II). The arrangement is found on the
cupro-nickel and copper coins of Euthydemus II, which bear
the tripod-lebes on the reverse. Regular silver coins of Antimachus I,
though they bear the additional epithet ΘΕΟΣ, also have the legend in
two perpendicular straight lines. This is also the case with the unique
Attic tetradrachm of Menander I, whereon his royal title and epithet
(ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΕΩΣΘΡΟΣ) are written to the right of the reverse figure
of the thundering Athena, and his name to her left (just below the
aegis), so that the lack of symmetry is little felt.
On the so-called "pedigree" coins of Antimachus I and Agathocles the principle of the above arrangement of legend remained practically unchanged. The obverse bearing the portraits of Alexander, etc., has the name and the respective significant epithet of the person commemorated written in two vertical straight lines on either sides of the bust, while the reverse bears in two similar straight lines the respective royal title and the name of the issuer with additional epithet ΘΕΟΣ or ΔΙΚΑΙΟΣ written in the lower exergue (see for Antimachus I, BMC, Pl. XXX.6, and for Agathocles, BMC, Pl. IV.2 and 3). This peculiar arrangement of legend is also found on the Attic silver coins of Heliocles and a unique Attic tetradrachm of Agathocles (JNSI, Vol. XVI, p. 184, Pl. II.1).

But where the device was depicted as sidewise elongated, such as the "Mounted Dioskuroi" on Eucratides' silver coins (BMC, Pl. V.6) or the horse or panther on the minor coins of Euthydemus or Agathocles, the legends were written horizontally in two straight lines—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΟΣ above, and the king's name below, the device.

With the adoption of an additional epithet by Eucratides I (ΜΕΓΑΣ) and two members of his family—Eucratides II (ΣΩΤΗΡ) and Plato (ΕΠΙΦΑΝΗΣ)—difficulty arose in accommodating the long legends in traditional straight lines: the legends had to be arranged in different fashions. Eucratides I accordingly split up the legend on his coins in two parts. The upper part consisting of the royal title and epithet (ΒΑΣΙΛΕΟΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ) was written in a semi-circle, while the king's name was written in the lower exergue in a straight line. Some of the rare Attic tetradrachms of Plato, Antialcidas, Philoxenus, Archebious, Theophilus, Amyntas and Hermæus bear legends similarly arranged.

Again, Plato (Tp. 7) and Eucratides II (Tp. 3) in Bactria, and Lysias (Tp. 7) and Antialcidas (Tp. 3) in India, struck some monolingual Attic coins, which bear the legend in yet another fashion,—it being written continuously in about three-quarters of a circle above the reverse device.

The arrangement of the legend introduced by Eucratides I in Bactria was finally adopted for the round bilingual coins of all his contemporaries and successors in India. There was, however, a slight modification,
Introduction

The king's name was written in exergue in a curved line, not in a straight line, as on some of Euclaitides' "Pedigree" coins (Tp. 1).

On a few silver coins of Menander I and Strato I and on all silver coins of Antimachus II the Greek and (or?) Kharoshthi legends were written continuously round the devices.

For obvious reasons, on square coins of the Indo-Greek, Indo-Scythian and Indo-Parthian kings the legends were written in straight lines on three or (rarely) four sides of the coins. On a few round coins of Apollodotus II, however, the legend is written in three straight lines (Tp. 5).

G. IRREGULAR GREEK LETTERS

Our coins show only capital letters. They have the ordinary form on Bactrian coins, but on coins of India there are some cases of irregular letters. We find one variant each for alpha (A'), zeta (Z'), theta (Θ'), pi (Π'), tau (Τ') and phi (Φ') and two for sigma (Σ' and Σ") and omicron (Ο' and Ω') and three for omega (Ω', Ω" and Ω"').

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A' = A</th>
<th>Z' = Ζ</th>
<th>Θ' = Θ</th>
<th>Π' = Π</th>
<th>Τ' = Τ</th>
<th>Φ' = Φ</th>
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<tr>
<td>Σ&quot; = Σ</td>
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Fig. 1. Irregular forms of Greek letters.

These irregular Greek letters are found on coins of as many as 14 rulers.

Agathocleia's recently discovered drachm (Tp. 2) — TMA, pp. 77, 87, No. 9 Pl. VIII. 17 — has A'.

Antialcidas: PMC, Pl. III. 172 (Tp. 6b) shows Σ' and Ω'. On a second coin of Antialcidas, PMC, Pl. IV. 212 (Tp. 13) we find again Σ".

A BM coin of Apollodotus II shows T': NC 1923, p. 313, note 23. Two coins of Archebios show dots for omicron (Ο") — BMC, p. 33, Nos 7-8: No 7 Pl. IX. 7 (Tp. 10).

Φ' forms part of a countermark on an Attic drachm of Demetrius I: NC 1951, Pl. IV. 15 (Tp. 2).

Epander's coin—NC 1947, p. 46, No. 9 Pl. I. 9 (Tp. 2)—has Π'.

A coin of Hermaeus—PMC, No. 683 (Tp. 8) — shows both Σ" and Ω',

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Two types of Hippostratus' coins show $O^1$: PMC, Pl. VIII. 606, 610 (Tp. 1 and Tp. 7).

A coin of Menander II shows $O^2$—BMC, p. 50, No. 74 (Tp. 4).

Besides showing ordinary letter-forms, coins of Nicias bear irregular forms of sigma, omega and omicron. While the coin, PMC, No. 600 (Tp. 6) has $\delta^1$ and $\Omega^1$, the coin PMC, No. 602 (Tp. 7) simultaneously shows $\Sigma^2$, $\Omega^2$ and $O^1$.

A coin struck with the names of Strato II and Strato III—PMC, Pl. VIII. 643 (Tp. 7)—bears $\Sigma^1$.

On a BM coin of Theophilus we find $\Theta^1$: PMC, Pl. IX. viii (Tp. 2).

A coin of Zoilus I has $Z^1$: NC 1947, Pl. I. 7 (Tp. 7).

At least one coin of Zoilus II—PMC, Pl. VII. 545 (Tp. 2)—bears $\Omega^2$.

Thus $\Delta^1$: Agathoclea (Tp. 2); $Z^1$: Zoilus I (Tp. 1); $\Theta^1$: Theophilus (Tp. 2); $O^1$: Hermaeus (Tp. 8), Hippostratus (Tp. 1), Nicias (Tp. 7); $O^2$: Archebius (Tp. 10), Menander II (Tp. 4); $\Pi^1$: Epander (Tp. 2); $\Sigma^1$: Antialcidas (Tp. 6b); Nicias (Tp. 6) Strato II with Strato III (Tp. 1); $\Sigma^2$: Antialcidas (Tp. 13), Hermaeus (Tp. 8), Nicias (Tp. 7); $T^1$: Apollodorus II; $\Omega^1$: Antialcidas (Tp. 6b), Nicias (Tp. 6); $\Omega^2$: Nicias (Tp. 7); and $\Omega^3$: Zoilus II (Tp. 2).

**MONOGRAMS**

**A. THEIR IMPORTANCE**

Almost all the coins under discussion bear curious marks or symbols, commonly referred to as 'monograms'. But one monogram may be found on different coins of more than one king. On the other hand, one and the same type of coins often shows different monograms on different specimens. Their precise meaning being unknown, scholars have offered various solutions to the problem of these monograms since 1738, when Bayer published the first Bactrian tetradrachm of Eucratides I showing a monogram (M 59). "If these could be read and interpreted", says Gardner, "there can be no doubt that they would afford us most valuable information. But these present the greatest difficulties" (BMC, p. 1v).

**B. EARLIEST STUDY OF A MONOGRAM**

A large number of these monograms are apparently composed of two

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*For coins without any monogram see App. 2.*
or more Greek letters. What these Greek letters meant in ancient days we do not know. Bayer read in them a date. The monogram (M 59) on Eucratides' coins was supposed to represent $H$ and $P$, and denote a date—108 of the Bactrian era. But this monogram may as well be differently interpreted—$H I P$, $I H P$, etc. Moreover, "as it seems to be repeated on the coins of different princes, it cannot represent a date" (Ari. Ant., p. 238).

C. Later Studies

(a) Cunningham's View

Cunningham pointed out that "all the mint monograms which are common to a number of different princes, can only be the names of cities, and cannot possibly be the names either of magistrates or of mint-masters, or of any other functionaries." He seems to have based much of his theory on Müller's researches (CASE, p. 49). He accordingly tried to read in the monograms the names of the cities that they represented. Without any clue, his attempts were apt to be somewhat arbitrary. He had, however, to "admit the difficulty of satisfactorily deciphering some of the monograms, in consequence of the variety of readings, of which they are susceptible" (CASE, p. 52). He further admitted that not all, "or even half of the monograms that occur on the coins of the Bactrian or Arian Greeks are the names of mint-cities" (CASE, pp. 51 f.). Moreover, since Cunningham's days a large number of new monograms have been added to the list. Existence of too many mint-cities is not believable. Modern scholars have, therefore, practically discarded his theory.

(b) Gardner's View

Conscious of the importance of these monograms, but unable at the same time to guess their meaning, Gardner reproduced them in his British Museum Catalogue (1886) along with the descriptions of coins he noticed. He acknowledged "the possibility that many of the Greek monograms may stand for the names of the mints." But he would not proceed further with Cunningham and try to decipher those names "until the find-spots of Bactrian and Indian coins are far more exactly recorded than they have hitherto been" (BMC, p.lvi).
(c) Rapson’s View

Rapson also in his “Notes on Indian Coins and Seals,” JRAS 1905, p. 788, criticised Cunningham’s theory. He cited the case of the overstruck Kaviśīye nagara-devatā coin, which bears M 47 for Apollodotus’ understrike and M 38 for Eucratides’ overstrike. Neither of the two monograms can be resolved into the letters which would go to make any possible Greek equivalent to the name Kāpiśī. “But while Gen. Cunningham’s theory as to the nature of these monograms,” he remarks, “seems to break down in the solitary instance in which it can be tested, it must not be hastily assumed that a study and comparison of these monograms can yield no good results from the point of view of topography or history. Whatever be the correct interpretation of these monograms, whether they be the marks of moneyers or they denote certain issues of the coinage, the occurrence of the same monogram on the coins of different kings certainly raises a presumption that they were closely connected in some manner, either locally or chronologically.”

(d) Whitehead’s View

Whitehead, one of the greatest authorities on Graeco-Bactrian and Indo-Greek coins, has remarked on these monograms differently on different occasions. “The Greek monogram,” he said in NNM 13, pp. 26-27, “may denote the name of the local magistrate under whose authority the coin was struck, or sometimes the mint.” “The coin monograms which persist through a number of reigns,” he pointed again in NC 1923, p. 311, “cannot be interpreted as magistrates’ names; they should rather be regarded as the names of mints.” This view was accepted by Macdonald in CHI, p. 443.

Whitehead also referred to some “outstanding monograms which are probably those of mint-towns.” He thus recognised 4 such monograms—K₂ (M 29), K₃ (M 233), K₄ (M 236) and K₅ (M 162) representing respectively Nicaea, Ophiane, Ortospanum and Kartana, which along with K₁ (M 71) are found on coins of superior style discussed above. These monograms are characteristic of the kings ruling in the upper Kabul valley (Paropamisadae) or the western Yavana domains. Seven other monograms—G₁ (M 76), G₂ (M 42), G₃ (M 44), G₄ (M 127), G₅ (M 204), G₆ (M 120) and G₇ (M 231) are

1 NC 1923, p. 314.  
2 Ibid., pp. 311-12.
Introduction

representative of coins of intermediate style, struck in the Gandhāra region or the middle Yavana domains\(^1\). M 189, M 251 and M 4 as well as Kharoshthī monograms are characteristic of coins of inferior style, struck in the Punjab region or the eastern Yavana domains\(^2\).

Referring to the above monograms, Whitehead again says (NC 1950, p. 206), "if the scope is limited to the main mints, I would now place \(K_1\) to \(K_5\) (except \(K_4\)) [i.e. M 71, M 29, M 233 and M 162] at Begram: \(K_4\) and \(G_1\) to \(G_6\) [i.e. M 236, M 76, M 42, M 44, M 127, M 204 and M 120] at Charsadda: \(G_7\) and the marks on p. 314 [i.e. M 231, M 189, M 251 and M 4] east of the Indus, probably all at Taxila (with a possibility of Bucephala) except M 251. The last mark now not necessarily denote Sākala except on semi-barbarous Strato, Apollonophanes and Zoilus Soter. Cunningham, Coins of Ancient India, Pl. IV. 3."

(e) Tarn's Theory

The theory that monograms which persist through a number of reigns represent mints has been criticised by Tarn (GBI, Appendix 1). "There is nothing in this," he says. He believes that he can explain the difficulty and maintains that the monograms are not the names of mints. If a monogram (e.g. M 162) lasted too long for the life-time of a single moneyer (or "the superintendent of the mint"), then we have to suppose that one moneyer was succeeded by another of the same name. Tarn thinks, as a matter of fact, that M 162 was the signature of a man with a favourite Greek name. Originally one man, initials of whose name consisted of the composite letters of M 162 (or \(P\) and \(K\)), was connected with the mint at Bactra, where he worked for about 33 years. Then another man of the same name worked for Apollodotus, Menander and Antimachus II in India, and a third man, "possibly a grandson of the first, signs coins of two later members of the house of Eucratides, Antialcidas and Archebicus, with the same monogram."

For the above assertions Tarn takes the clue from the mint-system of the Seleucid empire, of which Bactria, like Parthia, was a succession state. Bactria must have followed the customs of the Seleucid empire so far as an important affair like minting of coins was concerned. In Seleucid coins "the monograms are those of continuing mint-masters

\(^1\) NC 1923, pp. 312-13.  
\(^2\) Ibid., p. 314.
and changing city-magistrates." "And it is admitted that the monograms on the coinage of Parthia, the principal Seleucid succession state, are usually those of moneyers." Tarn, therefore, believes that the monograms on the coins of Bactria and India also represent the names of moneyers—mint-masters or city-magistrates. "That the Bactrian and Indian monograms must also be," says he, "anyhow as a general rule, those of moneyers—mint-masters or city-magistrates—seems to me almost too clear for argument; the Kharoshthi letters (instead of monograms) on some of the later Greek coins of India (p. 356) should alone be conclusive." If the monograms represented mints, then some petty princes, argues Tarn, also operated too many mints, as monograms of their coins would signify. This is hardly believable to Tarn. He maintains that, quite in keeping with the position in the Seleucid and Parthian realms, there were very few regular mints in the Greek territories in Bactria and India.

Tarn, however, does not totally disregard the "Work-shops or Officinæ" theory of Wroth, as suggested with regard to the monograms of Parthian coins. "While not asserting," he says, "that all Bactrian and Indian monograms must necessarily represent moneyers—an alternative might be that some represented officinae, workshops, of which a great city might have more than one—I see no reason to suppose that they ever denote mint-cities." He is, of course, not sure "if any monogram occurs which is sufficiently stereotyped to denote an officina." In this connection he refers to McDowell’s suggestion that the stereotyped monograms on later Parthian coins "were at the start moneyers’ monograms which became stereotyped to mean certain mints." Tarn terms this suggestion "attractive".

Bivar has accepted Tarn’s theory (NC1951, pp. 22-23). Bachhofer (JAOS 1941, pp. 235 ff.) has also made a skilful use of Tarn’s view and shown that Apollodotus II lost parts of his territory to Mauces since two of his moneyers passed into the service of Mauces, and ended by working for his successor Azes, who again captured two of Hippostratus’ mint-masters.

(f) Oman’s View

Sir Charles Oman, however, thinks otherwise and, to quote White-
head (NC 1950, p. 208), "prefers a mint place as the equivalent of a monogram, repeated on the money of a number of kings." Sir Charles thinks that "in cases where the monogram used by a Greek king appears on Śaka money, the survival of the mint is more likely than that of the mint-master." Whitehead agrees, under these circumstances, with the opinion of Sir Charles Oman.

(g) Whitehead's Conclusion
In a note on the coins found in Taxila, Whitehead has for the last time discussed the meaning of the monograms (see Taxila, p. 830). "In the matter of monograms," he says, "we have progressed from the attitude of Cunningham to that of Dr. Tarn, who see[s] no reason to suppose that Bactrian and Indian monograms ever denote mint cities. The truth probably lies between these two views."

(h) Simonetta’s Study
Sr. Alberto Simonetta has recently discussed these monograms in East and West, Year VIII, pp. 55-66. At the outset he accepts the view that the Greek monograms or the Kharoshṭhī aksharas which appear in the field or in the exergue of the Indo-Greek coins are the ‘signatures’ of magistrates or of moneyers, and that certain monograms could become hereditary in some families and be, therefore, used over long period of time (cf. GBI, p. 440). Simonetta then formulates four general principles:

(1) Considering the possible ways by which the Greek letters of a given name can combine to form a monogram, the chance of finding two or more persons using the same monogram without being somewhat connected is rather slight and such a case, if any, would be a rare coincidence.

(2) A monogram used over a considerable length of time may, eventually, have been used in more than one mint as the family using it may have moved from one on to another.

(3) The larger the number of monograms shared by two kings the closer be the connection between the two.

(4) If one of the two monograms, as occur on some coins, is known to have been used at a particular mint, it may be assumed that the other too was used in the same mint.
On the basis of the above principles Simonetta has made ‘a new attempt to work out the regal lists of the Greek suzerains [of Bactria and India] and to identify the place of issue of their coins.’ His study has yielded interesting results.

D. Complexities of the Monograms

The complexities of these monograms, only the Greek types of which number over 400, are bewildering. While the majority of the Greek-type monograms are apparently composed of Greek letters, some at least look like symbols (e.g. M 171 and M 197).

These monograms generally occur on the reverse of a coin. Coins which bear monograms on the obverse alone or both on the obverse and reverse are rare. They do not occur always at the same place. While they are generally seen either at the right or left of the main device, there are many instances where they occur in the exergue or on the upper left or right field of the coin.

As has been pointed out by several scholars, some of the monograms persist through a number of reigns. Their respective forms, however, are not always the same; they seem to undergo slight variations (cf. M 20 and M 21; M 102 and M 104; M 109 and M 110).

Though one coin generally bears one monogram, we sometimes find two monograms on the same specimen. Quite a large number of coins, again, bears one or more detached Greek or Kharoshthi letters. We give below a rough analysis of the various positions of the monogram(s) and (or) detached Greek and (or) Kharoshthi letters:

A. Obverse:

(i) 1 Mon.

1. Antimachus II (Tp. 7) — BMC, p. 55, Nos. 3, 5, 8.

(ii) Two Greek letters

1. Apollodotus I (Tp. 3) — BMC, p. 34, No. 12.

B. Obverse Reverse

(i) 1 Mon. 2 Kh. letters:

1. Apollodotus II (Tp. 3) — BMC, p. 38, No. 10 Pl. X. 5.

**Introduction**

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<td>(ii)</td>
<td>1 Mon.</td>
<td>1 Gk. letter</td>
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<tr>
<td>(iii)</td>
<td>1 Mon.</td>
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<tr>
<td>(iv)</td>
<td>1 Mon.</td>
<td>1 Mon.</td>
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<td>(v)</td>
<td>1 Gk. letter</td>
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<td>(vi)</td>
<td>1 Gk. letter</td>
<td>1 Mon.</td>
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<td>(vii)</td>
<td>1 Kh. letter</td>
<td>1 Kh. letter</td>
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<tr>
<td>(viii)</td>
<td>2 Gk. letters</td>
<td>1 Mon.</td>
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**C. Reverse:**

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<td>(i)</td>
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<td>(ii)</td>
<td>1 Mon. and 1 Gk. letter</td>
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<td>(iii)</td>
<td>1 Mon. and 3 Gk. letters</td>
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(1) Philoxenus (*Tp. 9*)—*BMC*, p. 57, No. 11.
(1) Apollodotus I (*Tp. 3*)—*BMC*, p. 34, No. 3 Pl.IX.9.
(2) Philoxenus (*Tp. 9*)—*BMC*, p. 57, No. 16.
(1) Menander I (*Tp. 25*)—*BMC*, p. 50, No. 72.
(1) Apollodotus I (*Tp. 3*)—*BMC*, p. 34, No. 9.

Almost all kings.

(1) Antialcidas (*Tp. 11*)—*BMC*, p. 27, No. 19 Pl.VIII. 2.
(3) Diomedes (*Tp. 6*)—*BMC*, p. 31, No. 6.
(6) Lysias (*Tp. 3*)—*BMC*, p. 29, No. 1 Pl.VIII. 5.
(7) Menander I (*Tp. 3*)—*BMC*, p. 44, No. 5 Pl.XI. 8.
(8) Philoxenus (*Tp. 3*)—*BMC*, p. 56, No. 3 Pl.XIII.6.
(1) Plato (*Tp. 2.*)—*BMC*, p. 20, No. 1 Pl. VI. 11.
(iv) 1 Mon. and 1 Kh. letter

1. Apollodotus II (Tp. 2) — BMC, p. 37, No. 7.
5. Zoilus II (Tp. 1) — BMC, p. 52, No. 3 Pl. XIII.11.

(v) 1 Mon. and 2 Kh. letters

1. Apollophonnes (Tp. 2) — BMC, p. 54, No. 1 Pl. XIII. 1.

(vi) 2 Mons.

1. Apollodotus II (Tp. 8) — BMC, p. 38, No. 11.
2. Archebius (Tp. 5) — BMC, p. 32, No. 5 Pl. IX. 5.
3. Demetrius I (Tp. 2a) — BMC, p. 6, No. 7.
5. Hermaeus (Tp. 2a) — BMC, p. 63, No. 22.

(vii) 2 Mons. and 1 Kh. letter


(viii) 2 or more Gk. letters

1. Apollodotus I (Tp. 4) — BMC, p. 36, No. 30 (3 letters).
2. Eucratides II (Tp. 1) — BMC, p. 13, No. 5 Pl. V. 5.
(ix) 1 Gk. letter

(4) Heliocles (Tp. 1)—BMC, p. 21, No. 8 Pl. VII. 3.
(5) Pantaleon (Tp. 2)—BMC, p. 9, No. 1.
(1) Agathocles (Tp. 7)—BMC, p. 11, No. 7 Pl. IV. 7.
(2) Apollodotus I (Tp. 4)—BMC, p. 36, No. 37.
(3) Demetrius I (Tp. 2b)—BMC, p. 6, No. 8.
(4) Diomedes (Tp. 6)—BMC, p. 31, No. 7.
(5) Eucratides I (Tp. 5)—BMC, p. 15, No. 24.
(6) Heliocles (Tp. 5)—BMC, p. 23, No. 23 Pl. VII. 6.
(7) Menander I (Tp. 19)—BMC, p. 48, No. 58.
(8) Pantaleon (Tp. 3)—BMC, p. 9, No. 2 Pl. III. 8.

(x) 2 or more Kh. letters

(1) Dionysius (Tp. 5)—BMC, p. 51, No. 2.
(2) Strato II (Tp. 1)—BMC, p. 40, No. 6, and BMC, p. 40, No. 9 Pl. X. 14.
(3) Zoilus II (Tp. 2)—BMC, p. 53, No. 9 Pl. XII. 12.

Instances of one particular monogram occurring on more than one king's coins are not few. Thus¹:

(i) M 162 occurs on coins of 14 kings.
(ii) M 75 occurs on coins of 10 kings.
(iii) M 234 occurs on coins of 9 kings.
(iv) M 29 and M 233 occur each on coins of 8 kings.
(v) M 73 and M 102 occur each on coins of 7 kings.

¹ For a more exhaustive list with references see App. 2.
(vi) M 42 and M 165 occur each on coins of 6 kings.
(vii) M 71, M 127, M 236 and M 247 occur on coins of 5 kings.
(viii) M 45, M 72, M 76, M 77, M 163, M 204 and M 214 occur each on coins of 4 kings.
(ix) M 18, M 21, M 109, M 113, M 189, M 199, M 228 and M 230 occur each on coins of 3 kings.
(x) At least 30 monograms occur each on coins of 2 kings.

E. LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY OF MONOGRAMS

The reading of the monograms is more difficult than the reading of a legend. We can restore a legend of a particular type of coin from a similar specimen; but we do not get any clue for the restoration of the form of a monogram, as different specimens of the same type of coins may bear different monograms. The exact rendering of a monogram is all the more difficult because we know neither its meaning nor its context (if any). Under the circumstances, description of a monogram is highly unreliable, and we hardly get the mechanical reproductions of coins having different monograms. In many cases the actual form of a monogram becomes difficult to ascertain due to careless engraving. And it is not also unlikely that one monogram, because of its illegibility, is mistaken for another. Seasoned numismatists may sometimes take one monogram for another with similar form. The monogram on the 20-stater piece of Eucratides I, as will be seen later, has been differently described by Cunningham and Whitehead; and Seltman has even taken it for another, which does not exist.

FORAGEY

It is necessary in this connection to say a few words about forgeries, which are very common now-a-days. To prove or disprove a theory on numismatic evidence one must choose a genuine coin.

A few years back I saw a tetradrachm of Eucratides I with a Rawalpindi coin-dealer, now residing in Delhi. It was of the "Diademed bust and Dioskuroi" type (Tρ. 2 of Eucratides I) with the simple title ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ. In a hurry I could not examine the coin closely, but took a plaster-of-Paris cast. It shows a head exactly similar to that of the coin illustrated in CHI, Pl. IV. 9. I was at first inclined to see
an obvious link between Tp. 2 of Eucratides I and Tp. 1 of Eucratides II. But on a closer examination of another exactly similar piece in the collection of a Calcutta gentleman, evidently secured from the above Rawalpindi dealer, I found that the specimen was an ingenious forgery—a "mule" skilfully produced with the obverse and reverse types of two different coins! It at once reminded me of another such forgery, published and illustrated by Rapson in the *Corolla Numismatica*, p. 251, Pl. XII. 8.

Since the early thirties of the nineteenth century when people first began to take keen interest in such coins, some of the unscrupulous dealers have been deceiving collectors of coins by such forgeries. At first when the knowledge about different weight standards was poor, an unsuspecting collector was often duped with silver or gold casts of copper and silver originals. Raoul Rochette detected some such forgeries as early as 1839 (*Jour. des Sav.*, Feb., 1839). Cunningham wrote about such pieces (specially about Kushân forgeries) in his articles published in the *JASB* 1840. Wilson accordingly warned collectors in *Ari. Ant.* (1841) p. 278, against forgeries of this kind.

Dealers have now almost given up such tactics. But other types of forgeries have become widespread. Coly's diary of "March 3rd, 1846" (as quoted by Whitehead in *NC* 1923, p. 310, note 18) spoke of "Jews in Cabul who are very clever in counterfeiting the ancient Greek and Bactrian coins." Speaking of forgeries Wilson also said in 1841, "The coiners of Hindustan are beginning to take advantage of the anxiety of collectors to procure 'rare' coins, and are evidently at work to supply them."

By the beginning of the second half of the nineteenth century rare Eucratides coins had begun to be forged. As stated in *PE II*, p. 184, Thomas saw casts of Heliocles-Laodice tetradrachms (Tp. 1 of Eucratides I) with two collectors. And by 1869 Cunningham had seen five casts of a coin of the same type before he secured the 'original' (*NC* 1869, p. 222; *CHI*, p. 465, Pl. IV. 3).

For obvious reasons early dealers, specially of the nineteenth century, would take recourse to cast forgeries. They could actually handle original coins and prepare their casts. They would sell the original to the seasoned collectors at high prices, and keep the casts for their
less suspecting brethren. "Fortunately for the collectors," said Whitehead in 1914 (PMC, p. 8), "the forger as a rule confines his energies to making casts of known specimens, especially of Bactrian tetradrachm and Indian didrachm."

But the originals ultimately getting out of reach, some dealers soon took recourse to die-struck imitations. By 1914 Whitehead had seen die-struck imitations, specially of the tetradrachm of Antimachus I and the "Diodotus" pedigree tetradrachm of Agathocles.

But the position has worsened considerably since Whitehead wrote the PMC. Die-struck imitations in gold and silver of all the known big coins of Eucratides I are available in the market. I have seen two different die-struck forgeries of the "Javelin-thruster" tetradrachm of Eucratides I (Tp. 9). There was a Heliocles-Laodice die-struck forgery in the collection of Mr P. Roersch, ex-Consul General of Belgium in Calcutta. It was purchased in Delhi. The Rawalpindi coin-dealer who showed me the Eucratides "mule", also, to my amusement, produced before me an exactly similar Heliocles-Laodice tetradrachm. I then knew the source of Mr Roersch's coin.

I have since then seen several die-struck forgeries of Tp. 10 of Eucratides I, some with unusual monograms. But the most interesting die-struck imitations are perhaps the two Attic tetradrachms (Tp. 2 of Eucratides I and Tp 1 of Eucratides II) published in JNSI, Vol. XIII, pp. 215-16, Pl. XI. 1, 2. I saw and examined those coins while displayed at the Gwalior Session of the Indian History Congress in 1952.

Professor K. de B. Codrington of the London School of Oriental and African Studies told me in Jaipur in 1951 that he had seen two casts of Eucratides' 20-stater piece in Afghanistan. I have myself seen a good die-struck Eucratides imitation in gold (Tp. 8). The piece weighs about 5 tolas and has the king's helmeted bust to the right.

Rare and unique types of Indo-Greek coins, specially tetradrachms, discovered within the last 20 years, are largely forged. I have seen cast-forgeries of most of the coins published by Whitehead since 1940. Die-struck imitations of certain types of coins are also common. One should note with care Whitehead's remarks in this respect in the pages of the Punjab Museum Catalogue of Coins, Vol. I.
IMITATIONS OR ANCIENT FORGERIES

Besides the modern forgeries discussed above, ancient forgeries or the so-called ‘barbarous imitations’ are well-known. Degraded copies of the then popular Bactrian coins of Euthydemos I and Heliocles, and Indian coins of Hermaeus have often been commented upon, while a few other stray antique pieces of dubious origin seem to have passed unnoticed. With the discovery of the Qunduz and the Mir Zakah hoards, it is now evident that the ancient forger’s attention was not confined to the issues of Euthydemos I, Heliocles or Hermaeus alone; he picked up coins of other kings and forged them as well. Counterfeit coins as a rule, are of inferior execution. Silver copies of the tetradrachms of Euthydemos I as well as copper imitations of the silver coins of Heliocles are excellent illustrations of the way in which fine numismatic types can be degraded by unskilled copyists. In a few cases, however, forged coins are of good workmanship.

Except in the case of Heliocles whose teradrachms were crudely copied in copper, the counterfeiter debased silver currencies in two ways: (1) by first preparing die-struck or cast copper replicas and then silver-plating them, and (2) by fabricating die-struck copies in more or less debased silver. Of copper prototypes, he would prepare—(1) copies without altering the types or legends, and (2) hybrid imitations with some novelty in the types or legends or by inserting monograms unusual for the king concerned.

It is now clear that the plated coins became the most successful form of counterfeiting during the Indo-Greek period, for besides the hitherto known plated coins of Demetrius I, Antimachus I (?), Euthydemos II, Heliocles, Philoxenus and Hermaeus, the Mir Zakah Treasure has yielded fresh plated coins of Apollodotus I, Antialcidas, Menander I, Antimachus II, Archebius, Hermaeus, Apollodotus II and Zeilus II (see TMA, pp. 75-79). Obviously meant for duping the unsuspecting public, these silver-plated copper coins, as also the forged imitations, did not originate in the royal mints. They must have been produced in the dens of ingenious forgers who worked with simple tools and rarely had elaborate technical training (see G. L. Hart, Counterfeiting in India, p. 7). However, we would notice here instances of ancient forgeries of the Greek coins of Bactria and India,
Fogerics

Tetradrachms of Euthydemus I were extensively forged. While some of these forged coins are of semi-barbarous to barbarous execution, there are some comparatively well-stuck pieces which when closely examined, betray signs of imitation; as for example, the tetradrachm published in IMC, Pl. I. 3 is too conventional to have been a normal issue of Euthydemus’ own mint; similarly, another Kabul Museum tetradrachm (as seen from a photograph) is endowed with features anatomically different from those of Euthydemus I.

Of Demetrius I, the silver-plated BMC coin No. 4 of the size of Attic tetradrachm but of much lighter weight (220.2 grains) is of questionable authenticity, while the semi-barbarous piece, NC 1951, p. 34, Pl. IV. 22 (BMC, No. 5) is but a forged copy of Demetrius’ normal tetradrachm.

Antimachus I’s superb BM tetradrachm, Pl. VI. 3, when compared with its Qunduz counterpart, JNSI, XVII, Pl. II. 3, shows that the latter is only a weak copy of the former. The plated hemidrachm, JASB, IX, p. 87, must also have had its origin outside the royal mint. Similarly, the silver-plated Attic drachm of Euthydemus II, BMC, Pl. III. 4, though apparently a fine specimen seems to be of doubtful authenticity.

Many of the Bactrian silver pieces with the name and types of Eucratides I are but barbarous imitations. The crude drachms, PMC, Pl. II. 69 and WKSC, Pl. X. 958, cannot compare well with their excellent BM counterpart, BMC, Pl. V. 9. Genuineness of a third drachm, BMC, p. 14, No. 18, with blundered royal title is not beyond suspicion. Similarly, many Kabul Museum tetradrachms (as seen from photographs) betray a sort of unskilled workmanship, quite unbecoming of the master die-sinkers who produced coins like BMC, Pl. V. 6-11.

Crude silver and copper imitations of the Attic tetradrachms of Heliocles’ Type 1 are well-known. Bivar has published a barbarous Qunduz tetradrachm in JNSI, XVII, p. 50, No. 40 Pl. VI. 1. The coin, PMC, p. 28, No. 134, n.1, is probably a similar crude copy. Occurrence of dots for omicrons in the legend of a comparatively crude Kabul Museum tetradrachm is indicative of its being a later imitation. The plated coin, BMC, p. 21, No. 7 of the weight of 205.1 grains is apparently a forged tetradrachm. Attic drachms, with blundered
Introduction

legends, BMC, p. 22, No. 10 and IMC, p. 13, No. 2, do not seem to be genuine pieces. Barbarous copper imitations of the same type of coins are too well-known (see Pl. XX. 2). The unskilled copyists, who produced them, fabricated another equally crude type, on which the standing Zeus is replaced by a horse (see Tp. 4). A few known drachm-sized plated coins of Type 2 with blundered legend must also have been produced by unskilled forgers. So much for the coins of Bactria.

In India, coins of Eucretides I’s Type 20 appear to have been widely copied. Comparatively crude coins with monograms unusual for Eucretides I are obviously contemporary or later imitations. We have seen photographs of some degraded Kabul Museum coins, which were certainly not produced at Eucretides’ own mints. The piece described as ‘a very rude coin’ in IMC, p. 13, No. 28 seems also to be a forged issue. Coins with Kharosti monograms, PMC, Nos. 102, 103, 120 and 128, are apparently of later origin, as occurrence of Kharosti monograms is rather unusual on the coins of an early king like Eucretides I. Coins with the epithet ΣΩΘΗΠ written in cursive characters, as recorded in Nachfolger Alexanders des Grossen, p. 101, No. 3 and PMC, p. 27, unrep. Tp. x, seem also to have been fabricated at a later time. Coins of Type 21 (NS, XXV, p. 72 N, Pl.3. 5) are undoubtedly crude imitations of the coins of Type 20.

Of Apollodotus I, the two plated Mir Zakah drachms (Tp. 3), the BMC coin No. 33 with blundered legend (Tp. 4) as well as the ‘rude small coin’ (Tp. 5), IMC, p. 21, No. 52 are apparently of suspicious origin. The freak silver piece, JNSI, XIII, p. 217, Pl. XI. 5, is only a barbarous copy of the coins of Menander I. Drachm-sized copper coins of Types 11 and 29 appear to be replicas of Menander’s silver drachms (and might originally have been silver-plated). This hypothesis is strengthened by the fact that two Mir Zakah coins, each of Types 3 and 6 are similarly of the size of drachms and plated in silver. Lysias’ copper coin of Type 8, which has the king’s Greek name wrongly written in the Kharosti way, does not seem to have been struck from dies prepared at the royal mint.

The plated Mir Zakah coins, one each of Antimachus II (Tp. 1), Antialcidas (Tp. 6) and Zoilus II (Tp. 1), and four of Archebius (Tp.3)
must have originated with forgers. Same is apparently the case with Philoxenus’ Plated coin of Type 7, *BMC*, p. 56, No. 8. Drachms of Apollodotus II (both of *Tp.* 2 and *Tp.* 10) seem also to be widely copied, as many of them are too clumsy to be genuine issues (cf. Pl. VII. 12 with Pl. VII. 13, and Pl. VIII. 7 with Pl. VIII. 8); and the plated Mir Zakah coin of Type 2 clearly shows that the coins of Apollodotus II were not outside the forger’s purview.

Coins of Hermaeus were widely copied. The Mir Zakah Treasure alone has produced no less than 23 plated teradrachms and 33 plated drachms—all of Type 2. The excavation at Mir Zakah has also yielded a plated drachm of the same type (see *TMA*, p. 96), while a similar piece was long ago recorded in *BMC*, p. 63, No. 19. There are in the Kabul Museum many crudely imitated specimens amongst the large number of Hermaeus’ drachms, comparable to his semi-barbarous tetradrachm, *NC* 1923, p. 339, Pl. XVII. 11. Then, with regard to Hermaeus’ copper money, it is but obvious that coins of Type 5 evolved, through stages of well-known imitations, into the first issues of Kujula Kadphises (cf. *PMC*, Pl. IX. 666 with Pl. XVIII 1).
CATALOGUE OF COINS
AGATHOCLEIA (THEOTROPOS)

ATTIC STANDARD

Without Name and Title

1. AV. Rd. Bust of Athena in smooth helmet :: Horned owl to right.

In astragalus border, bust of Athena (Agathocleia?) to r., wearing smooth helmet.

Rev. In astragalus border, “large horned owl walking to r. with head facing. To l. A”.


(1) BM: NC 1940, pp. 105-06, No. 5 Pl. VIII. 1. (2) Another Cunningham coin in BM “in inferior condition and artistic merit.” (3-4) Gen. Haughton—“exhibited 2 coins at a meeting of the Royal Numismatic Society held at London on the 18th of May, 1944.” (5) The Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay—“One specimen procured as early as in 1917 from Mrs. Howell”, published by Dr. A. S. Altekar in JNSI, XI, pp. 45-46, Pl. I. 2; also published and discussed by the present author in JNSI, XVI, pp. 190, 195, Pl. I. 31. (6) Banaras Hindu University—1 coin: JNSI, XI, p. 46. (7) Patna Museum (ex Ambuj Banerji)—1 coin.

Var. a: Similar, but the obverse and reverse types are on a bigger scale.


(1) Mr. H. P. Poddar—1 coin, published and discussed by the author in JNSI, XVI, p. 195, Pl. I. 30.

“The type, Athena and her owl, is one of Menander as found on both silver and copper coins. The Athena of this coin (NC 1940, Pl. VIII. 1) does not appear to resemble Menander. It has been noted that the owl of Athena is always a hornless, never a horned or eared species; the bird on the known coins of Menander is of Athenian type. The bird of this gold piece appears to be a horned owl, possibly the Indian eagle owl.” —Whitehead, NC 1940, pp. 105-06.

This very fact that the owl on this gold type is not of the Athenian species indicates that Menander was not its issuer. Moreover, why should this extraordinary gold coin remain anonymous? Menander, if he had struck it at all, would rather be too eager to put his own name on this remarkable coin. It seems, this gold coin was not issued by Menander. See the author’s paper,
Corpus of Indo-Greek Coins

“Coins of Queen Agathoclea and the Attribution of the legendless Indo-Greek Staters,” JNSI, XVI, pp. 189-96.

INDIAN STANDARD

Without Epithet:

2. AR. Rd. Bust of Queen :: Male figure (Warrior) to right.

Bust of queen to r., wearing a ribbon set with minute pearls; on her forehead are two locks of hair, while on the nape of the neck falls a braid of hair, knotted at the end and terminated by little pearls (as on the two Taxila statuettes, JRA 1947, Pl. III); rows of pearls are around the neck; and the shoulders are covered with a mantle at the aperture of which—on the breast—appear folds of an inner garment. Greek legend: (above) ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣΣΗΣ (below) ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΙΑΣ (alphas with slanting bar).

Rev. The figure of a warrior (Strato I?) walking to r., diademed and clad in a very short sleeveless tunic, not covering the knees; he bears shield and lance on the l. arm, while the r. arm is extended; a dagger is on the r. side. Monogram on r. field. Kharosthī legend: (above) Maharajasa tralavasa dhramikasa (below) Stratasa.


(1) Kabul Museum (from Mir Zakah): TMA, pp. 77, 87, No. 9 Pl. VIII. 17 (wt. 2.45 grms, Sz. 17 mm.). Curiel and Schlumberger, who published the coin, hesitate to call the queen’s pearl-set ribbon a diadem, because its diadem-like ends are not visible. But the nature of the ribbon indicates its identity with the diadem, for the diadem, which, according to Whitehead (JNM 13, p. 17), “was originally the blue and white band tied round the tiara of the Persian monarch” ultimately “took the form of a white silk ribbon sometimes embroidered with pearls.” The queen possibly did not let the ends of her diadem fall backwards, but twisted them, like Indian girls of modern times, along with the braid of her hair.

This unique and interesting coin does not bear the epithet ΘΕΟΤΡΟΠΟΣ as on all hitherto known drachms of Agathoclea. The coin therefore must have been struck at a time, when the queen did not assume that epithet. This fact reveals another intermediary position in the career of Agathoclea as queen-regent. As we have already shown, specially in the article referred to above, Agathoclea, when she was not sure of her position, struck the staters with types reminiscent of her husband Menander—‘Helmeted bust of Athena’ and ‘Athenian owl’ (PMC, Pl. VI. 480)—substituting the bust of Athena with her own bust and the Athenian owl with an Indian owl. Next she struck this drachm with her own diademed bust and the figure of the minor Strato as warrior, assuming only the royal title ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣΣΑ. Types 3 and 4 were issued, when she adopted the epithet ΘΕΟΤΡΟΠΟΣ. The rest is clear from Types 5 and 6.
Agathocleia

With Epithet ΘΕΟΤΡΟΠΟΣ:

3. AR. Rd. Bust of Queen :: Male figure (Warrior) to right. Diademmed bust of queen to r., as on No.2. (Above) ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣΣΗΣ ΘΕΟΤΡΟΠΟΥ (below) ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΙΑΣ.

Rev. Figure of a warrior to r., as on No.2. Kh. legend: (above) Maharajasa tratarasa dhramikasa (below) Stratas.

**INDIAN DRACHMS. Pl.1.4. Monogram: 71.**

(1) IMC, p.21, No.1 Pl.IV. 11—very poor. (2) BM: Corolla Numismatica, p.148, Pl.XII. 4; PMC, p.87, Pl.IX. vii and NC 1923, p.331, No.42 Pl.XVI. 6.

Var. a: On some recently discovered Indian drachms the queen’s name is seen written wrongly as ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΙΑΣ instead of ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΙΑΣ.

**INDIAN DRACHMS. Pl.1.5. Monogram: 71.**


4. AE. Sqr. Bust of Queen in smooth helmet :: Herakles seated to left.

“Bust of queen to r. without diadem, but helmeted.” (L) ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣΣΗΣ (top) ΘΕΟΤΡΟΠΟΥ (r) ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΙΑΣ.

Rev. Naked Herakles seated to 1. on a rock with a club on his knee (as on the silver coins of Euthydemus I). Kh. Legend: (r) Maharajasa (top) tratarasa dhrami- (1) kasa Stratasa.

**MEDIUM-SIZED COINS. Pl.1.6. Monogram: 71.**

Prinsep first published Dr Swiney’s then unique coin in JASB, Nov.1836, Pl.XLV. 2; it was also published in Ari. Ant., p.272, Pl.VI. 10. Cunningham acquired it and published it again in NC 1870, p.207, No.1 Pl(C). XI. 8; “only three other specimens known, in E. I. Mus, 128 grs., Brit. Mus., and Mr E. C. Bayley. Thomas No.1” (PEII, p.197, Pl.XXXII. 2).

(1-2) BMC, p.43, No.1 Pl.XI. 6; and No.2 (ex I. O. C., i. e. the above E. I. Mus. specimen). (3) BM: the above Cunningham coin also published and discussed in Corolla Numismatica, p.248, Pl.XII. 3. (4) PMC, p.52, Pl.V. 370. (5) Fitzwilliam Museum (ex W. S. Talbot): NC 1947, p.45, No.8 Pl.I. 8. (6) Mr H. P. Poddar—one coin (also from the Talbot Collection). (7) WKSC, p.9, No.103—whereabouts unknown.

We have quoted here the obverse description as given in the PMC. Dr Whitehead has since changed his view about the identification of the obverse bust, and described the obverse type as “Bust of helmeted Pallas to right; hair in ringlets” (NC 1947, p.45, No.8). Wilson, Gardner and Rapson described
it as the “Bust of Queen Agathoclea,” while Thomas and Cunningham simply say, “Female head, helmeted.”

With Conjugate Busts of Agathoclea and Strato I:

5. AR. Rd. Conjugate busts :: Athena thundering to left.

“Conjugate diademed busts of Strato I and of Agathoclea to r.” (Above) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΣΤΡΑΤΩΝΟΣ (below) ΚΑΙ ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΙΑΣ.

Rev. Athena standing to l., holding aegis on outstretched l. arm and hurling thunderbolt with r. hand (exactly as on Menander’s characteristic silver coins). Kh. legend: (above) Maharajasa tratarasa Stratasa (below) Agathukriäe.


(1) Mr P. Thorburn: NC 1950, p. 215. Fig. This is the only coin to bear the name of Agathoclea in the Prakrit version. No silver or copper coin hitherto known has on the reverse the name of the queen. On this coin her name occurs in both the obverse and the reverse legends, while the coins of Type 6 bear her name—only on the obverse Greek side.

6. AR. Rd. Conjugate busts :: Athena thundering to left.

Conjugate busts of Strato I and of Agathoclea, as on No. 5. (Above) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΣΤΡΑΤΩΝΟΣ (below) ΚΑΙ ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΙΑΣ.

Rev. Athena thundering to l., as on No. 5, but Kh. legend: (above) Maharajasa tratarasa ñhramikasa (below) Stratasa.


(1) BM: NC 1887, p. 183, Pl. VII. 7 (from the Tatta find); Corolla Numismatica, pp. 249-50, Pl. XII. 6; CHI, Pl. VII. 19 (obv); PMC, Pl. X. vi. (2) JMC(S), p. 13, No. 1. (3) BM (ex Whitehead): NC 1923, p. 331, No. 41 Pl. XVI. 5 (from the 1917 Shaikhano Dheri Hoard, which had 4 more coins of the type). (4) Gen. Haughton—1 coin (from the 1940 Shaikhano Dheri Hoard, which had another similar coin): NC 1940, pp. 123 ff.

AGATHOCLES (DIKAIOS)

ATTIC STANDARD

A. Commemorative Coins

1. AR. Rd. Head of Alexander in lion’s scalp :: Enthroned Zeus holding out eagle.

In pellet border, head of Alexander in lion’s scalp to r. (R) ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ.
Agathocles

Rev. Zeus seated on throne to l., holding out eagle and long sceptre. (R) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΟΝΤΟΣ (in exergue) ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ (1) ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ.

(1) BMC, p. 10, No. 1 Pl. IV. 1. (2) BM—another coin; see GBI, p. 447. (3) PMC, p. 16, Pl. II. 41. These coins “have the head not of Alexander but of Heracles (or Alexander as Heracles) wearing the lion’s scalp” (Tain).

2. AR. Rd. Head of Antiochus :: Zeus thundering to left and eagle.

In pellet border, diademed head of Antiochus to r. (R) ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ (1) ΝΙΚΑΤΟΡΟΣ—written vertically.

Rev. Naked Zeus striding to l., hurling thunderbolt with r. hand and holding aegis on the arm of his outstretched l. hand; an eagle at his l. foot and a wreath between the aegis and the eagle. (R) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΟΝΤΟΣ (in exergue) ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ (1) ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ.

(1) BM: CHI, p. 465, Pl. IV. 1.

3 AR. Rd. Head of Diodotus I :: Zeus thundering to left and eagle.

Diademed head of Diodotus I to r. (R) ΔΙΟΔΟΤΟΥ (1) ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ—written vertically.

Rev. Naked Zeus striding to l., hurling thunderbolt with his r. hand and holding aegis on the arm of his outstretched l. hand; an eagle at his l. foot and a wreath between the aegis and the eagle. (R) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΟΝΤΟΣ (in exergue) ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ (1) ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ.

Thomas noticed this type in PE II, p. 178, No. 1: “M de Bartholomaei; Köhnes Zeitschrift, 1843, Pl. iii, fig. 2, p. 67;” also referred to Mr Gibbs’ coin with M. 89. Cunningham published Mr Gibbs’ coin and referred to that of M de Bartholomaei: NC 1868, p. 280, No. 1 Pl(C). II. 1. Mr Gibbs’ coin was acquired by the BM through the cabinet of Mr E. Wigan and published by B. V. Head in NC 1873, p. 324, No. 144 Pl. XII. 6.
(1) BMC, p. 10, No. 2 Pl. IV. 2. (2) Kabul Museum (QH)—1 coin: JNSI, XVII, p. 49, No. 22 Pl. III. 4.

4. AR. Rd. Head of Euthydemos I :: Herakles seated to left.

In pellet border, diademed head of Euthydemos I. (R) ΕΥΘΥΔΗΜΟΥ (1) ΘΕΟΥ—written vertically.
Rev. Naked Herakles, seated r. on rock, holds a club which rests on his r. knee. (R) \( \text{ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΟΝΤΟΣ} \) (in exergue) \( \text{ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ} \) (1) \( \text{ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ} \).

**Attic Tetradrachm. Pl. II. I.** Monogram: 102.

Cunningham published the type in *NC* 1868, pp. 280-81, No. 2 Pl (C). II.2: "Mr. Wigan from Mr. Gibbs, 259 grs.; unique." When finally acquired by the BM, it was published again by B. V. Head in *NC* 1873, pp. 324-25, No. 145 Pl. XII. 7.

(1) *BMC*, p. 10, No. 3 Pl. IV. 3; also *CHI*, p. 465, Pl. IV. 2.

5. **AR. Rd. Bust of Demetrius I in elephant’s scalp :: Herakles crowning himself.**

In pellet border, diadem bust of Demetrius I to r., wearing elephant’s scalp. (R) \( \text{ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ} \) (1) \( \text{ΑΝΙΚΗΤΟΥ} \).

Rev. Naked Herakles standing facing, holding club and lion’s skin in r. arm and crowning himself with his r. hand. (R) \( \text{ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΟΝΤΟΣ} \) (in exergue) \( \text{ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ} \) (1) \( \text{ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ} \).

**Attic Tetradrachm. Pl. II. 2.** Monogram: 162.

(1) *BM*: *NC* 1934, p. 229, Pl. III.1.

**B. Normal Coinage**

**Without Epithet:**

6. **AR. Rd. Bust of King :: Zeus standing to front holding out Hekate.**

In pellet border, diadem bust of king to r.

Rev. Zeus standing facing, holding out in r. hand a figure of three-headed Hekate (which carries torches in both hands) and sceptre in l. (R) \( \text{ΒΑΣΙΛΕΟΣ} \) (1) \( \text{ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ} \)—written vertically.

**Attic Tetradrachms. Pl. II. 3.** Monogram: 102.

Cunningham published his own coin in *NC* 1868, p. 281, No. 4 Pl (C). II. 4: "Author, 259 grs. *Journal des Savants*, 1836, p. 77, duplicates Mr. Wigan from Mr. Gibbs, 460 grs." (260 grs.).


**Attic Drachms. Pl. II. 4.** Monogram: 102.

Cunningham published his coin in *NC* 1868; p. 281, No. 4a: "Author, 65·5 grs. *Journal des Savants*, 1834, p. 332."

(1) *BMC*, p. 10, No. 5 Pl. IV. 5. (2) *PMO*, p. 17, Pl. II 42. (3) *WKSC*, p. 3, No. 22.
Agathocles

Attic Hemidrachm. Pl. XXXIV. 1.
Cunningham published his coin in NC 1868, p. 281, No. 4b: “Hemidrachm. Author, 24 grs.; unique, but in poor condition, and very much worn.”

Attic Obol?
The obol of Agathocles is known to Whitehead, vide PMC, p. 17, No. 42.

In pellet border, bust of Dionysos r., wearing ivy-wreath; thyrsos over 1. shoulder.
Rev. Panther r., touching a vine with his raised paw. (Top) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ (below) ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ.

Obolus. Pl. II. 5. Monograms: 102, 162.
(1) BMC, p. 11, No. 6. Pl. IV. 6. (2-3) PMC, p. 17, Nos. 43-44: Pl. II. 43. (4-6) Mr H. P. Poddar—3 coins, (2 worn). (7) KM (MZ 1). (8) M. Mare Le Berre. (9) Herat museum—at least 1 coin.

(1) BMC, p. 11, No. 7 Pl. IV. 7. (2) Mr H. P. Poddar. (3) WKS, p. 3, No. 23.

8. AE. Rd. Bust of Dionysos :: Panther to right.
In pellet border, bust of Dionysos r., wearing ivy-wreath; thyrsos over 1. shoulder, exactly as on No. 7.
Rev. Panther, as on No. 7. (Top) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ (below) ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ.

(1) BMC, p. 11, No. 8 Pl. IV. 8.

With Epithet ΔΙΚΑΙΟΣ:

9. AR. Rd. Bust of King :: Zeus standing to front holding out Hekate.
In pellet border, diademed bust of king to r.
Rev. Zeus holding out three-headed Hekate, as on No. 6, but Greek legend:
(r) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ (in exergue) ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ (1) ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ.

(1) BM (ex Friedberg): JNSI, XVI, p. 184, No. 1 Pl. II. 1. This unique coin bears the extra epithet ΔΙΚΑΙΟΣ which is found only on Agathocles’ “Pedigree” coins. It seems to have come “from a hoard recently found in Afghanistan.”—A. K. Narain.
Indian Standard

Without Epithet:

10. AR. Sqr. Panther to right :: Dancing girl to left.

“Maneless lion r., in incuse square.”—Gardner, BMC, p.11. (Tarn thinks that the animal is a panther, the panther of Dionysos, see GBI, p.158). (Top) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ (below) ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ.

Rev. “Female figure left with long pendants from her ears; clad in oriental drapery with trousers; holds in her right hand a flower.”—Gardner, BMC, p.11. (J. N. Banerjea, IHQ, XVI, 1938, p.302, calls this female figure “Yakshiñi Aśvamukhi” because of her long “non-human head,” very clear on some coins). Brāhmī legend: (r) Rajañē (l) Agathukleyasa.

Big Coins. Pl. II. 9.


Without Greek Legend:

11. AE. Irregular. Stūpa :: Tree within railing.

“Buddhist stūpa, surmounted by star.” Kh. legend: (below) Akathukreyasa.


Medium-Sized Coins. Pl. II. 10.


Amyntas (Nikator)

Attic Standard

1. AR. Rd. Bust of King in smooth helmet :: Enthroned Zeus holding out Athena.

In astragalus border, diademed bust of king to r., wearing smooth helmet. Rev. Zeus seated on high-backed throne, holding sceptre and palm-branch
in 1. hand and shield-bearing Athena-Nike on the outstretched r. hand
(Above) \textit{BAΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΝΙΚΑΤΟΡΟΣ} (below) \textit{AMYNTΟY}.


(1-2) Kabul Museum (QH)—2 coins: \textit{JNSI}, XVII, p. 51, Nos. 47-48; Pl. VII. 1-2. The former piece is illustrated in \textit{ARA}, Pl. XVII. 2, and the latter in \textit{N. Cir.}, May, 1953, cols. 201-02, Fig. 1; in \textit{JNSI}, XV, p. 213, Pl. IX. 1 and in \textit{IG}, Pl. V. 1.

These as well as the three coins of Type 2 are the largest Greek silver coins from any area so far recorded (see Bivar, \textit{JNSI}, XVII, p. 42).

\textbf{2. AR. Rd. Bust of King in smooth helmet :: Enthroned Demeter.}

In astraglus border, he’meted bust of king, as on No. 1.

Rev. Demeter seated on high-backed throne, holding cornucopiae in 1. hand; r. hand outstretched. (Above) \textit{BAΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΝΙΚΑΤΟΡΟΣ} (below) \textit{AMYNTΟY}.


(1-3) Kabul Museum (QH)—3 coins: \textit{JNSI}, XVII, pp. 51-52, Nos. 49-51; Pl. VII. 3 and Pl. VIII. 1-2. The first coin was published in \textit{N. Cir.}, May 1953, cols. 201-02, Fig. 2 and illustrated in \textit{ARA}, Pl. XVII. 1 and \textit{JNSI}, XV, p. 213, Pl. IX. 2.

\textbf{Indian Standard}

\textbf{3. AR. Rd. Bust of King :: Enthroned Zeus holding out Athena.}

Diademmed bust of king to r. (Above) \textit{BAΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΝΙΚΑΤΟΡΟΣ} (below) \textit{AMYNTΟY}.

Rev. Zeus enthroned holding out Athena-Nike, as on No. 1. Kh. legend: (above) \textit{Maharajasa jayadharasa} (below) \textit{Amitasa}.

\textbf{Indian Tetradrachm. Pl. III. 3.} Monogram: 149.

(1) Mr E. T. Newell—1 coin (now in American Numismatic Society’s Cabinet): \textit{NNM} 82, p. 92, No. 56 Pl. V. 56.


4. AR. Rd. Bust of King in kausia :: Enthroned Zeus holding out Athena.

Diademed bust of king to r., wearing kausia. (Above) BAΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΝΙΚΑΤΟΡΟΣ (below) AMYNTΟΥ.

Rev. Zeus enthroned holding out Athena-Nike, as on No.1. Kh. legend: (above) Maharajasa jayadharasa (below) Amitasa.


5. AR. Rd. Bust of King thrusting javelin :: Enthroned Zeus holding out Athena.

Diademed bust of king to 1., thrusting javelin. (Above) BAΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΝΙΚΑΤΟΡΟΣ (below) AMYNTΟΥ.

Rev. Zeus enthroned holding out Athena-Nike, as on No.1. Kh. legend: (above) Maharajasa jayadharasa (below) Amitasa.

(1) BM (ex Cunningham): see BMC, p.171 (PMC, p.79, unrep. Tp.iii) from the Sonipat find: CASE, p.280, No.3.

6. AR. Rd. Bust of king in smooth helmet thrusting javelin :: Enthroned Zeus holding out Athena.

Diademed bust of king to 1., wearing smooth helmet and thrusting javelin. (Above) BAΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΝΙΚΑΤΟΡΟΣ (below) AMYNTΟΥ.

Rev. Zeus enthroned holding out Athena-Nike, as on No.1. Kh. legend: (above) Maharajasa jayadharasa (below) Amitasa.


7. AR. Rd. Bust of King in Medusa helmet thrusting javelin :: Enthroned Zeus holding out Athena.

Diademmed bust of king to 1., wearing Medusa helmet and thrusting javelin. (Above) BAΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΝΙΚΑΤΟΡΟΣ (below) AMYNTΟΥ.

Rev. Zeus enthroned holding out Athena-Nike, as on No. 1. Kh. legend: (above) Maharajasa jayadharasa (below) Amitasa.

(1) BM: NC 1923, p.332, No.44 Pl.XVI. 7.
Amyntas


8. AR. Rd. Bust of King in smooth helmet :: Athena thundering to left.
Diademed bust of king to r., wearing smooth helmet. (Above) BAΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΝΙΚΑΤΟΡΟΣ (below) AMYNTOY.
Rev. Helmeted Athena standing to 1., holding aegis on outstretched 1. arm and hurling thunderbolt with r. hand. Kh. legend: (above) Maharajasa jayadharasa (below) Amitasa.


9. AE. Sqr. Bust in Phrygian cap (with sceptre) :: Athena standing to left with shield and spear.
Bust of king (?) to r., wearing Phrygian cap with sceptre over shoulder. (L) BAΣΙΛΕΩΣ (top) ΝΙΚΑΤΟΡΟΣ (r) AMYNTOY.
Rev. Helmeted Athena standing to 1. with shield and spear. Kh. legend: (r) Maharajasa (top) jayadharasa (1) Amitasa.

The first specimen procured by Col. Stracey was published in JASB, Nov. 1836, Pl. XLVI. 1.
(1) PMC, p. 87, Pl.VIII. 637. (2-3) BMC, p. 61, Nos.4-5: No.5 Pl. XIV. 11. (4-5) IMC, p. 31, Nos.2-3: No.2 Pl.VI. 10.

10. AE. Sqr. Bust in Phrygian cap :: Athena standing to left with shield and spear.
Bust in Phrygian cap, as on No.9, but no sceptre over shoulder. (L) BAΣΙΛΕΩΣ (top) ΝΙΚΑΤΟΡΟΣ (r) AMYNTOY.
Rev. Helmeted Athena, as on No.9. Kh. legend: (r) Maharajasa (top) jayadhrasa (1) Amitasa.

(1-2) PMC, p. 79, Nos.638-39. (3) Mr N. Singhi.
N. B. The ‘canting type’ of Amyntas was ‘Enthroned Zeus holding out Athena’. Yet we find two more new types on his silver coins: ‘Enthroned Demeter (or Tyche)’ and ‘Athena thundering’. The former figure of Tyche (‘Fortune’) ‘surely alludes to a victory, and it is worth recalling that Zeus, who often bore the titles ΝΙΚΑΤΩΡ ‘the Conqueror’, in Greek religious formulæ, would also have been relevant in the same context. Amyntas, therefore, is one of the very few cases of an Indo-Greek king who used more than one distinct reverse type.’—Bivar, JNSI, XVII, p. 42.

ANTIALCIDAS (NIKEPHOROS)

ATTIC STANDARD

1. AR. Rd. Bust of King :: Enthroned Zeus Nikephoros, and forepart of elephant.

In astragalus border, diadem of bust of king to r.
Rev. Draped Zeus seated 1. on throne, holds sceptre in 1. hand and on his r., plam-bearing Nike, who again, extends with her r. hand a wreath to the forepart of an approaching elephant, ‘which stands with upraised trunk to receive the wreath.’ The elephant has a bell suspended from its neck by a cord. (Above) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ (below) ΑΝΤΙΑΛΚΙΔΟΥ.

ATTIC TETRADRACHM. Pl. IV. 7. Monogram: 204.

The still unique coin of this type was first acquired by Col. Abbott and noticed by E. Thomas in PE II, p. 192. It then went to the cabinet of the East Indian Museum (later on India Office Collection) and was published by Cunningham, NC 1869, pp. 300-01, No. 1 Pl(C). VIII. 5. It ultimately reached the BM and was published by Gardner in BMC. (1) BMC, p. 25, No. 1 Pl. VII. 9; also CHI, Pl. XXX. 83c.

2. AR. Rd. Bust of King in smooth helmet :: Enthroned Zeus Nikephoros, and forepart of elephant.

In astragalus border, diadem of bust of king to r., wearing smooth helmet.
Rev. Zeus Nikephoros enthroned, etc., as on No. 1. (Above) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ (below) ΑΝΤΙΑΛΚΙΔΟΥ

ATTIC TETRADRACHM. Pl. IV. 8. Monogram: 204.

(1) Kabul Museum (QH) : N. Cir., May, 1954, col. 189, Fig. 8; also JNSI, XVI, Pl. III. 2 and JNSI, XVII, Pl. VI. 6.

3. AR. Rd. Bust of King in kausia :: Enthroned Zeus Nikephoros, and forepart of elephant.

In astragalus border, diadem of bust of king to r., wearing kausia.
Rev. Zeus Nikephoros enthroned, etc., as on No. 1. Continuous legend in three-quarter circle: (VII) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ ΑΝΤΙΑΛΚΙΔΟΥ.


ATTIC DRACHM. Pl. IV. 10. Monogram: 75.

(1) “Cabinet of M. Revil”—Mionnet, Supplement viii, p. 483, plate; also noticed by Cunningham, NC 1869, p. 301, No. 3 Pl(C). VIII. 6. It is not in “Cabinet de France”, see PMC, p. 30, unrep. Tp. v. There is, however, a slight difference in the reverse design: “...but the elephant has received the wreath from Victory, and is marching away from Zeus” (Cunningham).

INDIAN STANDARD

[On the reverse of the following three types of Indian drachms which in miniature, correspond to the above Attic types Nos. 1, 2 and 3 respectively, scenes of an interesting play are depicted in a dramatic way. While the sceptred enthroned Zeus holds out Nike, the actions of the elephant vary. He is apparently endeavouring to snatch the wreath of Nike, who stands on Zeus’ hand. On some coins he advances towards Nike, on some he raises his trunk for her wreath, while on a few pieces he is depicted as retiring—either with the wreath or without it. The reverse scene depicted on types 7 and 8 (below) perhaps takes the story further ahead—and to its dramatic conclusion. “Apparently there was a struggle,” as says Whitehead (NC 1940, p. 30), “between what may be called the Zeus party and the elephant party in which the latter was victorious; the elephant side appropriate the wreath of Victory and ultimately carry her away entire, while the dethroned and Nikeless Zeus has to walk.”

However, according to the actions of the elephant, four minute varieties may be discerned in each of the three Indian-standard types, viz. Types 4, 5 and 6. On var. a the elephant approaches Nike from the left (BMC, Pl. VII.12). On var. b the animal stands to left just beneath Nike and raises his trunk for her wreath (IMC, Pl. III. 7). Var. c depicts him as retiring without the wreath (PMC, Pl. III. 189), while on var. d he has just snatched the wreath and retires with it (BMC, Pl. VII. 14).

4. AR. Rd. Bust of King :: Enthroned Zeus Nikephoros, and forepart of elephant.

Diademed bust of king to r. (Above) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ (below) ΑΝΤΙΑΛΚΙΔΟΥ.

Rev. Zeus seated 1. on throne; in 1. hand long sceptre, which rests over l. shoulder; on his outstretched r. hand he holds wreath and palm-bearing Nike; in field forepart of an elephant. Kh. legend: (above) Maharajasa jayadharasa (below) Amitialikitasa.
5. AR. Rd. Bust of King in smooth helmet :: Enthroned Zeus Nikephoros, and forepart of elephant.

Diademmed bust of king to r. wearing smooth helmet. (Above) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ (below) ΑΝΤΙΑΑΚΙΔΟΥ.

Rev. Enthroned Zeus Nikephoros, etc., as on No. 1. Kh. legend: (above) Maharajasa jayadharaça (below) Aṃtalikitaṣa.


Diademmed bust of king to r., wearing kausia. (Above) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ (below) ΑΝΤΙΑΑΚΙΔΟΥ.

Rev. Zeus Nikephoros enthroned, etc., as on No. 4. Kh. legend: (above) Maharajasa jayadharaça (below) Aṃtalikitaṣa.
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Var. b: The elephant raises trunk from beneath Nike. (1-3) PMC, p. 32, No. 168; p. 33, Nos. 172-73: Pl. III. 172—round sigma and omega.

Var. c: The elephant retreats without the wreath. (1-2) BMC, Nos. 11-12: No. 12 Pl. VII. 13. (2) PMC, p. 32, Pl. III. 170. (3-8) IMC. pp. 15-16, Nos. 6-11. (9-10) Mr. N. Singh—2 coins. (11) Mr H. P. Poddar.


7. AR. Rd. Bust of King :: Enthroned Zeus holding out palm and wreath, and forepart of elephant.

Diademed bust of king to r. (Above) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ (below) ΑΝΤΙΑΛΚΙΔΟΥ.

Rev. Draped Zeus, seated l. on throne, holds sceptre in l. hand and in extended r. hand palm and wreath of Nike (instead of Nike herself) upon it; the wreath is grasped by the raised trunk of an elephant, whose forepart is seen. Kh. legend: (above) Maharajasa jayadharasa (below) Amtialikitas.

INDIAN DRACHMS. Pl. V. 11. Monograms: 75, 76.

(1) BMC, p. 25, No. 2 Pl. VII. 10. (2) BM (ex Cunningham): NC 1923, p. 326, No. 23 Pl. XV. 6 (3 or 4 drachms are known to Whitehead). (3) Mr N. Singh.

8. AR. Rd. Bust of King :: Zeus walking beside Nike-carrying elephant

Diademed bust of king to r. (Above) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ (below) ΑΝΤΙΑΚΑΙΔΟΥ.

Rev. Elephant (tusker), bell on neck, walking l. with upraised trunk and Nike on head. In foreground is radiate Zeus facing, wearing chiton and mantle, and holding a sceptre. Kh. legend: (above) Maharajasa jayadharasa (below) Amtialikitas.

INDIAN TETRADRACHMS. Pl. V. 12. Monogram: 73.

(1) WKS, p. 5, Pl. I. 50. (2) BM (ex Cunningham): NC 1923, p. 326, No. 21 Pl. XV. 5. (3) One in the Kabul Find (really Shaikhano Dheri Hoard of 1917), see NC 1923, p. 326 (No. 21).

9. AR. Rd. Bust of King thrusting javelin :: Zeus walking beside Nike-carrying elephant.

Diademed bust of king to l., thrusting javelin. (Above) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ (below) ΑΝΤΙΑΛΚΙΔΟΥ.
Corpus of Indo-Greek Coins

Rev. Elephant walking l. with Nike on his head and the radiate, sceptred Zeus by his side, as on No. 8. Kh. legend: (above) Maharajasa jayadharasa (below) Αἵμιαλικιτασα.


10. AE. Rd. Bust of Zeus hurling thunderbolt :: Palms and piloi.

Undraped bust of Zeus to r., hurling thunderbolt with r. hand. (Above) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ (below) ΑΝΤΙΑΛΚΙΔΟΥ.


(1) PMC, p. 34, Pl. IV. 193.

Chalkaus (?). Pl. V. 15. Monogram: 204.
(1-3) PMC, pp. 34-35, Nos. 194-96. (4-6) BMC, p. 27, Nos. 16-18: No. 17. Pl. VIII. 1. (7-12) Mr H. P. Poddar—6 coins. (13) BMC, p. 16, No. 17. (14) KM (MZI)—1 coin (though not stated, the coins seem to be small pieces).

11. AE. Sqr. Head of Zeus with thunderbolt :: Palms and piloi.

Head of Zeus to r., bareheaded; thunderbolt over l. shoulder. (L) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ (top) ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ (r) ΑΝΤΙΑΛΚΙΔΟΥ.

Rev. Palms and piloi. Kh. legend: (r) Maharajasa (top) jayadharasa (1) Αἵμιαλικιτασα.


12. AE. Sqr. Bust of Zeus hurling thunderbolt :: Palms and piloi.

Bust of Zeus to r., hurling thunderbolt with r. hand. (L) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ (top) ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ (r) ΑΝΤΙΑΛΚΙΔΟΥ.
Antimachus I


Dichalkaus (?). Pl. V. 17. Monogram: 165.

13. AE. Sqr. Bust of King:: Elephant to right holding wreath.
Diademmed bust of king to r. Greek legend as on No. 12, but sigma is square.
Rev. Elephant to r. holding wreath in its upraised trunk. Kh. legend: (r) Maharajasa (top) jayadharasa (l) Amtialikitasa.

Dichalkaus (?). Pl. V. 18. Monogram. 19.
(1) PMC, p. 36, Pl. IV. 212. (2) BMC, p. 166. (3) Mr N. Singhi. (4) Tavila, p. 801, Pl. 237. 74.

ANTIMACHUS I (THEOS)

ATTIC STANDARD

A. COMMEMORATIVE COINS

1. AR. Rd. Head of Diodotus (I):: Zeus thundering to left, and eagle.
Diademmed head of Diodotus (I) to r. (R) ΔΙΟΔΟΤΟΥ (l) ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ—written vertically.
Rev. Zeus striding to 1., hurling thunderbolt with r. hand and holding aegis on outstretched 1. arm; eagle at his feet, wreath to l. (R) ΒΑΣΙΛΕ-ΥΟΝΤΟΣ (in exergue) ΘΕΟΥ (1) ΑΝΤΙΜΑΧΟΥ.

ATTIC TETRADRACHMS. Pl. VI. 1. Monogram: 211.

2. AR. Rd. Head of Euthydemus I :: Herakles seated to left on rock.
Head of Euthydemus I to r. (Greek legend as on the Euthydemus tetradrachms of Agathocles): (r) ΕΥΘΥΔΗΜΟΥ (l) ΘΕΟΥ—written vertically.
Rev. (As on the Euthydemus tetradrachm of Agathocles) Herakles, naked,
Corpus of Indo-Greek Coins

seated on rock, holding in r. hand club which rests on his knee. (R) $\text{BAΣΙΛΕΥΟΝΤΟΣ}$ (in exergo) $\text{ΘΕΟΥ}$ (1) $\text{ΑΝΤΙΜΑΧΟΥ}$.

Attic Tetradrachms. **Pl. VI. 2.** Monogram: 221.


B. Normal Coinage

With Epithet $\text{ΘΕΟΥ}$:


In pellet or astragalus border, diademed bust of king to r., wearing kausia.

Rev. Diademed bearded Poseidon, standing, facing, wearing himation; holds long trident in r. hand; under 1. arm, palm bound with fillet. (R) $\text{ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ} \text{ΘΕΟΥ}$ (1) $\text{ΑΝΤΙΜΑΧΟΥ}$.


(1-3) *BM*, p. 12, Nos. 1-3: No. 1 Pl. V. 1. (4-5) *PMC*, p. 18, Pl. II. 54—no border on obverse; No. 55—genuineness doubtful. (6) *WKSC*, p. 3, No. 28. (7-18) Kabul Museum (QH)—12 coins: six of them have been published in *JNSI*, XVII, p. 48, Nos. 13-18 Pl. II. 2-7, one of which (No. 18 Pl. II. 7) has astragalus border, hitherto unrecorded. (19) *Vente Publique, XIX*, 1959, Basel, p. 63, Pl. 26. 568. (20) Herat Museum—at least 1 coin.

Attic Drachms. **Pl. VI. 4.** Monograms: 100, 111.


Attic Hemidrachm. **Pl. VI. 5.** Monogram: 56.

(1) *BM*, p. 12, No. 5 Pl. V. 2 (31.5 grains).

Attic Obols. **Pl. VI. 6.** Monogram: 162.

(1) *BM*, p. 12, No. 6 Pl. V. 3. (2) *PMC*, p. 19, Pl. II. 58. (3-4) *IMC*, p. 11, Nos. 2-3: No. 3 Pl. II. 4. (5) Asiatic Society, Calcutta. (6-7) Mr N. Singhji—2 coins.

4. *AE. Rd. Elephant to right: Winged Nike standing to left.*

Elephant to r.

Rev. Winged Nike standing to 1. (R) $\text{ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ} \ldots \ldots$ (1) $\text{ΑΝΤΙΜΑΧΟΥ}$—written vertically.

Medium-sized Coins. **Pl. VI. 7.**

(1) *PMC*, p. 19, Pl. II. 52—monogram lost.
Antimachus II

5. AE. Rd. Elephant to right :: Winged Nike standing to left on prow of a ship.

Elephant to r.
Rev. "Nike to left, holding wreath and palm, standing on prow of ship." Ri) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΘΕΟΥ (1) ANTIMAXOY.

Medium-sized Coins. Pl. VI. 8.
(1) BMC, p. 164, No. 2 Pl. XXX. 7 (ex Cunningham): "procured in Sistan" —CASE, p. 120. (2) WKSC, p. 3, No. 31.

Without Epithet:

6. AE. Rect. Elephant to left :: Winged Thunderbolt.

Elephant striding to l. with trunk upraised.
Rev. In incuse area, thunderbolt. (Above) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ (below) ANTIMAXOY.

(1) Mr P. Thorburn : NC 1940, p. 104, No. 4 Pl. VIII. 2. (2-3) KM (MZ 1) —2 coins. (4-5) M. Marc Le Berre—2 coins. Tarn believes that these coins were not struck by Antimachus I Theos (see GBI, pp. 523-24).

ANTIMACHUS II (NIKEPHOROS)

INDIAN STANDARD

1. AR. Rd. Winged Nike standing to left :: King on prancing horse.

Winged Nike standing to l., holds palm in outstretched r. hand and fillet in l. Continuous Greek legend: (XI) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ ANTIMAXOY.

Rev. Diademed king (?) wearing pilos, on horse prancing to r. Continuous Kh. legend: (XI) Maharajasa jayadharasa Aimitakhasa.

INDIAN DRACHMS. Pl. VI. 10. Monograms: (obv.) 42, 44, 73, 75, 127.

A large number of silver coins of Antimachus II, undoubtedly of this only known type, has cropped up with several hoards. Cunningham reported
that the Sonipat (near Delhi) Hoard yielded 64 coins of Antimachus II—
CASE, p. 279 (NC 1872, p. 159). Martin reported that at least 152 coins
of Antimachus II came from the 1926 Bajaur Hoard—NS, XL, p. 18 N. The
second Bajaur Hoard of 1942 brought out 17 coins of this prince, according
to Haughton—NC 1946, pp. 141 ff. There were also 2 coins, according to
Shaikhsano Dheri (near Charsadda) Hoard of 1940, as reported by Haughton
—NC 1940, pp. 123 ff.

2. A.E. Sqr. Aegis :: Palm and Wreath.

Aegis. (L) \(\beta\alpha\sigma\iota\lambda\alpha\varepsilon\omega\sigma\) (top) \(\nu\iota\kappa\hbar\phi\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\) (r) \(\alpha\nu\tau\iota\mu\alpha\xi\omega\alpha\nu\).

Rev. Wreath and palm. Kh. legend: (1) \(\text{Maharajasa} \) (top) \(\text{jayadhara}\alpha\) (r) \(\text{Antimakhosa}\).


(1,2) \(\text{PMC, pp. 70-71, Nos. 573-74: Pl.VII. 573. (3-4) \text{BMC, p. 28, No. 31 Pl.VIII. 4 (wrongly attributed to Antialcidas), and p. 55, No. 10 Pl.XIII. 4. (5) Mr N. Singh.}}

APOLLODOTUS I (SOTER)

[Coins with the name of Apollodotus are to be distributed between two
kings. Some scholars wrongly think that the two kings are distinguished by
their titles or epithets—\(\Sigma\omega\theta\hbar\rho\) and \(\phi\\lambda\alpha\omicron\omicron\omicron\alpha\pi\alpha\tau\omicron\omicron\omicron\). But that is misleading,
for though the epithet \(\phi\\lambda\alpha\omicron\omicron\omicron\alpha\pi\alpha\tau\omicron\omicron\omicron\) is borne only by the second Apollodotus
together with \(\Sigma\omega\theta\hbar\rho\) (or \(\mu\varepsilon\gamma\alpha\zeta\) and \(\Sigma\omega\theta\hbar\rho\)), the epithet \(\Sigma\omega\theta\hbar\rho\) alone
occurs on all coins of Apollodotus I and some coins of Apollodotus II. Thus,
while Apollodotus I is always \(\Sigma\omega\theta\hbar\rho\), Apollodotus II is sometimes \(\Sigma\omega\theta\hbar\rho\)
only, sometimes \(\Sigma\omega\theta\hbar\rho\) and \(\phi\\lambda\alpha\omicron\omicron\omicron\alpha\pi\alpha\tau\omicron\omicron\omicron\), and sometimes, again, \(\mu\varepsilon\gamma\alpha\zeta\),
\(\Sigma\omega\theta\hbar\rho\) and \(\phi\\lambda\alpha\omicron\omicron\omicron\alpha\pi\alpha\tau\omicron\omicron\omicron\). Titles or epithets, therefore, cannot be the
criterion for distinguishing the two kings.

The main criterion seems to be the position of the king’s name in the legend
—with regard to the epithet or epithets. Some coins, both in copper and silver,
bear the king’s name before the epithet, while some other coins, also in silver
and copper, have the king’s name after the epithet or epithets. The two
series, again, are distinguished by style and fabric: the former is of much bet-
ter workmanship than the latter. Let us examine the silver and copper coins
separately and see if they can be actually distributed between two kings.

The Apollodotus coins in silver fall into two distinct series. Types for one
series are ‘Elephant and Bull’, and those for the other are ‘Bust of King and
Thundering Athena’. Elephant-Bull coins, because of certain features indicative of early date, are to be assigned to the first Apollodotus, while the Bust-
type coins are to be attributed to Apollodotus II owing to their manifest late characteristics.

On the Elephant-Bull coins the king’s name occurs before the epithet (which
is always \(\Sigma\omega\theta\hbar\rho\)), while contrary is the case with the Bust-type coins, three different varieties of which have \(\Sigma\omega\theta\hbar\rho\), \(\Sigma\omega\theta\hbar\rho\)-\(\phi\\lambda\alpha\omicron\omicron\omicron\alpha\pi\alpha\tau\omicron\omicron\omicron\)

{90}
and ΜΕΓΑΣ·ΣΩΤΗΡ·ΦΙΛΟΠΑΤΩΡ as the epithets of the king (see Types 2, 10, and 13 respectively of Apollodotus II). With regard to style and fabric, the Elephant-Bull series of coins is much superior to the Bust-type one, some specimens of which (specially of Type 2) degenerate into semibarbarousness.

If we assign both the superior Elephant-Bull coins and the inferior Bust-type coins to one and the same Apollodotus, it becomes difficult for us to explain why Apollodotus who placed his bust on one series of coins (apparently meant for one region) should refrain from doing so on another series (struck for a different region). As a matter of fact, the rare Elephant-Bull coins of Type 2 which bear the strange symbols (evidently adopted from the most ancient indigenous coins of India still then circulating) take the whole Elephant-Bull series of silver coins to a date much anterior to the Bust-type one, specimens of which are inferior in style and fabric and are with isolated Kharoshthi letters—both facts indicative of a later date.

The Apollodotus copper coins, which are of the broad types of 'Apollo and Tripod', when differentiated by the position of the king's name in the legend, also fall into two distinct classes, distinguishable by style and fabric as well. Coins which bear the king's name before the epithet are superior in style and fabric to those which have the king's name after the epithet or epithets. Moreover, the depiction of the figure of Apollo on the two classes of coins is also different. Apollo on the former series, assignable to Apollodotus I, is depicted as 'naked' and standing 'to front' in a characteristic tribhadiṣṭa pose and holding in the right hand a bow and in the left, an arrow which rests on the ground. Apollo on the inferior class of coins, attributable to Apollodotus II, on the other hand, is depicted generally as standing 'to right' and carrying a quiver at his back and holding the arrow in both hands, always dressed and never 'naked'. Coins assigned to Apollodotus II, again, bear isolated Kharoshthi letters, characteristic of coins of later date.

Geographical distribution of the Apollodotus coins also lends a significant support to their attribution to two different rulers. Coins attributable to Apollodotus I have their find-spots in the Kabul and the Swat valleys to the west of the Indus, while those assignable to the second Apollodotus come from places much further to the east of that river, or, to be precise, from places to the east of the Jhelum. As a matter of fact, coins of Apollodotus II are often found along with the crude coins of Dionysius, Zoilus II and Apollophanes who ruled in the eastern Punjab and possibly the Jammu area during the last phase of Greek rule in India.

The existence of an Apollodotus I much anterior to a second king of that name is vouchsafed by the Elephant-Bull series of coins when studied in their true perspective. They went through stages of evolution and, thus, speak of the formative period of the Indo-Greek currency which did not yet attain any set standard.

Coins of Type 1, apparently struck at the first stage, are remarkable for their novelties, often unknown in coins of a later period, when set patterns were generally followed. Though of silver, they do not bear the royal bust, but the figures of animals—not seen on any contemporary Greek silver coin. Their weight does not conform to the weight-standard of the bilingual silver coins of the Indo-Greek rulers; they are struck in the denomination of Attic hemidrachm (of about 33 grs). They bear legends written continuously round
the devices, which arrangement is seen on some silver coins only of Menander I and Antimachus II. On them the king’s name is written before the epithet unlike any coin of the Greek rulers of Bactria and India. Again, these round Elephant-Bull coins are conspicuous by a very significant absence of monograms, which are invariably borne by Greek coins.

In the next stage of evolution came the coins of Type 2. Though they still conform to the standard of Attic hemidrachm, they also show some interesting features. They are square in shape and bear symbols, common to the most ancient coins of India but never seen on any known Greek coin.

The most abundant square coins of Type 3 came in the third or final stage of evolution. They conform to a new and hybrid weight-standard of about 38 grains (now called Indian drachm), which seems to have been introduced by Eucratides I (see IMC, p. 13, No. 29) and universally adopted by all succeeding Greek, Scythian and Parthian rulers of India. They now bear full-fledged Greek-type monograms like all their contemporary counterparts.]

ATTIC STANDARD

1. **AR. Rd. Elephant to right :: Humped Bull to right.**

   Elephant standing to r., band round body. Continuous Greek legend:
   (VI) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΙΩΝΑΩΔΟΤΟΥ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ.

   Rev. Humped bull standing to r. Continuous Kh. legend: (VI) Maharajasa Apaladatasa tratarasa.

**ATTIC HEMIDRACHMS. Pl. VII. 1-2.**


2. **AR. Sqr. Elephant to right with Symbols :: Humped Bull to right with Symbol and Monogram.**

   Elephant standing to r.; above Elephant, on upper l. field a six-armed symbol (Symbol 1), and on upper r. field the solar symbol (Symbol 2); before Elephant, a three-peaked hill surmounted by a star (Symbol 3); and below Elephant, a wavy line (Symbol 4). (L) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ (top) ΑΙΩΝΑΩΔΟΤΟΥ (r) ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ.

   Rev. Humped Bull standing to r.; above Bull, on upper l. field M 301; and before Bull, a variant of the ‘taurine symbol’ (Symbol 5). Kh. 123nd : (r) Maharaja (top) Apaladatasa (!) tradarasa.

**ATTIC HEMIDRACHMS (?) Pl. VII. 3. Monogram: 301. Symbols: 1,2,3,4,5.**

Apollodotus I

It is significant that all the five symbols are more or less common on ancient Indian coins. Symbol 1 (as seen indistinctly on plates) seems to be a variant of the six-pronged symbols, as illustrated at page xxiii of Allan's BMC, Ancient India. Symbol 2 is a variant of the solar symbol frequently found on Punch-marked coins (cf. Allan, BMC, AI, Pl. VI. 25, with the difference that the centre is hollow and that the sun has only 8 rays). Symbol 3 (three-peaked hill with a star above) is a combination of two allied symbols, viz. the three-peaked hill with a crescent above (Allan, BMC, AI, p. xxiv, Pl. III. 3) and the six-peaked hill with a star above (PMC, p. 18, Pl. II. 51). Symbol 4 (a wavy line) occurs on Taxila coins below the crescent-surmounted three-peaked hill associated with other symbols (Allan, BMC, AI, Pl. XXXII. 7-11). Symbol 5 (a variant of the common taurine symbol) is naturally expected to be associated with the Bull, from which it is derived (taurus = bull). It is possibly what the French call buorâne or bucrans, “Arch. ox-skull curved as ornament.” On one Taxila coin the taurine symbol occurs both above and below the bull (Allan, BMC, AI, p. 235, No. 163 Pl. XXXV. 13a), while on another coin (ibid., p. 236, No. 169 Pl. XXXV. 11) it appears in front of the bull as on the present coin.

As regards the monogram (M 301), it is a variant of M 39 and is found, according to Sr Alberto Simonetta, both on the Indian coins of Apollodotus I and on the Bactrian coins of Eucratides I (see East and West, Year VIII, p. 53, Monogram No. 2).

Thus, as pointed by Mm. Curiel and Schlumberger, this important coin binds the Indo-Bactrian silver coinage to the Indian, and probably Taxilian, coinage in a closer way than any other coin known till now.

INDIAN STANDARD

3. AR. Sqr. Elephant to right :: Humped Bull to right.

Elephant standing to r. (L) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ (top) ΑΠΟΣΛΟΑΟΤΟΥ (r) ṢΟΤΗΡΟΣ.

Rev. Humped Bull to r. Kh. legend : (r) Maharajasa (top) Apaładatasa (l) tratarasa.

INDIAN DRACHMS. Pl. VII. 4-5 Monograms (generally on both sides) : 162 with 123, round sigma or round omega; 115 with 113 or A; 17 with Kh. letter ?; 116 with 113; 69 (rev.).

INDIAN HEMIDRACHM. Monogram : 264 (on obv.)
(1) BMC, p.34, No.12 (Wt. 18.3 grs.); also NC 1950, p.214, No.2.

4. AR. Sqr. Apollo standing to front :: Tripod-lebes with pronounced foot.

Apollo, naked and lauriate, standing to front; in r. hand, arrow and in l.,
bow resting on ground. (L) \textit{BAEI\AE\O\Sigma} (top) \textit{APPO\Delta\O\O\TO\OY} (r) \textit{SO\TH-PO\Sigma}.

Rev. In dotted square, tripod-lebes “with a very pronounced foot.” Kh. legend : (r) \textit{Maharajasa} (top) \textit{Apaladatasa} (l) \textit{tratarasa}.

BIG COINS. \textbf{PI. VII. 6.} Monograms: (a) None—\textit{BMC}, Pl. IX. 10 and \textit{IMC} Pl. IV. 9; (b) Obv.—295 : \textit{PMC}, No. 306; (c) Obv. and Rev. 18 with 18,
108 with 67, 285 with 148, 116 with 113; (d) Rev.—33, 39, 41, 47, 112,
113, 158, 160, 287.

\textit{IMC}, p.20, Nos.38-42 : No.38 Pl.IV. 9. (24-44) \textit{PMC}, pp.43-45, Nos.293-313:

SMALLER COINS. \textbf{PI. VII. 7.} Monograms: 21, 40, 47, M.

(1-7) \textit{BMC}, p.35, No.24 Pl.IX. 11 and p.36, Nos.32-34, 36-38. (8-11)
\textit{PMC}, p.45, Nos.314-17. (12) KM (MZ 2).

5. AE. Sqr. Apollo standing to front :: Tripod-lebes of pecu-
liar form.

Apollo, naked and lauriate, standing facing with bow and arrow, as on
No.4. (L) \textit{BAEI\AE\O\Sigma} (top) \textit{APPO\Delta\O\O\TO\OY}. (r) \textit{SO\THPO\Sigma}.

Rev. In dotted square, tripod-lebes “of peculiar form.” Kh. legend : (r)
\textit{Maharajasa} (top) \textit{Apaladatasa} (l) \textit{tratarasa}.

BIG COINS. \textbf{PI. VII. 8.} Monogram: 156.

(1) \textit{BMC}, p.36, No.31 Pl.IX.12. (2) \textit{NS XIV, JASB} 1910, p.588, No.3
Pl.XXXIII. 3.

SMALL COINS. \textbf{PI. VII. 9.} Monogram : N(?).

(1-2) \textit{IMC}, p.20, No.43 Pl.IV.10; p.21, No.52—‘Rude, small coin.’

Without any Legend:

6. AE. Sqr. Humped Bull to right :: Tripod-lebes.

In beaded square, humped bull to r.

Rev. In beaded square, tripod-lebes.

SMALL COINS. \textbf{PI. VII. 10.}

(1) \textit{BMC}, p.36, No.39 Pl.IX.13. (2) \textit{IMC}, p.21, No.53. (3-6) \textit{PMC}, p.45,
Apollo dōtos II

Nos. 318-21. (7) KМ (MZ 2). (8-32) Taxila, p. 799, Pl. 236.49 (actually 25 specimens)—attributed to Apollodotus II. These coins might have been issued by some indigenous authority of a particular locality (Taxila?).

APOLLODÔTUS II (MEGAS SOTER· PHILÔPÂTÂR)

INDIAN STANDARD

Without Epithet:

1. AE. Rd. Apollo standing to right :: Tripod-lebes with pronounced foot.

Within a formal wreath, Apollo standing to r., wearing chlamys and boots, and with quiver at his back, holds arrow with both hands, while bow rests upright on the ground before him. (L) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ (upwards) (r) ΑΠΩΛΛΟ∆ΟΤΟΥ (downwards).

Rev. Within a circle of astragalus beading, tripod-lesbes. Circular Kh. legend: (above) Maharajasa tratarasa (be'ow) Apaladatasara. (On the obverse there is no equivalent Greek word for tratarasa.)


(1) Gen. Haughton: NC 1946, pp.143-44, No.5 Fig. 4 (Wt. 124 g., S. 1.1 inch); also IG, Pl. IV. 5. “From Spinawari” (or Safed Dheri, White Mound). “This is a remarkable coin being unlike any other of the Indo-Greek series that have come to my knowledge. It was found with other coins, in an earthen-ware pot, including three coins of Hippostratos and one of Artemidoros, near Charsadda.”—Haughton.

The characteristic iconographic features of Apollo on the obverse as well as the astragalus beading and the arrangement of Kharoshthi legend on the reverse suggest its attribution to Apollodotus II. It seems, this coin was struck at the beginning of Apollodotus II’s career, before he took more ambitious epithets.

With Epithet ΣΩΤΗΡ:

2. AR. Rd. Bust of King :: Athena thundering to left.

Diademmed bust of king to r. (Above) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ (below) ΑΠΩΛΛΟ∆ΟΤΟΥ.

Rev. Athena standing to l. with aegis on outstretched l. arm and hurling thunderbolt with r. hand. Kh. legend: (above) Maharajasa tratarasa (below) Apaladatasara.

INDIAN DRACHMS. Pl. VII. 12-13. Monograms: 4, 121, 122, 189, 189 and di, 224 and di, dri or ram.
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(1-2) BMC, p. 37, Nos. 7-8: No. 8 Pl. X. 4. (3-4) IMC, p. 18, Nos. 1-2: * No. 1 Pl. IV. 1. (5-14) PMC, pp. 41-42, Nos. 254-63: * Pl. IV. 263. (15-19) Mr H. P. Poddar—5 coins. (20-21) Mr N. Singh—2 coins. (22) KM (MZ 1)—1 plated coin. (23) M. Marc Le Berre.

3. AE. Rd. Apollo standing to right :: Tripod-lebes.

Apollo standing to r., wearing chlamys and boots and holding an arrow with both hands; a quiver at his back. (Above) \( \text{BAΣΙΛΕΩΣ} \ \SigmaΩ\ThetaΡΟΣ \)
(below) \( \text{ΑΠΟΛΛΟΔΟΣΟΤΟΥ} \).

Rev. Tripod lebes. Kh. legend : (above) \( \text{Mαχαραγάσα} \ \text{tratarasa} \) (below) 
\( \text{Apaladatasa} \).

BrG Coins. Pl. VII. 14. Monograms : (a) Obv. and rev.—M 4 with a and ra, M 5 with M 300; M 189 with ram and di (b) Rev.—M 183 : PMC, No. 300.

(1-2) BMC, p. 38, Nos. 9-10: No. 10 Pl. X. 5. (3-6) IMC, p. 20, Nos. 33-35: No. 33 Pl. IV. 6. (7-17) PMC, p. 46, Nos. 322-32 : Pl. V. 322, Pl. V. 330, Pl. V. 331. (18-23) Mr H. P. Poddar—6 coins: one as PMC, No. 330, others as PMC, No. 322. (24-28) Mr N. Singh—5 coins.

4. AE. Rd. Apollo standing to right :: Tripod-lebes.

Apollo standing to r., with quiver at back and holding arrow in both hands, as on No. 3. (Above) \( \text{BAΣΙΛΕΩΣ} \ \SigmaΩ\ThetaΡΟΣ \)
(below) \( \text{ΑΠΟΛΛΟΔΟΣΟΤΟΥ} \).

Rev. Tripod-lebes. Kh. legend : (above) \( \text{Mαχαραγάσα} \ \text{tratarasa} \) (below)
\( \text{Apaladatasa} \).

Thick Dumpy Coins. Pl. VIII. 1. Monograms: Kh. numeral 4 (†); ram and di.

(1) IMC, p. 20, No. 36 Pl. IV. 7: wt. 255.5 grains, 15 inch thick. (2) BMC, p. 47, No. 333.

5. AE. Rd. Apollo standing to right :: Tripod-lebes.

Apollo standing to r., with quiver at back and holding arrow in both hands, as on No. 3, but Greek legend is in three straight lines: (1) \( \text{BAΣΙΛΕΩΣ} \) (top) \( \SigmaΩ\ThetaΡΟΣ \) (r) \( \text{ΑΠΟΛΛΟΔΟΣΟΤΟΥ} \).

Rev. Tripod-lebes. Kh. legend in three straight lines : (r) \( \text{Mαχαραγάσα} \) (top) tratarasa (1) Apaladatasa.


(1) BMC, p. 38, No. 12 Pl. X. 7; it is not clear if coins Nos. 13 and 14 are of this type. (2-6) PMC, p. 47, Nos. 334-38: Pl. V. 338. (7-10) Mr H. P. Poddar—4 coins. (11-12) Mr N. Singh—2 coins.
6. **AE. Sqr. Apollo standing to right :: Tripod-lebes.**

Apollo standing to r., with quiver at back and holding arrow in both hands, as on No. 3. (L) $\text{ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ}$ (top) $\Sigma\text{ΩΤΗΡΟΣ}$ (r) $\text{ΑΠΟΛΑΘΟΔΟΤΟΥ}$. 

Rev. In a square of dots, tripod-lebes. Kh. legend : (r) $\text{Μαχαραγασά}$ (top) tratarasa (l) Apaladatasa.

**MEDIUM-SIZED COINS. Pl. VIII. 3. Monograms : 42, 189 and Kh. letter.**

7. **AE. Sqr. Apollo standing to right :: Tripod-lebes.**

Apollo to r. with quiver and arrow, as on No. 5. (L) $\text{ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ}$ (top) $\Sigma\text{ΩΤΗΡΟΣ}$ (r) $\text{ΑΠΟΛΑΘΟΔΟΤΟΥ}$. 

Rev. Tripod-lebes, as on No. 6, but without dotted square. Kh. legend : (r) $\text{Μαχαραγασά}$ (top) tratarasa (l) Apaladatasa.

**MEDIUM-SIZED COINS. Pl. VIII. 4. Monograms : bu, ji, ra, min and di.**
(1-6) *PMC*, pp. 47-48, Nos. 339-44 : Pl. V. 344. These coins are of crude fabric and with Kh. monograms only. (7) Taxila, p. 803, Pl. 237. 91.

8. **AE. Sqr. Apollo standing to front :: Tripod-lebes.**

Apollo standing, "facing, clad in chlamys and boots; quiver behind shoulder; holds in l. hand, bow; in r., arrow which rests on the ground."  (L) $\text{ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ}$ (top)$\Sigma\text{ΩΤΗΡΟΣ}$ (r) $\text{ΑΠΟΛΑΘΟΔΟΤΟΥ}$. 

Rev. Tripod-lebes. Kh. legend : (r) $\text{Μαχαραγασά}$ (top) tratarasa (l) Apaladatasa.

**BIG COIN. Pl. VIII. 5. Monograms : 230 and Kh. letter.**
(1) *BMC*, p. 38, No. 11 Pl. X. 6.

9. **AE. Sqr. Apollo seated to right :: Tripod-lebes.**

"Draped figure of Apollo seated on a chair to right, and holding out a bow in his l. hand."  (L) $\text{ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ}$ (top)$\Sigma\text{ΩΤΗΡΟΣ}$ (r) $\text{ΑΠΟΛΑΘΟΔΟΤΟΥ}$. 

Rev. Tripod-lebes. Kh. legend : (r) $\text{Μαχαραγασά}$ (top) tratarasa (l) Apaladatasa.

**MEDIUM-SIZED COINS. Pl. VIII. 6. Monograms : 227 and sa ; 234 and sa and ta (or ra).**
Cunningham knew two coins—E. C. Bailey’s coin, and his own : *NC* 1870, p. 70, No. 12 Pl(C). IX. 12 (obv.) ; also *BMC*, p. 167, No. 1: “117 grains and size 8.”
(1) BM: above Cunningham coin. (2) Mr N. Singhi. (3) Mr H. P. Poddar.
(4-5) Taxila, pp. 802-03, Pl. 237.87-88; No. 87 is square and has the tripod in beaded square; but No. 88 is rectangular and has the tripod in frame.

With Epithets ΣΩΘΗΡ and ΦΙΔΟΠΑΤΩΡ:

10. AR. Rd. Bust of King :: Athena thundering to left.

Diademed bust of king to r. (Above) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΘΗΡΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΦΙΔΟΠΑΤΩΡΟΣ (below) ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΟΤΟΥ.

Rev. Athena thundering to l., as on No. 2. Kh. legend: (above) Maharatasa tratarasa (below) Apaladatasa. (No equivalent Prakrit words for ΚΑΙ ΦΙΔΟΠΑΤΩΡΟΣ)


(1-5) BMC, p. 37, Nos. 2-6: *No. 2 Pl.X. 2 and No. 3 Pl.X. 3; coin No. 2 bears finely executed bust. (6-11) IMC, p. 18, Nos. 3-9: No. 8 Pl.IV. 2. (12-40) PMC, pp. 42-43, Nos. 264-92: Pl.IV. 276 and* Pl.IV. 292. (41-48) Mr H.P. Poddar—7 coins. (49-53) Mr N. Singh—5 coins. (54-57) KM (MZ 1)—4 coins. (58-59) M. Marc Le Berre—2 coins.

Some coins are of rude style; of these some bear heavy crude bust, while others depict similarly crude bust executed on a comparatively small scale.

11. AE. Sqr. Apollo standing to right :: Tripod-lebes with pronounced foot.

Within square of beading, Apollo standing to r., wearing chlamys and boots, and with quiver at his back, holds arrow with both hands, while bow rests upright on the ground before him. (L) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΘΗΡΟΣ (top) ΚΑΙ ΦΙΔΟΠΑΤΩΡΟΣ (r) ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΟΤΟΥ.

Rev. Within square of beading, tripod-lebes. Kh. legend: (r) Maharatasa (top) tratarasa (l) Apaladatasa.


Cunningham published a coin of this type in NC 1870, p. 69, No. 9 Pl.(C). IX. 9 with M 256. BMC, p. 39, Nos. 16 and 17 seem to be of this type.

(1) PMC, p. 49, No. 354. (2-4) Mr H. P. Poddar—3 coins.

12. AE. Sqr. Apollo standing to right :: Tripod-lebes with pronounced foot.

Apollo standing to r., wearing chlamys and boots and with quiver at his back; holds arrow in both hands, while bow rests upright on the ground in front of him. Legend on four sides: (l) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΘΗΡΟΣ ΚΑΙ (r) ΦΙΔΟΠΑΤΩΡΟΣ (below) ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΟΤΟΥ,
Rev. Tripod-lebes. Kh. legend on four sides: (r) Maharaja-(top) sa trata-
(1) rasa (below) Apaladatasa.

(1-2) BMC, p. 39, Nos. 18-19; No. 18 Pl. X. 9. (3-4) PMc, p. 48, Nos. 352-53:
Pl. V. 353. (5-11) Mr H. P. Poddar—7 coins.

With Epithets ΜΕΓΑΣ, ΣΩΤΗΡ and ΦΙΛΟΠΑΤΩΡ:

13. AR. Rd. Bust of King: Atena thundering to left.

Diadem bust of king to r. (Above) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ
KAI ΦΙΛΟΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ (below) ΑΠΟΛΛΑΩΣΟΥ.

Rev. Atena thundering to l., as on No. 2. Kh. legend: (above) Maharajasa
tratarasa (below) Apaladatasa. (No Prakrit equivalents for ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ and
KAI ΦΙΛΟΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ).


(1) BMC, p. 27, No. 1 Pl. X. l. (2) BM: NC 1923, p. 321, No. 8 Pl. XIV. 7;
ΝΝΜ 13, Pl. VII. 3 (?). (3) Mr N. Singhi. The latter two coins are different in
style and bear an additional Kh. monogram.

Without Greek Legend:

14. AE. Sqr. Apollo standing to right: Royal diadem.

In square of dots, Apollo standing to r., with quiver at back and holding
arrow in both hands.

Rev. Royal diadem. Kh. legend: (r) Maharajasa (top) tratarasa (1) Apala-
datasa.

Small Coins. Pl. VIII. 12.

Thomas, PE II, p. 189, No. 9—coin of Col. T. Bush. Cunningham published
the coin of “General Van Cortlandt. Very rare”: NC 1870, p. 68, No. 7 Pl. (C).
IX. 7.

(1) BMC, p. 39, No. 20. (2) Mr. H. P. Poddar.

15. AE. Sqr.? Apollo standing to right: Tripod-lebes.

Apollo standing to r., etc., as on No. 14.

Rev. Tripod-lebes. “Kh. legend only” (Maharajasa tratarasa Apaladatasa?).

INIAN STANDARD

1. AR. Rd. Bust of King :: Athena thundering to left.
   Diademed bust of king to r. (Above) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ (below) ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΑΟΥ.
   Rev. Athena helmeted standing to l., holding aegis on outstretched l. arm and hurling thunderbolt with r. hand. Kh. legend: (above) Μαχαράγηα Σταταράσα (below) Αpalavinaσa.

INDIAN DRACHMS. Monograms : 253 and a.

2. AR. Rd. Bust of King in smooth helmet :: Athena thundering to left.
   Diademed bust of king to r., wearing smooth helmet; diadem tied round the helmet. (Above) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ (below) ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΑΟΥ.
   Rev. Athena thundering to l., as on No.1. Kh. legend: (above) Μαχαράγηα Σταταράσα (below) Αpalavinaσa.

INDIAN DRACHMS. Pl. IX.1-2. Monograms : 253 and a or hι.
   (4) JNSI, IV, p. 147, * Pl. XIIIa. 3: the king wears a “plain and very modern looking helmet.” This barbarous type is much forged. It is noteworthy that four out of the five BM coins referred to by Cunningham in NC 1872, p. 167, were not catalogued by Gardner. In forty years Gen. Haughton saw only four coins of this king, all coming from Jammoo: see JNSI, IV, p. 147.

ARCHEBIUS (DIKAIOS NIKEPHOROS)

ATTIC STANDARD

1. AR. Rd. Bust of King in smooth helmet thrusting javelin :: Zeus thundering to front.
   In astragalus border, diademed bust of king to l., wearing smooth helmet and thrusting javelin; the king’s l. shoulder is covered by the aegis.
   Rev. Zeus standing to front, clad in himation, brandishes thunderbolt in r. hand and holds in l. hand long sceptre, which rests on the ground. (Above) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ (below) ΑΡΧΕΒΙΟΥ.

   (1-2) Kabul Museum (QH)—2 coins: N. Cir., May 1954, col. 190, Fig. 11;
INDIAN STANDARD

2. AR. Rd. Bust of King :: Zeus thundering to front.

Diadem bust of king to r. (Above) \(\text{BAΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ}\) (below) \(\text{ΑΡΧΕΒΙΟΥ}\).

Rev. Zeus standing to front brandishes thunderbolt and holds long sceptre, as on No.1. Kh. legend: (above) \(\text{Maharajasa dhramikasa jayadharsa}\) (below) \(\text{Arkhebıyasa}\).


(1) \(\text{BMC}\), p.32, No.1 PL.IX.1. (2-4) \(\text{NC}\) 1923, p.323, No.13 (?),* No.15 PL.XIV.13 and* No.17 PL.XV.1. (5) Guthrie Collection, Berlin—1 coin: see \(\text{NC}\) 1923, p.323 No.17. (6-7) \(\text{IMC}\) (S). p.11, Nos.3-4.

INDIAN DRACHMS. Monogram: 407.

(1) \(\text{CMB}\), 1956, p.9, No.352: the epithet is written as \(\text{ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ}\).


\textit{Var. a}: Similar, but Zeus holds \textit{aegis} instead of sceptre.

INDIAN TETRADRACHM. Monogram: 236.

(1) \(\text{CMB}\), 1956, p.10, No.354 and Fig. 171 (rev.).

3. AR. Rd. Bust of King in smooth helmet :: Zeus thundering to front.

Diadem bust of king to r., wearing \textit{smooth} helmet. (Above) \(\text{ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ}\) (below) \(\text{ΑΡΧΕΒΙΟΥ}\).

Rev. Zeus standing to front brandishes thunderbolt and holds long sceptre, as on No. 1. Kh. legend: (above) \(\text{Maharajasa dhramikasa jayadharsa}\) (below) \(\text{Arkhebıyasa}\).


(1) \(\text{BM}\): \(\text{NC}\) 1923, p.323, No.16 PL.XIV.14; it has the extra word \(\text{ΚΑΙ}\) between \(\text{ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ}\) and \(\text{ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ}\). (2) \(\text{CMB}\) 1956, p. 10, No. 355.


(1) \(\text{BMC}\), p.32, No.3 PL.IX.3. (2-22) \(\text{KM}\) (MZ 1)—21 coins (4 plated). (23-27) M. Marc Le Berre—5 coins. (28) S. A. R. Shah Mahmoud Khan.
Var. a: Similar, but Zeus holds aegis instead of sceptre.

**Indian Tetradrachms. Pl. IX.9. Monogram: 236.**

(1) BM: NC 1923, p. 323, No. 12 Pl. XIV. 12.

4. **AR. Rd. Bust of King in Medusa helmet :: Zeus thundering to front.**

Diademed bust of king to r., wearing Medusa helmet. (Above) \( \text{ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ ΝΙΚΗΦΩΡΟΥ} \) (below) \( \text{ΑΡΧΕΒΙΟΥ} \).

Rev. Zeus standing to front brandishes thunderbolt and holds long sceptre, as on No. 1. Kh. legend: (above) \( \text{Μαχαράγας dhramikasa jayadharasa} \) (below) Arkhebıyasa.

**Indian Tetradrachms. Pl. IX.10. Monograms: 233 with 236, 166.**


Var. a: Similar but Zeus holds aegis instead of sceptre, as on No. 3a.

**Indian Tetradrachms. Pl. IX.11. Monogram: 236.**

(1) BM: NC 1923, p. 322, No. 11 Pl. XIV. 11; also NM 13, Pl. VI. 3.

5. **AR. Rd. Bust of King thrusting javelin :: Zeus thundering to front.**

Diademed bust of king to l., thrusting javelin; the king’s l. shoulder is covered by the aegis. (Above) \( \text{ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ ΝΙΚΗΦΩΡΟΥ} \) (below) \( \text{ΑΡΧΕΒΙΟΥ} \).

Rev. Zeus standing to front brandishes thunderbolt and holds long sceptre, as on No. 1. Kh. legend: (above) \( \text{Μαχαράγας dhramikasa jayadharasa} \) (below) Arkhebıyasa.

**Indian Drachms. Pl. X.1. Monograms: 162 with 22.**

(1) BMC, p. 32, No. 5 Pl. IX. 5. (2) PMC, p. 39, Pl. IV. 229.

6. **AR. Rd. Bust of King in smooth helmet thrusting javelin :: Zeus thundering to front.**

Diademed bust of king to l., wearing smooth helmet and thrusting javelin; the king’s l. shoulder is covered by the aegis. (Above) \( \text{ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ ΝΙΚΗΦΩΡΟΥ} \) (below) \( \text{ΑΡΧΕΒΙΟΥ} \).

Rev. Zeus standing to front brandishes thunderbolt and holds long sceptre, as on No. 1. Kh. legend: (above) \( \text{Μαχαράγας dhramikasa jayadharasa} \) (below) Arkhebıyasa.
Archebius

**INDIAN TETRADRACHM. Pl.X.2. Monogram : 233.**

1. **BMC**, p.32, No.4 Pl.IX.4; also **CHI**, Pl.XXX.83d. The obverse design of this tetradrachm closely resembles that of the tetradrachm of Heliocles (Tp. 10), **NC** 1923, p.322, No.10 Pl.XIV.10. Both the coins bear the same monogram.

7. **AR. Rd. Bust of King in Medusa helmet thrusting javelin:** Zeus thundering to front.

Diademed bust of king to l., wearing Medusa helmet and thrusting javelin with r. hand; the king’s l. shoulder is covered by the aegis. (Above) **ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ** (below) **ΑΡΧΕΒΙΟΥ**.

Rev. Zeus standing to front brandishes thunderbolt and holds long sceptre, as on No.1. Kh. legend: (above) **Maharajasa dhramikasa jayadharasa** (below) **Arkhebyasa**.

**INDIAN TETRADRACHM. Pl.X.3. Monogram : 236.**

1. **BM**: **NC** 1923, p.322, No.18 Pl.XV.2. “The die-sinker had engraved mon. K₃ (M 233) in the l. lower field of the reverse, but erased it and introduced mon. K₄ (M 236) to the r.”—Whitehead.

8. **AE. Sgr. Bust of Zeus :: Palms and Pilois.**

Diademed bust of Zeus to r., long sceptre over l. shoulder. (L) **ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΙ-(top) ΚΑΙΟΥ ΝΙΚΗΦΟ-(r) ΡΟΥ ΑΡΧΕΒΙΟΥ**.

Rev. Palms and piloi. Kh. legend : (r) **Maharajasa dhra-(top) mikusa jaya-dhara- (l) sa Arkhebyasa**.

**MEDIUM-SIZED COINS. Pl.X.4. Monogram : 29.**


9. **AE. Rd. Winged Nike standing to left :: Owl to right.**

Winged Nike standing to l., holding wreath and palm. (Above) **ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ** (below) **ΑΡΧΕΒΙΟΥ**.

Rev. Owl to r. Kh. legend : (above) **Maharajasa dhramikasa jayadharasa** (below) **Arkhebyasa**.

**MEDIUM-SIZED COINS. Pl.X.5 Monogram : 29.**

1. **BMC**, p.32, No.6 Pl.IX.6. (2-3) **IMC**, p.17, Nos.2-3: No.2 Pl.III.11. (4) **NC** 1946, p.143, No.4 Fig. 3: wt. 106 grains. “From Utmanzai near
10. AE. Sgr. Elephant to right :: Owl to right.
Elephant to r. (L) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΙ-(top) ΚΑΙΟΥ ΝΙΚΗΦΟ-(r) ΡΟΥ ΑΡΧΕΒΙΟΥ. (Omicron written with dots).
Rev. Owl to r., nearly facing. Kh. legend: (r) Maharajasa dhrami-(top) kasa jayadhara-(l) so Arkhebiyasa.
(1-2) BMC, p.33. Nos.7-8: No.7 Pl.IX. 7. (3) IMC, p.17, No.4 Pl.III. 12. (4-7) Taxila, p.802, Pl.237.79-80.

11. AE. Sgr. Helmeted bust of King :: Palms and Piloi.
"Helmeted head (bust ?) of king to r." Greek legend: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ ΑΡΧΕΒΙΟΥ.
Monogram:
(1) Mr H. de S. Shortt—ΝΝΜ I (JNSI), p.22, No.2.

ARTEMIDORUS (ANIKETOS)

INDIAN STANDARD

1. AR. Rd. Bust of King :: Artemis standing to left.
Diademed bust of king to r. (Above) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΙΚΗΤΟΥ (below) ΑΡΤΕΜΙΔΩΡΟΥ.
Rev. Helmeted Artemis to l., clad in skins, drawing a bow; quiver at back. Kh. legend: (above) Maharajasa apađihatas (below) Atrimitorasa.

(1-2) PMG, pp.68-69, Nos.551-52: Pl.VII.551.(3-4) BM (ex Cunningham): BMC, p.170, No.1 Pl.XXXII. 3; BM also acquired another worn specimen of 117-3 grains.

2. AR. Rd. Bust of King in smooth helmet :: Artemis standing to left.
Diademed bust of king to r., wearing smooth helmet. (Above) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΙΚΗΤΟΥ (below) ΑΡΤΕΜΙΔΩΡΟΥ. (King's portrait is remarkable for its stark realism.)
Artemidorus

Rev. Helmeted Artemis to l., as on No.1. Kh. legend: (above) Maharajasa apađihatasa (below) Atrimitorasa.


(1) BMC, p. 170, No. 2 Pl. XXXII. 4.

Var. a. Similar, but Artemis is to right.


3. AR. Rd. Bust of King :: Winged Nike standing to right.

Diademed bust of king to r. (Above) BAΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΙΚΗΣΤΟΥ (below) ΑΡΤΕΜΙΔΩΡΟΥ.

Rev. Winged Nike to r., holding wreath in r. hand and palm in l. Kh. legend: (above) Maharajasa apađihatasa (below) Atrimitorasa.


(1) BM (ex Cunningham): CASE, p. 184, No. 3 Pl. C. XIV. 3 and BMC, p. 170, No. 3 Pl. XXXII. 5. (2-3) PMC, p. 69, Nos. 553-54. Pl. VII. 553.

Var. a. Similar, but crudely struck.


(1) Mr. N. Singh—one coin, apparently a late imitation, with M 439 on the obverse as a minute countermark and on the reverse M 28 and cursive B: NS, XXV, pp. 72-73N, Pl. 5. 3.

4. AE. Sqr. Artemis standing to front :: Humped Bull to right.

Artemis standing, facing, drawing arrow from quiver at back. (L) BAΣΙΛΕΩΣ (top) ΑΝΙΚΗΣΤΟΥ (r) ΑΡΤΕΜΙΔΩΡΟΥ.

Rev. Bull to r. Kh. legend: (r) Maharajasa (top) apađihatasa (l) Atrimitorasa.


(1-2) PMC, p. 69, Nos. 555-56. Pl. VII. 555. (3) BMC, p. 54, No. 1 Pl. XIII. 2. (4-5) Mr H. P. Poddar—2 coins.
Corpus of Indo-Greek Coins

5. AE. Sqr. Artemis standing to left :: Humped Bull to right.
Artemis standing to l., wearing short chiton and holding out bow. Greek legend worn.
Rev. Humped bull standing to r. Kh. legend: (r) Maharajasa (top) apadhihatasa (l) Artemi......

(1) "NS XIV, JASB 1910, p. 560, Pl. XXXIII. 10. It is a novelty and corresponds in size and weight to Menander's hemilepton, BMC, Pl. XII. 7. Monogram worn. (PMC, p. 69, unrep. Tp. iii).

6. AE. Rd. Male figure standing to front :: Panther to left.
Male figure standing to front. (l) BAΣΙΛΕΩΣ (top) ANIKHTOY (r) ΑΡΤΕΜΙΑΩΡΟΥY.
Rev. Panther to l. Kh. legend: (r) Maharajasa (top) apadhihatasa (l) Atrimitorasa.

(1) BM : NC 1923, p. 335, No. 56 Pl. XVII. 3. (PMC, p. 69, unrep. Tp. ii).

DEMETER I (ANIKETOS)

Attic Standard
A. Commemorative Coin (?)

1. AR. Rd. Head of Diodotus (I) :: Zeus thundering to left, and eagle.

In pellet border, diademed head of Diodotus (1).
Rev. Zeus striding to l. hurling thunderbolt with r. hand, and holding aegis on outstretched l. arm; in front, eagle l. and wreath. (R) ΔΙΟΔΟΤΟΥY (1) ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ.


B. Normal Coinage
Without Epithet:

2. AR. Rd. Bust of King in elephant’s scalp :: Herakles crowning himself.

In pellet border, diademed bust of king to r., wearing elephant’s scalp.
Demetrius I

Rev. Naked Heracles standing to front, crowning himself with r. hand and carrying club and lion's skin in l. hand. (R) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ (I) ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ—written vertically.


· (1) WKSC, p. 86, Pl. X. 956, which has been illustrated in Pl. VII. 3 of Mr Rostovzoff, The Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World, Oxford, 1944. (2) BM (ex Cunningham): NC 1951, p. 33, No. 20 Pl. IV. 20. (3) Mr H. de S. Shortt: NC 1947, p. 43, No. 3 Pl. I. 3. Only tetradrachms are known of this variety.

Var. a : Mature bust of the king. Pellet border.


The Kabul Museum has acquired altogether 7 coins of this type from the Qunduz Hoard : N. Cir., May 1954, col. 191.


· (1-3) BMC, p. 6, Nos. 6-8: No. 6 Pl. II. 10; No. 7 (NC 1951, *Pl. IV. 13); No. 8 has on obv. "countermark Σ and Heracle crowning himself." (4) BM (ex Cunningham): NC 1951, *Pl. IV. 15 [NC 1869, p. 126, No. 2b Pl. (C). IV. 4]: it has on obv. countermark ΦAP and Heracles crowning himself. (5) Mr H. P. Poddar.

Attic Obols. Pl. XII. 3-4 Monograms : 162, 163, 188.

Wilson published Gen. Ventura’s coin in Ari. Ant., p. 233, No. 4 Pl. II. 5; also JASB 1835, Pl. XXV. 2; J. des Sav. 1836, Pl. II. 2; and Jour. Asiatique 1836, p. 156. Thomas also referred to this coin : PE II, p. 181, No. 2a. Cunningham published his own coin (wt. 10 grs.) with M 188 : NC 1869, p. 126, No. 2c.

· (1-3) BMC, p. 6, Nos. 10-12 : No. 11 Pl. II. 12. (4-6) LMC, p. 9, Nos. 2-4 : No. 4 Pl. I. 10. (7) Mr N. Singh.

Var. b: Mature bust of the king but has astragalus border on the obverse, as noted by Macdonald in CHI, p. 447.


Var. c. Diademed head of the king in elephant’s scalp, neck bare (pellet border).


1) BMC, p. 6, No. 9 Pl. II. 11. (2-3) PMC, p. 13, Nos. 19-20. (4-5) Mr H. P. Poddar—2 coins.

3. AE Rd. Buckler with Gorgon’s head :: Trident.

“Circular shield with rim; Gorgon’s head in centre, nearly obliterated.”

(Aegis with Gorgon’s head).

Rev. Trident. (R) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΟΣ (1) ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ.


Cunningham published his own coin in NC 1869, p. 126, No. 4 Pl (C). IV. 7 and referred to a second coin of Gen. Abbott.


4. AE. Rd. Bust of Herakles :: Artemis standing to front.

Bearded bust of Herakles to r., wearing ivy-wreath; knot of lion’s skin in front of neck and club over l. shoulder.

Rev. Artemis standing to front, head radiate, wearing chiton and buskins, holds bow in l. hand and with r. hand draws arrow from quiver at back. (R) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΟΣ (1) ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ.


5. AE Rd. Elephant’s head to right :: Caduceus.

Head of elephant to r., bell hung round neck.

Rev. Caduceus. (R) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΟΣ (1) ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ.


1) PMC, p. 13, No. 21. (2) BMC, p. 7, No. 16 Pl. III. 2. (3) BM (ex Cunningham): NC 1869, p. 126, No. 5 Pl (C). IV. 8; also NC 1951, p. 39, Fig. 6. (4) WKSC, p. 2, No. 14.
Demetrius II

INDIAN STANDARD

With Epithet ΑΝΙΚΗΤΟΣ:

6. AR. Rd. Bust of King in kausia :: Zeus thundering to front.
Draped bust of king to r., diademed, wearing kausia. (Above) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΙΚΗΤΟY (below) ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟY.
Rev. Zeus standing, facing; thunderbolt in r. hand, and long sceptre in l. Kh. legend: (above) Maharajasa aparajitasa (below) Dimetrijasa.

(1) BM: NC 1923, p. 317, No. 2 Pl. XIV. 2; also GC, Pl. LVI. 3. For the reverse, cf. the reverse of Helioles’ silver coin, BMC, Pl. VII. 5. Tarn attributes this coin to Demetrius II (see GBI, p. 77).

7. AE Sqr. Bust of King in elephant’s scalp :: Winged thunderbolt.
Bust of king to r., wearing elephant’s scalp. (L) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ (top) ΑΝΙΚΗΤΟY (r) ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟY.
Rev. Winged thunderbolt. Kh. legend: (r) Maharajasa (top) aparajitasa (l) Dime.....

Cunningham published his own coin in NC 1869, p. 127, No. 8 Pl (C). IV. II ; also BMC, p. 163, No. 3 Pl. XXX. 3.
(1) BM: GC, Pl.LVI. 4. (2) PMC, p.14, Pl.I. 26. (3) Gen. Haughton: NC 1946, p.142, No. 2 Fig. 1—this coin differs from the PM coin in portraiture and representation of the head-dress of the king, and has Dimetrijasa as his name.

DEMETRIUS II

ATTIC STANDARD

1. AR. Rd. Bust of King :: Athena standing to right with shield and spear.
In pellet border, diademed bust of king to r.
Rev. Athena standing, half-right, holding long spear in r. hand, and in l. hand shield (aegis) which rests on the field. (R) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ (1) ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟY.

DIODOTUS

[The attribution of the Diodotus coins has been a matter of controversy amongst scholars.

Certain coins with the types of ‘the head of horned horse’ (CHI, Pl. II. 6, 8) and ‘seated Apollo’ (CHI, Pl. II. 9-10) were assigned by Macdonald to Diodotus I, because of the occurrence on them of a group of monograms readily resolvable into ΔΙΟΔΟΤΟΥ. On the other hand, he attributed all gold and silver coins of the ‘Zeus thundering’ type bearing the name either of Antiochus or of Diodotus II, as the type was his ‘canting badge’ (see CHI, pp. 435-38). But it is difficult to attribute the ‘horned horse’ and the ‘seated Apollo’ coins to Diodotus I, as monograms seen on them occur also on many Seleucid coins including some issues of Seleucus I and Antiochus III (IG, p. 15).

We have, therefore, to take the ‘Zeus thundering’ coins alone for consideration. They reveal, however, certain stages of evolution, and also provide us a link with states of the ‘seated Apollo’ series, as the same obverse die (i.e. the head of Antiochus II) is used for a ‘seated Apollo’ stater as well as a stater of the ‘Zeus thundering’ series (cf. ESM, Pl. LIII. 1 and 4). This fact proves conclusively that the ‘Zeus thundering’ stater under discussion was issued immediately after the ‘seated Apollo’ series of coins in the first stage of evolution. In the second stage, though the reverse die (bearing the name of Antiochus II) is unchanged, the head on the obverse is replaced by that of a mature person who was certainly not Antiochus II (see ESM, Pl. LIII. 5). The new portrait must naturally be that of the person responsible for introducing the ‘Zeus thundering’ type on Bactria’s coinage, identifiable with Diodotus I, who, according to Justin, began the revolt of Bactria. In the third and last stage, the obverse and reverse devices are practically the same as those on the coins of the second stage, but the name of Antiochus II is replaced by that of ‘King Diodotus’ (cf. ESM, Pl. LIII. 5 and 18). The head on the coins of the third stage, however, “tends to grow ever younger,” as Newell puts it (see ESM, p. 248). Coins with the ‘elderly portrait’ were considered forgeries.
Diodotus

by older numismatists (see BMC, p. xxi). But that may not be true of all coins with the elderly portrait, for, as we have already seen, the same elderly portrait is linked with the coins of the second stage. Some scholars think that the younger portrait on these ‘Zeus thundering’ coins (of the third stage) is that of Diodotus II of Justin (see Smith, IMC, pp. 3 and 7; Macdonald, CHI, p. 440 and IG, p. 16). Newell, on the other hand, believes that the appearance of youthfulness in the portraiture on certain coins of this stage (even though it looks different) is ‘illusory’ and is meant for Diodotus I alone.

His son, as so often happens in royal coinages of the Hellenistic period,” remarks Newell, “continued to coin with his father’s portrait, which exhibited a constant tendency to grow younger and more idealised as time went on” (ESM, pp. 248-49).

Anyway, we cannot deny that there are differences in the portraits on these coins (cf. ESM, Pl. LIII. 18 and 19). It is quite likely that actually two different persons (father and son) are depicted on them. And with this supposition we reconstruct the evolution of the ‘Zeus thundering’ coins in the following way:

Diodotus I who was originally a Seleucid satrap and ultimately became the virtual lord of Bactria, did not make any ‘attempt to break the slender tie that bound him to the Seleucid empire’ by issuing an independent currency; he struck coins with the name of his suzerain, Antiochus II, first with his (Antiochus II’s) portrait, which was soon replaced by that of his own (Diodotus’s). These are the first and second stages of evolution of the ‘Zeus thundering’ coins.

But the son of Diodotus I, viz. Diodotus II, who succeeded his father “was certainly the first to exercise the royal prerogative of issuing money in his own name.” Apparently, he struck the ‘Zeus thundering coins of the third series, replacing the name of ‘King Antiochus’ by that of ‘King Diodotus’. He seems at first to have struck coins with some obverse dies bearing the head of his father, which were later on replaced by those bearing his own (cf. ESM, Pl. LIII. 18 and 19). This explains the occurrence of the portrait of the first Diodotus on some coins of this series. Newell also entertains such a possibility and says that “the change in name may have come at the death of the elder Diodotus when his son definitely altered his father’s policy of friendliness to the Seleucid dynasty” (ESM, p. 249).

Thus, we believe that the ‘Zeus thundering’ coins that bear the name of ‘King Antiochus’ (irrespective of the portraits) were the issues of Diodotus the father, while others with the name of ‘King Diodotus’ (again irrespective of the royal portraits) were struck by Diodotus the son. But we do not want to be dogmatic in this matter. Accordingly, all the ‘Zeus thundering’ coins as well as the copper coins with the name of Diodotus are listed under one head.]

ATTIC STANDARD

With Name and Head of Antiochus (II):

1. AV. Rd. Head of Antiochus (II): Zeus thundering to left and eagle

Diademed head of Antiochus (II) to r.
Rev. In pellet border, naked Zeus striding to l., holding aegis in outstretched l. arm and hurling thunderbolt with r. hand; an eagle in front of him. (R) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ (I) ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ.

(1) BM (ex Rogers Collection): ΕΣΜ, p. 245, Pl. LIII. 4. (Cf. Hill, NC 1925, p. 20, Pl. II. 62 and CHI, p. 437, note 1); see also ΝΜΜ 1 (ΝΣI), p. 3, No. 1 of Diodotus I.

With Name of Antiochus (II) but Head of Diodotus (I):

2. AV Rd. Head of Diodotus (I): Zeus thundering to left and eagle.

Rev. In pellet border, diademed head of Diodotus (I) to r.

Rev. In pellet border, naked Zeus thundering to l. as on No. 1; wreath above the eagle in front of Zeus. (R) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ (I) ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ.

(1) BM (ex Cunningham): ΕΣΜ, Pl. LIII. 5: 8·29 grammes (cf. CHI, Pl. II. 11). (2) Schlessinger Sale 13, Feb. 1935, Pl. 50. 1430. (3) Taxila, p. 798, Pl. 236. 39: This stater was unearthed during the Taxila excavations along with a hoard of 166 punch-marked silver and billon coins and several pieces of gold and silver jewellery (see Taxila, p. 110). (4) Naville Sale V, June 1923, Pl. LXXVI. 2788 (ex Grant Collection): cf. NC 1881, p. 11, Pl. II; the coin bears a wreath in place of the monogram. (5) BM (ex Cunningham): ΕΣΜ, Pl. LIII. 15 (with wreath). (6) Fitzwilliam Museum (ex J. D. Tremlett): see NC 1940, p. 104, No. 3 (note).

3. AR Rd. Head of Diodotus (I): Zeus thundering to left and eagle.

In pellet border, diademed head of Diodotus (I) to r.

Rev. In pellet border, naked Zeus thundering to l., as on No. 1. (R) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ (I) ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ.

Attic Tetradrachms. Pl. XII. 5. Monograms: 182, 188, N.
Diodotus

ATTIC DRACHMS. **Pl.XIII.6.** Monograms: N, ꞇ, 440.


ATTIC HEMIDRACHM. **Pl.XIII.7.** Monogram:


With Head of Antiochus II (?), but Name of Diodotus:

4. **AR. (?) Rd. Head of Antiochus II (?) :: Zeus thundering to left and eagle.**

Diademed head of Antiochus II (?) to r.

Rev. Naked Zeus thundering to l., as on No. 1. (R) *BAΣΙΛΕΩΣ* (1) ΔΙΟΔΟΤΟΥ.

ATTIC TETRADRACHM (?)

(1) "Haughton Collection"—see *NNM I* (*NSI*), p. 3, No.2 (of Diodotus I),

With Name as well as Head of Diodotus:

5. **AV. Rd. Head of Diodotus :: Zeus thundering to left, and eagle.**

In pellet border, diademed head of Diodotus to r.

Rev. In pellet border, naked Zeus thundering to l., as on No. 1; wreath above the eagle in front of Zeus. (R) *BAΣΙΛΕΩΣ* (1) ΔΙΟΔΟΤΟΥ.

ATTIC STATERS. **Pl.XIII.8.**

(1-2) *BMC*, p. 3, Nos.1-2: No. 2 Pl.I.5 and No.1 Pl.I.4 (also *CHI*, p. 464, Pl.II.14). (3) *PMC*, p. 9, Pl.I.1: "A flattish coin, but I think it is genuine."


6. **AR. Rd. Head of Diodotus :: Zeus thundering to left and eagle.**

In pellet border, diademed head of Diodotus to r.

Rev. In pellet border, naked Zeus thundering to l., as on No.1; eagle in front of him. (R) *BAΣΙΛΕΩΣ* (1) ΔΙΟΔΟΤΟΥ.

ATTIC TETRADRACHMS. **Pl.XIII.9.** Monogram: B.

(1-3) *BMC*, p. 3, Nos.3-5: No.3 Pl.I.6 (with wreath above eagle); No.4
Pl. I. 7 (with crescent above eagle); No. 5 (with a monogram above eagle). (4) PMC, p. 9, Pl. I. 2 (with wreath above eagle and B to r. of Zeus). (5) Mr H. P. Poddar—one fine coin with some portions clipped off (with wreath and B as on coin No. 4). (6) Mr N. Singhī—1 coin. (7) WKSC, p. 1, Pl. I. 4 (with wreath and B as on coin No. 4). (8) Kabul Museum (QH): JNSI, XVII, p. 47, No. 5 Pl. I. 5. (9) ESM, Pl. LIII. 19.


(1) BMC, p. 3, No. 6 Pl. I. 8: M 45. (2) LMC, p. 8, No. 2. (3) PMC, p. 10, No. 3: “details are indistinct.” (4-5) Mr N. Singhī—2 coins; one is without monogram, while the other has M 51 between legs of Zeus and M 25 in r. field. (6) WKSC, p. 1, No. 5.

7. AE. Rd. Head of King in kausia :: Athena standing to front with shield and spear.

In pellet border, head of king to r. wearing kausia.

Rev. “In dotted circle Pallas (Athena) facing, spear in r. hand, and buckler (shield) resting on the ground in l.” (R) BAEIΛEΩΣ (I) ΔIOΔOTOY.

MEDIUM-SIZED COINS. Pl. XIII. 11.


8. AE. Rd. Head of Zeus to right :: Artemis running with torch and dog.

Head of Zeus to r., lauriate.

Rev. “Artemis clad in short chiton, running r.; holds torch in both hands, quiver at shoulder; besides her, hound running r.” (R) BAEIΛEΩΣ (I) ΔIO-ΔOTOY.

MEDIUM-SIZED COINS. Pl. XIII. 12.


N. B. The ‘Zeus thundering’ tetradrachm with the legend ΔIOΔOTOY ΣΩΘΡΟΣ (CHI, Pl. III. 9) has not been included here, because it does not seem to have been issued by Diadotus himself, as we do not see on it the most essential royal title BAEIΛEYEΣ. It seems to be in the nature of a commemorative coin, probably issued by Demetrius I (see Tp. 1 of Demetrius I above). The coin should, however, be associated with Diadotus I, as it bears his ‘canting type’ (Zeus thundering).
DIOMEDES (SOTER)

INDIAN STANDARD

1. AR. Rd. Bust of King :: Mounted Dioskuroi.

Diademed bust of king to r. (Above) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ (below) ΔΙΟΜΗΔΟΥ.

Rev. Mounted Dioskuroi with palms and piloi charging to r. Kh. legend: (above) Maharajaṣa tratarasa (below) Diyametasa.


(1) PMC, p.36, Pl.IV.213. (2) BM: NC1887, p.182, No.2 Pl.VII.2—from the Tatta find. (3) BM: NC1923, p.333, No.48 Pl.XVI.11 (king’s name Diyamedasa. (4) Mr N. Singh.


(1) PMC, p.37, Pl.IV.214. (2) BMC, p.31, * No.3 Pl.VIII.12.

2. AR. Rd. Bust of King in smooth helmet :: Mounted Dioskuroi.

Diademed bust of king to r., wearing smooth helmet. (Above) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ (below) ΔΙΟΜΗΔΟΥ.

Rev. Mounted Dioskuroi charging to r., as on No.1. Kh. legend: (above) Maharajaṣa tratarasa (below) Diyametasa.

INDIAN TETRADRACHMS.

(1) BM : NC1923, p.332, No.46 (broken specimen). (2) Dr R. B. Whitehead had one.


(1) PMC, p.37, Pl.IV.215. (2) BMC, p.31, No.4 Pl.VIII.13. (3) IMC, p.16, No.1.

3. AR. Rd. Bust of King in smooth helmet thrusting javelin :: Mounted Dioskuroi.

Diademed bust of king to l. wearing smooth helmet, thrusting javelin; his left shoulder is covered with aegis. (Above) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ (below) ΔΙΟΜΗΔΟΥ.

Rev. Mounted Dioskuroi charging to r., as on No.1. Kh. legend: (above) Maharajaṣa tratarasa (below) Diyametasa.


(1) BM: NC1887, p.182, Pl.VII.3 (from the Tatta find). (2) BM: NC1923, p.333, No.47 Pl.XVI.10. (3) Mr N. Singh.
4. **AR. Rd. Bust of King :: Dioskuroi standing to front.**

Diademed bust of king to r. (Above) $BAΣΙΛΕΩΣ\ ΣΩΤΗΡΩΣ$ (below) $ΔΙΟΜΗΔΟΥY$.

Rev. Dioskuroi standing, facing, holding long spears which rest on the ground. Kh. legend: (above) Maharajasa tratarasa (below) Diyametasa. 

**INDIAN DRACHMS..PI.XIV.5.** Monogram: 234.

(1) PMC, p. 37, No. 216. (2) BMC, p. 31, No. 1 Pl. VIII. 10. (3) Mr N. Singhi. (4) KM (MZ 1). (5) M. Marc Le Berre.

5. **AR. Rd. Bust of King in smooth helmet :: Dioskuroi standing to front.**

Diademed bust of king to r, wearing smooth helmet. (Above) $BAΣΙΛΕΩΣ\ ΣΩΤΗΡΩΣ$ (below) $ΔΙΟΜΗΔΟΥY$.

Rev. Dioskuroi standing, as on No. 4. Kh. legend: (above) Maharajasa tratarasa (below) Diyametasa.

**INDIAN DRACHMS. PI.XIV.6.** Monogram: 234.

(1) PMC, p. 37, No. 217. (2) BMC, p. 31, No. 2 Pl. VIII. 11. (3) IMC, p. 17, No. 2. (4) JNSI, XII, p. 55, Pl. I. 8 and 10 (enlarged). (5) Mr N. Singhi.

6. **AE. Sqr. Dioskuroi standing to front :: Humped Bull to right.**

Dioskuroi standing, facing, holding long spears which rest on the ground. (L) $BAΣΙΛΕΩΣ$ (top) $ΣΩΤΗΡΩΣ$ (r) $ΔΙΟΜΗΔΟΥY$.

Rev. Humped bull to r. Kh legend: (r) Maharajasa (top) tratarasa (1) Diyamedasa.


(1-7) PMC, pp. 37-38, Nos. 218-24: Pl. IV. 220. (8-11) BMC, p. 31, Nos. 5-8: No. 5 Pl. VIII. 14. (12-15) IMC, p. 17, No. 3-6: No. 3 Pl. III. 10. (16-19) Mr H. P. Poddar—4 coins. (20-22) Mr N. Singhi—3 coins, one being "restruck on an older coin".

**DIONYSIUS (SOTER)**

**INDIAN STANDARD**

1. **AR. Rd. Bust of King :: Athena thundering to left.**

Diademed bust of king to r. (Above) $BAΣΙΛΕΩΣ\ ΣΩΤΗΡΩΣ$ (below) $ΔΙΩΝΥΣΙΟΥY$.
Rev. Athena standing to l., holding aegis on outstretched l. arm, and hurling thunderbolt with r. hand. Kh. legend: (above) Maharajasa tratarasa (below) Dianisyasa.


2. AE. Rd. Apollo standing to right :: Tripod-lebes.

"Apollo to r., clad in chlamys and boots; holds arrow in both hands, quiver at back. Legend on three sides." (L) BAΣΙΛΕΩΣ (top) ΣΩΘΡΟΣ (r) ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΥ.

Rev. "Tripod; r. trident, l. Kh. letter ji. Kh. legend, (r) Maharajasa (top) tratarasa (l) Dianisyasa."


(1) NS XIV, JASB 1910, p. 559, Pl. XXXIII. 7. "A round copper coin of Dionysios is a novelty. It is a counterpart of a well-known copper coin of Apollodotos, as might have been expected, since all the known types of the issues of Dionysios are taken from those of Apollodotos." —Whitehead. Cf. Type 5 of Apollodotus II (legends in straight lines).

3. AE. Sqr. Apollo standing to right :: Tripod-lebes.

Apollo to r., holding arrow in both hands. (L) BAΣΙΛΕΩΣ (top) ΣΩΘΡΟΣ (r) ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΥ.


Medium-sized Coins. Pl. XIV.10. Monograms: Kh. ji or M 18, ji, bi, etc.

(1) PMC, p. 64, Pl. VII. 520. (2) IMC, p. 28, No. 4 Pl. V. 13. (3-4) BMC, p. 51, Nos. 2-3. (5-6) NCB 1946, p. 144, No. 8 (2 coins from Akhnoor, about 20 miles N. of Jammu with a drachm of Apollodotus II). (7-9) MR H. P. Poddar—3 coins. (10-12) Mr N. Singh—3 coins.

Without Greek Legend :

4. AE. Sqr. Apollo standing to right :: Royal Diadem.

In incuse square Apollo to r. holding arrow with both hands; a quiver at his back. No Greek legend.


Small Coins. Pl. XIV.11.

(1) PMC, p. 65 Pl. VII. 521 (King's name almost off the flan). (2-3) IMC,
EPANDER (NIKEPHOROS)

INDIAN STANDARD

1. AR. Rd. Bust of King :: Athena thundering to left.

Diademed bust of king to r. (Above) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ (below) ΕΠΙΝΑΔΡΟΥ.

Rev. Helmeted Athena standing to l., holding aegis on outstretched l. arm and hurling thunderbolt with r. hand. Kh. legend: (above) Maharajasa jayadharasa (below) Epdrasa.


(1) PMC, p. 64, Pl. VI. 516. (2) BM (ex Cunningham): BMC, p. 169, No. 1 Pl. XXXI. 13 (broken). (3) JNSI, IV, p. 146, Pl. XIII A. 2. (4) Mr H. P. Poddar. (5-6) KM (MZ 1)—2 coins.

2. AR. Rd. Bust of King in smooth helmet :: Athenath under- ing to left.

Diademed bust of king to r., wearing smooth helmet. (Above) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ (below) ΕΠΙΝΑΔΡΟΥ.

Rev. Athena thundering to l., as on No. 1. Kh. legend: (above) Maharajasa jayadharasa (below) Epdrasa.


(1) Mr H. de S. Shortt: NC 1947, p. 46, No. 9 Pl. I. 9. The letter ϖι has the right leg short, which form "occurs in Greek inscriptions as late as the second century B.C., and even survives into the first century B.C."—Whitehead. (2) Gen. Haughton, as noted by Whitehead. (3) JNSI, IX, p. 16, Pl. II. 1.

3. AE. Sr. Winged Nike standing to right :: Humped Bull to right.

Winged Nike to r., with palm and wreath. (R) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ (top) ΝΙΚΗ- ΦΟΡΟΥ (!) ΕΠΙΝΑΔΡΟΥ.

Rev. Humped bull to r. Kh. legend: (l) Maharajasa (top) jayadharasa (r) Epdrasa.
Eucretides I

Monograms: 150 with 162, 151 with 162 and 150.

1. AR. Rd. Bust of Eucretides I in smooth helmet :: Conjugate busts of Heliocles and Laodice.

In astragalus border, diademed bust of Eucretides I to r., wearing smooth helmet. (Above) ΒΑΕΙΛΕΥΣ ΜΕΓΑΣ (below) ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΑΗΣ.

Rev. In astragalus border, conjugate busts of Heliocles and Laodice to r. (Above) ΗΑΙΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ (below) ΚΑΙ ΔΑΟΔΙΚΗΣ.

The first tetradrachm having a loop was procured by Dr Lord from Tash Korghan and was published by Prinsep in JASB, VII (1838), PI. XXVII. 1, by Wilson in Ari. Ant., p. 267, Pl. XXI. 7, and by Thomas in PEII, pp. 126, 184, No. 5 Pl. XLII. 3. The loop was detached by the time it was acquired by the BM, which also possesses an exactly similar coin in drachm size. Thomas noticed two casts of a second tetradrachm (see PEII, p. 184, No. 5), while Cunningham saw five different casts of it before he obtained the original. "All the casts repeat a straight superficial scratch in front of the face of Eucretides, as well as the injury to the eye of Heliocles, which has been deliberately drilled out by some bigoted Muhammadan." — CASE, p. 166, PI(C). V. 6.


1. BM (ex Dr Lord via the India Office Cabinet): BMC, p. 19, No. 1 Pl. VI. 9.

1. AR. Rd. Bust of Eucretides I in smooth helmet thrusting javelin :: Conjugate busts of Heliocles and Laodice.

In astragalus border, diademed bust of Eucretides I to l., wearing smooth
Corpus of Indo-Greek Coins

helmet and thrusting javelin with r. hand. (Above) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΜΕΓΑΣ
(below) ΕΥΚΠΑΤΙΔΗΣ.

Rev. In astragalus border, conjugate busts of Heliocles and Laodice to r.
(Above) ΗΛΙΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ (below) ΚΑΙ ΛΑΟΔΙΚΗΣ.


(1) Hirsch Sale Cat., 1912, Pl. XIV. 524; also IG, Pl. II. 1. The type is a
remarkable discovery of Dr A. K. Narain, who probably refers to a second

B. NORMAL COINAGE

Without Epithet:

2. AR. Rd. Bust of King :: Mounted Dioskouroi.

In astragalus border, diademed bust of king to r.

Rev. Mounted Dioskouroi, holding palms, charging to r. with levelling spears.
(Above) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ (below) ΕΥΚΠΑΤΙΔΑΟΥ


A BM coin (ex Cunningham) was first noticed and described by Thomas in PE
II, p. 184, No. 4; it was published by Cunningham in NC 1869, p. 221, No. 3
Pl (C). V. 2. Cunningham noticed duplicates with Wigan (ex Gibbs), E. C.
Bayley, and Gen Abbott.

(1-2) BMC, p. 13, Nos. 6-7: No. 6 Pl. V. 6. (3) PMC, p. 20, No. 61—poor.
(4) Kabul Museum (QH)—18 coins (N. Cir., May 1954, col. 191), one of which
has since been published in JNSI, XVII, p. 49, No. 25 Pl. III. 7.


Prinsep published Gen Ventura's coin in JASB 1835, Pl. XIII. 6; it was
published again by Rochette in J. des Sav., 1836, Pl. II. 3 and possibly
illustrated in Trésor de Numismatique, Pl. lxxii. 2. The coin seems to be in the
Cabinet de France, Paris.

(1) BM (ex Cunningham): NC 1869, p. 221, No. 3a. (2) WKS, p. 4. pl. I. 33.
(3-4) PMC, p. 20, Nos. 62-63: Pl. II. 63 (No. 62 with astragalus border). (5)
—and Plate, Fig.

3. AR. Rd. Bust of King in smooth helmet :: Mounted

In astragalus border, diademed bust of king to r., wearing smooth helmet.
Rev. Mounted Dioskouroi charging, as on No. 2. (Above) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ
(below) ΕΥΚΠΑΤΙΔΑΟΥ.


A coin was first published by Rochette in J. des Sav., July, 1834, Plate, Fig.
5: also figured by Köhler and Mionnet in their works. "Rochette considered
Eucratides I

it," says Wilson (Ari. Ant., p. 239, No. 7 in connection with a drachm(?) with title ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ), "to be the type of the coin originally figured by Bayer." But we have seen Bayer's Latin work from the St. Xavier's College Library, Calcutta, and found that this observation is incorrect; Bayer published a normal Eucratides tetradrachm of the type, BMC, Pl. V. 8 (i.e., Tp. 10) with titles ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΜΕΓΑΣ and Μ 59).

Cunningham described the type in NC 1869, p. 221, No.4 Pl (C), V.3: "Formerly in the possession of the author; stolen in 1844. Duplicato, Mr. Campbell, procured by Dr. Mackinnon from Bokhara. Only two specimens." It is PMC, p. 27, unrep. Tp.ii. Tarn (GBI, p.209) apparently overlooked this typo, when he discussed "the portrait of Eucratides in his helmet upon the tetradrachm of his second series," meaning Eucratides' common tetradrachm with titles ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΜΕΓΑΣ (CHI, Pl.IV. 5=coin No.11 on GBI Plate).

Possibly there is no coin of this typo amongst the 18 Qunduz tetradrachms of Eucratides I with the simple title ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ.

4. AV. Rd. Bust of King :: Palms and PiloI.

In pellet border, diademcd bust of king to r., wearing smooth helmet, as on No. 8 (stater).

Rev. Palms and piloi. Legend: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΟΥ.

ATTIC STATER. Wt. 7 gr. 2 (about 111 grains).

This interesting piece ("a stater") is described by Madame Allouche-Le Page in Journal Asiatique, CCXXXVIII (1950), pp.476-77. It belongs to Mr. Azizbeglu of Tehran, the proud possessor of the unique Attic tetradrachm of Memander I (Tp. 1). Madame Le Page could not say anything about its genuineness, nor could Mr Azizbeglu. As a matter of fact, the pellet border and the simple title ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ have raised suspicion in Madame Le Page's mind. But there is nothing strange in them. Eucratides' other unique stater (Tp. 8) also has pellet border, and the simple title ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ is characteristic of his obols, which always bear palms and piloi on the reverse.

It is said to bear "one of Eucratides' 22 monograms." Unless the condition of the coin is bad, its weight however would seem to be too low for a genuine stater.

5. AR. Rd. Bust of King :: Palms and piloi.

In pellet border, diademcd bust of king to r.

Rev. Palms and piloi. (R) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ (I) ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΟΥ.

ATTIC OBOLS. Pl. Xv. 9. Monograms: 50, 58, 59, 60, 127, 162, K.H.

6. AR. Rd. Bust of King in smooth helmet :: Palms and piloi.

In pellet border, diademed bust of king to r., wearing smooth helmet.

Rev. Palms and piloi. (R) ΛΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ (l) ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΟΥ.


Wilson published one of the six coins of the East India Company’s collection (all procured from Kabul): Ari. Ant., p. 240, No. 10 Pl. III. 6. It is Thomas’ Tp. 3 (PE II. p. 184), and Cunningham’s Tp. 6 [NC 1869, p. 221, Pl(C). V. 5].

(1-4) BMC, p. 15, Nos. 27-30: No. 28 Pl. V. 11. (5) BM (from Baluchistan): NC 1904, p. 320, Pl. XVII. 25. (6) WKS, p. 86, Pl. X. 959. (7-12) PMC, p. 21, Nos. 71-76: Pl. II. 71. (13-16) Mr H. P. Foddar—4 coins: 3 coins came from the Talbot collection, one of which has a big enough bust to cover the whole flan. (17-19) Mr N. Singh—3 coins.

7. AE. Sqr. Head of King :: Palms and piloi.

"Baro diademed head of king to right".

Rev. “Egg caps and palms of the Dioscuri.” (R) ΛΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ (l) ΕΥΚΡΑ-ΤΙΔΟΥ.

SMALL COIN. PL. XVI. 1. Monograms: 66 with 143.

(1) BM (ex Cunningham): NC 1869, p. 223, No. 12 Pl(C). V. 11 (PMC, p. 27, unrop. Tp. vi.). This and the coin of Tp. 13 are the two known monolingual square copper coins of Eucratides I.

With Epithet ΜΕΓΑΣ:

8. AV. Rd. Bust of King in smooth helmet :: Mounted Dioskuroi.

In astragalus border, diademed bust of king to r., wearing smooth crested helmet.

Rev. Mounted Dioskuroi, holding palms, charging to r., with long levelled spears. (Above spears’ ends) ΛΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΔΟΥ (below) ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΟΥ.


Chabouillet, Revue Numismatique, 1887, p. 382, Pl. XII; Cunningham, CAE, p. 164, No. 1; Gardner, BMC, p. 165, No. 1; Whitehead, PMC, p. 27, unrop. Tp. i; American Journal of Numismatics, 1876, p. 18 (for the story of discovery, as retold in J/NSI. XVIII, pp. 217-18).

(1) La Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris: Soltman, GC, Pl. LV.5 and Mrs.
Eucratides I

Sudha Narain, JNSI, XVIII, Pl. IX. We have also received from Paris a set of good casts and photographs of the original coin. The monogram of this splendid coin does not seem to be what Cunningham and Whitehead take it for; for it looks neither to be Cunningham’s Monogram No. 58 (i.e. our M 75) nor to be Whitehead’s No. 24 (i.e. our M 76). On both of our cast and photograph as well as on Seltman’s plate it is M 77, though on Mrs. Narain’s illustration it looks more like M 76 than like M 77. But Seltman in the first as well as in the second edition (p. 235, note 2) of his Greek Coins observes, “The monogram upon it (the 20-stater piece) is the same as that upon the Indian silver coins (Pl. LVI. 2).” But strangely enough, the monogram of the 20-stater piece occurs neither on his Pl. LVI. 2 (which is a copper coin and without a monogram) nor on any other Indo-Greek coin illustrated on Pl. LVI.

“It is curious to note,” says Whitehead (NC 1923, pp. 301-02), “that, though found in the Oxus region, this splendid medal bears a monogram (M 76) found on no other Bactrian piece, not even of Eucratides himself, but quite characteristic of the Indo-Bactrian money struck by Menander, probably in Gandhāra (v. infra). Cunningham suggests that this monogram may represent Pusulaotis, the modern Chārṣadda. I am tempted to surmise that the medal was struck in India to commemorate Eucratides’ Indian conquests.” But Tarn thinks otherwise and says that it was “certainly, from the style, struck in Bactria not in India.” (GBI, p. 207, n. 5.)

Attic Octodrachm (?). Monogram: 118 (?).

(1) The coin “from J. P. Morgon collection and ex-Aboukir find”, as listed and illustrated in Hans M. F. Schulman, Mail Bid Auction List, June 24, 1953, and noticed by Mr. P. L. Gupta in JNSI, XVI, p. 275. The coin is said to have been “struck in imitation of the type of B.M.C. tetradrachm no. 11. . . . It weighs 26 grs. (grammes?) and is 30 mm. in size.” [As it looks, Mr. Gupta’s notice is imperfect; and, unfortunately, we are not in a position to verify the reference or give the accurate details of the interesting coin.]


(1) Mr. E. T. Newell (now in the American Numismatic Society); NC 1923, p. 318, No. 4 Pl. XIV. 4. This coin besides its obverse pellet border has a slight difference in its reverse design; unlike those of the 20-stater piece, the Dioskouroi on this stater hold somewhat raised and shorter spears.

“This unique gold piece was formerly worn by an Afghan officer as a signet attached to a gold ring, from which it is said to have been cut off by the gentleman who acquired it some years ago.”—NC 1892, p. 37. It was, however, first referred to in B.M.C. p. 165, No. 2 as belonging to “Col. Strutt.” It went to Mr. Montague and was described in the Montague Sale Cat., Part II, 774 and fully published in NC 1892, p. 37, Pl. III. 11. It was with Mr. E. T. Newell when Whitehead published it again in NC 1923.

9. AR. Rd. Bust of King in smooth helmet thrusting javelin :: Mounted Dioskouroi.

In astragalus border, diademed bust of king to r. wearing smooth helmet and thrusting javelin in r. hand.
Rev. Mounted Dioskuroi holding palms charging to r. with long levelled spears. (Above) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ (below) ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΟΥ.


Thomas described the type in PEL II, p. 185, No. 7 and referred to "Kohler (i.e. Trésor de Numismatique) Pl. LXXXIII, Fig. 7." Cunningham's "much worn" specimen (Wt. 233 grs.), secured from Bokhara, was published in NC 1869, p. 223, No. 9 Pl (C). V. 8 and BMC, p. 165, No. 3 Pl. XXX. 8 (obv.); Cunningham referred to the above coin as "duplicate," and knew a third coin and possessed its cast. Though ultimately acquired by the BM, Cunningham's "much worn" coin does not seem to be identical with the BM specimen published and illustrated in CHI, p. 465, Pl. IV. 6.


10. AR. Rd. Bust of King in smooth helmet :: Mounted Dioskuroi.

In astragalus border helmeted bust of king to r.

Rev. Mounted Dioskuroi charging, as on No. 8. (Above) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ (below) ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΟΥ.


A coin of this type formed the corner-stone of Theophilus Bayor's Latin work Historia Regni Graecorum Bactriani (1738): Table I ad p. 100 Fig. 1. It was procured at Astrakhan or Casan and was possibly the first Graeco-Bactrian coin (tetradrachm: M 59) to be published and discussed. This being the most common type of Eucrates' tetradrachms, a good number of coins of the type were known to the numismatists of the nineteenth century. Prinsep : JASB 1835, Pl. XXV. 5; Jacquet: Jour. Asiatique, Feb., 1836, p.157 (Gen. Ventura's coin with blundered legend); Wilson: Ari. Ant., p. 238, No. 1 Pl. III. 1-3 (knew 5 coins); Thomas: PEL II, p. 185, No. 6 (knew 11 coins, some with unusual monograms); Cunningham : NC 1869, p. 222, No. 8 Pl (C). V. 7.

(1-7) BMC, p. 14, Nos. 8-14: No. 9 Pl. V. 7 and No. 13 Pl. V. 8. (8-9) WKS, p. 3, No. 32; also p. 86, Pl. X. 957 (cf. IMC, Pl. II. 7). (10-13) IMC, pp. 11-12, Nos. 7-10 : No. 8 Pl. II. 7. (14-18) PMC, pp. 20-21, Nos. 64-68: Pl. II. 64. (19) The Coin Collectors Journal, July 1939, p. 71, illustration No. 4. (20-142) Kabul Museum (QH)—123 coins : N. Cir., May 1954, col. 191, one of which has been published in JNSI, XVII, p. 49, No. 26 Pl. IV. 1. (143) Vente Publique, XIX, Basel, p. 63, Pl. 27. 571.

ATTIC DRACHMS. Pl. XVI. 6. Monograms : 50, 98, 102, 127, 162, H, N.

Rochette: J. des Sav., 1834, Pl. fig. 5 and 1835, Pl. I. 6; Trésor de Numismatique, lxiii, 6; Thomas: PEL II, p. 185, No. 6a (knew 3 more coins); Cunningham : NC 1869, p. 222, No. 8a.
Eucratides I

(1-4) BMC, p. 14, Nos. 15-18: No. 15 Pl. V. 9—has astragalus border and M 102. (5) WKSC, p. 86, Pl. X. 958. (6-8) IMC, p. 12, Nos. 11-13. (9-10) PMC, p. 21, Nos. 69-70: Pl. II. 69. (11) Mr H. P. Poddar. (12-13) Mr N. Singhi—2 coins. These drachms bear pellet border.

11. AE. Rd. Bust of King in smooth helmet :: Mounted Dioskuroi.

Diademed bust of king to r., wearing smooth helmet.

Rev. Mounted Dioskuroi, holding palms, charging to r., with levelléd spears.

Greek legend, as on No. 8: (above) \(\text{ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ} \)

EYKPATIAOY.


Masson: \(\text{JASB}, \) April 1834, p. 165, Pl. VIII. 12; Prinsep: \(\text{JASB}, \) June 1835, p. 388, Pl. XXV. 7; Wilson: \(\text{Ari. Ant.}, \) p. 240, Pl. III. 8; Thomas: \(\text{PE II}, \) p. 185, No. 9—also refers to Bayley’s coin; Cunningham: \(\text{NC} 1869, \) p. 224, No. 16 Pl. (C). VI. 1.

(1-4) BMC, p. 16, Nos. 31-34: No. 34 Pl. VI. 1. (5-6) WKSC, p. 4, Nos. 35-36. (7-9) IMC, p. 12, Nos. 14-16: monograms not clear. (10-14) PMC, p. 22, Nos. 81-86: Pl. III. 86. (15-17) Mr H. P. Poddar—3 coins. (18) M. Marc Le Berre.

12. AR. Rd. Head of King in smooth helmet:: One of the Dioskuroi charging.

“Helmeted head to left” (sic.)

Rev. “A single horseman at the charge” (Thomas). (Above) \(\text{ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ} \)

EYKPATIAOY.

Small Coins. Pl. XVI. 8.

Thomas: \(\text{PE II}, \) p. 185, No. 11; Cunningham: \(\text{NC} 1869, \) p. 224, No. 15

Pl. (C). V. 14.

(1) BMC, p. 16, No. 35 Pl. VI. 2. (2) Mr. H. P. Poddar. (PMC, p. 27, unrep. Tp viii).

13. AR. Sqr. Helmeted head of King thrusting javelin:: Mounted Dioskuroi.

“Helmeted head to left, with upraised right hand darting a javelin.”

Rev. “ Mounted Dioscuri charging.” (R) \(\text{ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ} \) (top) \(\text{ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ} \)

(1) EYKPATIAOY.


(1) \(\text{NC} 1869, \) p. 224, No. 17. Köhler, “\(\text{Med. de la Bactriane} \)” and quoted by Mionnet in Supplement, VIII, 470. Thomas: \(\text{PE II}, \) p. 185, No. 10—referred to Köhler and Mionnet, and, according to him, the coin was in the BM.
Cunningham described the coin fully (NC 1869, p. 224, No. 17) as *dichalkon*, and referred to Köhler, Mionnet and Thomas; but neither did he illustrate it, nor say anything about its whereabouts and monogram. Gardner did not include it in the *BMC*, nor did Whitehead notice it in *PMC*, p. 27.

**INDIAN STANDARD**

*With Epithet ΜΕΓΑΣ:*

14. AR. Rd. Bust of King in smooth helmet :: Dioskuroi standing to front

In astragalus border, bust of king to r., wearing smooth helmet. (Above) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ (below) ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΟΥ.

Rev. "The Dioscuri standing side by side; holds spears and swords" (Gardner). (Above) Rajasa mahatakasa (below) Evukratidasa.

**INDIAN DRACHMS. Pl. XVII. 1. Monograms : 49, 68 (†).**

The Kharoshthi legend in Cunningham's hand-drawn illustration of Gen. Abbott's coin reads: Maharajasa mahatakasa Evukratidasa (see *CASE*, p. 167, No. 11, Pl. V. 10 and *BMC*, p. 165, No. 4 Pl. XXX.9). But lack of symmetry in the arrangement of legend and consistent occurrence of Rajasa mahatakasa, etc. on all other known specimens, including the three Bundelkhand coins (Smith, *Ind. Ant.*, 1904, pp. 217-18) and the coin of Gen. Court (von Sallet, *Zeit. f. Num.*, 10, p. 157), indicate wrong reading of the Kh. legend of Abbott's coin. The reading is, almost certainly, Rajasa mahatakasa Evukratidasa, the literal Prakrit rendering of ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΟΥ (see above, pp. 39-40).

(1) *IMC*, p. 13, No. 29 Pl. II.9. (2) Mr N. Singh. (3) BM: *GC*, Pl.LVI.1. (The BM has several specimens, but not the coin of Gen. Abbott).

15. AE. Sqr. Bust of King in smooth helmet :: Enthroned city deity of Kapiśi, and forepart of elephant.

Diademed bust of king to r., wearing smooth helmet. (L) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ (top) ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ (r) ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΟΥ.

Rev. A female deity wearing a mural crown, seated on throne to front, holds wreath and palm; to r. of throne, forepart of elephant to r., and to l., a pilos (†). Kh. legend: (r) Kaviśīye (top) nagara-(1) devata.

**SMALL COINS. Pl. XVII 2, 3. Monograms : 37, 38, 135.**


Whitehead has illustrated a beautiful BM specimen of this much discussed type in *NC* 1947, p. 30, Fig.1 and proposed a new identification for the reverse deity. He remarks, "The divinity in so many words called a city
deity, wears a mural crown, carries a palm but not a sceptre, in fact she is a
city goddess. She precisely resembles the city Tyche on the copper coin of
Hippostratus, B. M. Cat., Pl. XIV. 6, a fact already noticed by Dr. Alfred
von Sallet. The figure is called Zeus by Cunningham, though this attribution,
in view of the similar figure on the money of Hippostratus, is in no way cer-
tain. *Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, 179, p. 300. I fail to see how she can be
identified with the radiate, sceptred, victory-bearing Zeus of the money of
Antialcidas." It is interesting (as noted by Whitehead) that the deity "was
correctly described by Charles Masson, the first discoverer of the
piece, who got one at Begram, the site of Kapisa. 'Female deity sitting,
with turreted crown like Cybele'. J.A.S.B. 1834, p. 164, and Pl. VIII. 11."
Wilson also recognised the figure as a female deity and described her as "seated
figure to the left, indistinct, but apparently a Victory with the palm-branch."—
*Ari. Ant.*, p. 241, No. 14 P. III. 11. E. Thomas, possibly for the first time,
(*PEII*, p. 186, No. 14) hinted that the deity might be identical with the Zeus
of Antialcidas' coin. Cunningham straightway called the deity Zeus: *NC* 1869,
p. 225, No. 21 Pl (C). VI. 6. Gardner followed Cunningham in his description of
the coin: *BMC*, p. 19, Pl. VI. 8. Rapson discussed it in his "Notes on Indian
Coins and Seals", Part IV, *JRAS* 1905, p. 788, and in *CHI*, pp. 555-56. Tarn
has repeated Rapson's view and has given reason for the identification of
the deity with Zeus, *GBI*, p. 138, and has elaborated the theme at pp.
212 ff.

(1) *BMC*, p. 19, No. 63 Pl. VI. 8; also *NC* 1923, pp. 318-19, No. 5 Pl. XIV. 5
(BM has more than one specimen—see *NC* 1947, p. 30). (2) *BM*: *IG*, Pl. IV.
9; the types of this coin are overstruck on a coin of Apollodotus I, *Tp*. 4(?).
(3) *PMC*, p. 26, Pl. III. 131. (4) Mr N. Singhi.

16. AE. Sgr. Helmeted bust of King :: Nike to left.

Helmeted bust of king to r., as on No. 15. (L) *ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ* (top)
*ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ* (r) *ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΟΥ*.

Rev. Winged figure of Nike to l., holding palm-branch in l. hand and wreath
in r. "The whole surrounded by a square," outside which is the Kh. legend:
(r) Maharajasa (top) rajadirajas (l) Evukratidas.


A coin of this type (with the relevant title rajadirajas possibly obliterated)
was published by Wilson in *Ari. Ant.*, p. 242, No. 18 Pl. XXI. 6 from one of
two coins in Masson's collection. It is Thomas' *Tp*. 16 (*PEII*, p. 186); Thomas
noticed two other coins—(1) Brit. Mus. (2) Mr Bayley. Cunningham published
one of his four coins in *NC* 1869, p. 225, No. 20 Pl(C). VI. 4 (also
*BMC*, p. 166, No. 7 Pl. XXX. 12).

(1-3) *BMC*, p. 18, Nos. 58-60 are possibly coins of this type though
Gardner did not read rajadirajas on any of them: coin No. 59 (ex I. O. C)
Pl. VI. 6 seems to be the coin of Masson published by Wilson (*Ari. Ant.*,
Pl. XXI. 6). (4) Mr N. Singhi has a specimen of this rare type. Cunningham’s
coins, one of which clearly shows the title rajadirajas, are in the BM.
17. **AE. Sqr. Bust of King in smooth helmet :: Winged Nike standing to left.**

Helmated bust of king to r., as on No. 15. (L) $\text{BAΣIΛEΩΣ}$ (top) $\text{MEΓAΛOY}$
**(r) EYKPATIΔOY.**

Rev. Winged Nike to l., as on No. 16. Kh. legend: (r) Maharajasa (top) ... (?)
**(l) Evukratidasā.**

**Small Coins. Pl. XVII. 5. Monogram :**

(1) *IMC*, p. 13, No. 30 Pl. II. 10. (2) *PMC*, p. 26, No. 130 (worn). (3) *IMC*- (S), p. 9, No. 6 (worn). (4-5) Mr H. P. Poddar—coins of different dies. It is possible that *BMC* coin No. 58 (p. 18) is also a specimen of this type. The reverse side of these coins are generally worn; and it is difficult to ascertain if there is any writing on the top portion. This type is apparently a smaller variety of Tp. 16. On a few coins of Tp. 16, however, the top portion of the reverse shows the unique Parkrit title rajadiraja.

18. **AE. Sqr. Bust of King in smooth helmet thrusting javelin :: Winged Nike standing to right.**

Diademmed bust of king to l., wearing smooth helmet and thrusting javelin.
**(Top) BAΣIΛEΩΣ (r) MEΓAΛOY (below) EYKPATIΔOY.**

Rev. Winged Nike to r., bearing wreath and palm-branch. Kh. legend: (r) Maharajasa (top) ... ? (1) Evukratidasā.

**Medium-sized Coins. Pl. XVII. 6. Monogram : 134.**

(1) *BMC*, p. 18, No. 62 Pl. VI. 7; also *CHI*, p. 588, Pl. VI. 13.

19. **AE. Sqr. Bust of King :: Palms and piloi.**

Diademmed bust of king to r. (L) $\text{BAΣIΛEΩΣ}$ (top) $\text{MEΓAΛOY}$ (below) $\text{EYKPATIΔOY.}$


**Small Coins. Pl. XVII. 7.**


20. **AE. Sqr. Bust of King in smooth helmet :: Mounted Dios-ku roi.**

Diademmed bust of king to r., wearing smooth helmet. (L) $\text{BAΣIΛEΩΣ}$
**(top) MEΓAΛOY (below) EYKPATIΔOY.**
Rev. Mounted Dioskouroi (with palms) charging to r. with spears. Kh. legend: (top) Maharajas (below) Evukratidasa.


Var.a. Similar, but with epithet ΣΩΘΠ (written with round sigma and omega).

**Medium-sized Coin.** *Pl. XXXIV. 5.*

(1) *BM: PMC*, p. 27, unrep. Tp. x—“A strange coin, rather a freak than a distinct type.” According to Dr D. W. MacDowall, this much worn coin ‘seems to be late imitation.’ For a similar coin see Die Nachfolger Alexanders des Grossen, p. 101.

21 *AE. Sqr. Bust of King in kausia :: Mounted Dioskouroi.*

Diademed bust of king to r., wearing “flat kausia; palm behind head.”

(L) BA[ΣΙΛΕΩΣ] (top) ΜΣΓΑΔΟΥ (below) [ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΟΥ].

Rev. Mounted Dioskouroi charging, as on No. 20. Kh. legend seems to read:

(top) Maharajas (below) Evukratidasa.

**Medium-sized Coins.** *Pl. XXXIV. 10.* Monograms: 87, 255.

(1-2) Mr N. Singhí—2 coins. The semi-barbarous piece, *NS, XLII, p. 72N*, No. 2 *Pl.5.2*, is apparently a coin of this type.

**EUCRATIDES II (SOTER)**

**Attic Standard**

*Without Epithet:*

1. *AR. Rd. Bust of King :: Apollo standing to left with bow and arrow.*

In astragalus border, diademed bust of youthful king to r.

Rev. Apollo, naked, standing to l., with arrow in r. hand and bow in l.; bow rests on ground. (R) BAΣΙΛΕΩΣ (l) EΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΟΥ.

**Attic Tetradrachms.** *Pl. XVII. 9.* Monograms: 2, 56, 62.

A coin of this type was originally published by Köhler (see *Ari. Ant.*, p. 239, No. 5 *Pl. III. 4*). Wilson referred to three other coins including Dr Lord’s specimen (from Qanduz) as published in *JASB*, July 1838, *Pl. XXXVII.* 2.
Thomas knew six more coins besides those mentioned by Wilson, *PE II*, p. 184, No. 1. Cunningham published a BM specimen weighing 259 grains and measuring 1.3 inches, not traceable in the *BMC*. The Bodleian Library specimen noticed by him (in *NC* 1869, p. 220) is now in the Ashmolean Museum (Oxford)—*NC* 1947, p. 43, Pl. I. 2—and seems to be the finest of all known coins of this type.

(1-4) *BMC*, p. 13, Nos. 1-4: No. 3 Pl. V. 4; No. 1 is possibly illustrated in *CHI*, Pl. IV. 9. (5-6) *IMC*, p. 11, Nos. 1-2: No. 2 Pl. II. 5. (7) The above Ashmolean Museum specimen. (8-100) Kabul Museum (QH)—93 coins, one of which has been published in *JNSI*, XVII, p. 50, No. 34 Pl. V. 2. (101) *Vente Publique*, XIX (1959), Basel, p. 63, Pl. 27. 570. (102-04) Herat Museum—at least 1 coin.

**ATTIC DRACHMS. Pl. XVII. 10.** Pellet border. Monograms: I4, 284.

Thomas (*PE II*, p. 184, No. 1a) noticed Gen. Fox’s coin with M 14, which was again noticed by Cunningham in *NC* 1869, p. 220, No. 2 (no illustration). Occurrence of M 14 on this type is curious. Cunningham mentioned a second specimen of Gen. Abbott: M 284.

(1) *BMC*, p. 13, No. 5 Pl. V. 5 (ex I. O. C.) : M 284. The king’s portrait is very youthful; but the figure of Apollo is rather ill-executed, his features betraying lean outline of a youngish human figure. The coin is, however, not so crude as supposed by Macdonald (*CHI*, p. 460).

(2) *PMC*, p. 19, Pl. II. 60 : M 284. The obverse of this piece is better preserved than that of the BM coin. The king’s features are realistic enough to reveal his unusually tender age.

2. *AE. Rd. Head of Apollo :: Horse to left.*

"Laurelled head of Apollo to r."

Rev. "Horse standing to l." (Top) ΛΑΣΙΛΑΕΩΣ (below) ΕΥΦΡΑΤΙΔΟΥ.

**MEDIUM-SIZED COIN. Pl. XVII. 11.**

This unique specimen was in the Imperial Cabinet at Vienna. Rochette first figured it in *J. des Sav.*, April 1836, vignette, Fig. 21 and later on described it in the same Journal, May 1836, p. 270. It was noticed and copied by Wilson, *Ari. Ant.*, p. 240, Pl. III. 7. Thomas referred to it in *PE II*, p. 185, No. 8; Cunningham, in *NC* 1869, p. 224, No. 14 Pl(C). V. 13; Gardner, in *BMC*, p. 165, No. 5 Pl. XXX. 10; and Whitehead, in *PMC*, p. 27, unrep. Tp. vii.

With Epithet ΣΩΣΗΡ:

3. *AR. Rd. Bust of King :: Apollo standing to left with bow and arrow.*

In astragalus border, diademed bust of king to r.

Rev. Apollo standing to l., holding arrow in r. hand and bow in l. Continuous legend in three-quarter circle: ΛΑΣΙΛΑΕΩΣ ΣΩΣΗΡΟΣ ΕΥΦΡΑΤΙΔΟΥ.
Euthydemus I


(1) Hermitage Museum, Leningrad—(via the Schlesinger Salo, Berlin, Feb., 1935)—illustrated (Pl. 36) and discussed by Madam K. V. Trever in her Russian work, Monuments of Greek Bactrian Art, Moscow, 1940. It was, however, first noticed and discussed by Tarn, GBI, p. 272, and has since been published by Whitehead, NC 1947, pp. 42-43, No. 1 Pl. II. 1: M 2 (wt. 261 grains). Its peculiar features, specially the arrangement of legend, have been discussed above, p. 50. (2-33) Kabul Museum (QH)—37 coins: N. Cir., May 1954, col. 191. One of them has since been published in JNSI, XVII, p. 50, No. 35 Pl. V. 3.

EUTHYDEMUS I

ATTIC STANDARD

1. AV. Rd. Head of King :: Herakles seated with club on rock.

In pellet border, diademed head of king to r.

Rev. In pellet border, naked boarded Herakles seated on rock to l., "resting his left hand on the rock behind, and grasping in his right hand a club, which rests on a rock in front." (R) BAΣΙΑΕΩΣ (l) EΥΘΥΔΗΜΟΥ—written downwards.


2. AR. Rd. Head of King :: Herakles seated with club on rock.

In pellet border, diademed head of king to r. (portrait generally youthful).

Rev. Naked boarded Herakles, seated on rock to l., with club on rock, as on No. 1. (R) BAΣΙΑΕΩΣ (l) EΥΘΥΔΗΜΟΥ—written downwards.

ATTIC TETRADRACHMS. PI. XVIII. 2, 3, 4. Monograms: 29, 55, 57, 188, 188 and N.

(1-7) BMC, p. 4, Nos. 2-8: No. 2 Pl. I. 11 (NC 1951, p. 26, Pl. III. 7 and CHI, Pl. III. 1)—middle-aged portrait; No. 3 (NC 1951, pp. 25-26, Pl. III. 5); No. 4 (NC 1951, p. 24, Pl. III. 1); No. 5 Pl. II. 1 (NC 1951, p. 26, Pl. III. 8); No. 6 Pl. II. 2 (NC 1951, p. 25, Pl. III. 4); No. 8 Pl. II. 3. (8) BM (ex Cunningham): NC 1951, p. 27, No. 9 Pl. III. 9. (9) Ashmolean Museum: NC 1951, p. 26, No. 6 Pl. III. 6. (10-11) IMC, p. 8, Nos. 1-2: No. 1 Pl. I. 3 (conventional portrait). (12) Mr H. P. Poddar. (13-14) Kabul Museum (QH)—at least 2 coins are of this type, out of 12 coins reported in N. Cir., May 1954, col. 191. (15) BMC, p. 4, No. 9 (barbarous).


ATTIC HEMIDRACHM. Monogram: 271.

(1) PMC, p. 11, No. 7 (wt. 30 grains).
Var. a. Similar, but (on reverse) lion’s skin is spread on the rock on which Herakles is seated and there are only faint traces of stones under the club (which is actually not on the knee, as described in BMC).

(1) BMC, p. 5, No. 10 Pl. II. 4; also NC 1951, p. 28, No. 10 Pl. III. 10.
(2) WKSC, p. 2, No. 10. (3) Kabul Museum (QH)—at least 1 coin.

3. AR. Rd. Head of King :: Herakles seated with club on knee.

In pellet border, diademed bust of king to r. (elderly portrait).

Rev. Naked bearded Herakles seated to l. on rock, on which is spread lion’s skin; his l. hand rests on rock behind and his r. hand grasps a club which rests on his knee. (R) BAΣΙΛΕΩΣ (l) ΕΥΘΥΔΗΜΟΥ—(written downwards).


(1) BMC, p. 5, No. 14 Pl. II. 6. (2) IMC, p. 8. No. 4 Pl. I. 4. (3) PMC, p. 12, No. 15.

Var. a. Similar in many details, but of semi-barbarous to barbarous style.

Attic Tetradrachms. Pl. XVIII. 9, 10.
(1-2) BMC, p. 5, Nos. 11-12. (3-4) IMC, p. 8, Nos. 5-6: No. 5 Pl. I. 5 and No. 6 Pl. I. 6. (5-9) PMC, pp. 11-12, Nos. 10-14: these coins record various weights, much less than that of an Attic tetradrachm and, to quote Whitehead, “appear to be contemporaneous or early imitations.”

4. AE. Rd. Head of Herakles :: Horse prancing to right.

In pellet border, head of bearded Herakles to r.

Rev. In pellet border, horse prancing to r. (Above) BAΣΙΛΕΩΣ (below) ΕΥΘΥΔΗΜΟΥ.

Medium-sized Coins. Pl. XVIII. 11.
(1-3) BMC, p. 5, Nos. 15-17: No. 16 Pl. II. 7. (4-7) IMC, p. 8, Nos. 7-8: No. 7 Pl. I. 7—broad thin coins; Nos. 9 and 10 are “thick, convex coins.”
(8-9) PMC, p. 12, Nos. 16-17: Pl. I. 16—flat coins. (10-13) Mr N. Singh−3 ‘thick plane-convex’ coins and 1 coin of ‘flat circ. fabric’ with pellet border.
(14-20) Mr H. P. Poddar—7 coins with pellet border on both sides and 1 with pellet border on obverse only. (21) Herat Museum—at least 1 coin.

Small Coin.
(1) Mr H. P. Poddar—1 coin with pellet border on obverse (wt. 83 grains, size ‘7 inch).
Euthydemos II

5. *AE. Rd. Head of Zeus :: Horse prancing to right.*

In pellet border, head of lauriated Zeus to r., with shaggy beard.

*Rev.* In pellet border, horse prancing to r. (Above) BAΣΙΛΕΩΣ (below) EΥΘΥΔΗΜΟΥ.

**Medium-sized Coin.**

(1) Mr N. Singh—1 coin ‘flat in fabric’ (from Rawalpindi): *NS*, XLII, p. 72 N., No. 1 Pl.5.1. (2) Herat Museum—at least 1 coin. These pieces seem to be late imitations.

**Small Coin. Pl. XVIII. 12. Monogram : 162.**

(1) *BMC*, p. 5, No. 18 Pl. II.8.

6. *AE. Rd. Indistinct head :: Apollo standing to left.*

“Head, but very indistinct.”

*Rev.* “Standing figure of Apollo to the left; head rayed; right hand holds his arrow, the left his bow resting on the ground. BAΣΙΛΕΩΣ...ΔΗΜΟΥ.”

**Medium-sized Coin.**

(1) Masson’s coin, *Ari. Ant.*, p. 227, No. 20 Pl. II.1 (rev.): from Boghram, “being slightly convex on one side and still less concave on the other. The coin is unique.” See *PMC*, p. 12, unrep. Tp. ii: “An Apolline type of copper coin. ‘Ariana Antiqua.’” Dr D. W. MacDowall informs us that the coin is not in the BM.

**EUTHYDEUMUS II**

**Attic Standard**

1. *AR. Rd. Bust of King :: Crowned Herakles standing to front and holding out wreath.*

In pellet border, diademed and draped bust of king to r.

*Rev.* “Young Herakles facing, ivy-crowned; holds in r. hand wreath of ivy and in l. hand, club and lion’s skin.” (R) BAΣΙΛΕΩΣ (1) ΕΥΘΥΔΗΜΟΥ—written downwards.

**Attic Tetradrachms. Pl. XIX. 1. Monograms: 102, 162.**


**Attic Drachms. Pl. XIX. 2. Monogram : 102.**


**Attic Obol. Pl. XIX. 3. Monogram : 171.**

2. Cupro-Nickel Rd. Head of Apollo :: Tripod-lebes.

In pellet border, head of Apollo, lauriate, to r.

Rev. Tripod-lebes. (R) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ (l) ΣΥΘΥΛΔΗΜΟΥ—written downwards.

(1) BMc, p. 8, No. 4 Pl. III. 3. (2-4) PMC, p. 15, Nos. 29-31: Pl. I. 29.
(5) WKSC, p. 3, No. 19.

3. AE. Rd. Head of Apollo :: Tripod-lebes.

In pellet border, lauriate head of Apollo to r.

Rev. Tripod-lebes. (R) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ (l) ΣΥΘΥΛΔΗΜΟΥ—written downwards.

(7) KM (MZ 1).

4. AE. Rd. Head of Heracles :: Horse prancing to right.

In pellet border, head of bearded Heracles to r.

Rev. In pellet border, horse prancing to r. (Above) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ (below) ΣΥΘΥΛΔΗΜΟΥ.

(1) BMc, p. 8, No. 6 Pl. III. 7. (2) PMC, p. 15, No. 34: “Thick plano-convex coin.” (3) Herat Museum—at least 1 coin.

Helioches (Dikaios)

Attic Standard

1. A.R. Rd. Bust of King :: Zeus standing to front with thunder-bolt and sceptre.

In astragalus border, diademed bust of king to r.

Rev. Zeus standing, facing, holds thunderbolt in r. hand and in l. hand a long sceptre—which rests on the ground. (R) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ (below) ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ (l) ΗΛΙΟΚΛΕΩΣ.


Wilson, while publishing a coin of the type in Ari. Ant., p. 268, No. 2 Pl.
Heliocles

II. 6. remarked: "A coin of similar type was first published by Mionnet in 1799, who from its fabrication inferred its belonging to a king of Bactria..." Cunningham published his own coin in CASE, p. 170, No. 1 Pl. VI. 8.

(1-7) BMC, p. 21, Nos. 1-7: No. 1 Pl. VII. 1 (obv.), No. 2 (? CHI, p. 466, Pl. IV. 8) and No. 3 Pl. VII. 2: treatment of the diadem-ends differs. (8) IMC, p. 13, No. 1 Pl. III. 1. (9-10) PMC, pp. 27-28, Pl. III. 133. (11) Mr N. Singhi.

(12) BM (?): NNM 13 Pl. VI. 1: M 178. (13-216) Kabul Museum (QH)—204 coins: N. Cir., May 1954, col. 191; one of them has since been published in JNSI, XVII, p. 50, No. 39 Pl. V. 7. (217) Vente Publique, XIX (1959), Basel, p. 64, Pl. 27. 572. (218) Herat Museum—at least 1 coin. (219) Kandahar Museum—at least 1 coin.

ATTIC DRACHMS. Pl. XIX. 11. Monograms: A or A, A (?), 9, 28, 297.

(1-3) BMC, p. 21, Nos. 8-10: No. 8 Pl. VII. 3. (4) PMC, p. 28, Pl. III. 135.

(5-6) Mr H. P. Foddar—2 coins. (7) Mr N. Singhi—1 coin (pierced). (8) Herat Museum—at least 1 coin. (9-11) Kabul Museum—at least 3 coins.

Var. a. Similar, but of semi-barbarous style.

ATTIC TETRADRACHM. Pl. XIX. 12. Monogram: M.

(1) PMC, p. 28, No. 134. (2) Kabul Museum—at least 1 coin.

ATTIC DRACHM.

(1) IMC, p. 13, No. 2: legend—BAΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΗΛΙΟΚΛΕΩΣ ΔΚΑΙΥ.


"Helmeted head (bust?) of king to right, with the shoulder draped, and ends of the diadem floating behind. The whole surrounded by a circle of astragalus beading."

Rev. "Zeus seated to left, holding spear in his left hand, and a small Victory in his right hand" (Cunningham). (R) BAΣΙΛΕΩΣ (below) ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ (i) ΗΛΙΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ.

ATTIC TETRADRACHM. Pl. XXXIV. 6.

(1) BM (ex Major Hay): BMC, p. 166, No. 1 (previously noticed in PE, II, p. 182, No. 2 and CASE, p. 171, No. 2): it is PMC, p. 29, unrep. Tp. i.

ATTIC DRACHMS. Pl. XX. 1.

(1) BM (ex Bayley): see PMC, p. 29. unrep. Tp. i (previously noticed in PE, II, p. 182, No. 3, and published in CASE, p. 171, No. 2a Pl. VI. 9 and BMC, p. 166, No. 2 Pl. XXXI. 1): the king wears Medusa helmet. (2) Mr N. Singhi—1 'plated drachm', ex M.F.C. Martin, who noted in his unpublished catalogue: "An extremely rare coin, but badly preserved. This may, perhaps, be assigned to an earlier ruler than the remaining coins of Heliocles."
3. A E. Rd. Crude bust :: Zeus standing to front with thunderbolt and sceptre.

In astragalus border, rude copy of the king's bust to r.

Rev. Barbarous copy of the silver type of 'Zeus standing with thunderbolt and sceptre,' as on No. 1. Greek legend blundered.

**BIG COINS. PI. XX. 2.**


4. A E. Rd. Crude bust :: Horse prancing to left.

In astragalus border, crude diademed bust of king to r.

Rev. Horse walking to l. Greek legend blundered.

**BIG COINS. PI. XX. 3.**


**SMALL COINS. PI. XX. 4.**


**INDIAN STANDARD**

5. A R. Rd. Bust of King :: Zeus standing to front with thunderbolt and sceptre.

Diademed bust of king to r. (Above) *ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ* (below) *ΗΑΙΟΚΑΛΕΟΥΣ*.

Rev. Zeus standing with thunderbolt and sceptre, as on No. 1. Kh. legend: (above) Maharajasa dhramikasa (below) Heliyakreyasa.

**INDIAN TETRADRACHMS. PI. XX. 5. Monograms: 29, 71, 233.**

(1) *BMC*, p. 23, No. 22 Pl. VII. 5. (2) *IMC(S)*, p. 9, No. 1—poor. Whitehead refers to five specimens of the diademed bust type, with monograms K₁, K₂ and K₃ (i.e. M 71, M 29, and M 233): see *NC*, 1923, pp. 321-22.

**INDIAN DRACHMS. PI. XX. 6. Monograms: 29, 222, 223, 233.**


Diademed bust of king to r., wearing Medusa helmet. (Above) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ (below) ΗΛΙΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ.

Rev. Zeus standing with thunderbolt and sceptre, as on No. 1. Kh. legend: (above) Maharajasa dhramikasa (below) Heliyakreyasa.

(1) BM (ex Whitehead): NC 1923, pp. 321-22, No. 9 Pl. XIV. 9 (wt. 143 grs.)

7. A/R. Rd. Bust of King thrusting javelin :: Zeus standing to front with thunderbolt and sceptre.

Diademed bust of king to l., thrusting javelin; his l. shoulder is covered by the aegis. (Above) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ (below) ΗΛΙΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ.

Rev. Zeus standing with thunderbolt and sceptre, as on No. 1. Kh. legend: (above) Maharajasa dhramikasa (below) Heliyakreyasa.


Diademed bust of king to l., wearing smooth helmet, thrusting javelin; his l. shoulder is covered by the aegis. (Above) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ (below) ΗΛΙΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ.

Rev. Zeus standing with thunderbolt and sceptre, as on No. 1. Kh. legend: (above) Maharajasa dhramikasa (below) Heliyakreyasa.

(1) BM: NC 1923, p. 322, No. 10 Pl. XIV. 10: for close resemblance of the obverse design, cf. the tetradrachm of Archebius (Tp. 6), BMC, p. 32, No. 4 Pl. IX. 4, which also bears M. 233.

Indian Drachms. Pl. XX. 10. Monogram: Σ.
(1) WKSC, p. 4, Pl. II. 47. (2) BM: see PMC, p. 29, unrep. Tp ii. (3) JNSI, XI (1949), p. 101, Pl. VI. 12.

9. A/E. Sqr. Bust of King :: Elephant to left.

Diademed bust of king to r. (L) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ (top) ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ (r) ΗΛΙΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ.
Rev. Elephant standing to l. Kh. Legend: (r) Maharajasa (top) dhramikasa (1) Heliyakreyasa.

(1-2) BMC, p. 23, Nos. 26-27. (2-4) IMC, p. 14, Nos. 6-7: No. 6 Pl. III. 3.

10. AE. Sqr. Bearded bust :: Elephant to left.

Diademed bust of bearded king (?) to r. (L) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ (top) ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ (r) ΗΑΙΟΚΑΕΟΥΣ.

Rev. Elephant standing to l. Kh. legend: (r) Maharajasa (top) dhramikasa (1) Heliyakreyasa.

(1-2) BMC, p. 24, Nos. 28-29: No. 29 Pl. VII. 7—name Heliyakresa. (3) PMC, p. 29, Pl. III.148. (4) Mr H. P. Poddar. (5-7) Mr N. Singh —3 coins; the name is Heliyakresa on one coin, while another, according to Martin, is "Restruck on an older coin (ex Masson Collection). It is engraved in Ariana Antiqua"—Pl. II. 7 (l). (8-14) Taxila, p. 801, Pl. 237. 68-69 (actually seven specimens).

Var. a. Similar, but Elephant standing to l., "holds wreath in trunk and wears girth of flower."

(1) Mr N. Singh—coin, "unique and unpublished."

Var. b. Similar, but elephant to right.

Medium-sized Coin. Monogram: Σ.
(1) CMB 1955, p. 182, No. 313.

11. AE. Sqr. Elephant to right :: Humped Bull to right.

Elephant walking to r. (L) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ (top) ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ (r) ΗΑΙΟΚΑΕΟΥΣ.

Rev. Humped bull standing to r. Kh. legend: (r) Maharajasa (top) dhramikasa (1) Heliyakreyasa.

Medium-sized Coins. Pl. XX. 13. Monograms: Σ, 8, 12 and Σ.
(1-2) BMC, p. 24, Nos. 30-31: No. 30 Pl. VII. 8. (3) PMC, p. 29, Pl. III. 149. (4) Mr H. P. Poddar.

Var. a. Similar, but Elephant walking to left.

(1) BM: see PMC, p. 29; unrep. Tp. iii—"unpublished. B. M." (2-3) Taxila, p. 801, Pl. 237. 70: "Two specimens from Sirkap."
ATTIC STANDARD

With epithet ΣΩΘΗΠ:


In astragalus border, diademed bust of king to r.

Rev. Zeus-Mithra, radiate, seated to l. on throne; long sceptre in l. hand; holds callipers (?) in outstretched r. hand. (Above) BAΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΘΗΠΟΣ (below) ΕΠΜΑΙΟΥ.

ATTIC TETRADRACHM. Pl. XXI. 1. Monogram: 95

(1) Kabul Museum (QH): N. Cir., May 1954, col. 190, Fig.; also JNSI, XVI, p. 188, No. 14 Pl. III. 7 and JNSI, XVII, p. 52, No. 54 Pl. VIII. 5.

The hitherto unidentified object in the hand of the deity, whom Newell calls Zeus-Mithra for certain Iranian features, has been identified by him as a pair of callipers: see NNM 82, pp. 90-91, and cf. the ‘curved’ object in the hand of Zeus (-Mithra?) as seen on the tetradrachm of Azes, NCU 1923, Pl. XVII. 12.

INDIAN STANDARD

With epithet ΣΩΘΗΠ:


Diademed bust of king to r. (Above) BAΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΘΗΠΟΣ (below) ΕΠΜΑΙΟΥ.

Rev. Zeus-Mithra enthroned with sceptre and callipers, as on No. 1. Kh. legend: (above) Maharajasa tratarasa (below) Heramayasa.


Corpus of Indo-Greek Coins


Var. a. Similar, but omicrons in the legend are square.


(1-2) BMC, p. 63, Nos. 22-23. (3) PMC, p. 83, No. 662. (4-11) Kabul Museum—at least 8 coins.

Var. b. Similar, but of semi-barbarous execution: Zeus being depicted with a peculiar head-dress.

INDIAN TETRADRACHM. Pl. XXXIV. 11. Monogram: 441.

(1) BM (ex Whitehead): NC 1923, p. 339, No. 65 Pl. XVII. 11 (rev.); the word Maharajasa is written as Maharayasa.


(1) Mr H. P. Poddar. (2-5) Kabul Museum—at least 4 coins.


Diademed bust of king to r., wearing smooth helmet. (Above) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ (below) ΕΡΜΑΙΟΥ.

Rev. Zeus-Mithra enthroned with sceptre and callipers, as on No. 1. Kh. legend: (above) Maharajasa tratarasa (below) Heramayasa.


(1) BM: NC 1887, p. 183, No. 9 Pl. VII. 9. (2-3) BM: NC 1923, p. 339, Nos. 62-63: No. 62 Pl. XVII. 9 (from the so-called Kabul Find), and No. 64 Pl. XVII. 10 (rev.). Coins of this very rare helmeted type... seem to have been struck only in the Kabul region... In this type Zeus appears to be wearing a Phrygian cap, and the two-horned object (callipers?) in his r. hand is fairly clear.”—Whitehead. (4) BM (ex Cunningham): CASE, p. 286, No. 2 Pl. XIV. 8. This is PMC, p. 86, unrep. Tp. i.


(1) BMC, p. 63, No. 24 Pl. XV. 5. (2) BM (ex Cunningham): CASE, p. 862, No. 2a. (3) IMC, p. 82, No. 1—poor. (4) KM (MZ 1).


"Helmeted, diademed and fully accoutred figure of Hermaeus astride prancing horse to r.; at his back can be seen a spear and a bow in its case." (Newell). (Above) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ (below) ΕΡΜΑΙΟΥ.
**Hermaeus**

Rev. Zeus-Mithra enthroned with sceptre and callipers, as on No. 1. Kh. legend: (above) Maharajasa tratarasa (below) Heramayasa.


(1) Mr E. T. Newell: **NVN** 82, 1938, p. 89, Pl. V. 55; also NC 1940, p. 112, No. 11 Pl. VIII. 5. Mr. Newell remarked about “its excellent style and the minute details of its types.” “It was” he said, “among Hermaeus’ earliest issues and was soon replaced by his far commoner coins adorned with the royal portrait on the obverse.” (2) Mr. H. de S. Shortt: **NC** 1947, p. 48, No. 14 Pl. II. 5: “The piece... is of different and somewhat inferior style.”

**Indian Drachm. Pl. XXXIV. 7. Monogram:** 233.

(1) **BM** (ex Cunningham): **CASE**, p. 286, No. 3—‘from the Sonipat find.’

**Indian Hemidrachm. Monogram:** ?

(1) Dr. R. B. Whitehead: see **NC** 1955, **Proceedings**, p. xiv; the coin was exhibited at the November 1954 Meeting of the Royal Numismatic Society, London. Its weight is 17.9 grains.

5. **A.R. Rd. Bust of King :: Enthroned Zeus-Mithra holding out callipers.**

Diademed bust of king to r. (Above) **BAΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΟΤΗΡΟΣ** (below) **ΕΠΜΑΙΟΥ**. (Omicrons are square).

Rev. Zeus-Mithra enthroned with sceptre and callipers, as on No. 1. Kh. legend: (above) Maharajasa tratarasa (below) Heramayasa.

**Big Coins. Pl. XXI. 10. Monograms:** 10, 226, 228 with Kh. letters, 262 with Kh. letters, 264.


**Small Coins. Pl. XXI. 11. Monograms:** 228 with Kh. letters, 262.


6. **A.E. Sqr. Bust in Phrygian cap :: Horse prancing to right.**

“Bearded male bust r., radiate, wearing Phrygian cap.” (L) **BAΣΙΛΕΩΣ** (top) **ΣΟΤΗΡΟΣ** (r) **ΕΠΜΑΙΟΥ**.

Rev. “Horse to r., trotting.” Kh. legend: (r) Maharajasa (top) tratarasa (l) Heramayasa.

**Medium-sized Coins. Pl. XXI. 12. Monograms:** 75, 106.

(1-5) **BMC**, p. 66, Nos. 51-55: No. 55 Pl. XV. 8. (6-9) **IMC**, p. 33, Nos. 23-26: No. 23 Pl. VI. 15. (10-12) **PMC**, p. 84, Nos. 679-81: Pl. IX. 679; apparently these coins bear no monogram. (13) **KM** (MZ 1).

The obverse bust is differently executed on different coins.
With Epithets ΣΤΗΡΟΣΣΥ on obv. and ‘Mahatasa’ on rev:


Diadem bust of king to r. (Above) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΤΗΡΟΣΣΥ (below) ἘΡΜΑΙΟΥ.

Rev. Zeus-Mithra enthroned with sceptre and callipers, as on No. 1. Kh. legend: (above) Maharajasa mahatasa (below) Hermayasa.

(1-4) BMC, p. 65, Nos. 45-48. (5) IMC, p. 33, No. 21a. (6-8) PMC, p. 84, Nos. 676-78. (9) KM (MZ 1).

With Epithets ΣΤΗΡΟΣΣΥ on obv. and ‘Rajarajasa mahatasa’ on rev.:

8. A.E. Rd. Crude bust :: Winged Nike to left.

Diadem bust of king to r. Greek legend often blundered (showing both square and round omicrons) seems to read: (above) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΤΗΡΟΣΣΥ (below) ἘΡΜΑΙΟΥ.

Rev. Winged Nike, standing to l., holding wreath and palm. Kh. legend, often blundered and incomplete, seems to read: (above) Maharajasa rajarajasa mahatasa (below) Hermayasa.

(1-2) BMC, p. 65, Nos. 49-50. (3) IMC, p. 33, No. 22. (4-11) PMC, p. 85, Nos. 682-89; Pl. IX. 682. (12-13) KM (MZ 1)—2 coins.

Var. a. Similar, but Nike to front.
(1-2) PMC, p. 85, Nos. 690-91.

Var. b. Similar, but Nike to right.
(1) PMC, p. 85, No. 692. (2) Taxila, p. 804, Pl. 238. 100.

HERMAEUS (SOTER) AND CALLIOPE

Indian Standard

1. A.R. Rd. Conjugate busts of Hermaeus and Calliope :: King on prancing horse.

Conjugate diadem busts of Hermaeus and Calliope to r. (Above) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ἘΡΜΑΙΟΥ (below) ΚΑΙ ΚΑΛΛΙΟΠΗΣ.

Rev. Helmeted diadem and fully accoutred figure of king on prancing horse to r.; spear slung on near side of horse and bow in case on the other. Kh. legend: (above) Maharajasa tratarasa Hermayasa (below) Kaliyapaya.

(1-2) BM (ex Whitehead): NC 1923, pp. 338-39, Nos. 60-61; No. 60 Pl. XVII. 8 and No. 61 Pl. XVII. 7; the two coins vary in style.
*Hippostratus*


**INDIAN DRACHMS. Pl. XXII. 2. Monograms: 232, 234.**


**HIPPOSTRATUS (MEGAS SOTER)**

**INDIAN STANDARD**

With Epithet ΣΩΘΗΡ:

1. A.R. Rd. Bust of King:: City-goddess (Demeter?) standing to left.

Diadem bust of king to r. (Above) *ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΘΗΡΟΣ* (below) ΗΠΙΠΩΣΤΡΑΤΟΥ. (Omiocorns are square).

Rev. City-goddess standing to l. “wearing modius; holds in l. hand cornucopiae; r. hand advanced.” Kh. legend: (above) Maharajasa tratarasa (below) Hipustratasa.

**INDIAN TETRADRACHMS. Pl. XXII. 3. Monograms: 185 and a, 186 and a.**


**INDIAN DRACHM. Pl. XXII. 4. Monograms: 185 and a.**

(1) *PMC*, p. 74, Pl. VIII. 609.

2. A.E. Rd. Apollo standing to right :: Tripod-lettes with pronounced foot.

Apollo standing to r., carrying arrow in both hands; quiver at his back. (Above) *ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΘΗΡΟΣ* (below) ΗΠΙΠΩΣΤΡΑΤΟΥ.


**BIG COINS. Pl. XXII. 5. Monograms: 90 and ma, 250.**


3. A.E. Sqr. Apollo standing to right :: Tripod-lettes with pronounced foot.

Apollo standing to r., carrying arrow in both hands; quiver at back. (L) *ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ* (top) ΣΩΘΗΡΟΣ (r) ΗΠΙΠΩΣΤΡΑΤΟΥ.
4. AE. Sgr. Triton :: City-goddess standing to left.

Triton holding dolphin and rudder. (L) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ (top) ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ
(r) ΠΠΟΣΤΡΑΤΟΥ.

Rev. City-goddess standing to l., with cornucopiae, as on No. 1. Kh.
legend: (r) Maharajasa (top) tratarasa (l) Hipustratasa.


(1-3) BMC, p. 60, Nos.11-13: No. 13 Pl. XIV. 6. (4) PMC, p. 77,

With Epithet ΣΩΤΗΡ on obv., but tratarasa jayamata on rev.: 5. A.R. Rd. Bust of King :: King on prancing horse.

Diademed bust of king to r. (Above) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ (below)
ΠΠΟΣΤΡΑΤΟΥ. (Omicrons are square).

Rev. King in full panoply on horse prancing to r. Kh. legend: (above)
Maharajasa tratarasa jayamita (below) Hipustratasa.


(1) BMC, p. 60, No. 10 Pl. XIV. 5.


(1) PMC, p. 75, Pl. VIII. 616. (2) M. Marc Le Berre.

6. AE. Sgr. Enthroned deity :: Horse to left.

Helmeted radiate deity (Zeus?) seated on square-backed throne,
diadem (taenia?—BM) in outstretched r. hand; long sceptre in l. hand.
(L) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ (top) ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ (r) ΠΠΟΣΤΡΑΤΟΥ.

Rev. Within a square of astragalus beading, horse walking to l. Kh.
legend: (r) Maharajasa trata-(top) rasa jayamitasa (l) Hipustratasa.


(1) Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin (from C. R. Fox, 1873): NC 1923,
p. 336, No. 57 Pl. XVII. 4. (2) Fitzwilliam Museum: NC 1940, p.110, No.9
Pl. VIII. 6.
Lysias

(5-6) PM C, p. 77. Nos. 629-30: Pl. VIII. 629 (rev.).

With Epithets ΜΕΓΑΣ and ΣΩΘ ΗΡ on obv., but 'tratara', 'mahata' and 'jayamta' on rev.:

7. A.R. Rd. Bust of King :: King on prancing horse.
Diademed bust of king to r. (Above) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΣΩΘΗΡΩΣ (below) ΠΠΟΣΤΡΑΤΟΥ. (Omicrons are square).
Rev. King in full panoply on horse prancing to r. Kh. legend: (above) Maharajasa tratarasa mahatasa jayamta (below) Hipustratasa.

INDIAN TETRADRACHMS. Pl. XXIII. 1. Monograms: 90 and Kh. letters (pri, lo, etc.), 230.
(1-3) BM C, p. 59, Nos. 3-5: No. 4 Pl. XIV. 2. (4-8) PM C, p. 75, Nos. 610-14: Pl. VIII. 610, 614. (9) IM C, p. 30, No. 2.

INDIAN DRACHMS. Pl. XXIII. 2. Monograms: 90 and Kh. letters (pri, etc.).
(1) BM C, p. 59, No. 6 Pl. XIV. 3. (2) PM C, p. 75, Pl. VIII. 615. (3) K M (MZ 1). (4) M. Marc Le Berre.

Var. a. Similar, but king in full panoply on horse walking to r.

INDIAN TETRADRACHMS. Pl. XXIII. 3. Monograms: 90 with man and Kh. letters (Pa, na, sra, etc.).
(1-3) BM C, p. 59, Nos. 7-8: No. 7 Pl. XIV. 4. (4-8) PM C, p. 76, Nos. 617-21: Pl. VIII. 617 (rev.). (9-10) IM C, pp. 30-31; Nos. 3-4: No. 3 Pl. VI. 7.
(11) Kandahar Museum—at least 1 coin.

LYSIAS (ANIKETOS)

ATTIC STANDARD

1. A.R. Rd. Bust of King :: Herakles crowning himself.
Diademed bust of king to r.
Rev. Naked Herakles standing to front, holding club, lion’s skin and palm in his left hand, and crowning himself with the r. hand. (Above) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΙΚΗ ΤΟΥ (below) ΔΥΣΙΟΥ.

ATTIC TETRADRACHM. Monogram: (?)
(1) Col. Kozolubski describes the type in CM E 1955, p. 358, No. 316.

1A. A.R. Rd. Bust of King in elephant’s scalp :: Herakles crowning himself.
In atragulus border, diademed bust of king to r., wearing elephant’s scalp.
Rev. Naked Herakles crowning himself, as on No. 1. Continuous legend in three-quarter circle: (VIII) $\text{BAΣΙΛΕΩΣ ANΙΚΗΤΟΥ ΑΥΣΙΟΥ}$.

**ATTIC TETRADRACHMS. PL. XXIII. 4.** Monograms: 109 and $\Sigma$, 204.
(1-3) Kabul Museum (QH)—3 coins: N. Cir., May 1954, col. 188, Figs. 4 and 5; also JNSI, XVI, Pl. II. 6-7 and JNSI, XVII, p. 51, No. 42-43 Pl. VI. 3-4. One of the two illustrated coins shows a smaller bust of the king.

2. **AR. Rd. Bust of King in smooth helmet thrusting javelin :: Herakles crowning himself.**

In astragalus border, diademed bust of king to r., wearing smooth helmet, thrusting javelin.

Rev. Naked Herakles crowning himself, as on No. 1. Continuous legend in three-quarter circle: (VIII) $\text{BAΣΙΛΕΩΣ ANΙΚΗΤΟΥ ΑΥΣΙΟΥ}$.

**ATTIC TETRADRACHM. PL. XXIII. 5.** Monograms: 109 and $\Sigma$.
(1) Kabul Museum (QH)—1 coin: N. Cir., May 1954, col. 187, Fig.; also JNSI, XVI, Pl. II. 5 and JNSI, XVII, p. 50, No. 41 Pl. VI. 2.

**INDIAN STANDARD**

3. **AR. Rd. Bust of King :: Herakles crowning himself.**

Diademed bust of king to r. (Above) $\text{BAΣΙΛΕΩΣ ANΙΚΗΤΟΥ}$ (below) $\text{ΑΥΣΙΟΥ}$.

Rev. Naked Herakles crowning himself, as on No. 1. Kh. legend: (above) Maharajasa apaḏihatasa (below) Lisikasa.

**INDIAN DRACHMS. PL. XXIII. 6.** Monograms: 109 and $\Sigma$.
(1) BMC, p. 29, No. 1 Pl. VIII. 5 (PMC, p. 32, unrep. Tp. i.). (2-3) KM (MZ 1)—2 coins.

4. **AR. Rd. Bust of King in kausia :: Herakles crowning himself.**

Diademed bust of king to r., wearing kausia. (Above) $\text{BAΣΙΛΕΩΣ ANΙΚΗΤΟΥ}$ (below) $\text{ΑΥΣΙΟΥ}$.

Rev. Naked Herakles crowning himself, as on No. 1. Kh. legend: (above) Maharajasa apaḏihatasa (below) Lisisasa.

**INDIAN DRACHMS. PL. XXIII. 7.** Monograms: 109 and $\Sigma$, 110 and $\Sigma$.
(1) PMC, p. 31, Pl. III. 156 (obv.). (2) BM: PMC, p. 31, note 1. (3) Mr N. Singhi. (4) KM (MZ 1).
5. AR. Rd. Bust of King in smooth helmet :: Herakles crowning himself.

Diademed bust of king to r., wearing smooth helmet. (Above) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΙΚΗΤΟΥ (below) ΛΥΣΙΟΥ.

Rev. Naked Herakles crowning himself, as on No. 1. Kh. legend: (above) Maharajasa apaçihatasa (below) Lisiasa.


6. AR. Rd. Bust of King in elephant’s scalp :: Herakles crowning himself.

Diademed bust of king to r., wearing elephant’s scalp. (Above) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΙΚΗΤΟΥ (below) ΛΥΣΙΟΥ.

Rev. Naked Herakles crowning himself, as on No. 1. Kh. legend: (above) Maharajasa apaçihatasa (below) Lisiasa.


7. AR. Rd. Bust of King in Medusa helmet thrusting javelin :: Herakles crowning himself.

Diademed bust of king to 1., wearing Medusa helmet, thrusting javelin. (Above) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΙΚΗΤΟΥ (below) ΛΥΣΙΟΥ.

Rev. Naked Herakles crowning himself, as on No. 1. Kh. legend: (above) Maharajasa apaçihatasa (below) Lisiasa.

INDIAN DRACHMS. PL. XXIII. 10. Monograms: 109 and Σ.
(1) BM (ex Cunningham): NO 1923, p. 326, No.24 Pl. XV. 7: ”The Medusa head forming part of the aegis, as worn on the left shoulder by other javelin-throwing kings, is replaced by a tiny elephant” (Whitehead). (2-3) KM (MZ 1)—2 coins. (4) M. Marc Le Berre.

8. AE. Rd. Bust of Herakles :: Elephant to right.

Bust of Herakles to r., with club on shoulder. (Above) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΙΚΗΤΟΥ (below) ΥΩΙΣΥΑ. (The King’s name is written from r. to 1.)
Corpus of Indo-Greek Coins

Rev. Elephant walking to r. Kh. legend: (above) Maharajasa apaśīhatasa (below) Lisisasa.

(1) BMC, p.29, No.8 Pl. VIII.8. (2) Gen. Haughton: NC 1946, p. 143, No. 3 Fig. 2. (3) IMC, p. 15, No. 9 (worn). (4) Taxila, p. 801, Pl. 237. 71. (5) KM (MZ 1).

9. AE. Sqr. Bust of Herakles :: Elephant to right.
Bust of Herakles to r., as on No. 8. (L) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ (top) ANIKHTOY
(r) ΑΥΣΙΟΥY.
Rev. Elephant to r. Kh. legend: (r) Maharajasa (top) apaśīhatasa (1)
Lisisasa or Lisisasa.

Nos. 9-14: N° 9 Pl. VIII. 9. (17-20) IMC, pp. 14-15, Nos. 5-8: No. 5 Pl. III.
(MZ 1). (32-33) M. Marc Le Berre—2 coins.

LEYSIAS AND ANTIALCIDAS

Indian Standard

1. AE. Sqr. Bust of Herakles :: Palms and Piloii.
Bust of bearded Herakles to r., with club on shoulder. (L) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ
(top) ANIKHTOY (r) ΑΥΣΙΟΥY.
Rev. Palms and piliu. Kh. legend: (r) Maharajasa (top) jayadharasa (1)
Antialikidas.

(1) Bodleian Library: BMC, p. 166, Pl. XXXI. 2 [CASE, Pl. VIII. 4];
now in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. (2) WKS, p. 6, No. 68.

MENANDER I (SOTER)

Attic Standard

1. A.R. Rd. Bust of King :: Athena thundering to left.
In astragalus border, diademed bust of king to r.
Rev. Athena helmeted striding to 1., holding aegis on outstretched 1. arm
Menander I

and hurling thunderbolt with r. hand. (R) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ
(1, below aegis) MENANΔPOY—written downwards. [No gold or silver
coin of any other Indo-Greek ruler has this interesting and symmetrical
arrangement of legend.]


(1) Mr M. Azizbeglou of Teheran: Madame Allouche-Le Page described
the coin in the Journal Asiatique, CCXXXVIII (1950), pp. 476-77. It has
been fully published in N. Cir., May 1954, cols. 188-89, Fig. 7; also
IG, Pl. II. 7. The coin “is now known to have been purchased before the dis-
covery of the Qunduz Hoard.”—Bivar, JNSI, XVII, p. 38, n. 3.

INDIAN STANDARD

2. A.R. Rd. Bust of King :: Athena thundering to left.

Diadem bust of king to r. (Above) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ (below)
MENANΔPOY.

Rev. Athena standing to to 1., hurling thunderbolt, as on No. 1. Kh.
legend: (above) Maharajasa tratarasa (below) Menadrasa.

INDIAN TETRADRACHMS. Pl. XXIV. 2. Monograms: 53, 204, 204 and Σ, 204
and 215, 215.

(1-3) BMC, p. 44, Nos. 1-3: No. 3 Pl. XI. 7. (4-5) IMC, p. 24, Nos. 39 40:
No. 39 Pl. VI. 4. (6-11) PMC, p. 54, Nos. 373-78: Pl. VI. 375 (12) WSC,
(17) BM (?): NNMI 13, Pl. VII. 1.

INDIAN DRACHMS. Pl. XXIV. 3. Monograms: 53, 54, 64, 75, 76, 77, 114,
120, 138, 139, 145, 180 and 204, 202, 214, 215.

(1-17) BMC, pp. 45-46, Nos. 14-30: No. 25 Pl. XI. 10 (obv.). (18-36)
IMC, pp. 23-24, Nos. 25-38, and 41-45: No. 28 Pl. V. 3. (37-69) PMC,
coins. (75-104) Mr N. Singh—31 coins. (106-99) KM (MZ 1)—94
coins. (200-09) KM (MZ 2)—10 coins. (210-32) M. Marc Le Berre—23
coins. (233-
coins. (241-43) Dr J. Sénécal—3 coins. (244-49) M. K. A. Gai—6 coins.
The Bajaur Hoard of 1926 contained 301 coins of this type: see NS, XL,
n. 22-23.

Var. a. Similar, but Greek legend is continuous.

INDIAN DRACHMS. Monogram: 204.

(1) Mr P. Thorburn: NC 1950, p. 241, No. 3. (2) Mr N. Singh.

Var. b. Similar, but both Greek and Kharoshthī legends are continuous.

INDIAN DRACHMS. Monogram: 204.

3. A.R. Rd. Bust of king in Medusa helmet:: Athena thundering to left

Diadem bust of king to r., wearing Medusa helmet. (Above) \textit{BAΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΘΡΟΣ} (below) \textit{MENANΔPOY}.

Rev. Athena standing to l., hurling thunderbolt, as on No. 1. Kh. legend: (above) \textit{Maharajasa tratarasa} (below) \textit{Menadrasa}.

\textbf{INDIAN TETRADRACHMS. Pl. XXIV. 4.} Monograms: 54 and Σ, 165, 204 and Σ, 215.

(1-2) BMC, p. 44, Nos. 4-5: No. 5 Pl. XI. 8. (3-5) IMC, p. Nos. 21-23: No. 23 Pl. V. 2. (6-8) PMC, p. 54, Nos. 379-81: Pl. VI. 379 (obv). (9-10) Mr N. Singh—2 coins: one of them is "Restruck on older coin." (11) WKSC, p. 10, No. 117. (12) Author.


The Bajur Hoard of 1926 had 246 coins of this type: see \textit{NS}, XL, p. N.23.

\textit{Var. a.} Similar, but on obv., diadem bust of king to r., wearing "crested helmet adorned with snake, flying swallow and wing."

\textbf{INDIAN TETRADRACHM. Monogram: 165.}

(1) Mr N. Singh—1 coin. "Unpublished variety, believed unique".—M.F.C. Martin.

\textbf{INDIAN DRACHMS. Pl. XXIV. 6.} Monogram: 127.

(1) Kabul Museum—at least 1 coin. (2) Mr H. P. Poddar.

4. A.R. Rd. Bust of King thrusting javelin:: Athena thundering to left

Diadem bust of king to l., with l. shoulder covered by aegis and thrusting javelin with r. hand. (Above) \textit{BAΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΘΡΟΣ} (below) \textit{MENANΔPOY}.

Rev. Athena standing to l., hurling thunderbolt, as on No. 1. Kh. legend: (above) \textit{Maharajasa tratarasa} (below) \textit{Menadrasa}.

\textbf{INDIAN TETRADRACHMS. Pl. XXIV. 7.} Monograms: 75, 127.

Thomas \textit{(PE}, II, p. 194, No. 2) noticed this type from a cast in the British
Menander I

Museum. Cunningham noticed the type from a sealing wax impression: CASE, p. 247, No. 4 (BMC, p. 168, No. 2).
(1) PMC, p. 55, Pl. VI. 382. (2-4) Mr N. Singhi—3 coins. (5) WKSC, p. 10, Pl. I. 118.
There was a coin of this type in the Bajaur Hoard of 1926: see NS, XL, p. N 22, No. 1.

(1-5) BMC, p. 46, Nos. 31-35. (6-21) IMC, p. 25, Nos. 50-65: No. 53
Mr N. Singhi—20 coins. (60-64) Mr H. P. Poddar—5 coins. (65-130) KM
(MZ 1)—56 coins. (131-33) KM (MZ 2)—3 coins. (134-44) M. Marc Le Berre
The Bajaur Hoard of 1926 had 25 coins of this type: see NS, XL,
pp. 22-24 N.

Var. a. Similar, but Greek legend is continuous.

INDIAN DRACHM. Monogram: 75.
(1) NS, XL pp. N 19, 24, No. 45 (Bajaur Hoard of 1926).

5. A R. Rd. Bust of King thrusting javelin : : Athena thundering to left (aegis held sloping).
Diademed bust of king to l., thrusting javelin, as on No. 4. (Above)
BAΣIΛΑΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ (below) MENANΔΡΟΥ.
Rev. Athena standing to l., hurling thunderbolt, as on No. 1, but the
aegis is held sloping. Kh. legend: (above) Maharajasa tratarasa (below)
Menadrasa.

Cunningham published his coin in CASE, p. 247, No. 4a Pl. XI. 15.
(1-10) Kabul Museum—at least 10 coins. (11-14) IM has at least 4 coins.
(15) Mr Dinkar Rao, Hyderabad.
The Bajaur Hoard of 1926 had 79 coins of this type: see NS, XL, p. 23N.

Var. a. Similar, but Greek legend is continuous.

(1) Kabul Museum—at least 1 coin: TMA, p. 77 and n., Pl. VIII. 7.

6. A R. Rd. Bust of King thrusting javelin : : Athena thundering to right
Diademed bust of king to l., thrusting javelin, as on No. 4. (Above)
BAΣIΛΑΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ (below) MENANΔΡΟΥ.
Rev. Athena standing to r., hurling thunderbolt with r. hand and holding
aegis on outstretched l. arm. Kh. legend: (above) Maharajasa tratarasa
(below) Menadrasa.
7. A.R. Rd. Bust of King thrusting javelin : : Athena thundering to right (aegis held sloping).

Diademed bust of king to l., thrusting javelin, as on No. 4. Continuous legend: (XII) BAΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ MENANΔPOY.

Rev. Athena standing to r., hurling thunderbolt, as on No. 6, but the aegis is held sloping. Continuous Kh. Legend: (XI) Maharajasa tratarasa Menadrasa.


Diademed bust of king to l., wearing smooth helmet, thrusting javelin with r. hand; his l. shoulder is covered by the aegis. (Above) BAΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ (below) MENANΔPOY.

Rev. Athena standing to l., hurling thunderbolt, as on No. 1. Kh. legend: (above) Maharajasa tratarasa (below) Menadrasa.

Diademed bust of king to r., wearing Medusa helmet. (Above) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ (below) MENANΔPOY.

Rev. Owl walking to r. Continuous Kh. legend: (XI) Maharajasa tratarasa Menadrasa.

INDIAN TETRADRACHMS. Pl. XXV. 1. Monograms: 200, 201.

Var.a. Similar, but both Greek and Kharoshthi legends are continuous.

INDIAN TETRADRACHM. Monogram: 75.
(1) CMB, 1952, p. 105, No. 165.


Helmeted bust of Athena to r. Continuous legend: (XI) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ MENANΔPOY.

Rev. Owl walking to r. Continuous Kh. legend: (XI) Maharajasa tratarasa Menadrasa.

A coin 'found in the temple of Martand in Kashmir' and ultimately acquired by Cunningham from Major Pearse was published in CASE, pp. 246-47, No. 3 Pl. XI. 14 (wt. 28 grains). Cunningham referred to 'Duplicates, Mr E. C. Bayley, and two others.'

The Bajaur Hoard of 1926 had a coin of this type: see NS, XL, p. 24 N, No. 48: it is possibly identical with Mr Singhi's above coin. Mathura Museum has a plaster-cast of a beautiful Taxila Museum coin.


Diademed bust of king to r. (Above) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ (below) MENANΔPOY

Rev. Athena standing to l., hurling thunderbolt, as on No. 1. Kh. legend: (above) Maharajasa tratarasa Menadrasa.
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(1) Mr H. P. Poddar. (2-4) Taxila, p. 799, No. 52 Pl. 236. 52: “Three specimens from Sirkap. Cf. p. 30 and n. 3.”

“Diademed head (bust?) of king to r.” Greek legend: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΜΕΝΑΝΔΡΟΥ.
Rev. “Nike to r.” Kh. legend: Maharajasa tratarasa Menadrasa.
(1) Mr H. de S. Shortt: see NNM 1 (NSI), p. 15, No. 18.

Diademed bust of king to r. (L) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ (top) ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ (r) ΜΕΝΑΝΔΡΟΥ.
Rev. “Lion’s skin of Heracles.” Kh. legend: (1) Maharajasa (top) tratarasa (r) Menadrasa.

MEDIUM-SIZED COINS. Pl. XXXIV. 8. Monogram: 44.

Diademed bust of king to 1., thrusting javelin, as on No. 4. (Top) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ (r) ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ (below) ΜΕΝΑΝΔΡΟΥ.
Rev. Winged Nike standing to r. with palm-branch in 1. hand and wreath in outstretched r. hand. Kh. legend: (r) Maharajasa (top) tratarasa (l) Menadrasa.

(1) BM: see PMO, p. 63, unrep. Tp. ix.

15. A.E. Sqr. Bust of King thrusting javelin : : Athena thundering to right.
Diademed bust of king to 1., thrusting javelin, as on No. 4. (Top) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ (r) ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ (below) ΜΕΝΑΝΔΡΟΥ.
Rev. Athena standing to r., hurling thunderbolt, as on No. 6. Kh. legend: (top) Maharajasa (1) tratarasa (below) Menadrasa.

Wilson published one of the three coins from the Masson collection (in Ari. Ant., p. 236, No. 10 Pl. IV. 7) and referred to another described by Mionnet. Cunningham published one of his two coins in CASE, pp. 249-50, No. 12 Pl. XII. 7.
16. **A.E. Sgr. Helmeted bust of Athena:** Athena thundering to left.

Helmeted bust of Athena to r. (L) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ (top) ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ (r) ΜΕΝΑΝ∆ΡΟΥY.

Rev. Athena standing to 1., hurling thunderbolt, as on No. 1. Kh. legend: (r) **Maharajasa** (top) tratarasa (l) **Menadrása**.

**Medium-sized Coin. Pl. XXV. 5. Monogram:** 42.

Cunningham published one of his two coins (wt. 82 grs.) in *CASE*, p. 248, No. 7 Pl. XII. 2 (rev.), but his references to earlier publications are incorrect.

(1) **PMC**, p. 61, Pl. VI. 506. The obverse bust is described as "As on No. 495," i.e., "Helmeted bust of king to r." But on the plate the bust is clearly that of a female person. For the attribution of the obverse bust on **PMC** coin No. 495 itself, see also Tp. 17 below.

17. **A.E. Sgr. Helmeted bust of Athena:** Buckler.

"Bust of Pallas r. wearing crested helmet" (**BMC**), but "Helmeted bust of king to r." (**PMC**). (L) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ (top) ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ (r) ΜΕΝΑΝ∆ΡΟΥY.

Rev. "Round buckler; Gorgon-head in the middle" (**BMC**), but "circular buckler with ox-head in centre (not Gorgon’s head, as stated in the **B.M. Catal.**)'" (**IMC**). Kh. legend: (r) **Maharajasa** (top) tratarasa (l) **Menadrása**.

Wilson noticed and illustrated Dr Swiney’s coin in *Ari. Ant.*, pp. 286-87, No. 13 Pl. IV. 12; he described the obverse and reverse types as ‘Head with helmet, to the right’, and ‘The shield of Minerva, with Medusa’s head’, respectively.

**Big Coins. Pl. XXV. 6. Monograms:** 40, 44, 75.


**Var.a.** Similar, but Greek and Kharos̱thī legends differently arranged. Greek legend: (top) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ (l., to be read from outside) ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ (below) ΜΕΝΑΝ∆ΡΟΥY; but Kh. legend is written in 2 lines: (top) **Maharajasa tratarasa** (below) **Menadrasa**.
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**BIG COINS. Pl. XXV. 7.** Monogram: 42.

Cunningham published the coin of the ‘E. I. Mus.’ (ex Gen. Abbott) in *CASE*, p. 248, No. 8 Pl. XII. 3 (wt. 125 grs).

(1-2) *BMC*, p. 49, Nos. 61-62: No. 61 Pl. XII. 3.

**18. A.E. Sqr. Helmeted bust of Athena :: Winged Nike standing to right.**

Helmeted bust of Athena to r. (L) \( \text{ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ} \) (top) \( \Sigma \text{ΘΗΡΟΣ} \) (r) \( \text{ΜΕΝΑΝΔΡΟΥ} \)

Rev. Winged Nike standing to r. with palm-branch and wreath, as on No. 14. Kh. legend: (r) Maharajasa (top) tritarasa (l) Menadrasa.

**BIG AND SMALL COINS. Pl. XXV. 8-9.** Monograms: 47, 53, 54, 75, 127, 140, 146, 165.


**Var. a. Similar, but on obverse ‘the bust of Athena is to left.’**

**SMALL COIN. Pl. XXV. 10.**

(1) *NS*, XIV (JASB 1910), p. 559, No. 6 Pl. XXXIII. 6 (wt. 60 grs., sz. 6 in.).

**19. A.E. Sqr. Helmeted bust of Athena :: Winged Nike standing to left**

Helmeted bust of Athena to r. (L) \( \text{ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ} \) (top) \( \Sigma \text{ΘΗΡΟΣ} \) (r) \( \text{ΜΕΝΑΝΔΡΟΥ} \)

Rev. Winged Nike standing to l. with palm-branch and wreath, as on No. 14. Kh. legend: (r) Maharajasa (top) tritarasa (l) Menadrasa.

**BIG COIN. Pl. XXV. 11.** Monograms: B, 75 and B, 127 and B.


20. A.E. Sqr. Helmeted bust of Athena :: Horse prancing to right.

"Bust of Pallas r., wearing crested helmet." (L) $BAΣΙΛΕΩΣ$ (top) $ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ$ (r) MENANΔPOY.

Rev. Horse prancing to r. Kh. legend: (r) Maharajasa (top) tratarasa (l) Menadrasa.

LARGE COINS. Pl. XXV. 12. Monogram: 75.
(1) BMC, p. 48, No. 47 (PMC, p. 63, unrep. Tp. iii). (2) KM (MZ 1).

21. A.E. Sqr. Helmeted bust of Athena :: Owl to right.

Helmeted bust of Athena to r. (L) $BAΣΙΛΕΩΣ$ (top) $ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ$ (r) MENANΔPOY.

Rev. Owl walking to r. Kh. legend: (r) Maharajasa (top) tratarasa (l) Menadrasa.

Wilson published the coin of Masson in Ari. Ant., p. 286, No. 11 Pl. IV.8, and referred to a second specimen. Cunningham published his own coin in CASE, p. 248, No. 9 Pl. XII. 4 (wt. 147 grs.).
(1) BMC, p. 49, No. 63 Pl. XII. 4 (PMC, p. 63, unrep. Tp. vi). (2) KM (MZ 1).

22. A.E. Sqr. Young male head :: Dolphin to right.

Young male head to r., wearing wreath. (L) $BAΣΙΛΕΩΣ$ (top) $ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ$ (r) MENANΔPOY.

Rev. Dolphin to r. Kh. legend: (r) Maharajasa (top) tratarasa (l) Menadrasa.

BIG COIN. Pl. XXVI. 1. Monograms: 66 (?) and 82 (?)
Masson's coin obtained at Bagram was published in JASB 1836, p. 22, Pl. II. 5, in Ari. Ant., p. 285, No. 7 Pl. IV. 3, and in CASE, p. 249, Pl. XII. 6. According to Cunningham, the coin was in the East India Museum, along with other coins of Masson, but Gardner did not find it amongst the coins of that museum which were ultimately acquired by the BM: see BMC, p. 169.
(1) BM: NC 1950, pp. 214-15, No. 4 Pl. XII. 11 (PMC, p. 63, unrep. Tp. xv). The BM acquired this 'second genuine specimen' in 1926. "The head or bust on the obverse differs from that on other coins of Menander; there is a wreath instead of the diadem, and the head is possibly that of Poseidon" (Whitehead).

Bull’s head facing. (L) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ (top) ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ (r) ΜΕΝΑΝΔΡΟΥ.


Cunningham published one of his 5 coins (wt. 313 grs.) in CASE, p. 250, No. 14 Pl. XII. 9, and referred to a BM coin (wt. 316 grs).

(1-3) BMC, p. 49, Nos. 64-66: No. 66 Pl. XII. 5. (4-6) LMC, p. 27, Nos. 94-95a. (7-9) PMC, p. 61, Nos. 500-02: Pl. VI. 502 (obv.). (10-12) Mr H. P. Poddar—3 coins. (13) Mr N. Singh. (14) KM (MZ 1). (15-16) M. Marc Le Berre—3 coins.

24. A.E. Sqr. Elephant to left :: Ankuśa.

Elephant standing to 1. (L) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ (top) ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ (r) ΜΕΝΑΝΔΡΟΥ.

Rev. Elephant’s goad (Ankuśa). Kh. legend: (r) Māharajasa (top) tratarasa (1) Menadrasa.

Medium-sized Coin. Pl. XXVI. 3. Monograms: 75 and Δ (?)

Cunningham published his own coin (wt. 167 grs.) in CASE, p. 250, No. 15 Pl. XII. 10, and referred to E. C. Bayley’s coin (wt. 176 grs.).

(1) BM—above Cunningham coin: see also BMC, p. 169, No. 5 Pl. XXXI. 11 (PMC, p. 63, unrep. Tp. xii).

25. A.E. Sqr. Elephant’s head to right :: Club with thick end up.

“Elephant’s head r., bell hung from neck.” (L) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ (top) ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ (r) ΜΕΝΑΝΔΡΟΥ.

Rev. “Club with thick end up.” Kh. legend: (r) Māharajasa (top) tratarasa (1) Menadrasa.


Wilson published one of Masson’s coins in Art. Ant., p. 287, No. 14 Pl. IV. 10: “These coins are very numerous, and of various execution; many are beautifully struck, others are as rude.” Cunningham published his own coin (wt. 36 grs.) in CASE, p. 250, No. 16 Pl. XII. 11: “Heavy specimens range upto 44 and 46 grs., but the average is under 40 grs.”
26. **A.E. Sqr. Two-humped Camel to left :: Bull's head to front.**

"Two-humped Bactrian camel, walking 1." (L) $BAΣΙΛΕΩΣ$ (top) $ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ$ (r) $ΜΕΝΑΝΔΡΟΥ$.
Rev. "Bull's head, facing." Kh. legend: (r) $Μαχαράγασα$ (top) tratarasa (1) Menadrasa.

**Big Coin. Pl. XXVI. 5.** Monograms: 75 (?) and 96 (?).
Cunningham noticed and illustrated the coin of the Asiatic Society of Bengal in *CASE*, p. 250, No. 13 Pl. XII. 8 (wt. 306 grs.)
(1) IM (above coin): *IMC*, p. 27, No. 96, Pl. V. 11; also *BMC*, p. 169, No. 4 Pl. XXXI. 10 (*PMC*, p. 63, unrep. Tp. xiv.)

27. **A.E. Sqr. Boar's head to right :: Palm-branch.**

Boar's head to r. (L) $BAΣΙΛΕΩΣ$ (top) $ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ$ (r) $ΜΕΝΑΝΔΡΟΥ$.
Rev. Palm-branch. Kh. legend: (r) $Μαχαράγασα$ (top) tratarasa (1) Menadrasa.

**Medium-sized Coin. Pl. XXVI. 6.** Monogram: 75.
Masson's coin was first published in *JASEB* 1836, Pl. XLVI. 9. Wilson noticed and illustrated it in *Ari. Ant.*, p. 286, No. 12 Pl. IV. 9. Cunningham published his own coin (wt. 152 grs.) in *CASE*, p. 251, No. 17 Pl. XII. 12, and referred to Masson's coin then in "E. I. Mus." But Gardner, while noticing the type in *BMC*, p. 169, No. 6 Pl. XXXI. 12, said, "Nos. 3 (i.e., Tp. 22 above) and 6 (i.e., the present type) are said by Gen. Cunningham to be in the East India Museum. This is incorrect, as the coins of this Museum are now in the British Museum, and these types are wanting."
(1) BM (ex Cunningham ?)—1 fine specimen.

28. **A.E. Sqr. Wheel :: Palm-branch.**

"Wheel of eight spokes." (L) $BAΣΙΛΕΩΣ$ (top) $ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ$ (r) $ΜΕΝΑΝΔΡΟΥ$.
Rev. "Upright palm branch with top bent to left." Kh. legend: (r) $Μαχαράγασα$ (top) tratarasa (1) Menadrasa.

**Small Coins. Pl. XXVI. 7.** Monogram: 146 (?)
29. A.E. Rd. Helmeted bust of King :: Athena thundering to left.

Helmeted bust of king to r. (Above) BAEILEOEΣ ΣΩΘΡΟΣ (below) MENANΔPOY.

Rev. Athena standing to l., holding aegis on outstretched l. arm and hurling thunderbolt with r. hand. Kh. legend: (above) Maharajasa trata-rasa (below) Menadrasa.

DRACHM-SIZED COIN. MONOGRAM illegible.

(1) IOM, p. 23, No. 2: ‘much defaced’, wt. 37·2 grs., sz. ·67 in. ‘Unique, found in excavations at Khokra Kót near Rohtak, Punjab; in very poor condition; a genuine copper coin, not merely an ancient forgery.’—Smith.

N.B. Apparently, coins of Types 11 and 29 are contemporary forgeries: see p. 67 above.

MENANDER II (DIKAIOS)

[We believe that coins with the epithet ΔΙΚΑΙΟΣ were struck by a second Menander. Coins of Menander I Soter bear for silver his canting type of the “thundering Athena” (or rarely her Owl), while his characteristic epithet is ΣΩΘΡ for coins of all metals, known in a very large number of specimens. The ΔΙΚΑΙΟΣ coins, on the other hand, are extremely rare and fall into 3 silver and 2 copper types, having nothing in common with the ΣΩΘΡ pieces. The ΔΙΚΑΙΟΣ coins thus comprise a distinct and new series for a king, whose reign was short and comparatively insignificant. The coins with the epithet ΔΙΚΑΙΟΣ, again, had nothing to do with Buddhism, as supposed by Cunningham (NC 1870, p. 236), Whitehead (NC 1923, p. 321) and Narain (IG, pp. 99-100), for in that case we have to hold that Agathocles and six other Indo-Greek kings, who adopted the epithet ΔΙΚΑΙΟΣ, were all Buddhists, for which we have no evidence. Supposing also that Menander Soter, on a memorable occasion like his conversion to Buddhism, adopted the epithet ΔΙΚΑΙΟΣ for ΣΩΘΡ and issued a new series of coins with the epithet ΔΙΚΑΙΟΣ, it would but be natural for him to strike a large number of coins of the new series (quite in keeping with his abundant earlier issues) and use a type which has some bearing on Buddhism. But that is not the case with the ΔΙΚΑΙΟΣ coins. Though comprising a distinct series, they are extremely rare and have not even a remote bearing on Buddhism.

Moreover, ΔΙΚΑΙΟΣ coins are not connected by monograms with ΣΩΘΡ pieces. While omicrons on ΣΩΘΡ coins are always normal, one ΔΙΚΑΙΟΣ coin bears a dot for omicron, which fact indicates late date for the ΔΙΚΑΙΟΣ series of coins.]
INDIAN STANDARD

1. A.R. Rd. Bust of King :: Winged figure standing to right.
   Diademed bust of king to r. (Above) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟY (below) MENANΔPOY.
   Rev. Winged figure (Nike?) with a halo round the head striding to r.,
   carrying palm in l. shoulder and wreath in extended r. hand. Kh. legend:
   (above) Maharajasa dhramikasa (below) Menadrasa.

INDIAN DRACHM. PI. XXVI. 8. Monogram: 266.
   (1) PMC, p. 59, Pl. VI. 481: WKS C, p. 87, Pl. X. 965 (the coin coming
to the Punjab Museum from the White King Collection through Bleazby):
"......deity is dressed like Artemis and wears the cap peculiar to the Dios-
kouroi."

2. A.R. Rd. Bust of King in Medusa helmet :: Winged figure
   standing to right.
   Diademed bust of king to r., wearing Medusa helmet. (Above) ΒΑΣΙ-
ΛΕΩΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟY (below) MENANΔPOY.
   Rev. Winged figure to r., as on No. 1. Kh. legend: (above) Maharajasa
   dhramikasa (below) Menadrasa.

   (1) BM: NC1923, p. 320, No. 6 Fig. 6 (PMC, p. 63, unrep. Tp. ii).

3. A.R. Rd. Bust of King in Medusa helmet :: King on
   prancing horse.
   Diademed bust of king to r., wearing Medusa helmet. (Above) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟY (below) MENANΔPOY.
   Rev. Male figure (King?), wearing a pilos (?), mounted on galloping horse
to r. Kh. legend: (above) Maharajasa dhramikasa (below) Menadrasa.

INDIAN DRACHMS. PI. XXVI. 10. Monograms: 197, 265.
   (1) WKS C, p. 87, Pl. X. 964 (PMC, p. 63, unrep. Tp. i). (2) Gen. Haughton:

4. A.E. Sgr. Athena standing to front with shield and spear ::
   Panther to left.

"Pallas Athena standing to the front, with her right hand extended before
her, a spear in her left hand, and her shield resting on the ground at her
right knee." (L) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ (top) ΔΙΚΑΙΟY (r) MENANΔPOY.
Rev. "Indian lion to left resting on his haunches" (Cunningham). Kh. legend: (r) Maharajasa (top) dhramikasa (l) Menadrasa.

(1) BMC, p. 50, No. 74 (PMC, p. 63, unrep. Tp. viii): dots for omicron occur on this coin. (2) Gen. Haughton: NC 1946, p. 144, No. 6 Fig. 5 (wt. 110 grs.), from Utmanzai.

5. AE. Sqr. Male figure (Warrior) standing to right :: Panther to right.

"Helmeted warrior (the king?) in tunic, cloak, and long boots standing r.; spear in l. hand and shield on l. arm. Short sword projecting from l. thigh. R. arm extended in a gesture of command." (L) BAEIΛΕΟΣ (top) ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ (r) MENANΔPOY.


Var. a: Similar, but "Panther or lion to l." on the reverse.

Big Coin. Pl. XXVI. 13.
(1) PMC, p. 62, Pl. VI. 515: seems to bear no monogram.

NICIAS (SOTER)

Indian Standard

1. A.R. Rd. Bust of King :: Athena thundering to front.

Diademed draped bust of king to r. (Above) BAEIΛΕΟΣ ΣΩΘΡΟΣ (below) NI KotY.

Rev. Athena, facing moving to l., brandishing thunderbolt in r. hand, aegis on l. arm. Kh. legend: (above) Maharajasa tratarasa (below) Nikiasa.

Indian Tetradrachm. Pl. XXVII. 1. Monogram: 216.
(1) E.T. Newell (now in the Museum of the American Numismatic Society): first illustrated by Newell in Royal Greek Portrait Coins, New York, 1937. It has been subsequently discussed in detail by Newell and Whitehead in
Nicias

NNM 82 (1938), pp. 93-94, No. 57 Pl. VI. 57 and NC 1940, pp. 108-09, No. 8 Pl. VIII. 4, respectively.

' Athena facing' is also the reverse design of some rare tetradrachms of Strato I (Cf. WKS C, p. 9, Pl. I. 104 and 106): Tps. 11, 14 and 18.

2. A.R. Rd. Bust of King in smooth helmet :: Athena thundering to front.

Diademed bust of king to r., wearing smooth helmet. (Above) $\text{ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ} \Sigma\text{ΩTHPOΣ}$ (below) NIKIOY.

Rev. Athena thundering, facing, as on No. 1. Kh. legend: (above) Maharajasa tratarasa (below) Nikiasa.


(1) JNSI, IX, p. 24, Pl. III. 1.

3. A.R. Rd. Bust of King :: Male figure (Warrior) standing to left.

Diademed bust of king to r. (Above) $\text{ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ} \Sigma\text{ΩTHPOΣ}$ (below) NIKIOY.

Rev. "Warrior king (?) wearing tunic, cloak and short sword; palm in left hand." He holds with his outstretched r. hand some unidentifiable object bound possibly with fillet (as seen on the PMC plate). Kh. legend: (above) Maharajasa tratarasa (below) Nikiasa.


(1) PMC, p. 73, Pl. VII. 599—$\text{ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ}$ in the legend is blundered.
(2) BM (ex Cunningham): BM C, p. 171, Pl. XXXII. 6.

4. A.R. Rd. Bust of King in smooth helmet :: Male figure (Warrior) standing to left.

Diademed bust of king to r., wearing smooth helmet. (Above) $\text{ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ} \Sigma\text{ΩTHPOΣ}$ (below) NIKIOY.

Rev. Warrior, as on No. 3. Kh. legend: (above) Maharajasa tratarasa (below) Nikiasa.

INDIAN DRACHM. Pl. XXVII. 4. Monogram 216.

(1) BM: NC 1923, p. 334, No. 52 Pl. XVI. 13.

5. A.E. Rd. Bust of King :: King on prancing horse.

Diademed bust of king to r. (Above) $\text{ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ} \Sigma\text{ΩTHPOΣ}$ (below) NIKIOY.
Rev. King on horse, prancing to r. Kh. legend: (above) Maharajasa tratarasa (below) Nikiasa.

**INDIAN DRACHM. Monogram: 75 (?)**
(1) Mr N. Singhi—1 coin: unique and unpublished.

6. **AE. Sgr. Bust of King :: King on prancing horse.**
Diademed bust of king to r. (L) \(\text{BAΣΙΛΕΩΣ} \) (top) \(\Sigma\Theta\PiOS\) (r) \(\text{NIKIOY}\). (Round sigma and omega).

Rev. King on horse, prancing to r. Kh. legend: (r) Maharajasa (top) tratarasa (1) Nikiasa.

**MEDIUM-SIZED COINS.**
(1-2) \(\text{PMO}\), pp. 73-74, Nos. 600 and 601.

7. **AE. Sgr. Bust of King :: King on prancing horse.**
Diademed bust of king to r. (L) \(\text{BAΣΙΛΕΩΣ} \) (top) \(\Sigma\Theta\PiOS\) (r) \(\text{NIKIOY}\). (Square sigma, omega and omicron).

Rev. King on horse, prancing to r. Kh. legend: Maharajasa (top) tratarasa (1) Nikiasa.

**MEDIUM-SIZED COINS. Pl. XXVII. 5.**
(1) \(\text{BMC}\), p. 58, No. 1 Pl. XIII. 11. (2-3) \(\text{PMO}\), p. 74, Nos. 602-03: Pl. VII. 602. (4-7) Mr H. P. Poddar—4 coins, the reverse design of one coin is in incuse square like the BM specimen. (8) Mr N. Singhi.

8. **AE. Sgr. Head of Poseidon :: Dolphin twined round anchor.**
Head of Poseidon to r., bearded, with trident on shoulder. (L) \(\text{BAΣΙΛΕΩΣ} \) (top) \(\Sigma\Theta\PiOS\) (r) \(\text{NIKIOY}\)

Rev. Dolphin twined round anchor. Kh. legend: (r) Maharajasa (top) tratarasa (1) Nikiasa.

**MEDIUM-SIZED COINS. Pl. XXVII. 6. Monogram: 247.**
(1) \(\text{BMC}\), p. 58, No. 2 Pl. XIII. 12. (2) M. Longworth Dames: \(\text{NC}\) 1923, p. 334, No. 53 Pl. XVI.14. “The square copper coin provides the first known instance in this series of the occurrence of the head of Poseidon as an obverse design; the attribution is certain because of the trident on the shoulder. The only other known specimen—\(\text{B. M. Cat.}\), Pl. xiii. 12—is too poor to show either trident or monogram. The type is thoroughly marine.”—Whitehead.
ATTIC STANDARD

1. AR. Rd. Bust of King :: Enthroned Zeus holding out Hekate.

   In pellet border, diademed bust of king to r.

   Rev. Zeus seated l., holds in l. hand sceptre, and in outstretched r. hand the figure of the three-headed Hekate. (R) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ (l) ΠΑΝΤΑΛΕΟΝΤΟΣ—written vertically in two straight lines.


2. Cupro-Nickel Rd. Bust of Dionysos :: Panther to right.

   Bust of young Dionysos to r., wearing ivy-wreath; thyrsos over shoulder.

   Rev. Panther to r., l. fore-paw raised. (Above) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ (below) ΠΑΝΤΑΛΕΟΝΤΟΣ.

OBOLUS. Monograms: EY (?), 97, (1) BMC, p. 9, No.1 (110.2 grains). (2) Mr N. Singhi—l coin, "from Peshawar."

3. AE. Rd. Bust of Dionysos :: Panther to right.

   Bust of young Dionysos, as on No.2.

   Rev. Panther, as on No.2. (Above) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ (below) ΠΑΝΤΑΛΕΟΝΤΟΣ.

MEDIUM-SIZED COIN. Pl. XXVII. 10. Monogram: A. (1) BMC, p.9, No.2 Pl.III.8

INDIAN STANDARD

4. AE. Sqr. 'Dancing girl' :: Panther to right.

   In incuse square, panther to r. (Above) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ (below) ΠΑΝΤΑΛΕΟΝΤΟΣ.

   Rev. 'Dancing girl' in Indian costume to l., holds flower in r. hand. Legend in Brähmi characters: (r) Rajane (l) Patalevasa.
PEUCOLAUS (DIKAIOI SOTER)

INDIAN STANDARD

1. A.R. Rd. Bust of King :: Sceptred Zeus standing to left
   (holding out callipers?)

Diademed bust of king to r. (Above) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ ΚΑΙ
ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ (below) ΠΕΥΚΟΛΑΟΥ.

Rev. "Zeus standing to l., long sceptre in l. hand, held across body. R.
arm extended and r. hand holding small two-horned object of an indefinite
shape" (callipers?). Kh. legend: (above) Maharajasa dhramikasa tratarasa
(below) Perukulaasa.

“The figure of Zeus is in a new posture for Indo-Bactrian coins, though found
in this position on a few rare teradrachms of the Indo-Scythian Azes (P.M.
Cat., Pl.XI. 35).” Cf. Hermaeus, Tp. 3 above.

2. A.E. Sgr. Artemis standing to front :: City-deity standing
to left.

“Artemis standing to front drawing arrow from quiver at back with r.
hand.” Greek legend on 3 sides: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ
ΠΕΥΚΟΛΑΟΥ.

Rev. "City-goddess with turreted crown to l., lotus in r. hand," and palm
in l. hand. Kh. legend on 3 sides: Maharajasa dhramikasa tratarasa
Perukulaasa.

Cunningham communicated the discovery of Peucolaus to C. J. Rodgers
by a letter dated 13th September, 1884 (see NC 1896, p. 269). V. A. smith
first published a coin of this type in NNN, JASB 1898, pp. 131-32.
(1) PMC, p. 80, Pl. VIII. 642—poor. (2) BM: NC 1923, p. 324, No. 20
Pl. XV. 3. (3) Mr H. P. Poddar.
ATTIC STANDARD

1. A.R. Rd. Bust of King :: King on prancing horse.

In reel and bead border, diademated bust of king to r.
Rev. Helmented king to r. on prancing horse. (Above) $\text{ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ \ ΑΝΙΚΗΤΟΥ}$ (below) $\text{ΦΙΛΟΞΕΝΟΥ}$

(1) Kabul Museum (QH)—1 coin: N. Cir., May 1954, col. 190, Fig. 12; also JNSI, XVII, p. 52, No. 53 Pl. VIII. 4.

INDIAN STANDARD

2. A.R. Rd. Bust of King :: King on prancing horse.

Diademmed bust of king to r. (Above) $\text{ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ \ ΑΝΙΚΗΤΟΥ}$ (below) $\text{ΦΙΛΟΞΕΝΟΥ}$.
Rev. Helmented king to r. on prancing horse. (Above) $\text{Μαχαράजसα \ απαδητασα}$ (below) Philasinasa.

(1-2) PMC, p. 71, Nos. 575-76: Pl. VII. 576. (3-4) BMC, p. 56, Nos. 1-2: No. 2 Pl. XIII. 5. (5) WKSC, p. 13, Pl. I. 153—the obverse type and the ‘circular’ legend struck on an unusually broad flan; the coin is said to weigh 216 grs. (hexadrachm?).

3. A.R. Rd. Bust of King in smooth helmet :: King on prancing horse.

Diademmed bust of king to r., wearing smooth helmet. Greek legend: (above) $\text{ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ \ ΑΝΙΚΗΤΟΥ}$ below $\text{ΦΙΛΟΞΕΝΟΥ}$.
Rev. King on prancing horse. Kh. legend: (above) $\text{Μαχαράजσα \ απαδητασα}$ (below) Philasinasa.

INDIAN TETRADRACHMS. Pl. XXVIII. 3. Monograms- 242, 247 and Σ.

4. A.R. Rd. Bust of King on Medusa helmet thrusting javelin :: King on prancing horse.

Diademmed bust of king to l., wearing Medusa helmet and thrusting javelin; aegis covers the l. shoulder. Greek legend: (above) $\text{ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ \ ΑΝΙΚΗΤΟΥ}$ (below) $\text{ΦΙΛΟΞΕΝΟΥ}$
5. **A.R. Rd. Bust of King in smooth helmet thrusting javelin:**

*King on prancing horse.*

Diademed bust of king to l., wearing smooth helmet and thrusting javelin. Greek legend: (above) \( \text{BAΣΙΛΕΩΣ \ ANIKHTΟY} \) (below) \( \text{ΦΙΛΟΕΞΕΝΟΥ} \).

Rev. Helmeted king to r. on prancing horse, as on No.2. Kh. legend: (above) \( \text{Maharajasa apadhihata} \) (below) \( \text{Philasinasa} \).

**INDIAN TETRADRACHMS. Pl. XXVIII. 4. Monograms: 247 and \( \Sigma \).**

(1) BM: NC 1887, p.183, Pl. VII. 8 (wt. 145 grains). (2) BM acquired one such coin (wt. 140 grains)—see Gardner, BMC, p.171. (3) BM (ex Whitehead): NC 1923, p. 332, No. 49 Pl. XVI. 12. (4) “A fine specimen of this coin is in Berlin.”—Whitehead, NC 1923, p. 333 (No. 49).

6. **A.R. Sqr. Bust of King:**

*King on prancing horse.*

Diademed bust of king to r. (L) \( \text{BAΣΙΛΕΩΣ} \) (top) \( \text{ANIKHTΟY} \) (r) \( \text{ΦΙΛΟΕΞΕΝΟΥ} \).

Rev. Helmeted king on prancing horse to r. Kh. legend: \( \text{Maharajasa apadhihata} \) (l) \( \text{Philasinasa} \).

**INDIAN DRACHMS. Pl. XXVIII. 5. Monograms: 71 and \( \Sigma \), 75,198,234,247.**


7. **A.R. Sqr. Bust of King in smooth helmet:**

*King on prancing horse.*

Diademed bust of king to r., wearing smooth helmet. Greek legend: (L) \( \text{BAΣΙΛΕΩΣ} \) (top) \( \text{ANIKHTΟY} \) (r) \( \text{ΦΙΛΟΕΞΕΝΟΥ} \).

Rev. King on prancing horse, as on No. 6. Kh. legend: (r) \( \text{Maharajasa apadhihata} \) (l) \( \text{Philasinasa} \).

**INDIAN DRACHMS. Pl. XXVIII. 6. Monograms: 247 (?), 247 and \( \Sigma \).**

8. A.R. Sqr.  Bust of King thrusting javelin :: King on prancing horse.

Diademed bust of king to l., thrusting javelin. (L) _ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ_ (top) _ΑΝΙΚΗΣΟΥ_ (r) _ΦΙΛΟΣΕΝΟΥ_.

Rev. King on prancing horse, as on No. 6. Kh. legend: (r) _Μαχαράχασα_ (top) _απαδήσατας_ (l) _Philasinasas_.

_Indian Drachms. Pl. XXVIII. 7._ Monogram: 163.

9. A.E. Sqr.  Demeter standing to left :: Humped Bull to right.

Demeter standing to l. with r. hand raised and cornucopiae in l. (L) _ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ_ (top) _ΑΝΙΚΗΣΟΥ_ (r) _ΦΙΛΟΣΕΝΟΥ_.

Rev. Humped bull standing to r. Kh. legend: (r) _Μαχαράχασα_ (top) _απαδήσατας_ (l) _Philasinasas_.

_Medium-sized Coins. Pl. XXVIII. 8._ Monograms: Obv. 73; Obv. 73 and Rev. 7; Obv. 75 and Rev. 7; Obv. M? and Rev. 101; Obv. 247 and Rev. 2; and Rev. 130.


_Var. a: Similar, but Demeter standing to right, with r. hand raised and cornucopiae in l. hand._

_Medium-sized Coin. Pl. XXVIII. 9._
(1) Mr H. P. Poddar.

10. A.E. Sqr.  Helios (Sun-god) standing to front :: Winged Nike standing to right.

"Sun-god facing, radiate, clad in chiton, himation and boots; holds in l. hand long sceptre; r. extended." (L) _ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ_ (top) _ΑΝΙΚΗΣΟΥ_ (r) _ΦΙΛΟΣΕΝΟΥ_.

Rev. Winged Nike standing to r., holds wreath and palm. Kh. legend: (r) _Μαχαράχασα_ (top) _απαδήσατας_ (l) _Philasinasas_.

_Medium-sized Coin. Pl. XXVIII. 10._ Monogram: 73.
(1) _BMC_, p. 57, No.10 Pl.XIII. 9.
Corpus of Indo-Greek Coins

11. AE Sqr. Deity (Demeter?) standing with cornucopiae to front :: Humped Bull standing to front.

"Deity standing facing with r. hand resting on hip, and cornucopiae in l. Legend, l., and top illegible but presumably ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΙΚΗΤΟΥ. To r. apparently ΗΑΕΞΛΟΥ or ΦΙΛΑΕΞΛΟΥ."

Rev. "Humped bull standing r.; below Greek letter. Kh.legend r. maharaja, top apadhatasa, l. probably Philasinasa."

(1) NS, XIV, JASB 1910, pp.559-60, No.8 Pl. XXXIII. 8: wt. 110 grs. sz. .75 in.

PlATO (EPIPHANES)

ATTIC STANDARD

1. AR. Rd. Bust of King :: Helios-Mithra in quadriga to right

In reel-and-bead border, diademed bust of king to r.

Rev. Helios-Mithra, radiate, clad in chiton and chlamys in quadriga to r. Legend in three-quarters of a circle: (VI) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ ΠΛΑΤΩΝΟΣ.


(1) BM (ex Friedberg): JNSI, XVI, p. 184, No.2 Pl. II. 2. (2-7) Kabul Museum (QH)—6 coins. One of them has been published in JNSI, XVII, p. 50, No. 31 Pl. IV. 6 and ARA, Pl. XVI. 1. Dr Bivar has seen another coin in private possession. The arrangement of legend on these coins as well as on Nos. 2 and 4 (below) is noteworthy.

2. AR. Rd. Bust of King in smooth helmet :: Helios-Mithra in quadriga to right.

In reel-and-bead border, diademed bust of king to r., wearing smooth helmet.

Rev. Helios-Mithra in quadriga to r., as on No.1. Legend in three-quarters of a circle: (VI) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ ΠΛΑΤΩΝΟΣ.


(1) BMC, p. 20, No. 1 Pl. VI. ll. also PMC, p. 87, Pl. IX. V. First published by Vaux in NO1875, pp. 1 ff. The coin was "originally procured from an itinerant goldsmith of Shah-ke-Dheri, who had himself procured it somewhere in Central Asia, perhaps in the Hazara country or beyond the Hindu Kush." —CHI, pp.456-57. (2-5) Kabul Museum (QH)—4 coins, one of which has been published in JNSI, XVII, p. 49, No. 30 Pl. IV. 5. (6) Tarn probably refers to another, G1, p. 210, note l. (7) Herat Museum—at least 1 coin.
3. A.R. Rd.  *Bust of King :: Helios-Mithra in quadriga to front.*

In reel-and-bead border, diademated bust of king to r. (comparatively youthful bust).

Rev. Helios-Mithra in four-horse chariot to front, radiate and with sceptre in r. hand. (Above) \( \text{ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ} \) (below) \( \text{ΠΛΑΤΩΝΟΣ} \).

**ATTIC TETRADRACHMS. Pl. XXIX. 3.** Monograms: 42.

(1) Kabul Museum (QH) — 1 coin: *N. Cir.*, May 1954, col. 187, Fig. 2; also illustrated in *JNSI*, XVI, Pl. II. 4 and *JNSI*, XVII, p. 50, No. 32 Pl. IV. 7.

(2) Another coin seen by Bivar “in private possession.”

“The sun-chariot to front is a motif with a long history in late antique art, but this is the earliest example I know.” — A. D. H. Bivar, *N. Cir.*, May 1954, col. 187.


In reel-and-bead border, diademated bust of king to r. [Somewhat older bust. The diadem-ends are exactly similar to those on some tetradrachms of Eu-cratides II, Tp. 1, with Apollo reverse as well as of Demetrius II, Tp. 1, with Athena reverse].

Rev. Helios-Mithra standing to front, radiate, holds sceptre in l. and an unidentified object (callipers?) in outstretched r. hand. Legend in three-quarters of a circle: (VI) \( \text{ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ ΠΛΑΤΩΝΟΣ} \).

**ATTIC TETRADRACHMS. Pl. XXIX. 4.** Monogram: 43.

(1) Kabul Museum (QH) — 1 coin: *N. Cir.*, May 1954, col. 187, Fig. 1; also *JNSI*, XVI, Pl. II. 3 and *JNSI*, XVII, p. 50, No. 33 Pl. V. 1 and *ARA*, Pl. XVI. 3.

**POLYXENUS (EPIPHANES SOTER)**

**INDIAN STANDARD**

1. A.R. Rd.  *Bust of King :: Athena thundering to left.*

Diademated bust of king to r. (Above) \( \text{ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ ΣΩΘΡΟΣ} \) (below) \( \text{ΠΟΛΥΞΕΝΟΥ} \).

Rev. Athena standing to l., with aegis on outstretched l. arm and hurling thunderbolt with r. hand. (Above) *Maharajasa [tratarasa]* (below) *Palasinasa*.

**INDIAN TETRADRACHM.** Monogram: (!)


(1) PMC, p. 53, Pl. V. 371 ("belonged to Mr. Bleasby, and was formerly in the White King Collection"). Rapson doubted its authenticity (see IMC, p. 6); but it is a genuine coin in Whitehead's opinion. "It is very similar to a common issue of Strato I," cf. the drachm, PMC, p. 50, No. 358—in respects of the diademed bust, epithets, reverse type and monogram. "I should be inclined to consider Polyxenus a close relation, and the successor of Strato, in all, or part of the latter king's dominions. His reign can have had only a brief duration."—Whitehead, PMC, p. 54, note. (2) JNSI, IV, p. 147, Pl. XIII-A. 6. (3) KM (MZ l.).

2. AE. Sqr. Helmeted bust of Athena :: Aegis.

Diademed bust of Athena to r., wearing smooth helmet. Greek legend running round 3 sides from l. to r.: \( \text{ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΠΟΛΥΕΞΕΝΟΥ} \).

Rev. "Aegis radiate with Gorgon's head." Kh. legend running round 3 sides from r. to l.: \( \text{Maharajasa prachachhasa tratarasasa Palisinasa} \).


(1) PMC, p. 53, Pl. V. 372—ex White King through G. B. Bleasby; Rodgers published it in NC 1896, pp. 268-69 (also \( WKS \), p. 6, Pl. IV. 63). (2-3) Gen. Haughton: NC 1946, p. 146, Fig. 6. Haughton rightly recognised the bust as that of Pallas. Both specimens are from Utmanzai, found with coins of Lysias, Menander, Diomedes, Kadphises and a copper coin of Taxila. (4) Mr Cuthbert King: NC 1940, p. 107, No. 7 (M 233)—"The obverse design is not the bust of king, but is that of Athena." The king's name is \( \text{Paliksinsasa} \), the occurrence of the compound letter \( ks \) being unique. (5) Dr R. B. Whitehead: NC 1955, Proceedings, p. xiv (a fine coin).

Strato I (Soter Diakios Epiphanes)

[Different stages of the eventful career of Strato I have been shown by the changes in his coin-legends. In the first period, during his minority, his mother Agathocleia struck coins which bore on the obverse the name and portrait of the queen-mother and on the reverse the figure of Strato along with his name; in the next stage, actual joint-coins were issued with the jugate busts and names of the son and the mother in both obverse and reverse, but the subsequent joint-coins, though they depict the jugate busts as before, omit the name of Agathocleia from the reverse. In the second period, Strato emerges as the sole monarch of the empire and Agathocleia falls into oblivion. As king absolute Strato first adopted the epithet \( \Sigma\Omega\Theta\Pi \), then both \( \Sigma\Omega\Theta\Pi \) and \( \Delta\I\K\I\A\I\O\S \) and finally \( \text{ΕΠΙΦΑΝΗΣ} \) and \( \Sigma\Omega\Theta\Pi \).]
Thus we see the following combinations of his coin-legends:

A. During the regency of Agathocleia:
   1. Obv. **ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣΣΗΣ ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΙΑΣ**.
      Rev. **Maharajasa tratarasa dhramikasa Strataasa. (Tp. 2 of Agathocleia)**
   2. Obv. **ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣΣΗΣ ΘΕΟΤΡΟΠΟΥ ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΙΑΣ**.
      Rev. **Maharajasa tratarasa dhramikasa Strataasa. (Tp. 3 of Agathocleia)**

B. During the joint rule of Strato I and Agathocleia:
   3. Obv. **ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΘΡΟΣ ΣΤΡΑΤΩΝΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΙΑΣ**.
      Rev. **Maharajasa tratarasa Strataasa Agathukriue. (Tp. 6 of Agathocleia)**
   4. Obv. **ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΘΡΟΣ ΣΤΡΑΤΩΝΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΙΑΣ**.
      Rev. **Maharajasa tratarasa dhramikasa Strataasa. (Tp. 6 of Agathocleia)**

C. During the kingship of Strato I:

(a) With epithet ΣΩΘΡ and its Parakrit equivalent:
   5. Obv. **ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΘΡΟΣ ΣΤΡΑΤΩΝΟΣ**.
      Rev. **Maharajasa tratarasa Strataasa. (Tp. 1)**

(a') With epithet ΣΩΘΡ on obv., but ṭratara and ‘dhramika’ on rev.:
   6. Obv. **ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΘΡΟΣ ΣΤΡΑΤΩΝΟΣ**.
      Rev. **Maharajasa tratarasa ‘dhramikasa’ Strataasa. (Tp. 6)**

(b) With epithets ΣΩΘΡ and ΔΙΚΑΙΟΣ and their Prakrit equivalents:
   7. Obv. **ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΘΡΟΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ ΣΤΡΑΤΩΝΟΣ**.
      Rev. **Maharajasa tratarasa dhramikasa Strataasa. (Tp. 10)**

(c) With epithets ΕΠΙΦΑΝΗΣ and ΣΩΘΡ and their Prakrit equivalents:
   8. Obv. **ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ ΣΩΘΡΟΣ ΣΤΡΑΤΩΝΟΣ**.
      Rev. **Maharajasa prachachhasa tratarasa Strataasa. (Tp. 21)**

Strato I is depicted as wearing a beard with the coin-legend of stage No. 7, represented by the rare tetradrachms of Types 17 and 18. These coins “provide the only instances of a bearded king in the entire Bactrian and Indo-Bactrian series.” They remind us of the plight of the Seleucid king Demetrius II who is depicted on coins as wearing a beard after his captivity with the Parthians, with whom the beard was popular (see NU 1923, pp. 328-29). Strato’s case seems to be different, there being no known occasion of his captivity with a people, who wore a beard as convention. The interesting coin of Type 19 shows us the reason for Strato’s unusual behaviour. On its obverse the bust of Strato reveals a distinct scar on his right face, as do a few coins apparently struck in the subsequent period (cf. coins of Type 21). It is, therefore, clear that Strato had at one stage of his career to wear a beard as shaving was not possible because of a gaping wound which must have been inflicted on him by an adversary in the battle-field. The reverse device of the coin of Type 19 also makes the position apparent. Athena, who on all coins of Strato is depicted as thundering, suddenly shows herself as holding
out Nike, the goddess of Victory. The coin seems to commemorate the outstanding result of a struggle between an adversary and Strato, in which the latter, though wounded in the face, came out victorious.

In the very next stage were struck the coins which bear a more sublime epithet, ΕΠΙΦΑΝΗΣ, along with ΣΩΤΗΡ. Strato was now more than ΔΙΚΑΙΟΣ, he was [God-]Manifest, Prachachka or Pratyaksha—besides being the 'Saviour' of his people. That the coins with the epithets ΕΠΙΦΑΝΗΣ and ΣΩΤΗΡ were issued at this last stage of Strato's career is clear from the scar-mark still visible on coins of Type 21, struck apparently just after the issue of the coins of Type 19. This presumption is borne out by the fact that coins with the epithets ΕΠΙΦΑΝΗΣ and ΣΩΤΗΡ bear Strato's oldest portraits.

Coins bearing old portrait and name of Strato (alone or with another Strato), hitherto attributed to Strato I, are assigned by us to Strato II (and Strato III). See the introductory notes on Strato II, and the author's paper, "Did Strato I strike barbarous Coins?" (IHQ, XXXV, pp. 166-70.]

INDIAN STANDARD
With epithet ΣΩΤΗΡ (tratara):

1. A.R. Rd. Bust of King :: Athena thundering to left.
   Diademed bust of king to r. (Above) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ (below) ΣΤΡΑΤΩΝΟΣ.
   Rev. Helmeted Athena standing to l., holding aegis on outstretched l. arm, and hurling thunderbolt with r. hand. Kh. legend: (above) Maharajasa tratarasa (below) Stratasa.

   (1) BM: NC 1948, p. 139, No. 5 Pl. VIII. 8. (2-3) KM (MZ 1)—2 coins.
   (4) M. Marc Le Berre.
   Var. a. Similar, but Athena thundering to front.

INDIAN DRACHM. Monogram: 199.
   (1) CMB 1954, p. 5, No. 250 (wt. 31 grs.)

2. AR. Rd. Bust of King in smooth helmet :: Athena thundering to left.
   Diademed bust of king to r., wearing smooth helmet. (Above) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ (below) ΣΤΡΑΤΩΝΟΣ.
   Rev. Athena thundering to l., as on No. 1. Kh. legend: (above) Maharajasa tratarasa (below) Stratasa.

INDIAN DRACHMS. Pl. XXIX. 8 Monogram: 73.
   (1) BMC, p. 40, No. 5 Pl. X. 12; also NC 1948, p. 139, No. 14 Pl. VIII. 16.
   (2) IMC, p. 21, No. 1.

3. AR. Rd. Bust of King thrusting javelin :: Athena thundering to left.
   Diademed bust of king to l., thrusting javelin; aegis on his l. shoulder. (Above) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ (below) ΣΤΡΑΤΩΝΟΣ.
Strato I

Rev. Athena thundering to l., as on No.1. Kh. legend: (above) Maharajasa tratarasa (below) Stratasa.

(1) BM: NC 1923, p. 329, No. 37 Pl. XV 14 (broken); also NC 1948, p. 140, No. 18 Pl. IX. 5.

4. AE. Sqr. Bust of Herakles :: Winged Nike standing to right.

"Bust of Herakles r. (bearded), club, bound with taenia over shoulder."

(L) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ (top) ΣΩΘΡΟΣ (r) ΣΤΡΑΤΩΝΟΣ.

Rev. Winged Nike standing to r. with wreath in outstretched r. hand, and holding palm over l. shoulder. Kh. legend: (r) Maharajasa (top) tratarasa (l) Stratasa.


Var. a. Similar, but 'diademed bust of Herakles. Legend effaced.'

Medium-sized Coin. Pl. XXX 1.

(1) Taxila, p. 800, Pl. 236.62 (ASR 1929, p. 87, No. 13).

5. AE. Sqr. Bust of Apollo :: Winged Nike standing to right.

"Bust of Apollo (?) to r.; hair in queue. Legend effaced."

Rev. Nike to r. as on No. 4. Kh. legend: (r) Maharajasa (top) tratarasa (l) Stratasa.


(1) Taxila, p. 200, Pl. 36.61. "The bust appears to be that of Apollo (with queue) rather than of Herakles, as stated in A. S. R. (1928), p. 65, No. 8."

With epithet ΣΩΘΡ on obv., but trataras and 'dhamika' on rev.:

6. AR. Rd. Bust of King :: Athena thundering to left.

Diademed bust of king to r. (Above) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΘΡΟΣ (below) ΣΤΡΑΤΩΝΟΣ.

Rev. Athena thundering to l., as on No.1, but Kh. legend: (above) Maharajasa tratarasa 'dhamikasa' (below) Stratasa.

(1) BM: NC 1923, p. 329, No. 38 Pl. XVI. 3. (2) Mr H. P. Poddar.
7. A.R. Rd. Bust of King :: Athena thundering to front.

Diademed bust of king to r. (Above) \( \text{ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ } \text{ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ} \) (below) \( \text{ΣΤΡΑΤΩΝΟΣ} \).

Rev. Athena helmeted, standing to front, holding aegis on outstretched l. arm and hurling thunderbolt with r. hand. Kh. legend: (above) \text{Maharajasa} \text{tratarasa} 'dhramikasa' (below) \text{Stratasa}.

**Indian Drachm. Pl. XXX. 4.** Monogram: 85.
(1) BM: NC 1948, p. 139, No. 5 Pl. VIII. 9.

8. A.R. Rd. Bust of King in smooth helmet :: Athena thundering to left.

Diademed bust of king to r., wearing smooth helmet. (Above) \( \text{ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ} \text{ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ} \) (below) \( \text{ΣΤΡΑΤΩΝΟΣ} \).

Rev. Athena thundering to l., as on No. 1, but Kh. legend: (above) \text{Maharajasa} \text{tratarasa} 'dhramikasa' (below) \text{Stratasa}.

**Indian Drachms. Pl. XXX. 5.** Monogram: 71.
(1) PMC, p. 50, Pl. V. 359. (2-3) BM—2 coins: see PMC, p. 50, n. 1.

9. A.R. Rd. Bust of King thrusting javelin :: Athena thundering to left.

Diademed bust of king to l., thrusting javelin; lion's skin (?) on his l. shoulder. (Above) \( \text{ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ } \text{ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ} \) (below) \( \text{ΣΤΡΑΤΩΝΟΣ} \).

Rev. Athena thundering to l., as on No. 1, but Kh. legend: (above) \text{Maharajasa} \text{tratarasa} 'dhramikasa' (below) \text{Stratasa}.

**Indian Tetradrachm. Pl. XXX. 6.** Monogram: 71.
(1) NC 1948, p. 141, No. 19 Pl. IX. 3.

*With epithets ΣΩΤΗΡ (trataras) and ΔΙΚΑΙΟΣ (dhramika):*

10. A.R. Rd. Bust of King :: Athena thundering to right.

Diademed bust of (bearded?) king to r. (Above) \( \text{ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ } \text{ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ} \text{ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ} \) (below) \( \text{ΣΤΡΑΤΩΝΟΣ} \).

Rev. Helmeted Athena standing to r., holding aegis on outstretched l. arm, and hurling thunderbolt with r. hand. Kh. legend: (above) \text{Maharajasa} \text{tratarasa} dhramikasa (below) \text{Stratasa}.

**Indian Tetradrachm. Pl. XXX. 7.** Monogram: 85.
(1) NC 1948, p. 139, No. 7 Pl. VIII. 7.
11. A.R. Rd. Bust of King :: Athena thundering to front.
Diademed bust of king to r. (Above) \textit{BAΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ}
(below) \textit{ΣΤΡΑΤΩΝΟΣ}.
Rev. Athena thundering to front, as on No. 7. Kh. legend: (above) Maharajasa tratarasa dhramikasa (below) Stratasa.

12. A.R. Rd. Bust of King :: Athena thundering to left.
Diademed bust of king to r. (Above) \textit{BAΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ}
(below) \textit{ΣΤΡΑΤΩΝΟΣ}.
Rev. Athena thundering to l., as on No. 1. Kh. legend: (above) Maharajasa tratarasa dhramikasa (below) Stratasa.

Diademed bust of king to r., wearing smooth helmet. (Above) \textit{BAΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ}
(below) \textit{ΣΤΡΑΤΩΝΟΣ}.
Rev. Athena thundering to l., as on No. 1. Kh. legend: (above) Maharajasa tratarasa dhramikasa (below) Stratasa.

**INDIAN DRACHM. Pl. XXXI. 1.** Monogram: 72.

(1) NC 1948, p. 140, No. 15 Pl. II. 14: the word KAI does not occur between ΣΟΤΗΡΟΣ and ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ.


Diademed bust of king to r., wearing smooth helmet. (Above) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΟΤΗΡΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ (below) ΣΤΡΑΤΩΝΟΣ.

Rev. Athena thundering to front, as on No. 7. Kh. legend: (above) Maharajasa tratarasa dhramikasa (below) Stratasa.

**INDIAN TETRADRACHM. Pl. XXXI. 2.** Monogram: 72 (?).

(1) WKS C, p. 9, Pl. I. 106. "This coin probably came from the Tatta find."—Whitehead, NC 1923, pp. 327-28, No. 28.

15. A.R. Rd. Bust of King thrusting javelin :: Athena thundering to left.

Diademed bust of king to l., thrusting javelin; aegis covers his shoulder. (Above) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΟΤΗΡΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ (below) ΣΤΡΑΤΩΝΟΣ.

Rev. Athena thundering to l., as on No. 1. Kh. legend: (above) Maharajasa tratarasa dhramikasa (below) Stratasa.

**INDIAN TETRADRACHMS. Pl. XXXI. 3.** Monograms. 71, 200.

(1) Mr. H. de S. Shortt: NC 1947, p. 47, No. 11 Pl. II. 2. (2) CMB 1954, p. 5, No. 254: without KAI between ΣΟΤΗΡΟΣ and ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ.

Var. a. Similar, but on the obverse, 'lion's skin' (instead of aegis) covers the king's shoulde.

**INDIAN TETRADRACHMS. Pl. XXXI. 4.** Monogram: 219.


Var. b. Devices similar to those of the main type, but with different legends: (Greek) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΟΤΗΡΟΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ ΣΤΡΑΤΩΝΟΣ and (Kharoshthi) Maharajasa tratarasa Stratasa (without dhramikasa).

**INDIAN DRACHM. Monogram: 73.**

(1) CMB 1954, p. 4, No. 246.
16. AR. Rd. Bust of King in Medusa helmet thrusting javelin :: Athena thundering to left.

Diademmed bust of king to l., wearing Medusa helmet, thrusting javelin with r. hand; aegis on his l. shoulder. (Above) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΘΡΟΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ (below) ΣΤΡΑΤΩΝΟΣ.

Rev. Athena thundering to l., as on No. 1. Kh. legend: (above) Maharajasa tratarasa dhramikasa (below) Stratasa.


(1) Mr H. de S. Shortt: NC 1947, p. 47, No. 12 Pl. II. 3. (2) NC 1948, p. 141, No. 22 Pl. IX. 8 (from Charassadda): ΣΩΘΡΟΣ is wrongly written as ΣΩΘΡΟΥ.

Var. a. Similar, but on the reverse lion’s skin (instead of aegis) covers the king’s shoulder.

INDIAN TETRADRACHM. Pl. XXXI. 7. Monogram: Σ.

(1) BM: NC 1923, p. 329, No. 35 Pl. XV. 13; also NC 1948, p. 141, No. 21 Pl. IX. 7.

17. AR. Rd. Bust of ‘bearded’ King :: Athena thundering to left.

Diademmed bust of ‘bearded’ king to r. (Above) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΘΡΟΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ (below) ΣΤΡΑΤΩΝΟΣ.

Rev. Athena thundering to l., as on No. 1. Kh. legend: (above) Maharajasa tratarasa dhramikasa (below) Stratasa.


(1) BM: NC 1887, p. 182, No. 5 Pl. VII. 5 (from the Tatta Find); also Corolla Numismatica, p. 251, Pl. XII. 9; NC 1923, p. 328, No. 33; and NC 1948, p. 140, No. 12 Pl. IX. 2. This coin and the coin of Type 18 “provide the only instances of a bearded king in the entire Bactrian and Indo-Bactrian series.” – Whitehead.

18. AR. Rd. Bust of ‘bearded’ King :: Athena thundering to front.

Diademmed bust of ‘bearded’ king to r. (Above) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΘΡΟΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ (below) ΣΤΡΑΤΩΝΟΣ.

Rev. Athena thundering to front, as on No. 7. Kh. legend: (above) Maharajasa tratarasa dhramikasa (below) Stratasa.


19. AR. Rd. Bust of King :: Athena standing to left holding out Nike.

Diademed bust of king to r. (Above) \(\text{BAΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΔΙΚΑΙΟY} \) (below) \(\text{ΣΤΡΑΤΩΝΟΣ} \).

Rev. "Athena standing to l., with helmet, shield and spear, carrying Nike on her outstretched r. hand." Kh. legend: (above) \(\text{Mαχαραγας θραταρασα δθραμικας (below) Στρατας} \).

**INDIAN TETRADRACHMS. Pl. XXXI. 10.** Monogram: 233.

(1) BM (ex Whitehead): NC 1923, p. 227, No. 25 Pl. XV. 8. "This new and unique coin shows the Victory-bearing Athena, a concept of the deity" seen on an Attic tetradrachm of Theophilus (Tp. 1), another Indo-Greek king; but the Athena on the latter's coin is depicted as seated, like that on the Attic tetradrachm of Lysimachus, a general of Alexander, who ultimately became the king of Thrace from 323 to 281 B.C.: cf. N. Cir., May 1954, col. 188, Fig. 6 (for Theophilus) and GC, Pl. XLIX. 9 (for Lysimachus). (2) BM: NC 1948, p. 139, No. 9 Pl. VIII. 5 (this coin does not seem to be identical with Whitehead's coin).

The scar-mark on the king's face referred to above is distinctly visible on these coins, specially on coin No. 2.

20. AE. Sgr. Bust of Herakles :: Winged Nike standing to right.

Bust of bearded Herakles to r.; over his shoulder, club bound with taenia. (L) \(\text{BAΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤ-(top) ΗΡΟΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟY (r) ΣΤΡΑΤΩΝΟΣ} \).

Rev. Winged Nike standing to r. with wreath in outstretched r. hand and holding palm over l. shoulder. Kh. legend: (r) \(\text{Mαχαραγας (top) θραταρασα δθραμι-(l)κας Στρατας} \).

**MEDIUM-SIZED Coin. Pl. XXXII. 1.** Monogram: 71.

(1) BMC, p. 42, No. 20 Pl. XI. 5 (PMC, p. 52, unrep. Tp. vii).

With epithets \(\text{ΕΠΙΦΑΝΗΣ (prachachha) and ΣΩΘΠ} \) (tratara):

21. AR. Rd. Bust of King :: Athena thundering to left.

Diademed bust of king to r. (Above) \(\text{BAΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ} \) (below) \(\text{ΣΤΡΑΤΩΝΟΣ} \).

Rev. Athena thundering to l., as on No. 1. Kh. legend: (above) \(\text{Mαχαραγας prachachhasa tratarasa (below) Στρατας} \).

**INDIAN TETRADRACHMS. Pl. XXXII. 2.** Monogram: 29.

Cunningham published his then unique coin in CASE, p. 243, No. 1 Pl. XI. 1; also BMC, p. 168, Pl. XXXI. 6.
Strato I

(1) BM (ex Whitehead): NC 1923, p. 330, No. 40 Pl. XVI. 2; also NC 1948, p. 140, No. 10 Pl. VIII. 11. (2) BM (ex Cunningham)—the above coin.

(1-3) BMC, p. 40, Nos. 2-4: No. 3 Pl. X. 11. (4-5) IMC, p. 22, Nos. 3-4: No. 4 Pl. IV. 12. (6-3) PMC, p. 50, Nos. 356-58; Pl. V. 356. (9-14) KM (MZ 1)—6 coins. (15-16) KM (MZ 2)—2 coins. (17-22) M. Marc Le Berre—6 coins.

"The drachm of this type is the only abundant silver coin of Strato."

Var. a. Similar, but the epithet tratarasa does not occur on the reverse.

INDIAN DRACHM. Monogram: (?)
(1) CMB, 1954, p. 46, No. 267 (wt. 37.5 grs.)

22. A.R. Rd. Bust of King in smooth helmet :: Athena thundering to left.
Diademmed bust of king to r., wearing smooth helmet. (Above) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ (below) ΣΤΡΑΤΩΝΟΣ.
Rev. Athena thundering to l., as on No. 1. Kh. legend: (above) Maharajasa prachachhasa tratarasa (below) Stratasa.

(1) BMC, p. 40, No. 1 Pl. X. 10. (2) Gen. H. L. Haughton: NC 1948, p. 140, No. 17 Pl. VIII. 12. (3) BM (ex Whitehead): NC 1923, p. 330, No. 39 Pl. XVI. 4. "Some half-dozen specimens of this issue were in the find (i.e., the so-called Kabul Find), with mons. K₃ (M 233) and K₄ (M 29); unknown in the drachm size."—Whitehead.

23. A.E. Sqr. Apollo standing to front :: Tripod-lebes.

"Apollo wearing chlamys and boots, facing, with arrow in r. hand, and in l. bow resting on ground." (L) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΕΠΙΦΑ- (top) NOΥΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ (r) ΣΤΡΑΤΩΝΟΣ.
Rev. In dotted square, tripod-lebes. Kh. legend: (r) Maharajasa (top) prachachhasa (l) tratarasa Stratasa.

(1-4) BMC, p. 41, Nos. 13-16: No. 13 Pl. XI. 3. (5-7) PMC, p. 51, Nos. 363-65; Pl. V. 364. (8-12) Mr H. P. Poddar—5 coins. (13-14) Mr N. Singht—2 coins: one with M 29 and another with M 165 and M 161.
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24. A.E. Rd. Bust of Apollo to right :: Bow and quiver.

"Bust of Apollo to r., laur.; hair in queue." (Above) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ ΣΩΘΗΡΟΣ (below) ΣΤΡΑΤΩΝΟΣ.

Rev. Bow and quiver with strap. Kh.legend: (above) Maharajasa prachachhasa tratarasa (below) Stratasa.


STRATO II (SOTER)

[The following type of barbarous drachms with the epithet ΣΩΘΗΡ alone has generally been attributed to Strato I. Though struck by unskilled persons, we see in the obverse portraiture an attempt at depicting the royal bust faithfully and the king is portrayed as a man of "more than seventy years" of age with "toothless jaws and sunken cheeks," as first remarked by Rapson and echoed since by many others. Following Rapson, scholars now attribute them to Strato I. This attribution, which is not proper in our view, has created a false notion regarding the length of the reign-period of Strato I, who started his career at the age of about twenty years.

The epithet ΣΩΘΗΡ occurs alone on a few coins of Strato I, struck at the very first stage of his career. Thereafter, Strato I always bore double epithets ΣΩΘΗΡ-ΔΙΚΑΙΟΣ or ΕΠΙΦΑΝΗΣ-ΣΩΘΗΡ. It is therefore not natural for Strato I to drop altogether both of his subsidiary epithets—ΔΙΚΑΙΟΣ and ΕΠΙΦΑΝΗΣ—at the end of his career. The barbarous coins with the single epithet ΣΩΘΗΡ were almost certainly issued at a much later period by a different king.

Moreover, no well-struck coins depict Strato I in his old age, what to speak of an extreme old age. The most elderly portrait of Strato I possibly occurs on the tetradrachms with epithets ΕΠΙΦΑΝΗΣ and ΣΩΘΗΡ, but there too the portraiture does not look like one of a man over 45 (or at the most 50) years. Under such circumstances, attribution of the barbarous coins with a very old portrait to Strato I would mean a gap of at least 20 years in his career. Did he then go underground for as long a period as 20 years, and suddenly emerge from a long banishment with his "toothless jaws and sunken cheeks?" This seems highly improbable. The barbarous coins thus go naturally to a different king. See also the author's paper, "Did Strato I strike barbarous Coins?" (IHQ, XXXV, pp. 166-70).

Sr Alberto Simonetta has also come to the same conclusion from an elaborate study of the Indo-Greek monograms. He does not think, that "Straton I Soter who issued beautiful coins in Kapisa was responsible for striking barbarous drachms from Bucephala." According to him, Strato I of the nor-
mal coins was an early king connected with Heliocles, while Strato Soter of
the barbarous coins (struck either by a Strato Soter alone or by two Stratos,
Strato Soter and Strato Philopator) was more or less contemporary with
Azilises. "We must then conclude," says Simonetta, "that there existed two
kings named Straton Soter." (East and West, Year VIII, p. 66, note 14).]

1. AR. Rd. Bust of King :: Athena thundering to left.

Diademed bust of king to r. (Above) \( \text{BA\(\text{EI}\)\(\text{AE}\)\(\text{O}\)\(\text{S}\) \(\text{OT\(\text{H}\)\(\text{PO}\)\(\text{S}\) \(\text{STR\(\text{A}\)\(\text{A}\)\(\text{S}\)\(\text{A}\)\(\text{S}\)\(\text{A}\)\(\text{A}\)\(\text{S}\)\(\text{A}\)\(\text{S}\)\(\text{A}\)\(\text{S}\)\(\text{A}\)\(\text{S}\)\(\text{A}\)\(\text{S}\)\(\text{A}\)\(\text{S}\)\(\text{A}\)\(\text{S}\)\(\text{A}\)\(\text{S}\)\(\text{A}\)\(\text{S}\)\(\text{A}\)\(\text{S}\)\(\text{A}\)\(\text{S}\)\(\text{A}\)\(\text{S}\)\(\text{A}\)\(\text{S}\)\(\text{A}\)\(\text{S}\)\(\text{A}\)\(\text{S}\)\(\text{A}\)\(\text{S}\)\(\text{A}\)\(\text{S}\)\(\text{A}\)\(\text{S}\)\(\text{A}\)\(\text{S}\)\(\text{A}\)\(\text{S}\)\(\text{A}\)\(\text{S}\)\(\text{A}\)\(\text{S}\)\(\text{A}\)\(\text{S}\)\(\text{A}\)\(\text{S}\)\(\text{A}\)\(\text{S}\)\(\text{A}\)\(\text{S}\)\(\text{A}\)\(\text{S}\)\(\text{A}\)\(\text{S}\)\(\text{A}\)\(\text{S}\)\(\text{A}\)\(\text{S}\)\(\text{A}\)\(\text{S}\)\(\text{A}\)\(\text{S}\)\(\text{A}\)\(\text{S}\)\(\text{A}\)\(\text{S}\)\(\text{A}\)\(\text{S}\)\(\text{A}\)\(\text{S\)\(\text{A}\)\(\text{S\)\(\text{A}\)\(\text{S\)\(\text{A\)\(\text{S\)\(\text{A\)\(\text{S\)\(\text{A\)\(\text{S\)\(\text{A\)\(\text{S\)\(\text{A\)\(\text{S\)\(\text{A\)\(\text{S\)\(\text{A\)\(\text{S\)\(\text{A\)\(\text{S\)\(\text{A\)\(\text{S\)\(\text{A\)\(\text{S\)\(\text{A\)\(\text{S\)\(\text{A\)\(\text{S\)\(\text{A\)\(\text{S\)\(\text{A\)\(\text{S\)\(\text{A\)\(\text{S\)\(\text{A\)\(\text{S\)\(\text{A\)\(\text{S\)\(\text{A\)\(\text{S\)\(\text{A\)\(\text{S\)\(\text{A\)\(\text{S\)\(\text{A\)\(\text{S\)\(\text{A\)\(\text{S\)\(\text{A\)\(\text{S\)\(\text{A\)\(\text{S\)\(\text{A\)\(\text{S\)\(\text{A\)\(\text{S\)\(\text{A\)\(\text{S\)\(\text{A\)\(\text{S\)\(\text{A\)\(\text{S\)\(\text{A\)\(\text{S\)\(\text{A\)\(\text{S\)\(\text{A\)\(\text{S\)\(\text{A\)\(\text{S\)\(\text{A\)\(\text{S\)\(\text{A\)\(\text{S\)\(\text{A\)\(\text{S\)\(\text{A\)\(\text{S\)\(\text{A\)\(\text{S\)\(\text{A\)\(\text{S\)\(\text{A\)\(\text{S\)\(\text{A\)\(\text{S\)\(\text{A\)\(\text{S\)\(\text{A\)\(\text{S\)\(\text{A\)\(\text{S\)\(\text{A\)\(\text{S\)\(\text{A\)\(\text{S\)\(\text{A\)\(\text{S\)\(\text{A\)\(\text{S\)\(\text{A\)\(\text{S\)\(\text{A\)\(\text{S\)\(\text{A\)\(\text{S\)\(\text{A\)\(\text{S\)\(\text{A\)\(\text{S\)\(\text{A\)\(\text{S\)\(\text{A\)\(\text{S\)\(\text{A\)\(\text{S\)\(\text{A\)\(\text{S\)\(\text{A\)\(\text{S\)\(\text{A\)\(\text{S\)\(\text{A\)\(\text{S\)\(\text{A\)\(\text{S\)\(\text{A\)\(\text{S\)\(\text{A\)\(\text{S\)\(\text{A\)\(\text{S\)\(\text{A\)\(\text{S\)\(\text{A\)\(\text{S\)\(\text{A\)\(\text{S\)\(\text{A\)\(\text{S\)\(\text{A\)\(\text{S\)\(\text{A\)\(\text{S\)\(\text{A\)\(\text{S\)\(\text{A\)\(\text{S\)\(\text{A\)\(\text{S\)\(\text{A\)\(\text{S\)\(\text{A\)\(\text{S\)\(\text{A\)\(\text{S\)\(\text{A\)\(\text{S\)\(\text{A\)\(\text{S\)\(\text{A\)\(\text{S\)\(\text{A\)\(\text{S\)\(\text{A\)\(\text{S\)\(\text{A\)\(\text{S\)\(\text{A\)\(\text{S\)\(\text{A\)\(\text{S\)\(\text{A\)\(\text{S\)\(\text{A\)\(\text{S\)\(\text{A\)\(\text{S\)\(\text{A\)\(\text{S\)\(\text{A\)\(\text{S\)\(\text{A\)\(\text{S\)\(\text{A\)\(\text{S\)\(\text{A\)\(\text{S\)\(\text{A\)\(\text{S\)\(\text{A\)\(\text{S\)\(\text{A\)\(\text{S\)\(\text{A\)\(\text{S\)\(\text{A\)\(\text{S\)\(\text{A\)\(\text{S\)\(\text{A\)\(\text{S\)\(\text{A\)\(\text{S\)\(\text{A\)\(\text{S\)\(\text{A\)\(\text{S\)\(\text{A\)\(\text{S\)\(\text{A\)\(\text{S\)\(\text{A\)\(\text{S\)\(\text{A\)\(\text{S\)\(\text{A\)\(\text{S\)\(\text{A\)\(\text{S\)\(\text{A\)\(\text{S\}
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[STRATO II SOTER AND] STRATO III (PHILOPATOR)

1. A.R. Rd. Bust of King :: Athena thundering to left.

Crude diademed bust to r., exactly as on Tp. 1 of Strato II above. Corrupt Greek legend seems to read: \textit{BACIΛΕΩΣ ΟΤΗΡΟΣ CΤΡΑΤΩΝΟC YIOY CΣΡΑΤΩΝΟC} (Cunningham).

Rev. "Athena I". Badly engraved Kh. legend seems to read: \textit{Maharajasa tratarasa Stratasa putrasa (? potrasa) chasa priyapita Stratasa}.

\textbf{INDIAN DRACHMS. Pl. XXXII. 11.} Monograms: Kh. ri.

(1) BM (ex Cunningham): \textit{Corolla Numismatica}, 1906, p. 255, Var. a, Pl. XII. 12. (2-3) \textit{PMC}, p. 81, Nos. 643-44: Pl. VIII. 643. (4) \textit{KM} (MZ 1). (5) M. Marc Lé Barre. The last two coins bear on the obverse partial Greek legend: (above) \ldots \textit{ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ} \ldots (below) \ldots \textit{ΝΟΣ}.

2. A.R. Rd. Bust of King :: Athene thundering to left.

Crude diademed bust as above. "There are traces of nearly the whole legend, but they cannot be read with any certainty."

Rev. Athena thundering to l., as on No. 1. Badly engraved Kh. legend seems to read: \textit{Maharajana\dot{h} tratarasa tratasa putrasa (? potrasa) chasa priyapita Stratasa}. (The first word is not \textit{Maharajasa} as on No. 1).

\textbf{INDIAN DRACHMS. Pl. XXXII. 12.} Monogram: Kh. letters.


\section*{TELEPHUS (EUERGETES)}

\textbf{INDIAN STANDARD}

1. A.R. Rd. Snake-legged Yaksha standing to front :: Sceptred male deity (Helios) stading to front beside a female figure.

"Yaksha holding in each hand lotus stalk which develops from his own serpent-like legs" (Marshall). (Above) \textit{ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΟΥ} (below) \textit{ΘΛΕΦΩΥ}. ["Giant (Skythes?), his body ending in three serpents; holds in each hand, hammer" (Gardner).]

Rev. Male deity (Helios?) radiate standing facing, clad in tunic and chlamys holds long sceptre in r. hand; beside him stands a female figure wrapped in mantle. Kh. legend: (above) \textit{Maharajasa Kukanakramasa} (below) \textit{Teliphasa}. 
Telephus

(1) Ashmolean Museum, Oxford: BMC, p.171, Pl.XXXII. 7—"Wt. 37 (Bodleian Library);" also PMC, p. 87, Pl. IX. x. "The first silver coin of Telephus was obtained at Peshawar (J. A. S. B., 1842, p. 133."
(2) Taxila, p. 803, Pl. 238. 94; also ASR, 1929, p. 88, No. 21. "The two specimens at Berlin (Zeitschrift für Numismatik, Berlin, 1879, p.329) are doubtfully genuine; so No. 94 is the second specimen found in a century. Telephus was the patron hero of Pergamon in Asia Minor, and the contest between gods and snake-legged giants is pictured in the Pergamon frieze, c. 180 B.C. But in the present case, as pointed out by Sir John Marshall, the giant holds a lotus stalk in each hand, while the legs terminate in lotus flowers and tendrils; he is in fact a lotus Yaksha. Sir John has shown that yakshas are commonly portrayed in sculptures of the Early School, though growth from the legs instead of from the mouth or naval is an Hellenistic idea, not Indian."—Whitehead in Taxila, II, p. 836.
"Yakshas are commonly represented in early Indian art with the 'Lotus Plant of Life and Fortune' issuing from their mouths, navals, etc. cf. Marshall and Foucher, Monumenis of Sāñchī, pp. 142-5."—Sir John Marshall, Taxila, p. 803.
The Greek epithet EYEPEGETHΣ or its corresponding Prakrit term Kalanakrama (Sanskrit, Kalyāṇakarma?) never occurs on any other known coin of India.

2. A.E. Sqr. Enthroned Zeus :: Naked male figure squattting to right.
"Zeus seated on throne placed slightly left; long sceptre in l. hand; r. arm outstretched." (L) BΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ (top) EYEPEGETOY (r) THΛΕΦΟΥY.
Rev. "Figure, apparently male, naked except for some sort of head-dress, squattting to r. on lotus (? r. arm outstretched" (Whitehead). Kh. legend: (r) Maharajasa (top) kalanakramasa (l) Teliphasa.

(1) W. S. Talbot—one coin (it has not come to Mr Poddar, who has acquired the Talbot Collection): NC1923, p. 336, No. 58 Pl.XVII. 6. It was found by Mr. Rawlins in Haripur, Hazara District, and was published by Smith in "Numismatic Notes and Novelties," JASB 1898, pp. 130-31. (2) BM—see PMC, p. 80, unrep. Tp. ii. (3) Mr H. P. Poddar—one coin (not from the Talbot Collection).

3. A.E. Sqr. Enthroned Zeus :: Male figure walking to right.
Enthroned sceptred Zeus, as on No. 2. (L) BΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ (top) EYEPEGETOY (r.) THΛΕΦΟΥY.
Rev. "Male figure with cloak and spear, wearing a conical cap, walking r....; to r., tiny representation of a mountain as on the Kapisi coin of
Corpus of Indo-Greek Coins

Eu克拉底斯 (Whitehead). Kh. legend: (r) Maharajasa (top) kalanakramasa (l) Teliphasa.


(1) BM (ex Whitehead): NS, XIV, JASB 1910, pp. 561-64, No. 12 Pl. XXXIII. 12; also NC 1923, p. 327, No. 59 Pl. XVII. 5. (2-3) PMc p. 79, Nos. 640-41 (both from Whitehead): Pl. VII. 640. (4) Taxila, p. 803, Pl. 238. 93; also ASR 1912, p. 46, No. 7.

THEOPHILUS (DIKAIOΣ AUTOKRATOR)

Attic Standard

With epithet ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΩΡ:

1. AR. Rd. Bust of King :: Athena seated holding out Nike.

1. In astragalus border, diademed bust of king to r. (elderly portrait). Rev. "Athena seated, holding spear and shield, and wearing helmet, holds a Nike on her extended right hand." (Above) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΟΣ (below) ΘΕΟΦΙΛΟΥ.


(1) Kabul Museum (KH): N. Cır., May 1954, Col. 188, Fig. 6; also JNSi, XVI, p. 137, No. 13 Pl. III. 6 and JNSI, XVII, p. 51, No. 44 Pl. VI. 5.

The type of 'Athena holding Nike' is interesting. It was earlier used by Lysimachus (323-281 B. C.), one of Alexander's generals who ultimately became the king of Thrace, and later by the Indo-Greek king Strato I (Tp. 15); but Athena on Lysimachus' Attic tetradrachm is depicted as seated (GC, Pl. XLIX. 9), as on the present coin, while she is standing and holding Nike on the Indian tetradrachm of Strato I (NC 1923, Pl. XV. 8.).

The epithet Autokratōr is also significant. The Indo-Parthian king Gondophares alone is known to have used it (see his unique drachm, BMC, Pl. XXXII. 10).

"Theophilos...here appears for the first time with his own types and in true colours as Autokratōr (King Absolute), the trade mark of a military usurper."—A. D. H. Bivar, N. Cır., May 1954, col. 188.

Indian Standard

With epithet ΔΙΚΑΙΟΣ:

2. AR. Rd. Bust of King :: Heracles crowning himself.

Diademed bust of king to r. (Above) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ (below) ΘΕΟΦΙΛΟΥ (square theta).
Theophilus

Rev. Naked Herakles, facing, crowning himself with his r. hand and holds in l. hand club and lions’ skin. Kh. legend: (above) Maharajasa dhramikasa (below) Theiphilasa.

**INDIAN DRACHMS. PI. XXXIII. 2.** Monogram: 247. (1) BMC, p.167, Pl. XXXI. 3; also PMC, p.87, Pl. IX. viii. (2) IMC, p.31, No. I Pl. VI. 8 (Whitehead thinks it is a cast of the BM coin).

3. A.R. Rd. **Bust of King :: Herakles standing to front with club and lion’s skin.**

Diademed bust of king to r. (Above) BAΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ (below) ΘΕΟΦΙΛΟΥ

Rev. Naked Herakles stands facing, wearing ivy-wreath, and holds with his r. hand club that rests on ground, and in his l. arm, lion’s skin. Kh. legend: (above) Maharajasa dhramikasa (below) Theiphilasa.

**INDIAN DRACHM.** Monogram: 73. (1) Mr N. Singhì.

4. AE Sqr. **Bust of Herakles :: Cornucopiae.**

Bust of Herakles to r. with club over l. shoulder. (L) BAΣΙΛΕΩΣ (top) ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ (r) ΘΕΟΦΙΛΟΥ.

Rev. Cornucopiae. Kh. legend: (1) Maharajasa (top) dhramikasa (l) Theiphilasa.


5, A.E. Sqr. **Bust of Herakles :: Club with thick end up.**

Bust of Herakles to r., wrapped in lion’s skin. (L) BAΣΙΛΕΩΣ (top) ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ (r) ΘΕΟΦΙΛΟΥ.

Rev. Club with the thick end up. Kh. legend: (r) Maharajasa (top) dhramikasa (l) Theiphilasa.

ZOILUS I (DIKAIOS)

INDIAN STANDARD

1. A.R. Rd. Bust of King :: Crowned Herakles standing to front holding out wreath.

Diademed bust of king to r. (Above) \( \text{BAΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΙΚΑΙΟΥ} \) (below) \( \text{ΖΩΙΛΟΥ} \).

Rev. Naked Herakles standing, facing, wearing ivy-wreath, holds a wreath in extended r. hand and club and lion’s skin in l. Kh. legend: (above) Maharajasa dhramikasa (below) Jhoilasa.

INDIAN TETRADRACHMS. PI. XXXIII. 5. Monogram: 120.


2. A.R. Rd. Bust of King :: Herakles standing to front and being crowned by Nike.

Diademed bust of king to r. (Above) \( \text{BAΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ} \) (below) \( \text{ΖΩΙΛΟΥ} \) (cursive zeta).

Rev. Naked Herakles, standing, facing, wearing ivy-wreath, holds a wreath in extended r. hand and club and lion’s skin in l.; “a little figure of Nike is standing on the left shoulder of Heracles, and crowning him.” Kh. legend: (above) Maharajasa dhramikasa (below) Jhoilasa.


3. AE. Sqr. Head of Herakles :: Bow-case and club.

Head of bearded Herakles to r., in lion’s skin. (l) \( \text{ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ} \) (top) \( \text{ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ} \) (below) \( \text{ΖΩΙΛΟΥ} \) (cursive zeta).
Zoilus II


(1-2) BMC, p. 170, Pl. XXXII. 2; and NC 1950, p. 218, No. 6 Pl. XII. 10.
(3) Cabinet de France (see PMC, p. 68, unrep. Tp. iii).

ZOILUS II (SOTER)

Indian Standard

With epithet ΣΩΘΗΡ:

1. AR. Rd. Bust of King :: Athena thundering to left.
   Diademed bust of king to r. (Above) BAΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΘΗΡΟΣ (below) ZΩΙΑΟΥ (cursive zeta).
   Rev. Pallas standing to l., holding aegis in outstretched l. hand and hurling thunderbolt with r. Kh. legend: (above) Maharajasa tratarasa (below) Jhoïlasa.

Indian Drachms. Pl. XXXIII. 9. Monograms: 4, 4 and Kh. bu, 173 with various Kh. letters, 252 with Kh. letters or monograms.
(1-6) BMC, p. 52, Nos. 2-8: No. 3 Pl. XII. 11; on coin No. 4 zeta is normal. (7-8) IMC, p. 28, Nos. 1-2: No. 1 Pl. VI. 1. (9-23) PMC, pp. 65-67, Nos. 526-40: Pl. VII. 534 (normal zeta); on coin No. 540 king’s name is written with round omega. (24-29) Mr N. Singhi—6 coins. (30) Mr H. P. Poddar—1 good coin. (31-56) Taxila, p. 805, Pl. 238. 107-08—actually 26 specimens. (57-61) KM (MZ 1)—5 coins (one plated). (61-62) M. Marc Le Berre—2 coins.

2. AE. Rd. Apollo standing to right and elephant :: Tripod-lebes.
   Apollo standing to r., holding arrow in both hands; quiver at back; in l. field, a small elephant. (Above) BAΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΘΗΡΟΣ (below) ZΩΙΑΟΥ (cursive omega).

Big Coins. Monograms: Kh. hi and a.
(1) BMC, p. 53, No. 9 Pl. XII. 12. (2) IMC, p. 29, No. 5. (3-4) PMC, p. 67, Nos. 541-42. (5-7) Mr H. P. Poddar—3 coins. (8) Mr N. Singhi. (9) Taxila, p. 805, Pl. 238. 106.
Medium-sized Coins. Pl. XXXIII, 10. Monograms: groups of 2 Kh. letters, one of them being a.

(1-3) PMC, p. 67, Pl. VII, 545; Nos. 543-44 seem to be of this size also.

Var. a. Apollo to r., with quiver at back, holding arrow in both hands but no elephant.

Medium-sized Coins. Pl. XXXIII, 11.

(1) NS, XIV, JASB 1910, p. 558, No. 4 Pl. XXXIII, 4. (2-4) Mr H. P. Poddar—3 coins.

3. AE. Rd. Apollo standing to right :: Tripod-lebes.

Apollo stands to r. holding arrow in both hands, etc., as on No. 2, but no elephant in field. (L) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ (top) ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ (r) ΖΩΙΔΟΥ (cursive zeta).


(1) BMC, p. 53, No. 11 Pl. XII, 13.

4. AE. Rd. Apollo standing to right :: Elephant to right.

Apollo standing to r. with bow, as on No. 3. Greek legend rubbed.

Rev. Elephant to r. Kh. legend (fragmentary)—"probably part of Jhoilasa."


(1) Fitzwilliam Museum: NC 1940, p. 111, No. 10. (2) Mr N. Singhi. (3) Taxila, p. 799, Pl. 236, 50 (described with the coins of Apollodotus I).

Without Greek legend:

5. AE. Rd. Elephant to right :: Tripod-lebes.

In astragalus border, elephant moving to r. No Greek legend.


Small Coins. Pl. XXXIII, 14.


6. AE. Rect. Male figure standing to right :: Elephant to right.

In astragalus border, "male figure standing r." No Greek legend.
Revised. "Elephant walking to r., with fragmentary Kh. Legend: ...(Jho)ila."

(1) BM: NC 1923, p. 333, No. 50 (wt. 27 grs.).

7. **AE. Rd.** Elephant to right :: Male figure.

**Small Coins.** Pl. XXXIV. 15.
In astragalus border, "elephant walking r. No legend."
(1) BM (ex W. S. Talbot): NC 1923, p. 333, No. 51 (wt. 38 grs.).
APPENDICES
APPENDIX I
COIN-TYPES

All known obverse and reverse types of the coins of the Greek rulers of Bactria and India are given below—alphabetically arranged. Names of kings on whose coins they occur are also given in an alphabetical order with necessary particulars, viz., the type number, metal and the reference to illustration. The device depicted on the opposite side of the type in question is also noted. Particulars about the types commonly used by Scythian kings are given in brackets for comparative study and ascertaining their chronological sequence. It must not, however, be forgotten that a particular type is very rarely identical on coins of different rulers so far as minute details are concerned; it may vary not only in style and execution but also in one or other minor detail.

_Aegis_

[Maues (AE): PMC, Pl. XV. ii. _Obv._ Standing male figure with ankusa.]


_Alexander, Head of, in lion’s scalp_


_Ankusa_


_Antiochus II, Head of_


_Apollo, Bust (or head) of_

Eucretides II (Tp. 2. AE): Pl. XVII. 11. _Rev._ Horse to l.


Strato I (Tp. 5. AE): Pl. XXX. 2. _Rev._ Winged Nike to r.

Apollo, Seated (Enthroned)

Apollo standing to front

Apollo standing to left

Apollo standing to right

Apollo standing to right, and elephant

Artemis running with a torch, and dog

Artemis standing to front

Artemis standing to left

Artemis standing to right

Athena, Bust of, in smooth helmet
Menander I (Tp. 10. AR): Pl. XXV. 2. Rev. Owl to r.
(Tp. 18. AE.) Pl. XXV. 8. Rev. Nike to r,
Appendix I

(Tp. 20. AE): Pl. XXV. 12. Rev. Horse prancing to r.

Athena (?), Enthroned

Athena in the hand of Zeus

Athena Promachos (see Athena thundering)

Athena, Seated, holding out Nike

Athena standing to front with shield and spear

Athena standing to left holding out Nike

Athena standing to left with shield and spear

Athena thundering to left

Athena thundering to left
Bust of king.
[Azes (AR): PMC, Pl. XI. 127. Obv. King on horseback.]
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Athena thundering to left (with aegis sloping)


Athena thundering to right


Athena thundering to right (with aegis sloping)


Boar's head to right


Bow and Quiver


Bow-case and Club


Buckler with Gorgon's head


Bull-head facing


Bull, Humped, standing to right


Appendix I

[Azes (AE): PMC, Pl. XII. 288. Obv. Elephant to r.]
Epeander (Tp. 3. AE): Pl. XV. 1. Obv. Winged Nike to r.
Maues (AE): PMC, Pl. X. 32. Obv. Elephant to r.]

Bust in Phrygian cap

Bust of King, etc. (see King, Bust of, etc.).

Bust of Queen (see Queen, Bust of)

Busts, Conjugate

Caduceus
[Maues (AE): PMC, Pl. X. 5. Obv. Elephant’s head to r.]

Camel, Bactrian two-humped

Chakra (see Wheel)

City-deity, Enthroned

City-deity of Kāpišī, Enthroned

City-deity standing to left
Azes with Azilises (AR): PMC, Pl. XIII. 319. Obv. King on horseback.]
[Maues (AE): PMC, Pl. X. 15. Obv. Zeus enthroned and a small deity.]

City-goddess (see City-deity)

Club

Club and Bow-case (see Bow-case and Club)

Cornucopiae

Dancing girl (or Yakshinī Áśvamukhī)

Demeter, Enthroned
[Anes (AE): PMC, Pl. XI. 217. Rev. Hermes with caduceus to l.]

Demeter standing to front
[Anes (AE): PMC, Pl. XII. 231. Obv. King on horseback.]

Demeter standing to left

Demeter standing to right

Demetrius I, Bust of, in elephant's scalp

Diadem, Royal

Diodotus, Head of
Appendix I

Dionysos, Bust of
Agathocles (Tp. 7. CN): Pl. II. 5. Rev. Panther to r.

Dioskouroi, One of the, mounted

Dioskouroi, The, mounted

Dioskouroi, The, standing
[Azilises (AR): PMC, Pl. XIII. 327. Obv. King on horseback.]

Dog to right running with Artemis

Dolphin to right
Menander I (Tp. 22. AE): Pl. XXVI. 1. Obv. Young male head to r.

Dolphin twined round anchor

Elephant, Forepart of, and enthroned Zeus Nikephoros (see Zeus, enthroned, holding out Nike, and forepart of elephant.)

Elephant, Head of
[Maues (AE): PMC, Pl. X. 5. Rev. Caduceus.]

Elephant, Nike-carrying, and Zeus
Elephant's goad (Anthusa)

Elephant standing to left
(Tp. 11a. AE): Taxila, Pl. 237.70. Rev. Humped bull to r.

Elephant standing to right
(Tp. 5. AE): Pl. VI. 8. Rev. Winged Nike to l. on prow of a ship.

Elephant standing to right holding out wreath
[Maues (AE) PMC, Pl. X. 31. Rev. King seated cross-legged.]

Euthydemus I, Head of
Agathocles (Tp. 4. AR): Pl. II. 1. Rev. Herakles seated to l. on rock.

Giant (or Yaksha), Snake-legged

Girl, Dancing (see Dancing girl)

Gorgon's head (see Buckler with Gorgon's head)

Hekate in the hand of enthroned Zeus

Hekate in the hand of standing Zeus

Helios driving quadriga to front
Appendix I

Helios driving quadriga to right

Helios standing to front

Helios standing to front with another figure

Herakles, Bust (or head) of
Euthydemos II (Tp. 4. AE): Pl. XIX. 6. Rev. Horse prancing to r.
Strato I (Tp. 4. AE): Pl. XXIX. 10. Rev. Winged Nike to r.

Herakles, Crowned, standing to front

Herakles, Crowned, standing to front and holding out wreath

Herakles, Crowned, standing to front with Nike on shoulder

Herakles crowning himself (see Herakles standing to front and crowning himself.)

Herakles seated to left with club on knee
[Azilises (AE): PMC, Pl. XIV. 353. Obv. King on horseback.]

Herakles seated to left with club on rock
Herakles standing to front and crowning himself


[azes (AE): PMC, Pl. XII. 254. Rev. Horse to r.]


Horseman, Mounted (see King on horseback)


Horse prancing to right


Horse standing to left


Javelin-thruster king, Bust of (see King, Bust of, thrusting javelin)

Kaviśye Nagaradevata (see City-deity of Kāpiśi, Enthroned)

King, Bust (or Head) of

All kings except Antimaechus II, Apollodotus I and Telephus.

King, Bust of, bearded


King, Bust of, thrusting javelin

Appendix I


King, Bust of, wearing elephant’s scalp

King, Bust (or head) of, wearing kausia

King, Bust of, wearing Medusa helmet

King, Bust of, wearing Medusa helmet and thrusting javelin

King, Bust of, wearing peculiar helmet
Menander I (Tp. 3a. AR): Pl. XXIV. 6. Rev. Athena thundering to l,
King (?), Bust of, wearing Phrygian cap (see Bust in Phrygian cap)

King, Bust of, wearing smooth helmet

(*Tp. 3a. AR*): Pl. IX. 9. *Rev*. Zeus thundering to front holding aegis (instead of sceptre)

King, Bust of, wearing smooth helmet and thrusting javelin

Appendix I

King, Mounted (see King on horseback)

King on horseback (horse prancing)


King on horseback (horse standing)


King on prancing horse [see King on horseback (horse prancing)]

King (?), Warrior (see Male figure standing)

Lion, Indian (see Panther)

Lion’s skin


Male figure, Naked, squatting


Male figure standing to front

Male figure standing to left

Male figure standing to right
[Azilises (AE): PMC, Pl. XIV. 366. Rev. Male deity to r.]

Male head, Young, wearing wreath
Menander I (Tp. 22. AE): Pl. XXVI. 1. Rev. Dolphin to r.

Nike, Winged, in the hand of seated Athena (see Athena, Seated, holding out Nike)

Nike, Winged, in the hand of standing Athena (see Athena standing holding out Nike).

Nike, Winged, in the hand of enthroned Zeus (see Zeus, Enthroned, holding out Nike)

Nike, Winged, on elephant's head, and Zeus (see Elephant, Nike-carrying, and Zeus)

Nike, Winged, standing on Herakles' shoulder (see Herakles, Crowned, standing with Nike on shoulder)

Nike, Winged, standing to front

Nike, Winged, standing to left
(AE): PMC, Pl. X. 13. Obv. Lunar goddess to l.]

Nike, Winged, standing to left on prow of a ship
Appendix I

Nike, Winged, standing to right
[Azes (AR): PMC, Pl. XI. 187. Obv. Zeus to 1.]
Epanter (Tp. 3. AE): Pl. XV. 1. Rev. Humped bull to r.
thrusting javelin.
[Maues (AR): PMC, Pl. X. 1. Obv. Zeus to 1.]
javelin.

Owl standing to right

Ox-head (see Bull-head)

Pallas (see Athena, etc.)

Palm and Wreath

Palm-branch
Menander I (Tp. 27. AE): Pl. XXVI. 6. Obv. Boar’s head to r.

Palms and Piloi
helmet.]
Herakles.
Panther (or Maneless lion) to left


Panther (or Maneless lion) to right

[azes (AE): PMC, Pl. XII. 263. Obv. Humped bull to r.]

Piloi and Palms (see Palms and Piloi)

Poseidon, Head of


Poseidon standing to front


Queen, Bust of

Agathocleia with Strato I (Tp. 2. AR): Pl. I. 3. Rev. Male figure (Warrior) to r.

Queen, Bust of, wearing smooth helmet


Quiver and Bow (see Bow and Quiver)

Stūpa


Sun-god (see Helios)

Thunderbolt, Winged


Tree within railing


Trident

Appendix I

Tripod-lebes

Apollodotus II (Tp. 3. AE): Pl. VII. 4. Obv. Apollo to r.

Tripod-lebes of peculiar form


Tripod-lebes with pronounced foot

[Maues (AE): PMC, Pl. X. 18. Obv. Apollo to front.]

Triton


Warrior or Warrior King (see Male figure)

Wheel


Wreath and Palm (see Palm and Wreath)

Yaksha, Snake-legged


Yakshini Alvamukhi (see Dancing Girl).

Zeus, Bust (or head) of

Euthydemus I (Tp. 5. AE): Pl. XVIII. 12. Rev. Horse prancing to r.

Zeus, Bust of, hurling thunderbolt


Zeus, Bust of, with thunderbolt over shoulder

Zeus, Enthroned, holding out Athena

Zeus-Mithra, Enthroned, holding out callipers

Zeus, Enthroned, holding out eagle

Zeus, Enthroned, holding out Hekate

Zeus, Enthroned, holding out Nike

Zeus, Enthroned, holding out Nike, and forepart of elephant

Zeus, Enthroned, holding out palm and wreath, and forepart of elephant

Zeus Nikephoros, Enthroned (see Zeus, Enthroned, holding out Nike)

Zeus Nikephoros standing (see Zeus standing holding out Nike)

Zeus standing to front holding out Hekate

Zeus standing to front holding thunderbolt
Appendix I


Zeus (Mithra) standing to left holding out callipers
Maues (AR): PMC, Pl. X. 1. Rev. Nike to r.]

Zeus thundering to front holding sceptre

Zeus thundering to front holding aegis (instead of sceptre)
Archebius (Tp. 2a. AR): CMB 1956, p. 10, No. 354 Fig. 171. Obv. Bust of king.

Zeus thundering to left (holding aegis), and eagle
(Tp. 3. AR): Pl. XIII. 5. Obv. Head of Diodotus II.

Zeus walking by Nike-carrying Elephant (see Elephant, Nike-carrying, and Zeus).
APPENDIX II

MONOGRAMS (AND SYMBOLS) AND KINGS

A. GREEK-TYPE MONOGRAMS

The problem of the monograms has already been discussed above (pp. 52-62). Their importance has been recognised by all scholars, though none of their particular theories and views about the nature and meaning of the large number of monograms stands close scrutiny. It appears that the monograms had different connotations at different times: these connotations varied with time and place, and, possibly, with person. Thus, a monogram (e.g. M 162) which persists through a number of reigns and which occurs on coins struck both in Bactria and in India, apparently did not have the same significance as another that occurs on a few Indian pieces of a single king.

We have in this Appendix attempted at making a co-ordinated study of the large number of monograms or kindred marks that appear on the Greek coins of Bactria and India. Cunningham made a somewhat similar attempt in 1868, dealing with about 150 monograms that occur on the coins of both Greek and Scythian kings. Since then a great deal of material has been discovered and published, and we have come to know a large number of new monograms.

We studied at first about 300 monograms, and incorporated them in the original list with published references. But recently we received from the Kabul Museum photographs of many Indo-Greek coins, and by examining them we have been able to include some new monograms in the list. Besides these, we have also incorporated many monograms to our list from the list of monograms published by Sr Simonetta in *East and West*, Vols. VIII, and IX. But as he has not furnished us with references to published material, it has not been possible for us to give type references to his monograms. Our present list thus deals with nearly 440 monograms. But since a great
number of Indo-Greek coins are still lying unstudied in many private and official cabinets all over the world, our list of monograms cannot be taken as complete. Moreover, the limitations of the study of monograms are many, and no attempt without a co-ordinated and comprehensive study of coins of various cabinets of importance may be considered as final.

We have here arranged the monograms in a serial order. The name of the king on whose coins the particular monogram occurs is noted against it along with references to the coin-type and publication. The reference to the illustration has also been cited wherever possible, but it should be borne in mind that such illustrations may not always do justice to the forms of given monograms due to the bad state of preservation of the illustrated coins. In cases where a particular monogram is found in the list of other scholars, the fact has been suitably mentioned.

The occurrence of a given monogram on one type of coins of a particular king has generally been referred to. In cases where different combinations are known, mention has been made of more than one type of coins or of other coins of the same type. The given monogram may occur on various other types of coins of the same king. When variants of the apparently same monogram are given, attention has been drawn to other forms.

Numbers refer to those of the monograms in the plates. Abbreviations used are: C=monograms illustrated by Cunningham in NC 1868 (and reprinted in LMC, Plate VII); G and K=monograms discussed by Whitehead in NC 1923, pp. 313 and 311 respectively; M=monograms as listed by us; S=monograms dealt with by Simonetta in East and West, Vol. VIII, pp. 53 ff. and Vol. IX, pp. 173 ff.; T=monograms listed by E. Thomas in PE, II; and W=monograms illustrated by Whitehead in PMC, p. 218.

1. EUTHYDEMUS I: (Tp. 1) Pl. XVIII. 1

2. EUCRATIDES I: (Tp. 2) PE, II, p. 184, No. 4a. EUCRATIDES II: (Tp. 1) NC 1947, Pl. I. 2; (Tp. 3) Pl. XVII.12. Cf. T. 11

3. EUCRATIDES I: (Tp. 2) PE, II, p. 184, No. 4a. See T 11.

4. APOLLODOTUS II: (Tp. 2) PMC, Pl. IV. 263
ZOLUS II: (Tp. 1) PMC, No. 539. It is characteristic of the Punjab class of coins: NC 1923, p. 314.

5. APOLLODOTUS II: (Tp. 10) BMC, Pl. X. 3—with Kh. da; (Tp 2) SC, Nos. 141-42—with M 5 (obv.) and M 30 (rev.). See T 51b, and cf. S 154.
8. *Demetrius II*: (Tp. 1a) *JNSI*, XVII, Pl. V. 4; (Tp. 1) *NC* 1951, Pl. IV. 11—with Λ; (Tp 1) *JNSI*, XVII, Pl. V. 5—with Ι; according to Simonetta, Μ 8 occurs on Demetrius II’s coin with Μ 92 (S 224). *Euthydemos I*: (Tp 2) *NC* 1951, p. 27, No. 9 Pl. III. 9—with M 298; according to Simonetta, Μ 8 occurs on coins of Euthydemos II with M 324 (S 171). *Helioctes*: (Tp. 1) *BMC*, p. 21, No. 4. See C 25, S 166.
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34. HERMAEUS: (Tp. 2) BMC, p. 62, No. 7.

35. APOLLODOTUS I: (Tp. 4) PMC, No. 296. See C 82, S 18, W 55.


38. EUCHARIDES I: (Tp. 15) IG, Pl. IV. 8. According to Simonetta, M 38 occurs on the Attic coins of Eucaerides I and Indian coins of Hermaeus. See S 1, T 32a, W 84, and cf. M 304.


40. APOLLODOTUS I: (Tp. 4) BMC, Pl. IX. 11. EUCHARIDES I: (Tp. 2) PMC, No. 62—with A. See S 4, T 65, W 10.

41. APOLLODOTUS I: (Tp. 3) BMC, p. 35, No. 20. See S 11, T 66.

42. ANTHEMACHUS II: (Tp. 2) Pl. VI. 11. APOLLODOTUS II: (Tp. 6) Pl. VIII. 3. EUCHARIDES I: (Tp. 20) PMC, No. 123—with M 228. LYSIAS (Tp. 8) PMC, No. 162. MENANDER I: (Tp. 1) Pl. XXVI. 1. (Tp. 8): PMC, Pl. VI. 471. PLATO: (Tp. 3) Pl. XXIX. 3; (Tp. 2) Pl. XXIX. 2—with M 294. It is characteristic of the Gandhāra class of coins: NC 1923, p. 313. See C 86, S 31, T 46a, W 27 or G 2, and cf. M 49.

43. PLATO: (Tp. 4) Pl. XXIX. 4. See S 33.

44. ANTHEMACHUS II: (Tp. 1) PMC, No. 570. MENANDER I: (Tp. 7) BMC, p. 46, No. 33; (Tp. 18) PMC, Pl. VI. 488; (Tp. 25) Taxila, III, Pl. 236. 51. It is characteristic of the Gandhāra class of coins: NC 1923, p. 313. See C 87, S 36, T 46, W 70 or G 3.


47. APOLLODOTUS I: (Tp. 3) BMC, p. 36, No. 34. EUCHARIDES I: Simonetta. See C 66, S 14.

48. HERMAEUS: (Tp. 2) BMC, p. 63, No. 16—with M 125. See S 16.
50. Eucratides I: (Tp 6) WKSC, Pl. X. 959; (Tp 10) BMC, Pl. V. 8. See C 30, S 204, T 13a, W 16.
51. Diodotus I (?): (Tp 6) SC, No. 5—with M 25.
52. Eucratides I: (Tp 10) PMC, Pl. II. 64.
53. Menander I: (Tp 2) BMC, p. 44, No. 3 Pl. XI. 7, and p. 45, No. 21—with M 141; (Tp 6) BMC, p. 44, No. 4—with E. See S 58, W 68, and cf. T 93.
55. Euthydemos I: (Tp 2) A coin in Mr Poddar’s cabinet.
59. Eucratides I: (Tp 10) BMC, Pl. V. 10, and WKSC, Pl. X. 957. The Eucratides tetradracm illustrated by Bayer in 1738 bears this monogram. See C 28a, S 68, T 28a, W 12.
60. Eucratides I: (Tp 5) IMC, p. 11, No. 4 Pl. II. 6. See T 28b.
64. Menander I: (Tp 7) C. J. Brown, The Coins of India, Pl. II. 4. See S 37, W 69.
65. Menander I: (Tp 7) SC, No. 214.
66. Eucratides I: (Tp 10) PMC, No. 68; (Tp 7) Pl. XVI. 1—with M 143. Menander I: (Tp 25) IMC, p. 27, No. 90—with A; (Tp 22) Pl. XXVI. 1—with M 82. See C 98, S 49, T 30, W 14.
68. Eucratides I: (Tp 14) IMC, Pl. II. 9. Menander I: (Tp 2) SC, No. 197.
70. Heliocles: (Tp 1) CHI, Pl. IV. 8. See T 16.
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80. Menander I: (Tp. 29) Taxila, p. 799, Pl. 236. 52.


82. Menander I: (Tp. 22) Pl. XXVI. 1—with M 66.

83. Menander I: (Tp. 10) SC, No. 237.


85. Stratios I: (Tp. 10) NC 1923, Pl. XV. 10. See C 117, T 22d.
86. **HERMAEUS** : (Tp. 2) *SC*, No. 330.


88. **HERMAEUS** : Simonetta. **EUCRATIDES** I : (Tp. 11) *BMC*, p. 16, No. 31; (Tp. 19) *PMC*, No. 118; according to Simonetta, M 88 also occurs on Attic coins of Eucratides I : see S 69.


91. **HIPPOSTRATUS** : (Tp. 7a) *PMC*, No. 621—with Kh. *maḍī*; (Tp. 7) Pl. XXIII. 1 (*PMC*, Pl. VIII. 610)—with Kh. *maḍī* and *pri*; (Tp. 7) *PMC*, No. 613—with Kh. *maḍī* and *lo*; (Tp. 4) *PMC*, Pl. VIII. 617—with Kh. *maḍī* and *pa*; (Tp. 4) *PMC*, No. 619—with Kh. *maḍī* and *na*; (Tp. 7a) *PMC*, No. 620—with Kh. *maḍī* and *sra*. See T 105, and cf. C 110, S 75, W 79.

92. **DEMETRIUS I** : (Tp. 2a) *NC* 1951, Pl. IV. 13—with M 8. **HERMAEUS** : Simonetta, See S 244.


95. **HERMAEUS** : (Tp. 1) Pl. XXI. 1.


98. **EUCRATIDES** I : (Tp. 10) *IMC*, p. 12, No. 12—"a cross with a circle in centre". See T 3.

99. **EUCRATIDES** I : (Tp. 6) *SC*, No. 32.

100. **ANTIMACHUS** I : (Tp. 3) Pl. VI. 3.


103. **EUCRATIDES** I : (Tp. 9) Pl. XVI. 4.

105. Eucratides I : (Tp. 9) PE, II, p. 185, No. 7. See T 5b.


107. Antialcidas : (Tp. 6b) PMC, Pl. III. 172.


110. Lysias : (Tp. 1A) JNSI, XVII, Pl. VI. 3—with Σ; (Tp. 4) SC, No. 62.

111. Antimachus I : (Tp. 3) SC, No. 22. See S 313.


113. Agathocles : (Tp. 8) Pl. II. 7. Apollodotus I : (Tp. 3) BMC, p. 34, No. 6—M 115 (obv.) and M 113 (rev.); (Tp. 3) PMC, Nos. 251-52—M 116 (obv.) and M 113 (rev.). Demetrius I : (Tp. 2b) NC 1951, p. 32, No. 18. See C 10, S 184, T 6, W 47.


115. Apollodotus I : (Tp. 3) BMC, p. 34, No. 6—M 115 (obv.) and M 113 (rev.). See S 181.

116. Apollodotus I : (Tp. 3) PMC, Nos. 251-52—M 116 (obv.) and M 113 (rev.). See W 46, and cf. S 270.


121. Apollodotus II : (Tp. 2) PMC, No. 256. See S 187, W 49.

122. Apollodotus II : (Tp. 2) PMC, Nos. 254-55. See W 48.

123. Apollodotus I : (Tp. 3) IMC, Pl. IV. 4—M 162 (obv.) and M 123 (rev.). See S 186, W 44.


125. Hermaeus : (Tp. 2) BMC, p. 63, No. 16—with M 48. See S 211.

126. Artemidorus : (Tp. 4) BMC, Pl. XIII. 2. Demetrius I : (Tp. 4) NC 1951, p. 38, Fig. 5.
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133. **Apollodotus II**: (Tp. 2) *IMC(S)*, p. 12. No. 16.


136. **Hermachus**: (Tp. 2) *BMC*, p. 62, No. 3.


140. **Menander I**: (Tp. 18) *IMC*, Pl. V. 8.

141. **Menander I**: (Tp. 2) *BMC*, p. 45, No. 20; (Tp. 2) *BMC*, No. 21—with M 53. See C 95, S 280, T 18a.

142. **Philoxenus**: (Tp. 9) *BMC*, p. 57, No. 17—M 142 (obv.) and Σ (rev.).


147. **Euthydemos I**: (Tp. 4) *NC* 1951, p. 30, Fig. 3. See C 21, S 273.


149. **Amyntas**: (Tp. 3) Pl. III. 3.

150. **Epander**: (Tp. 1) Pl. XIV. 12 (PMC, Pl. VI. 516); according to Simonetta, M 150 occurs on Amyntas’ coins with M 162 (S 292). See C 106, S 289, W 73.

151. **Epander**: (Tp. 3) Pl. XV. 1—with M 162. See S 290.


155. **Strato I**: (Tp. 5) *Taxilla*, Pl. 236, 61—with Σ.
156. Apollodotus I: (Tp. 4) BMC, Pl. IX. 12. Cf. T 68.
158. Apollodotus I: (Tp. 3) PMc, No. 309. See S 233, W 58.
162. Agathoclea with Strato I: Simonetta. Agathocles: (Tp. 6)
Pl. II. 3; (Tp. 5) Pl. II. 2; (Tp. 7) Pl. II. 6. Antialcidas:
(Tp. 6c) BMC, Pl. III. 170. Antimachus I: (Tp. 3) BMC, Pl. V. 3.
Apollodotus I: (Tp. 3) IMC, Pl. IV. 4—M 162 (obv.) and M 123
(rev.); (Tp. 3) BMC, p. 34, No. 4—M 162 (obv.) and C (rev.); (Tp. 3)
BMC, p. 34, No. 5—M 162 (obv.) and ω (rev.). Archebius: (Tp. 5)
BMC, Pl. IX. 5—with M 105. Demetrius I: (Tp. 2a) NC 1951, Pl.
IV. 14. Epanter: (Tp. 3) Pl. XV. 1—with M 151. Eu克拉ides I:
XXIX. 5. Strato I: (Tp. 23) Pl. XXXII. 6 (BMC, Pl. XI. 2). This
monogram is characteristic of the upper Kabul valley (Paropamisadæ)
and may represent cartana: NC 1923, pp. 311-12; see also GBI,
App. I. See C 16, S 292, T 8a, W 3 (K₃), and cf. M 163.
163. Agathocles: (Tp. 7) Pl. II. 6. Demetrius I: (Tp. 2c) Mr Poddar’s
coin. Eu克拉ides I: (Tp. 2) BMC, Pl. II. 63. Heliocles: (Tp. 10)
BMC, Pl. VII. 7. Philoxenus: (Tp. 8) SC, No. 311. Strato I:
(Tp. 21) BMC, Pl. X. 11.
Demetrius I: Simonetta. Eu克拉ides I: (Tp. 3) Case, Pl. V. 3.
Lysias: Simonetta. Menander I: (Tp. 6) Taxila, Pl. 236.55, and
Pl. XXXII. 5—with M 161. See C 17, S 294, T 8b, W 30, and cf.
M 163.
167. Apollodotus I: (Tp. 3) PMC, Pl. IV. 307. Apollodotus II: Simo-
170. Artemidorus: (Tp. 3) BMC, Pl. XXXII. 5.
171. Eu克拉ides II: (Tp. 1) Pl. XIX. 3.
172. Eu克拉ides I: (Tp. 20) PMC, No. 119. See W 26, and cf. S 236.
1869, p. 226, No. 1. See C 8a, T 17a.
175. Antimachus I: (Tp. 3) JNSI, XVII, Pl. II. 3.
176. Menander I: (Tp. 6) SC, Nos. 190, 209.
180. Menander I: (Tp. 2) IMC, Pl. V. 3—with M 204. See C 94.
181. Artemidorus: (Tp. 3). ANSMN, III, Pl. VI. C.
183. Apollodotus II: (Tp. 3) PMC, Pl. V. 330. Hermaeus: (Tp. 3) NC 1923, Pl. XVII. 10. See W 60, and cf. C 72, M 426, S 238, T 53a.
184. Epander: (Tp. 3) PMC, Pl. VI. 517—with M 162. Cf. W 73.
187. Antimachus I: (Tp. 3) JNSI, XVII, Pl. II. 6.
189. Apollodotus II: (Tp. 6) PMC, No. 345; (Tp. 3) IMC, Pl. IV. 6—with Kh. a and di. Dionysius: (Tp. 1) Pl. XIV. 8. Zoilus II: (Tp. 1) Pl. XXXII. 9—with Kh. letter. This monogram is characteristic of the Punjab class of coins: NC 1923, p. 314. See C 73, and cf. M 190, S 300, W 50.
194. Zoilus I: (Tp. 3) Pl. XXXIII. 8. See S 266.
197. Menander II: (Tp. 3) WKSC, Pl. X. 964.
198. Philoxenus: (Tp. 6) Pl. XXVIII. 5. The monogram on the plate does not look like what is given in p. 56, No. 4.
200. Strato I: (Tp. 15) Pl. XXXI. 3. Cf. M 71,
201. Strato I: (Tp. 14) Pl. XXXI. 2.
203. Menander I: (Tp. 9) Pl. XXV. 1.
    Antimachus I: (Tp. 2) CASE, Pl. VII. 2. Lysias: (Tp. 1A) Pl.
    XXIII. 4; (Tp. 5) BMC, Pl. VIII. 7. Menander I: (Tp. 2) PMC,
    Pl. VI. 375—wth Σ; (Tp. 2) BMC, p. 46, No. 26—with Γ; (Tp. 2)
    BMC, No. 27—with E; (Tp. 2) PMC, No. 378—with M 215; (Tp. 6)
    NNM 13, Pl. VII. 2—with Σ. This monogram is characteristic
    of the Gandhāra class of coins: NC 1923, p. 313. See S 80, and
    cf. C 89, W 32.
205. Antialcidas: (Tp. 4a) BMC, p. 25, No. 3.
207. Eucratides I: (Tp. 10) PE, II. p. 185, No. 6—with M 278.
209. Menander I: (Tp. 2) PMC, No. 391. See W 64, and cf. S 83.
210. Antimachus I: (Tp. 3) PMC, Pl. II. 54. It looks differently in the
211. Antimachus I: (Tp. 1) Pl. VI. 7. Apollodotus I: (Tp. 2) IMC,
    p. 19, No. 32—M 211 (obv.) and A (rev.). See C 14, W 9, and
    cf. S 200.
213. Philoxenus: (Tp. 11) Pl. XXVIII. 11—M 213 (obv.) and Σ (rev.).
    Philoxenus: (Tp. 2) PMC, Pl. VII. 576; see also NC 1923, p. 316.
    Strato I: (Tp. 3) NC 1923, Pl. XV. 14. See S 73, T 22a, W 7,
    and cf. M 73.
215. Menander I: (Tp. 7) BMC, p. 46, No. 31; (Tp. 2) PMC, No. 378—with
    M 204. See S 74, W 63, and cf. M 216.
218. Eucratides I: (Tp. 16) BMC, Pl. VI. 6. Hermaeus: (Tp. 2) KM coin;
221. Hippostratus: (Tp. 6) Pl. XXII. 11. Even though its form is not
    quite clear, it does not appear to be M 228, as recorded in BMC,
    p. 60, No. 16.
224. Apollodotus II: (Tp. 10) SC, No. 140—with Kh. bi. Peucolaeus:
    Simonetta. See 139.
225. Hermæus: (Tp. 2a) PMC, No. 650—with Kh. ga. See W 85, and cf.
    S 146.
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235. **Peucelus**: (Tp. 1) Pl. XXVII. 12. *N*—with M 236 (?).

236. **Agathocleia** and **Strato I**: (Tp. 5) Pl. I. 7. **Amyntas**: Simonetta—with M 233 (S 127). **Archebius**: (Tp. 4a) Pl. IX. 11. (Tp. 2) Pl. IX. 4 (NC 1923, Pl. XIV. 13)—with M 233. **Heliodorus**: (Tp. 7) *NC* 1950, Pl. XII. 7. **Peucelus**: (Tp. 1) Pl. XXVII. 12.—with M 235 (S 127); (Tp. 2) Pl. XXVII. 13. **Strato I**: (Tp. 13) *NC* 1923, p. 327, No. 27. This monogram is characteristic of the upper Kabul valley (Parapamisadace) and may represent Ortospanum: *NC* 1923, pp. 311-12. See K₄, S 126.

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241. EuCRATIDES I: (Tp. 6) Mt Poddar's coin.

242. Philoxenus: (Tp. 3) IMC(S), p. 15, No. 1.


244. Hermaeus: (Tp. 2a) PMC, No. 651—with M 233 and Kh. ma; (Tp. 2a) BMC, Pl. XV. 4—with M 232 and Kh. letter. See S 114, T 110, and cf. C 54, W 87.

245. THEOPHILUS: (Tp. 5) NC 1923, Pl. XVII. 1.


249. HERMAEUΣ: (Tp. 2a) BMC, p. 63, No. 22—with M 261, and PMC, No. 663. See S 331, and cf. C 126, W 90.

250. EuCRATIDES I: (Tp. 20) PMC, No. 99. See W 20.

251. Strato II: (Tp. 1) PMC, Pl. V. 361—with Kh. sa. Zoilus II: (Tp. 1) PMC, No. 526—with Kh. sti. This monogram is characteristic of the Punjab class of coins: NC 1923, p. 314.


253. Apollodotus: (Tp. 2) BMC, Pl. XIII. 1—with Kh. hi.


255. EuCRATIDES I: (Tp. 20a) SC, No. 43. See C 45, T 108b.


257. Amyntas: (Tp. 3) PMC, No. 635. See W 81, and cf. S 145.

258. Apollodotus II: (Tp. 2) IMC(S), p. 11, No. 10.

259. Apollodotus II: (Tp. 10) PMC, Pl. IV. 276—with Kh. stra. See S 110, W 53.

260. HERMAEUΣ: (Tp. 6) BMC, p. 65, No. 45; (Tp. 6) BMC, Nos. 46 and 50—with Kh. letter and Η respectively; (Tp. 8) Pl. XXI. 13 (PMC, Pl. IX. 682); (Tp. 7a) PMC, No. 683—with Kh. pra. See C 132, S 103, W 94.

262. **Hermaeus**: (Tp. 5) **BMC**, Nos. 37, 38, 39 and 40—with Kh. letters. See S 98.

263. **Apollocotus II**: (Tp. 11) Mr Poddar’s coin.

264. **Hermaeus**: (Tp. 5) **PMC**, Pl. IX. 666. Cf. W 93.

265. **Amynatas**: (Tp. 3) **PMC**, Pl. VIII. 636. **Philoxenus**: Simonetta. See S 95, W 71.


268. **Amynatas**: (Tp. 3) **BMC**, p. 61, No. 3 Pl. XIV. 10; (Tp. 7) Pl. IV. 8. **Hermaeus**: **NC** 1923, p. 325, note 25. See S 96.


272. **Peucolus**: (Tp. 2) **PMC**, Pl. VIII. 642. “This coin is in extremely poor condition, but I have inserted the legends and mintmark from a fairly good specimen in the British Museum”.—Whitehead, **PMC**, p. 80, note 1. See S 95.

273. **Antimachus I**: (Tp. 3) **JNSI**, XVII, Pl. II. 7.

274. **Apollocotus II**: (Tp. 2) **IMC(S)**, p. 12, No. 13.

275. **Apollocotus II**: (Tp. 2) **IMC(S)**, p. 11, No. 11.

276. **Apollocotus I**: (Tp. 4) **IMC(S)**, p. 12, No. 23.

277. **Apollocotus II**: (Tp. 2) **IMC(S)**, p. 11, No. 4.

278. **Euocratides I**: (Tp. 10) **PE**, II, p. 185, No. 6.

279. **Menander I**: see **CASE**, p. 73. See C 97.

280. **Euocratides I**: (Tp. 20) Mr Poddar’s coin (see also Cunningham’s note, **NC** 1869, p. 200). **Pantaleon**: (Tp. 2) **BMC**, p. 9, No. 1. See S 276.


284. **Euocratides II**: (Tp. 1) **PMC**, Pl. II. 60. See S 282.

285. **Apollocotus I**: (Tp. 3) **BMC**, p. 36, No. 26—M 285 (obv.) and M 148 (rev.).


287. **Apollocotus I**: (Tp. 3) **BMC**, p. 36, No. 30.

288. **Demetrius I**: (Tp. 4) **BMC**, Pl. III. 1. See C 34, S 244, T 15.


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294. Plato: (Tp. 2) BMC, Pl. VI. 11—with M 42.
296. Apollodotus I: (Tp. 2) PMC, No. 253—with M 286.
299. Demetrius I: (Tp. 2a) NC 1951, Pl. IV. 15. This is actually a countermark.
300. Apollodotus II: (Tp. 2) SC, Nos. 141-42—with M 5.
303. Hermaeus: (Tp. 2) KM coin.
304. Hermaeus: (Tp. 2) PMC, Pl. IX. 649.
306. Antimachus II: (Tp. 1) NS, XL, p. 25 N, No. 52.
308. Hermaeus: S 17—with S 210 or S 211 (M 386).
310. Euthydemus I: S 41.
311. Hermaeus: S 22.
312. Hermaeus: S 27.
313. Hermaeus: (Tp. 2) KM coin.
318. Eucratides I: (Tp. 10) KM coin.
321. Eucratides II: (Tp. 3) KM coin.
322. Heliocles: (Tp. 1) KM coin.
323. Heliocles: (Tp. 1) KM coin.
324. Euthydemus I: S 171—with S 166 (M 8).
325. Hermaeus: S 162.
326. Demetrius II: S 163.
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<td>335</td>
<td>Eucratides I</td>
<td>(Tp. 10) KM coin.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>336</td>
<td>Hermæus</td>
<td>S 242</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>337</td>
<td>Antimachus I</td>
<td>S 243</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>338</td>
<td>Eucratides I</td>
<td>S 122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>339</td>
<td>Menandar I</td>
<td>(Tp. 3?) Ari. Ant., p. 284, No. 3, Pl. XXII. (Mon.) 45.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>340</td>
<td>Hermæus</td>
<td>(Tp. 2) KM coin.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>341</td>
<td>Hermæus</td>
<td>(Tp. 2) KM coin.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>342</td>
<td>Hermæus</td>
<td>(Tp. 2) KM coin.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>343</td>
<td>Strato I</td>
<td>S 134</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>344</td>
<td>Hermæus</td>
<td>S 137, Cf. M 249.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>345</td>
<td>Apollodotus II</td>
<td>S 149</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>346</td>
<td>Zoiilus II</td>
<td>(Tp. 1) BMC, p. 52, No. 6—with M 252 and M 349.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>347</td>
<td>Artemidorus</td>
<td>S 102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>348</td>
<td>Diodotus I</td>
<td>S 150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>349</td>
<td>Zoiilos II</td>
<td>(Tp. 1) BMC, p. 52, No. 6—with M 252 and M 346.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>350</td>
<td>Theophilus</td>
<td>S 92, Cf. M 245.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>351</td>
<td>Eucratides I</td>
<td>S 272, Cf. M 250.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>353</td>
<td>Hermæus</td>
<td>S 105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>354</td>
<td>Hermæus</td>
<td>(Tp. 2) KM coin.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>355</td>
<td>Archebius</td>
<td>(Tp. 2) CMB 1956, pp. 9-12. See Koz. 165.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>356</td>
<td>Antimachus I</td>
<td>S 205</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>357</td>
<td>Eucratides I</td>
<td>(Tp. 10) KM coin.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>358</td>
<td>Menander</td>
<td>S 312, Cf. M 27.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>359</td>
<td>Demetrius I</td>
<td>S 81, Cf. M 206.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>360</td>
<td>Eucratides I</td>
<td>S 84.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>361</td>
<td>Antimachus II, Eucratides I (KM coin), Eucratides II (KM coin), Hermæus, Philoxenus</td>
<td>S 45.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>362</td>
<td>Antialcidas</td>
<td>S 85.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>363</td>
<td>Eucratides I</td>
<td>(Tp. 10) KM coin.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>364</td>
<td>Apollodotus I</td>
<td>(Tp. 4) CMB 1954, pp. 96 ff. See Koz. 85.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix II

368. Menander I: S 54.
371. Hermæus: S 70.
372. Eucratides I: (Tp. 10) KM coin.
373. Hippocrates: S 76.
374. Hermæus: (Tp. 2) KM coin.
377. Apollodotus I: (Tp. 3) BMC, p. 34, No. 10—with M 17 (obv.) See Koz. 72.
379. Strato I: S 218.
380. Demetrius I: S 220.
382. Apollodotus II: S 198.
385. Antimachus I: S 207.
387. Antimachus I: S 185.
389. Euthydemus II: S 223.
393. Antimachus II, Eucratides I (KM coin), Menander and Zoilus I: S 254. See also C 18, W 15 (G 4) and M 127.
397. Apollodotus I: (Tp. 3) KM coin—M 397 (obv.) and A (rev.).
398. Eucratides I: (Tp. 10) KM coin.
400. Hermæus, and Eucratides I: S 298.
402. Strato I: (Tp. 21) KM coin.
403. Apollodotus II: S 301.
405. Archebius: (Tp. 2) KM coin.
406. Archebius: (Tp. 4) KM coin.
408. Agathocles: S 291.
410. Hermaeus: (Tp. 2) KM coin.
412. Menander I: (Tp. 2) KM coin.
414. Artemidorus: (Tp. 3) NS, XL, p. 20 N.
415. Zoilus II: S 269—with S 271 (M 252).
416. Strato II, and Strato II with Strato III: S 247.
417. Eucratides I: (Tp. 10) KM coin.
418. Hermaeus: (Tp. 2) KM coin. See S 199.
421. Apollodotus I: S 234.
422. Apollodotus I: (Tp. 5?) Ari. Ant., p. 290, No. 9, note and Pl. XXII. (Mon.) 73.
423. Agathocles: S 305.
424. Eucratides II: (Tp. 2) KM coin.
427. Demetrios I: S 152—with S 152 (M 24).
428. Eucratides I: S 317.
431. Apollodotus II: S 327.
432. Plato: S 328—with S 13 (M 45).
436. Strato I: S 334.
437. Artemidorus: S 335—with S 160 (M 26).
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438. APOLLODOTUS I: (Tp. 5?) Ari. Ant., p. 290, No. 9, note, and Pl. XXII. (Mon.) 74.


441. HERMAEUS: (Tp. 26) NC 1923, Pl. XVII. 11.

B. INDIAN-TYPE SYMBOLS

One type each of the coins of Agathocles (Tp. 11) and Apollodotus I (Tp. 2) exhibits what may be termed 'Symbols' as against the Greek-type monograms detailed above. These or similar symbols are often seen on the ancient punch-marked and cast (or die-struck) coins, both of southern and northern India (see pp. 92-93 above).

On the coins of Agathocles, the symbols comprise the respective obverse and reverse types, but on those of Apollodotus I the symbols in minute forms occur around the main obverse and reverse devices, viz. the elephant and the bull.

*S 1. Apollodotus I: (Tp. 2) Pl.VII.3—with S 2, S 3, and S 4 (obv.).
*S 2. Apollodotus I: (Tp. 2) Pl.VII.3—with S 1, S 3, and S 4 (obv.).
*S 3. Apollodotus I: (Tp. 2) Pl.VII.3—with S 1, S 2 and S 4 (obv.)
*S 4. Apollodotus I: (Tp. 2) Pl.VII.3—with S 1, S 2 and S 3 (obv.).
*S 5. Apollodotus I: (Tp. 2) Pl.VII.3—with M 301 (rev.).
*S 6. Agathocles: (Tp. 11) Pl.II.10. The symbol covers the obverse flan to comprise the device.
*S 7. Agathocles: (Tp. 11) Pl.II.10. The symbol constitute the reverse device by covering the flan.

* Here S denotes symbols, as shown in the third monogram plate.
APPENDIX III

KINGS AND MONOGRAMS

A. COINS WITH MONOGRAMS

This Appendix records under respective kings the serial numbers of monograms that occur on their coins. In the first paragraph the monogram numbers along with the type-numbers and references are given. When the information regarding the occurrence of a monogram is taken from Sr Alberto Simonetta's List (East and West, Vol. VIII, pp. 55-66 or Vol. IX, pp. 173 ff.), his serial number is quoted as reference. In the second paragraph we have shown the connection of the concerned king with others by their common use of certain monograms, the serial numbers of which are noted in brackets. In this case also Simonetta's serial numbers are quoted as an alternative reference when he alone supplies it.

1. AGATHOCLEIA AND STRATO I

The following monograms or kindred marks occur on their coins:

- **M 71:** (T. 6) NC 1887, Pl. VII. 7.  
- **M 72:** (T. 3a) NC 1947, Pl. I. 6.  
- **M 162:** S 292.  
- **M 233:** S 127.  
- **M 236:** (T. 5) NC 1950, p. 215, Fig.  
- **M 369:** (T. 2) TMA, Pl. VIII. 17.  
- **M 381:** (T. 1) NC 1940, Pl. VIII. 1.

Agathoclea (with Strato I) is connected by monograms with Agathocles (M 162 or S 292), Amyntas (M 233 or S 127), Antialcidas (M 162 or S 292), Antimachus I (M 71 or S 52, M 162 or S 292), Apollodotus I (M 162 or S 292), Arehebias (M 162 or S 292, M 233 or S 127, M 236), Demetrius I (M 162 or S 292), Diomedes (M 233 or S 127), Epander (M 162 or S 292), Eucladates I (M 162 or S 292), Euthydemus I (M 162 or S 292, Euthydemos II (M 162 or S 292), Heliocles (M 71, M 162 or S 292, M 233 or S 127, M 236), Hermaeus (M 71, M 72, M 233 or S 127), Hermaeus and Calliope (M 71 or S 52, M 72, M 233 or S 127), Lysias (M 162 or S 292), Menander I (M 162 or S 292), Menander II (M 233 or S 127), Peucolus (M 233 or S 127, M 236), Philoxenus (M 71, M 162 or S 292, M 233 or S 127), Polyxenus (M 162 or S 292, M 233 or S 127) and Strato I (M 71, M 72, M 162 or S 292, M 233 or S 127, M 236).
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2. AGATHOCLES

The following monograms or kindred marks are seen on the coins of Agathocles:—


Agathocles is connected by monograms with Antialcidas (M 162), Antimachus I (M 162), Apollodotus I (M 113, M 162), Archebius (M 162), Demetius I (M 102, M 113, M 162, M 163), Diodotus¹ (M 102), Epander (M 162), Eucratides I (M 102, M 104, M 162), Eucratides II (M 104), Euthydemus I (M 162), Euthydemus II (M 102, M 162), Lysias (M 162), Pantaleon (M 102), Philoxenus (M 162, M 163), Polyxenus (M 162), and Strato I (M 162, M 163.)

3. AMYNTAS

The following monograms or kindred marks occur on his coins:—


Amyntas is connected by monograms with Agathocleia (M 236 or S 126), Apollodotus II (M 234), Archebius (M 29, M 233, M 234, M 236 or S 126), Demetrius II (M 29 or S 42), Diomedes (M 134), Epander (M 150 or S 289), Eucratides II (M 29 or S 42), Euthydemus I (M 29), Helocius (M 29, M 233, M 234, M 236 or S 126), Heraeus (M 233, M 234, M 261, M 262, M 268), Heraeus and Calliope (M 233, M 234), Menander II (M 29, M 233, M 265, M 266), Peucelous (M 236 or S 126), Philoxenus (M 29, M 234), Polyxenus (M 29, M 233) and Strato I (M 29, M 233, M 234, M 236 or S 126, M 304 or S 40).

4. ANTIALCIDAS

The following monograms or kindred marks are seen on the coins of Antialcidas:—


¹ See pp. 110-11 above.
Antialcidas is connected by monograms with Agathocles (M 162), Amyntas (M 45), Antimachus I (M 162), Antimachus II (M 45, M 73, M 204), Apollo-
dotus I (M 108 or S 206, M 162), Archebius (M 162, M 165), Artemidorus
(M 73), Demetrius I (M 162), Diodotus (M 45), Diomedes (M 75), Epa-
derus (M 162), Euthydemus I (M 162), Euthydemus II (M 162), Heliocles (M 165),
Hermaeus (M 75, M 76), Lysias (M 75, M 109, M 162, M 204), Lysias and
Antialcidas (M 109), Menander I (M 73, M 75, M 76, M 165, M 204, M 207),
Nicias (M 214), Philoxenus (M 73, M 75, M 162, M 214), Polyxenus (M 162),
Strato I (M 73, M 75, M 109, M 162, M 165, M 214), Theophilus (M 73, M 75)
and Zoilus I (M 75).

5. ANTIMACHUS I

The following monograms or kindred marks occur on the coins of Ant-
imachus I:

M 56: (Tp. 3) BMC, Pl. V. 2. M 71: S 52. M 75: S 47. M 100: (Tp. 3)
BMC, Pl. V. 1. M 111: (Tp. 3) BMC, Pl. V. 3. M 175: (Tp. 3) JNSI,
XVII, Pl. II. 3. M 187: (Tp. 3) JNSI, XVII, Pl. II. 6. M 210: (Tp. 3) PMC,

Antimachus I is connected by monograms with Agathocleia (M 71 or S 52),
Agathocles (M 162), Antialcidas (M 75 or S 47, M 162), Antimachus II (M
127), Apollodotus I (M 162, M 211), Archebius (M 162), Demetrius I (M 162),
Diomedes (M 75 or S 47), Epander (M 162), Eucratides I (M 56 or S 65,
M 75 or S 47, M 127, M 162), Eucratides II (M 56), Euthydemus I (M 162),
Euthydemus II (M 162), Heliocles (M 71 or S 52), Hermaeus (M 71 or S
52, M 75 or S 42), Hermaeus and Callipe (M 71 or S 52), Lysias (M 75 or
S 47, M 162), Menander I (M 75 or S 47, M 127), Nicias (M 75 or S 47), Phi-
loxenus (M 71 or S 52, M 75 or S 47, M 162), Polyxenus (M 162), Strato I
(M 71 or S 52, M 75 or S 47, M 162), Theophilus (M 75 or S 47) and Zoilus I
(M 75 or S 47, M 127).

6. ANTIMACHUS II

The following monograms or kindred marks are seen on the coins of Antimachus II:

M 42: (Tp. 2) PMC, Pl. VII. 573. M 44: (Tp. 1) PMC, No. 570. M 45:
NC 1923, p. 313. M 73: (Tp. 1) PMC, Pl. VII. 557 (not M 75 as stated there).
Antimachus II is connected by monograms with Amyntas (M 45), Antialcidas (M 45, M 73, M 204), Antimachus I (M 127), Apollodotus II (M 42), Artemidorus (M 73), Diodotus II (M 45), Eucratides I (M 42, M 77, M 127, M 305 or S 30, M 361 or S 45, M 393 or S 254), Eucratides II (M 361 or S 45), Hermaeus (M 361 or S 45), Lysias (M 42, M 204, M 305 or S 30), Menander I (M 42, M 44, M 77, M 127, M 204, M 293 or S 254, M 305 or S 30, M 306), Philoxenus (M 73, M 77, M 361 or S 45), Plato (M 42, M 305 or S 30), Strato I (M 73), Theophilus (M 73) and Zoilus I (M 127, M 393 or S 254).

7. APOLLODOTUS I

The following monograms or kindred marks occur on the coins of Apollodotus I:


Apollodotus I is connected by monograms with Agathocles (M 113, M 162), Antialcidas (M 162), Antimachus I (M 162, M 211), Apollodotus II (M 167 or S 288, M 230 or S 143), Archebius (M 162), Demetrius I (M 113, M 162), Dionysius (M 18), Epander (M 162), Eucratides I (M 21, M 40, M 47 or S 14,

1 It is possible that coins attributed in this connection to Apollodotus II by Simonetta actually belong to Apollodotus I himself.
M 162, M 301, S 2), Euthydemus I (M 162), Euthydemus II (M 162), Hermæus (M 21, M 230 or S 143), Hippostratus (M 230 or S 143), Lysias (M 162), Philoxenus (M 162), Polyxenus (M 162), Strato I (M 162) and Zoilus I (M 18).

8. APOLLODOTUS II

The following monograms or kindred marks are seen on the coins of Apollodotus II:


Apollodotus II is connected by monograms with Amyntas (M 234), Antimachus I (M 204), Antimachus II (M 42), Apollodotus I* (M 167 or S 288), Archebuls (M 234), Diomedes (M 227, M 234), Dionysius (M 189, M 396 or S 302), Eueratides I (M 42, M 228), Heliodorus (M 234), Hermæus (M 183, M 228, M 230, M 234, M 409), Hermaeus-Calliope (M 234), Hippostratus (M 230, M 231), Lysias (M 42), Menander I (M 42), Philoxenus (M 234), Polyxenus (M 233), Strato I (M 234) and Zoilus II (M 4, M 189, M 396 or S 302).

* Simonetta’s attribution of these coins may not be correct.
9. APOLLOPHANES

The following monograms or kindred marks occur on the coins of Apollophanes:

**M 253**: (Tp. 2) BMC, Pl. XIII. 1—with Kh. *hi*. **M 420**: S 271. Kh. *hi*:
(Tp. 2) BMC, Pl. XIII. 1—with M 253.

Apollophanes is connected by monograms with Strato II (M 420 or S 271), Strato II and Strato III (M 420 or S 271) and Zoilos II (M 420 or S 271).

10. ARCHEBIUS

Coins of Archebius bear the following monograms or kindred marks:


Archebius is connected by monograms with Agathocleia (236), Agathocles (M 162), Amyntas (M 29, M 233, M 234), Antialcidas (M 162, M 165), Antimachus I (M 162), Apollodotus I (M 162), Apollodotus II (M 234), Demetrius I (M 162), Demetrius II (M 29 or S 42), Diomedes (M 234), Epander (M 162), Eucratides I (M 162, M 165), Eucratides II (M 29 or S 42), Euthydemos I (M 29, M 30, M 162), Euthydemus II (M 162), Heliocles (M 29, M 162, M 233, M 234, M 236), Hermeps (M 22 or S 164, M 233, M 234), Hermaeus-Calliope (M 233, M 234), Lysias (M 162), Menander I (M 165), Menander II (M 29, M 233), Peucelous (M 236), Philoxenus (M 29, M 162, M 234), Polyxenus (M 29, M 162, M 233) and Strato I (M 29, M 162, M 233, M 234, M 236).

11. ARTEMIDORUS

We see the following monograms or kindred marks on the coins of Artemidorus:

**M 26**: (Tp. 3) PMC, Pl. VII. 553. **M 28**: (Tp. 3) NC 1923, Pl. XVII. 2. **M 73**: (Tp. 4) PMC, Pl. VII. 555. **M 124**: (Tp. 1) PMC, Pl. VII. 551. **M 126**: (Tp. 4) BMC, Pl. XIII. 2. **M 170**: (Tp. 3) BMC, Pl. XXXII. 5. **M 181**: (Tp. 3) ANS Mus. Notes III, Pl. VI. C. **M 247**: (Tp. 4) PMC, No. 556. **M 327**: S 161. **M 347**: S 102. **M 414**: (Tp. 3) NS, XL, p. 20N. **M 437**: S 335.

Artemidorus is connected by monograms with Antialcidas (M 73), Antimachus II (M 73), Demetrius I (M 126), Diomedes (M 247), Menander I (M 73), Nicias (M 247), Philoxenus (M 73, M 247), Strato I (M 73) and Theophilus (M 73, M 247).
12. DEMETRIUS I

Coins of Demetrius I bear the following monograms or kindred marks:—


Demetrius I is connected by monograms with Agathoclès (M 102, M 113, M 162, M 163), Antialcidas (M 162, M 165 or S 294), Antimachus I (M 162), Apollodotus I (M 113, M 162), Archebicus (M 162, M 165 or S 294), Artemidorus (M 126), Demetrius II (M 9 or S 167), Diódotos (M 102, M 188), Epander (M 162), Eucafrides I (M 102, M 104, M 162), Eucafrides II (M 102, M 104, M 165 or S 294), Euhydymenes I (M 162, M 188, M 394 or S 259), Euhydymenes II (M 102, M 162), Hermæus (M 92 or S 224), Lysias (M 162), Menander I (M 165 or S 294), Pantaleon (M 102), Philoxenus (M 162, M 163, M 165 or S 294), Polyœnus (M 162), Strato I (M 162, M 163, M 165 or S 294) and Zoilus I (M 188).

13. DEMETRIUS II

We see the following monograms or kindred marks on the coins of Demetrius II:—


Demetrius II is connected by monograms with Amyntas (M 29 or S 42), Archebicus (M 29 or S 42), Demetrius I (M 9 or S 167), Eucafrides II (M 29 or S 42), Euhydymenes I (M 8, M 29 or S 42), Euhydymenes II (M 8 or S 166), Helioeles (M 8, M 29 or S 42), Menander II (M 29), Philoxenus (M 29 or S 42), Polyœnus (M 29 or S 42) and Strato I (M 29 or S 42.)

14-15. DIODOTUS I AND II1.

Coins of Diodotus I and Diodotus II bear the following monograms or kindred marks:—


1 See pp. 110-11 above.
2 This coin is attributed to Demetrius I: see p. 106 above.
Diodotus I and II are connected by monograms with Agathocles (M 102), Amyntas (M 45), Antialcidas (M 45), Demetrius I (M 102, M 188), Eucratides I (M 60, M 102), Eucratides II (M 102), Euthydemus I (M 81 M 188), Euthydemus II (M 102), Heliocles (M 8, M 182), Pantaleon (M 102) and Zoilus I (M 188).

16. DIOMEDES

The following monograms or kindred marks are seen on the coins of Diomedes:—


Diomedes is connected by monograms with Agathocleia (M 233 or S 127), Amyntas (M 233 or S 127, M 234), Antialcidas (M 75), Apollodotus II (M 227, M 234), Archebius (M 233 or S 127, M 234), Artemidorus (M 247), Eucratides I (M 75), Heliocles (M 101, M 233 or S 127, M 234), Hermaeus (M 75, M 106, M 233 or S 127, M 234), Hermaeus Calliope (M 233 or S 127, M 234), Lysias (M 75), Menander I (M 75, M 106, M 233 or S 127), Nicias (M 247), Peucolus (M 233 or S 127), Philoxenus (M 75, M 106, M 233 or S 127, M 234, M 247), Polyxenus (M 233 or S 127), Strato I (M 75, M 233 or S 127, M 234), Theophilus (M 75, M 247) and Zoilus I (M 75).

17. DIONYSIUS

The following monograms or kindred marks occur on the coins of Dionysius:—


Dionysius is connected by monograms with Apollodotus I (M 18), Apollodotus II (M 189), Hippostratus (M 185 or S 194) and Zoilus II (M 18, M 189, M 396 or S 302.)

18. EPANDER

We see the following monograms or kindred marks on the coins of Epander:—

M 150: (Tp. 1) PMC, Pl. VI. 516. M 151: (Tp. 2) NC 1947, Pl. I. 9; (Tp. 3) BMC, Pl. XII. 8—with M 162. M 162: (Tp. 3) BMC, Pl. XII. 8—with M 151; (Tp. 3) PMC, Pl. VI. 517—with M 184. M 184: (Tp. 3) PMC, Pl. VI. 517—with M 162.
Epander is connected by monograms with Agathocles (M 162), Amyntas (M 150 or S 289), Antialcidas (M 162), Antimachus I (M 162), Apollodotus I (M 162), Archebius (M 162), Demetrius I (M 162), Eucratides I (M 162), Euthydemus I (M 162), Euthydemus II (M 162), Lysias (M 162), Philoxenus (M 162), Polyxenus (M 162) and Strato I (M 162).

19. EUCRATIDES I

The following monograms or kindred marks are seen on the coins of Eucratides I:—

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Eucratides I is connected by monograms with Agathocles (M 102, M 162), Antialcidas (M 75, M 76, M 162, M 165), Antimachus I (M 56 or S 65), Antimachus II (M 42, M 77, M 127, M 305 or S 30, M 361 or S 45), Apollodotus I (M 21, M 40, M 162, M 301 or S 2), Apollodotus II (M 42, M 47 or S 14, M 228), Archebios (M 162, M 165), Demetrius I (M 102, M 162), Demetrius II (M 8), Diodotus (M 60, M 102), Diomedes (M 75, M 101 or S 222), Epander (M 162), Eucratides II (M 14, M 56 or S 65, M 63 or S 56, M 102, M 104, M 361 or S 45), Euthydemos I (M 162), Euthydemos II (M 102, M 162, M 330 or S 180), Helioclis (M 12, M 101 or S 222, M 165, M 172? M 281), Hermaeus (M 21, M 38, M 75, M 76, M 87, M 101 or S 222, M 218, M 228, M 237, M 361 or S 45, M 400 or S 298), Lysias (M 39, M 42, M 75, M 162, M 305 or S 30), Menander I (M 39, M 42, M 66, M 68, M 75, M 76, M 77, M 127, M 165, M 305 or S 30, M 393 or S 254), Pantaleon (M 102, M 104, M 280?), Peucelus (M 102, M 280), Philoxenus (M 75, M 77, M 101 or S 222, M 162, M 361 or S 45), Plato (M 42, M 305 or S 30), Polyxenus (M 162), Strato I (M 39, M 75, M 162, M 165), Theophilus (M 75) and Zoilus I (M 39 or S 3, M 75, M 127, M 393 or S 254).

20. EUCRATIDES II

The following monograms or kindred marks occur on his coins:


Eucratides II is connected by monograms with Agathocles (M 102), Amyntas (M 29 or S 42), Antimachus I (M 56), Antimachus II (M 361 or S 45), Archebios (M 29 or S 42), Demetrius I (M 102), Demetrius II (M 29 or S 42), Diodotus II (M 102), Eucratides I (M 14, M 56 or S 65, M 63 or S 56), Euthydemos I (M 29 or S 42), Euthydemos II (M 102), Hermaeus (M 361 or S 45), Helioclis (M 29 or S 42), Menander II (M 29 or S 42), Pantaleon (M 102), Philoxenus (M 29 or S 42, M 361 or S 45), Polyxenus (M 29 or S 42) and Strato I (M 29 or S 42).

21. EUTHYDEMUS I

The following monograms or kindred marks occur on his coins:

M 1: (Tp. 1) PMC, Pl. I. 10. M 8: (Tp. 2) NC 1951, p. 27, No. 9 Pl. III. 9—
with M 298. M 29: (Tp. 2) BMC, Pl. II. 1. M 30: (Tp. 2) NC 1951, p. 24,
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Euthydemus I is connected by monograms with Agathocles (M 162), Amyntas (M 29), Antialcidas (M 162), Antimachus I (M 162), Apollodotus I (M 162), Archebius (M 29, M 30, M 162), Demetrius I (M 162, M 188, M 393 or S 259), Demetrius II (M 8, M 29 or S 42), Diodotus II (M 188), Epander (M 162), Eurcatides I (M 162), Eurcatides II (M 29 or S 42), Euthydemus II (M 8 or S 166, M 162, M 191 or S 261), Heliocles (M 8, M 29), Lysias (M 162), Menander II (M 29), Philoxenus (M 29, M 162), Polyxenus (M 29, M 162), Strato I (M 29, M 162) and Zoilus I (M 188).

22. EUTHYDEMUS II

The following monograms or kindred marks occur on the coins of Euthydemus II:—


Euthydemus II is connected by monograms with Agathocles (M 102, M 162), Antialcidas (M 162), Antimachus I (M 162), Apollodotus I (M 162), Archebius (M 162), Demetrius I (M 102, M 162), Diodotus (M 162), Epander (M 162), Eurcatides I (M 102, M 162, M 330 or S 180), Eurcatides II (M 102), Euthydemus I (M 8 or S 166, M 162), Lysias (M 162), Pantaleon (M 102), Philoxenus (M 162), Polyxenus (M 162), and Strato I (M 162).

23. HELIOCLES

The following monograms or kindred marks occur on the coins of Heliocles:—

Heliocles is connected by monograms with Agathoclea (M 71, M 162 or S 292), Agathocles (M 162 or S 292), Amyntas (M 29, M 233, M 234), Antialcidas (M 73 or S 50, M 162 or S 292, M 165), Antimachus I (M 71 or S 52, M 162 or S 292), Antimachus II (M 73 or S 50), Apollodorus I (M 162 or S 292), Apollodotus II (M 234), Archebius (M 29, M 162 or S 292, M 165, M 233, M 234, M 236), Artemidorus (M 73 or S 50) Demetrius I (M 162 or S 292), Demetrius II (M 8, M 29 or S 42), Diathetes II (M 182), Diomedes (M 101, M 234), Epander (M 162 or S 292), Euclauides I (M 12, M 101 or S 222, M 162, M 165, M 173, M 281), Euclauides II (M 29 or S 42), Euthedemus I (M 8, M 29, M 162 or S 292), Euthedemus II, Euthymides I (M 8 or S 166, M 162 or S 292), Hermaeus (M 71, M 73 or S 50, M 101 or S 222, M 233, M 234), Hermaeus-Calliope (M 71 or S 52, M 233, M 234), Lysias (M 73 or S 50, M 162 or S 292), Menander I (M 73 or S 50, M 101 or S 222, M 162 or S 292, M 165), Menander II (M 29, M 233), Nicias (M 73 or S 50), Peucelaus (M 236), Philoxenus (M 29, M 71, M 73 or S 50, M 101 or S 222, M 162 or S 292, M 234), Polyxenus (M 29, M 162 or S 292, M 233), Strato I (M 29, M 71, M 72, M 73 or S 50, M 162 or S 292, M 165, M 233, M 234, M 236) and Theophilus (M 73 or S 50).

24. HERMAEUS

The coins of Hermaeus show the following monograms or kindred marks:

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Hermaeus is connected by monograms with Agathoclea (M 71), Amyntas (M 73 or S 50, M 233, M 234, M 261, M 268), Antialcidas (M 73 or S 50, M 75, 76) Antimachus I (M 71 or S 52), Antimachus II (M 73 or S 50, M 361 or S 45), Apollodotus I (M 21), Apollodotus II (M 182, M 228, M 230, M 234, M 409 or S 227), Archebius (M 22 or S 164, M 233, M 234), Artemidorus (M 73 or S 50), Demetrius I (M 22 or S 224), Diomedes (M 75, M 101, M 106, M 234), Eucratides I (M 21, M 73 or S 50, M 75, M 76, M 87, M 88 or S 69, M 218, M 228, M 237, M 238 or S 129, M 270 or S 106, M 361 or S 45, M 400 or S 268), Eucratides II (M 361 or S 45), Heliocles (M 71, M 73 or S 50, M 101, M 233, M 234), Hermaeus-Calliope (M 71 or S 50, M 223, M 234), Hippostratus (M 230), Lysias (M 73 or S 50, M 75), Menander I (M 75 or S 50, M 75, M 76, M 93, M 106), Menander II (M 233), Nicias (M 73 or S 50), Philoxenus (M 71, M 73 or S 50, M 75, M 106, M 179, M 234, M 361 or S 45), Polyxenus (M 233), Strato I (M 71, M 72, M 73 or S 50, M 75, M 233, M 234), Theophilus (M 73 or S 50, M 75) and Zoilus I (M 75).

25. (HERMAEUS AND) CALLIOPE

The following monograms or kindred marks occur on their joint coins:


Hermaeus and Calliope are connected by monograms with Agathoclea (M 71 or S 52, M 72), Antimachus I (M 71 or S 52), Amyntas (M 233, M 234), Apollodotus II (M 234), Archebius (M 233, M 234), Diomedes (M 234), Heliocles (M 71 or S 52, M 233, M 234), Hermaeus (M 71, M 72, M 233, M 234), Menander II (M 233), Philoxenus (M 71 or S 52, M 234), Polyxenus (M 233) and Strato I (M 71 or S 52, M 72, M 233, M 234).

26. HIPPOSTRATUS

The following monograms or kindred marks are seen on the coins of Hippostratus:

M 90: (Tp. 2) NS, XIV, Pl. XXXIII. 9—with Kh. ma; (Tp. 7) BMC, Pl. XIV. 2—with M161 and Kh. maši; (Tp. 7) BMC, Pl. XIV. 3—with Kh. letters (including maši). M 91 (Tp. 7) PMC, No. 613—with Kh. maši and lo; (Tp. 7a) PMC, No. 620—with Kh. maši and sra; (Tp. 7a) PMC, No. 621—with Kh. maši; (Tp. 7) PMC, Pl. VIII. 610—with Kh maši and pri. M 185:
27. LYSIAS

The following monograms or kindred marks occur on the coins of Lysias:


Lysias is connected by monograms with Agathocles (M 162), Antialcidas (M 73 or S 50, M 75, M 109, M 162, M 165 or S 294, M 204, M 207), Antimachus I (M 162), Antimachus II (M 42, M 73 or S 50, M 204, M 305 or S 30), Apollodotus I (M 162), Apollodotus II (M 42), Archebius (M 162, M 165 or S 294), Artemidorus (M 73 or S 50), Demetirius I (M 162, M 165 or S 294), Diomedes (M 75), Epander (M 162), Eucratides I (M 39, M 42, M 75, M 162, M 165 or S 294, M 305 or S 30), Euthymemus I (M 162), Euthymemus II (M 162), Heliochules (M 73 or S 50), Hermæus (M 73 or S 50, M 75), Lysias (M 73 or S 50), Menander I (M 39 or S 3, M 42, M 73 or S 50, M 75, M 165 or S 294, M 204, M 207, M 305 or S 30), Nicias (M 73 or S 50), Philoxenus (M 73 or S 50, M 75, M 162, M 165 or S 294, M 199), Plato (M 42, M 305 or S 30), Polyxenus (M 162), Strato I (M 39, M 73 or S 50, M 75, M 162, M 165 or S 294, M 199), Theophilus (M 73 or S 50, M 75) and Zoilus I (M 39 or S 3, M 75),

27a. LYSIAS AND ANTIALCIDAS

The following monogram occurs on their joint coins:

M 109: (Tp. 1) BMC, Pl. XXXI. 2—with Σ.

Their joint coins bear M 109 which occurs also on coins of Lysias and Antialcidas individually.

28. MENANDER I

The following monograms or kindred marks occur on his coins:

Menander I is connected by monograms with Agathocleia (M 162 or S 292), Agathocles (M 162 or S 292), Antialcidas (M 73, M 75, M 76, M 162 or S 292, M 165, M 204, M 207), Antimachus I (M 127, M 162 or S 292), Antimachus II (M 42, M 44, M 73, M 77, M 127, M 204, M 393 or S 254), Apollodorus I (M 162 or S 292), Apollodorus II (M 42), Archebus (M 162 or S 292, M 165), Artemidorus (M 73), Demetrius I (M 162 or S 292), Diomedes (M 75, M 101 or S 222, M 106) Epanter (M 162 or S 292), Eucratides I (M 42, M 66, M 68, M 75, M 76, M 77, M 101 or S 222, M 127, M 162 or S 292, M 165, M 393 or S 254), Euthydemus I (M 162 or S 292), Euthydemus II (M 162 or S 292), Heliocles (M 76, M 101 or S 222, M 162 or S 292, M 165), Hermaeus (M 75, M 76, M 93, M 101 or S 222, M 106), Lysias (M 42, M 75, M 162 or S 292, M 204, M 207), Philoxenus (M 73, M 75, M 77, M 101 or S 222, M 106, M 162 or S 292), Plato (M 42), Polyxenus (M 162 or S 292), Strato I (M 73, M 75, M 162 or S 292, M 165) Theophilus (M 73, M 75) and Zoilus I (M 75, M 120, M 127, M 393 or S 254).

29. MENANDER II.

The following monograms or kindred marks occur on the coins of Menander II:—
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M 27: (Tp. 5) NC 1923, Pl. XIV. 3. M 29: (Tp. 4) NC 1946, p. 144, Fig. 5. M 197: (Tp. 3) WKSC, Pl. X. 964. M 233: (Tp. 4) BMC, p. 50, No. 74. M 265: (Tp. 3) JNSI, IV. p. 146, Pl. XIIIA. 1. M 266: (Tp. 1) WKSC, Pl. X. 965. M 267: (Tp. 2) NC 1923, p. 320, Fig. 6.

Menander II is connected by monograms with Amyntas (M 29, M 233, M 265, M 266), Archebius (M 29, M 233), Demetrius II (M 29 or S 42), Eucratides II (M 29 or S 42), Euthydemos I (M 29), Heliocles (M 29, M 233), Hermaeus (M 233), Hermaeus-Calliope (M 233), Philoxenus (M 29), Polyxenus (M 29, M 233) and Strato I (M 29, M 233).

30. NICIAS

We see the following monograms or kindred marks on the coins of Nicias:—


"He has one or two of the Gandhāra monograms commonly found on the coins of Menander, and the mon. 247 connects him also with Philoxenus, Theophilus and Diomedes".—Whitehead, NC 1923, p. 334.

Nicias is connected by monograms with Antialcidas (M 73 or S 50, M 75 or S 47, M 214), Antimachus II (M 73 or S 50, M 75 or S 47), Artemidorus (M 73 or S 50, M 247), Diomedes (M 75 or S 47, M 247), Eucratides I (M 75 or S 47), Heliocles (M 73 or S 50, M 75 or S 47), Helmaeus (M 73 or S 50, M 75 or S 47), Menander I (M 73 or S 50, M 75 or S 47), Philoxenus (M 73 or S 50, M 75 or S 47, M 247), Strato I (M 73 or S 50, M 75 or S 47, M 247), Theophilus (M 73 or S 50, M 75 or S 47, M 247) and Zoilus I (M 75 or S 47).

31. PANTALEON

The following monograms or kindred marks are seen on the coins of Pantaleon:—


Pantaleon is connected by monograms with Agathocles (M 102), Demetrius I (M 102), Diodorus (M 102), Eucratides I (M 102, M 280), Eucratides II (M 102) and Euthydemos II (M 102).

32. PEUCOLAES

The following monograms or kindred marks occur on the coins of Peucolaeus:—


1 The monogram illustrated here is actually our M 247.
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Peucelaus is connected by monograms with Agathocleia (M 233 or S 127, M 236), Amyntas (M 233), Apollodorus II (M 224 or S 139), Archebius (M 233, M 236), Diomedes (M 233 or S 127), Heliocles (M 233, M 236), Hermaeus (M 233), Hermæus and Calliope (M 233), Menander II (M 233), Philoxenus (M 233 or S 127), Polyxenus (M 233) and Strato I (M 233, M 236).

33. PHILOXENUS

The following monograms or kindred marks occur on the coins of Philoxenus:


Philoxenus is connected by monograms with Agathocleia (M 71, M 198, M 233 or S 127), Agathocles (M 162, M 163), Amyntas (M 29, M 233 or S 127, M 234, M 265 or S 95), Antialcidas (M 73, M 75, M 162, M 165 or S 294, M 214), Antimachus I (M 71 or S 52, M 162), Antimachus II (M 73, M 77, M 361 or S 45), Apollodotus I (M 162), Apollodotus II (M 234), Archebius (M 29, M 162, M 165 or S 294, M 233 or S 127, M 234), Artemidorus (M 73, M 247), Demetrius I (M 162, M 163, M 165 or S 294), Demetrius II (M 29 or S 42), Diomedes I (M 75, M 101 or S 222, M 106, M 233 or S 127, M 234, M 247), Epander (M 162), Eucratides I (M 75, M 77, M 101 or S 222, M 162, M 165 or S 294, M 218 or S 130, M 361 or S 45), Eucratides II (M 29 or S 42, M 261 or S 45), Euthymedus I (M 29, M 162), Euthymedus II (M 162), Heliocles (M 29, M 71, M 101 or S 222, M 233 or S 127, M 234), Hermaeus (M 71, M 75, M 101 or S 222, M 106, M 179, M 218 or S 130, M 233 or S 127, M 234, M 361 or S 45), Hermaeus-Calliope (M 71 or S 52, M 233 or S 127, M 234), Lysias (M 75, M 162, M 165 or S 294, M 199), Menander I (M 73, M 75, M 77, M 101 or S 222, M 106), Menander II (M 29, M 233 or S 127? M 265 or S 95?), Nicias (M 214, M 247), Peucelaus (M 233 or S 127), Polyxenus (M 29, M 162, M 233 or S 127), Strato I (M 29, M 71, M 72, M 73, M 75, M 162, M 163, M 165 or S 294, M 199, M 214, M 233 or S 127, M 234), Theophilus (M 73, M 75, M 247) and Zoilus I (M 75).
34. PLATO

The following monograms or kindred marks are seen on the coins of Plato:


Plato is connected by monograms with Antimachus II (M 42, M 305 or S 30), Apollodotus II (M 42), Eurycrates I (M 42, M 305 or S 30), Lysias (M 42, M 305 or S 30) and Menander I (M 42).

35. POLYXENUS

The following monograms or kindred marks occur on the coins of Polyxenus:


Polyxenus is connected by monograms with Agathocles (M 162), Amyntas (M 29, M 233), Antialcidas (M 162), Antimachus I (M 162), Apollodotus I (M 162), Archebros (M 29, M 162, M 233), Demetrius I (M 162), Demetrius II (M 29 or S 42), Epander (M 162), Eurycrates I (M 162), Eurycrates II (M 29 or S 42), Euthydemus I (M 29, M 162), Euthydemus II (M 162), Heliodorus (M 29, M 233), Hermaeus (M 233), Hermaeus-Calliope (M 233), Lysias (M 162), Menander II (M 29, M 233), Philoxenus (M 29, M 162) and Strato I (M 29, M 162, M 233).

36. STRATO I

The following monograms or kindred marks are seen on the coins of Strato I:


1 This monogram may sometimes be easily confused with M 73.
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1923, p. 327, No. 27. **M 309**: S 40. **M 343**: S 134. **M 379**: S 218. **M 402**: (Tp. 21)

KM coin. **M 436**: S 334.

Strato I is connected by monograms with Agathocleia (M 71 or S 52, M 72, M 236), Agathocles (M 162, M 163), Amyntas (M 29, M 233, M 234, M 309 or S 40), Antialcidas (M 73, M 75, M 109 or S 201, M 162, M 165, M 214), Antimachus I (M 71 or S 52, M 162), Antimachus II (M 73), Apollodotus I (M 162, M 234), Archebus (M 29, M 162, M 165, M 233, M 234, M 236), Artemidorus (M 73), Demetrius I (M 162, M 163), Demetrius II (M 29 or S 42), Diomedes (M 75, M 234), Eponder (M 162), Eucratides I (M 39, M 75, M 162, M 165), Eucratides II (M 29 or S 42), Euthydemus I (M 29, M 162), Euthydemus II (M 162), Heliocles (M 29, M 71, M 165, M 233, M 234, M 236), Hermaeus (M 71, M 72, M 75, M 233, M 234), Hermaeus-Calliope (M 71 or S 52, M 72, M 233, M 234), Hippostratus (M 161?), Lysias (M 39, M 75, M 109 or S 201, M 162, M 199), Lysias-Antialcidas (M 109), Menander I (M 39 or S 3, M 73, M 75, M 165), Menander II (M 29, M 233), Nicias (M 214), Peucelaus (M 236), Philoxenus (M 29, M 71, M 73, M 75, M 162, M 163, M 199, M 214, M 234), Polyxenus (M 29, M 162, M 233), Theophilus (M 73, M 75), Zoilus I (M 39 or S 3, M 75) and Zoilus II (M 251).

37. STRATO II

The following monograms or kindred marks occur on the coins of Strato II:


Strato II is connected by monograms with Apollodanes (M 420 or S 271) and Zoilus II (M 251, M 420 or S 271).

38. (STRATO II AND) STRATO III

The following monograms or kindred marks occur on their joint coins:


Strato II and Strato III are connected by monogram with Apollodanes (M 420 or S 271) and Zoilus II (M 420 or S 271).

39. TELEPHUS

The following monograms or kindred marks occur on the coins of Telephus:

Appendix III

Telephus does not seem to have been connected by monograms with any of the Indo-Greek princes. He was, however, connected by M 153 and M 291 with the Sythian king Maues: see PMC, p. 100, Pl. X. 20 and Pl. X. 16 respectively.

40. THEOPHILUS

The following monograms or kindred marks occur on the coins of Theophilus:—


Theophilus is connected by monograms with Antialcidas (M 73, M 75), Antimachus II (M 73), Artemidorus (M 73, M 247), Diomedes (M 75, M 247), Euratides I (M 75), Hermaeus (M 75), Lysias (M 75), Menander I (M 73, M 75), Nicias (M 247), Philoxenus (M 73, M 75, M 247), Strato I (M 73, M 75) and Zoius I (M 75).

41. ZOIUS I

The following monograms or kindred marks are seen on the coins of Zoius I:—


Zoius I is connected by monograms with Antialcidas (M 75, M 76 or S 48), Antimachus I (M 127), Antimachus II (M 127, M 393 or S 254), Demetrius I (M 118), Diodotus II (M 188), Diomedes (M 75), Euratides I (M 75, M 76 or S 48, M 127, M 393 or S 254), Euthydemos I (M 183), Hermaeus (M 75, M 76 or S 48), Lysias (M 39 or S 3, M 75), Menander I (M 39 or S 3, M 75, M 76 or S 48, M 120, M 127, M 393 or S 254) and Strato I (M 39 or S 3, M 75).

42. ZOIUS II

The following monograms or kindred marks are seen on the coins of Zoius II:—


Zoius II is connected by monograms with Apollodotus I (M 18), Apollodotus II (M 4, M 189, M 396 or S 302), Apollonipes (M 420 or S 271),
B. COINS WITHOUT MONOGRAMS

AGATHOCLES:

ANTIMACHUS I:

APOLLODOTUS I:
Tp. 4. AE (some coins): cf. Pl. VII. 6, IMC, Pl. IV. 9 and PMC, p. 44,
Nos. 306, 313, 316.

APOLLODOTUS II:

ARTEMIDORUS:

DIODOTUS:
Tp. 3. AR (some coins): cf. ESM, Pl. LIII. 12.
Tp. 5. AV (all coins?): cf. Pl. XIII. 8.
Tp. 7. AE (all coins?): cf. Pl. XIII. 11.
Tp. 8. AE (all coins?): cf. Pl. XIII. 12.

DIONYSIUS:
Tp 4. AE (all coins?): cf. Pl. XIV. 11.

EUCRATIDES I:
Tp. 12. AE (all coins?): cf. Pl. XVI. 8.
Tp. 17. AE (all coins?): cf. Pl. XVII. 5.
Tp. 20. AE (some coins): cf. GC, Pl. LVI. 2 and PMC, Nos. 122, 124.

EUCRATIDES II:

EUTHYDEMUS I:
Tp. 3a. AR (all coins?): cf. Pl. XVIII. 9.
Tp. 4. AE (all coins?): cf. Pl. XVIII. 11.
Tp. 6. AE: see Ari. Ant., Pl. II. 1,
Appendix III

EUTHYDEMUS II:
Tp. 4. AE (all coins?): cf. Pl. XIX. 6.

HELIOCLES:
Tp. 3. AE (all coins?): cf. PMC, p. 28, Nos. 137-138.
Tp. 4. AE (all coins?): cf. PMC, Pl. III. 139 (big) and BMC, Pl. VIII. 4 (small).

HIPPOSTRATUS:
Tp. 7a. AR (some coins): cf. PMC, p. 76, No. 621.

LYSIAS:

MENANDER I:

MENANDER II:
Tp. 5a. AE: cf. PMC, Pl. VI. 515.

NICYAS:
Tp. 6. AE (all coins?): cf. PMC, pp. 73-74, Nos. 600 and 601.
Tp. 1. AE (all coins?): cf. BMC, Pl. XIII. 11.

PANTALEON:
Tp. 4. AE (all coins?): cf. BMC, Pl. III. 9.

ZOILUS II:
Tp. 5. AE (all coins?): cf. PMC, Pl. VII. 546.
APPENDIX IV

TITLES AND EPIPHETS OF THE INDO-GREEK RULERS

The Greek kings of Bactria and India invariably bore the royal title ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ('King') in its genitive form, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ('of the king'). On Type 10 of Agathocles and Type 4 of Pantaleon ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ is rendered (in Brāhmī) as Rājane (Skt. Rājñaḥ). On the Indian drachms of Eucratides I, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ is translated (in Kharoshṭhi) as Rājasā (Skt. Rājñāḥ). Elsewhere ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ is invariably rendered as Maharajasa (Skt. Mahārājasya). The only queen to bear the royal title was Agathoclea, and her title was ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣΣΑ (gen. ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣΣΗΣ).

Besides ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ (and ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣΣΑ) many Greek rulers of Bactria and India adopted one or more high-sounding epithets. Of the Greek kings of Bactria, Antimachus I, Heliocles and Plato bore an epithet form the beginning of their careers. These epithets were ΘΕΟΣ (=Divine), ΔΙΚΑΙΟΣ (=Pious) and ΕΠΙΦΑΝΗΣ [= (God-) Manifest] respectively. Three other kings, viz. Agathocles, Eucratides I and Eucratides II, assumed the epithets ΔΙΚΑΙΟΣ, ΜΕΓΑΣ (=Great) and ΣΩΤΗΡ (=Saviour) respectively at later stages of their careers.

As we have just seen, Eucratides I in the early stage of his career struck coins with the royal title ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ alone. Later on in Bactria itself, he issued coins with the epithet ΜΕΓΑΣ along with the usual royal title ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ. Afterwards, when he effected conquests in India, Eucratides I struck bilingual coins with Greek and Prakrit legends. Though the Greek legend on his Indian issues is always the same, we see two different versions of the Prakrit legend on his silver and copper coins, and in both the cases the renderings are unusually perfectly literal:

(i) Obv. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΔΟΥ ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΟΥ.
   Rev. Rajasa mahatakasa Evukratidas (Silver, Tp. 14).

1 This Appendix is but an elaborate treatment of the matter discussed between pp. 38 and 41.
2 See also pp. 39 f.
3 The commenorative coins of Agathocles attribute the epithets ΑΝΙΚΗΤΟΣ (=Invincible), ΣΩΤΗΡ and ΘΕΟΣ to Demetrius I, Diodotus and Euthydemus I respectively. It is almost certain that Diodotus and Euthydemus I did not assume any epithet during their lifetime, while it is likely that Demetrius I himself did adopt the epithet ΑΝΙΚΗΤΟΣ, as is evident from the bilingual coins (Tps. 6-7).
4 The reading is undoubtedly rajasa, not maharajasa, as wrongly supposed by Cunningham (CAFE, p. 167, No. 11); see note on Type 14 of Eucratides I (Catalogue) above.
Appendix IV

(ii) Obv. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΟΥ.
Rev. Maharajasa Evukratiadasa (Copper, Tps. 19-20).

In the first instance, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ and ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ have been separately rendered as rajasa and mahatakasa respectively, while in the second case both rajasa and mahatakasa have been amalgamated into a single (compound) word maharajasa (Skt. mahā-rājasa) which is equivalent to ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ-ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ("of great king"). This is never the case with any other Indo-Greek king, who struck bilingual coins. Apart from the case of Eucratides I, maharaja is always the translation of the Greek title ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ alone. The unconventional way in which Eucratides I rendered the Greek version of his coin-legend into Prakrit indicates that there was no other example of bilingual currency before him to copy. He seems to have been the pioneer amongst Greek kings in India to strike bilingual coins with Greek and Prakrit legends. Tarn, being apparently unaware of the correct reading and implication of the Prakrit version of Eucratides' Indian drachms, thinks that the bilingual issues with the name of Demetrius Aniketos (cf. Demetrius I, Tps. 6-7) are the earliest of such coins (cf. GBI, p. 181. But the Demetrius coins which, as usual, have maharajasa as equivalent to ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ must have been struck at a later period (i.e. subsequent to the issue of the bilingual pieces of Eucratides), when maharajasa became the 'conventional rendering' of ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ alone.

Many Greek rulers of Bactria and India adopted one or more of the following epithets either in their Greek forms (as on monolingual coins) or in their Greek and Prakrit forms (as on the bilingual issues):

A. GREEK EPITHETS

(a) ΑΝΙΚΗΤΟΣ=Aparajita or Apadihata

This epithet was first adopted by Demetrius I. The Greek form is seen on the Demetrius tetradrachm of Agathocles (Tp. 5), while both the Greek and Prakrit forms are met with on the bilingual issues of Demetrius I (Tps.6-7). On his coins the Prakrit form is Aparajita (Skt. Aparājita). "No king anywhere before him," says Tarn (GBI, p. 132), "had assumed this title. It is a poetical word, known in Hesiod and the tragedians, but it is occasionally used in prose and was so used in a famous story; when Alexander visited the oracle of Delphi, the Pythia hailed aviktos and this story must be the origin of Demetrius' title."

Besides Demetrius I, three other kings who ruled in India proper, viz. Artemidorus, Lysias and Philoxenus, used this epithet. On their coins the Prakrit form used is Apadihata (Skt. Apratiḥata).

(b) ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΩΡ

The unique Attic tetradrachm of Theophilus (Tp. 1) alone bears this strange epithet ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΩΡ, ("King Absolute), the trade mark of a military usurper." His other normal bilingual coins have a different epithet, ΑΙΚΑΙΟΣ (Tps. 2-5).

1 See p. 39 above.
2 As aptly remarked by Bivar, N. Cir., May 1954, col. 1888.
According to Gardner, the probable source of this epithet, as adopted by the Parthian rulers Sinatroces and Phraates IV, was the coin of Sulla of Rome (c. 80 B.C.).

A unique Attic drachm of the Indo-Parthian king Gondophares (BMC, p. 174, Pl. XXXII. 10), apparently struck outside India, also bears this epithet.

(c) $\Delta I K A I O S = D h r a m i k a$ or $D h r a m i a$

In Bactria this epithet was borne by Agathocles and Heliocles. The former used it on his commemorative tetradrachms (Tps. 1-5) as well as on those of Type 9, while the latter used it not only on all his Bactrian coins but also on all his bilingual Indian issues. According to Gardner, Mithradates I of Parthia adopted this epithet in imitation of Agathocles, the king of Bactria.

In India, Archebius, Heliocles, Menander II, Peucolaus, Strato I, Theophilus and Zoilus I bore this epithet along with its Prakrit equivalent $D h r a m i k a$ or $D h r a m i a$ (Skt. $D h ã r m i k a$) either singly or along with some other epithet.

(d) $E I I F A N H Æ = P r a c h a c h h a$

In Bactria Plato alone used this epithet on his Attic tetradrachms. Gardner thinks that Mithradates I of Parthia borrowed this epithet from the Seleucid monarch Antiochus IV.

In India, both Strato I (Tps. 21-25) and Polyxenus used the epithet $E I I F A N H Æ$ (along with $S Ï Θ Ï P$) rendering it in Prakrit as $P r a c h a c h h a$ (Skt. Pratyaksha), meaning (God-) Manifest.

(e) $E Y E R P E T H Æ = K a l a n a k r a m a$

Telephus alone assumed this interesting epithet along with its Prakrit equivalent $K a l a n a k r a m a$ (Skt. $K a l ã y ã n a k r a m a$), meaning ‘performer of good deeds’. Parthian rulers like Mithradates II bore this epithet apparently in imitation of Antiochus IV of Syria.

(f) $\Theta E O T R O P Æ S$

Queen Agathocleia used this etymologically interesting epithet. But its Prakrit version is not met with.

Prinsep for the first time published a copper coin of Agathocleia (Tp. 4) with the epithet $\Theta E O T R O P Æ S$, in which Cunningham ‘immediately recognised with a feeling of intense curiosity the undoubted title of a female sovereign’. Prinsep translated the word as ‘God-nourisher’ confusing $T R Ï Ï Ï Ï Ï Ï$ with $T R Ï Ï Ï Ï Ï Ï$. ‘The very curious epithet $\Theta E O T R O P Æ S$,

1 Parthian Coinage, 1877, p. 65.
2 Loc. cit.
3 Loc. cit.
4 Gardner, loc. cit.
a word not found in the lexicon”, remarked Prinsep, “must have been coined on purpose for the queen-mother, after the oriental style of flattery, in al-
usion to her royal offspring.” Lassen, however, has shown that the word ὌΕΟΣ occurs in Heliodorus, a Byzantine author of the eighth century. According to Whitehead, “The word occurs in a philosophical passage with its normal meaning of ‘god-like, divine’.

(g) ὌΕΟΣ

Antimachus I alone assumed this extraordinary epithet. “No king of any
of the western dynasties called himself Theos on his coins till Antiochus IV”. A Parthian king Arsaces who flourished at a later date also bore the epithet ὌΕΟΣ As the Euthydemos coins of Agathocles (Tp. 4) and of Antimachus I (Tp. 2) show, Euthydemos I was given this epithet apparently after his death.

(h) ΜΕΓΑΣ=Mahatoka or Mahata

Eucautides I, was the first king of Bactria to adopt an epithet, and his
epithet was ΜΕΓΑΣ ('Great'), which, according to Tarn, “was copied from Antiochus III.” Of course, some Persian 'beardless' coins, assigned by
Wroth (BMC, Parthia, p. xxix), to Phriapati and Phraates I, also bear the
epithet ΜΕΓΑΣ in imitation of Antiochus III and were, consequently,
earlier than Eucratides' issues. But Tarn thinks that Eucratides was copying Antiochus II, not the Parthian kings.

Mahataoka is the Prakrit equivalent of ΜΕΓΑΣ upon Eucratides' Indian
drachms (Tp. 14), while Hippostratus used the word mahata for ΜΕΓΑΣ
(Tp. 7). Apollodotus II also used this epithet in the Greek legend, without
giving its Prakrit equivalent on the reverse (see his Tp. 13).

(i) ΝΙΚΑΤΩΡ=Jayadhara

Amyntas alone used the epithet on his coins and translated it as jayadhara ('bearer of victory'). Gardner thinks that the Parthian king Artabanus II
borrowed this epithet from the Seleucid king Demetrius II.

(j) ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΣ=Jayadhara

This epithet was borne by four Indo-Greek kings, viz. Antialcidas, Anti-
machus II, Archebius and Eponder along with its Prakrit equivalent jay-
adhara ('bearer of victory'). It is curious that on the characteristic silver coins of Antialcidas the enthroned Zeus is actually Nikephoros, i.e. depicted as
bearing Nike, the goddess of victory.

(k) ΣΩΘΡΗ=Tratara or Tradara

Diodotus I was given this epithet almost certainly after his death, as is
seen on the Diodotus coins of Demetrius I (Tp. 1), of Agathocles (Tp.3) and
of Antimachus I (Tp. 1). Eucratides II bore it on some of his silver coins
(Tp. 3).

1 Whitehead, loc. cit.
2 Loc. cit.
3 Loc. cit., n. 16.
5 GBI, p. 207.
4 Tarn, GBI, p. 91.
6 Gardner, loc. cit.
In India, no less than fourteen kings adopted this popular epithet on their coins either singly or along with some other epithet. The kings who used it are: Apollodotus I, Apollodotus II, Apollophanes, Diomedes, Dionysius, Hermaeus, Hippostratus, Menander I, Nicias, Peucelus, Polyxenus, Strato I, Strato II and Zoilus II.

(l) \( \Sigma T E P O \Sigma \Sigma Y = \text{Mahatasa or Rajarajasa mahatasa} \)

Apparently in the genitive, this etymologically queer expression is used as an epithet of Hermaeus on certain copper coins (see Hermaeus, Tps. 7-8), its Prakrit equivalent being \( \text{Mahatasa or Rajarajasa mahatasa} \). This peculiar epithet is never again borne by any other king. Scholars of the nineteenth century thought that the first part \( \Sigma T H P O \Sigma \) of the word \( \Sigma T H P O \Sigma \Sigma Y \) was a mere mistake for \( \Sigma O T H P O \Sigma \) and the second part \( \Sigma Y \) was only the portion of the king’s name; consequently, a new king by the name of ‘Su-Hermaeus’ was created: see Aria, Ant., pp. 307 ff.

(m) \( \Phi I A O P A T O \Phi = \text{Priyapita} \)

Apollodotus II (Tps. 10-13) and Strato III (Tps. 1-2) bore this epithet. Coins of Apollodotus II do not bear its Prakrit equivalent, while those issued jointly by Strato II and Strato III have \( \text{Priyapita} \) (‘father-loving’) as the epithet for Strato III.

Gardner\(^1\) thinks that the Parthian king Sinatroces borrowed this epithet from the Seleucid kings, Antiochus IX and his successors.

B. PRAKRIT EPIThETS

The Prakrit epithets adopted by the Greek kings of India are actually translations of their Greek epithets, and are naturally non-Indian in character. The following Prakrit epithets are seen on the coins of the Indo-Greek kings:

(a) \( \text{Apa˚dihata (Skt. Apratihata)} \)

It is the literal rendering of \( \text{ANIKHTOS} \) (the Invincible) and is seen on the Indian coins of Atrimitora (Artemidorus), Lisia or Lisika (Lysias) and Philasina (Philoxenus).

(b) \( \text{Aparajita (Skt. Apar˚jita)} \)

It is another Prakrit rendering of \( \text{ANIKHTOS} \) and occurs on the Indian coins bearing the name of Dimetriya (Demetrius I?). Though \( \text{Apratihata} \) and \( \text{Aparajita} \) have both been used as equivalent of \( \text{ANIKHTOS} \), they have a subtle difference in connotations: while \( \text{Aparajita} \) literally means ‘Unconquered’, \( \text{Apratihata} \) means ‘Irresistible’. They consequently indicate different roles—defensive and offensive respectively—for their adopters.

(c) \( \text{Dhramika or Dhramia (Skt. Dh˚armika)} \)

This is the Prakrit translation of \( \text{AIKAIOΣ} \) (‘the pious’) as is seen on the coins of six Indo-Greek kings: Arkhebiya (Archebius), Heliyakreya or

\(^1\) Loc. cit.
Appendix IV

Heliyakres (Heliocles), Menadra (Menander II), Peukulaa (Peucelaus), Strata (Strato I) and Jhola ( Zoilus I).

(d) Jayadhara (Skt. Jayadhara)

Jayadhara (‘the bearer of victory’) is a Prakrit rendering of both the Greek epithets NIKATΩP and NIKHΦΟΡΟΣ. It is an equivalent of NIKATΩP on the bilingual coins of Amita (Amyntas), while on those of Arštaliika (Antialcidas), Arštimakha (Antimachus II), Arkhebiya (Archebius) and Epa(m)dra (Epander) it is a rendering of NIKHΦΟΡΟΣ.

(e) Jayamta (Skt. Jayatāḥ)

This interesting epithet, without a Greek equivalent, finds its place on some coins (Tps. 5-7) of Hipustryata (Hippostratus). It is seen on some later Indo-Scythian coins, e.g. PMC, Pl. XII. 317 (of Aya-Azes and Aspavarnman) and ibid., Pl. XV. 400 (of an unidentified king). In these cases also Jayatā ṭa has no Greek equivalent.

(f) Kalanakrama (Skt. Kalyāṇakurma)

This interesting epithet is a rendering of EYΕΡΓΗΘΕΣ (‘the performer of good deeds’), as borne by the mysterious Indo-Greek ruler Teliphā (Telephus).

(g) Mahatka (Skt. Mahatku)

This Prakrit epithet is a rendering of MEGAES (‘the great’) and is seen only on the bilingual drachms of Evukratida (Eucratides I), Tp. 14.

(h) Mahata (Skt. Mahataḥ)

This is another rendering of MEGAE and is seen on the coins (Tp. 7) of Hipustryata (Hippostratus) as well as of some Indo-Scythian rulers like Moa (Maus) and Aya (Azes)—e.g. PMC, Pl. X. 1 and ibid., Pl. XI. 36 respectively.

(i) Prachachha (Skt. Pratyaksha)

This is a rendering of the Greek epithet ΕΠΙΦΑΝΗΣ [‘of the (God-) Manifest’], borne by Palisina or Paliksiina (Polyxenus) and Strata (Strato I).

(j) Rajadivaja (Skt. Rājātirovāja)

This interesting Prakrit epithet, which is neither Greek nor Indian in character, and which is naturally without any Greek equivalent, literally means—‘the great king of kings’. It finds its place on some rare copper pieces of Evukratida (Eucratides I), Tp. 16. It occurs almost regularly on later Indo-Scythian coins, e.g. PMC, Pl. X. 1 (of Moa-Maus), ibid., Pl. XII. 231 (of Aya-Azes) and ibid., Pl. XIII. 320 (of Ayilisha-Azielises) where it is equivalent to BAΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ.

(k) Rajaraja (Skt. Rājarāja)

This Prakrit epithet, which literally means ‘the king of kings’ and also occurs regularly on Indo-Scythian coins—e.g. PMC, Pl. XI. 36 (of Aya-
Azes) and *ibid.*, Pl. XIII. 319 (of Ayilisha-Azilises)—is seen on some queer copper pieces (Tp. 8) bearing the name of Heramaya (Hermaeus).

(1) *Trata* (Skt. *Trātā*)

This is the Prakrit rendering of the most popular Greek epithet ΣΩΘΗΡ which is very common amongst the later Greek rulers, specially of the Eastern Punjab. It occurs on the coins of as many as fourteen kings: Apaladata (Apollodotus I and II), Apalavina (Apollophanes), Diyameda (Diomedes), Dianisiya (Dionysius), Heramaya (Hermaeus), Hipostrata (Hipostratus), Menadra (Menander I), Nikia (Nicias), Peukulaa (Peucolaus), Palisina or Paliksina (Polyxenus), Strata (Strato I and II), and Jhoila (Zoilus II).

Heliodora (Heliodorus), the ambassador of the Taxilian king Aṁtalikita (Antialcidas), attributes this epithet to Kāsiputra Bhāgabhadrā, king of Vidiśā, in his famous Garuḍa pillar inscription.² Strangely enough, a obscure king of the Vṛṣṇi tribe, Jnāgana (?) by name, also bears this epithet on his unique coin (*BMC, AI*, Pl. XVI. 5).

(m) *Priyapīta* (Skt. *Priyapitṛika*)

This is the Prakrit rendering of the Greek epithet ΦΙΛΟΠΑΤΩΡ (‘the father-loving’), as borne by Strata (Strato III). Apollodotus II who also uses its Greek counterpart ΦΙΛΟΠΑΤΩΡ does not, however, show the Prakrit version on his coins (cf. Tps. 10-13)

² Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, p. 90.
APPENDIX V

PROBLEM OF THE ATTRIBUTION OF COINS BEARING CERTAIN ROYAL NAMES

A critical study of the available numismatic material reveals that in many cases coins bearing a particular royal name fall into more than one distinct series, and this has led to controversies as to their attribution to one or more kings of the same name. The controversial royal names are ten in number: (1) Antimachus, (2) Apollodotus, (3) Demetrius, (4) Diodotus, (5) Eucratides, (6) Euthydemos, (7) Heliocles, (8) Menander, (9) Strato, and (10) Zoilus. We shall discuss the question in brief here.

(1) Antimachus. We have listed coins with the name of Antimachus under two different heads, as scholars are now almost unanimous about the existence and rule of two kings of this name—one Antimachus I Theos ruling in Bactria and issuing monolingual Attic coins, and another Antimachus II Nikephoros reigning in India and striking bilingual coins in a light-weight Indian standard, in spite of Macdonald’s contrary contention (see CHI, p.547).

(2) Apollodotus. Coins bearing the name of Apollodotus have been listed under two kings—Apollodotus I (Soter) and Apollodotus II (Soter Megas Philopator) with reasons given in the preamble of the lists (pp. 90-92 above). It will be seen that coins attributed to Apollodotus II bear the royal epithet (or epithets) in the normal way (before the king’s name), ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΘΡΟΣ ΑΠΟΛΛΟΔΟΤΟΥ etc., but those assignable to Apollodotus I have the epithet in a different and unique way (after the king’s name), ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΠΟΛΛΟΔΟΤΟΥ ΣΩΘΡΟΣ.

(3) Demetrius. The controversy over the attribution of the Demetrius coins to one or two kings is a long-standing one, but for quite valid reasons those controversial coins are now distributed between two princes. The Athena-type silver coins with the name of Demetrius have been listed under Demetrius II, while the Herakles coins in silver and all the monolingual copper
pieces bearing the name of Demetrius have been assigned to the first king of that name.

Besides the above monolingual Attic coins bearing the name of Demetrius, there is again a series of bilingual coins, represented by a unique Indian tetradrachm (Pl. XII. 10) and a few square copper pieces (Pl. XII. 11), which also have the name of Demetrius as their issuer. But it is quite difficult to attribute these bilingual coins to either of the above two kings. Tarn in his characteristic way has tried to show that, as far as the silver coin goes, it was issued by Demetrius II on behalf of his father Demetrius I with the latter’s legend but with his own portrait as well as the newly introduced types, “Bust of king in kausia” and “Zeus with thunderbolt and sceptre” (see GBI, pp. 77-78). Whitehead is inclined to assign it to Demetrius I (Aniketos) himself (cf. NC 1947, pp. 43-44), while Narain contends that it was struck by Demetrius II, whom he believes to have been a son of Antimachus I Theos (see IG, pp. 29-31, 50-52). The silver pieces and the bilingual copper coins have tentatively been listed under Demetrius I (Aniketos), p. 109, above. But a critical study of these issues points to a different attribution, as we shall presently see.

The copper coins bear on the obverse the royal bust in elephant’s scalp, reminiscent of the well-known bust of Demetrius I as seen on his characteristic Attic issues, and also on the Demetrius commemorative coins of Agathocles (Tp. 5). They bear in the legend the interesting epithet ANIKETOΣ that, strangely enough, forms part of the commemorated king’s name-label on the last-mentioned piece and also occur in the legend of the bilingual tetradrachm. All these go to indicate that both the bust-in-elephant-scarf and the epithet ANIKETOΣ are intimately connected with Demetrius I, and allure one to assign the bilingual coins (both copper and silver) to him only. But when critically examined, it becomes difficult to attribute the bilingual tetradrachm with the name of Demetrius to Demetrius I for whom we have his characteristic Herakles-type Attic coins. The king on the latter Attic pieces has different facial features, wears a different head-dress, viz. elephant’s scalp (not Kausia), shows his affiliation to a different god Herakles (not Zeus) and is conspicuous by not having an epithet. Had both the series of Attic and Indian coins been issued by one and the same Demetrius, we would expect at least some link between them in these respects. Moreover, the silver bilingual piece shows some affinities with the coins of later kings like Heliocles and Archebius (cf. Pl.XX.5, Pl.XI.5 and Pl.XII.10), and, again, in the mode of rendering the Greek legend into
Appendix V

Prakrit, it uses the word *Maharaja* for *BAΣΙΛΕΥΣ* which indicates, according to our view discussed above (p. 39), that it was struck after the introduction of the bilingual currency with Greek and Kharoshṭhi legends by Eucratides I (Tp. 14). We cannot, therefore, assign the bilingual Demetrius tetradrachm having a number of individualistic features and signs of lateness to Demetrius I, who was an early Bactrian monarch and almost certainly an older contemporary of Eucratides I. Neither can we hold with Narain that the bilingual coins bearing the name of Demetrius were issued by Demetrius II, for, technically speaking, there is, again, practically nothing in common between the individualistic coins of Demetrius II on the one hand, and these bilingual coins on the other. It is also difficult to endorse Tarn's view that they were struck by Demetrius II on behalf of his father Demetrius I, as it is too far-fetched. Who then issued these extremely rare problematic coins, if their issuer was neither Demetrius I nor Demetrius II? Was there, then, an ephemeral third Demetrius, perhaps a grandson of the first, who bore the name and epithet of his grandfather and issued these controversial bilingual coins?

(4) Diodotus. The problem with the coins that bear the name of Diodotus is not so much as to see if there were two kings of that name, but to distribute the extant Diodotus coins between two monarchs, since Justin clearly speaks of two Diodotuses—one Diodotus I, originally the Seleucid governor of Bactria, who ultimately made himself king of that province during the reign of Antiochus II, and the other Diodotus II, who was the son and successor of Diodotus I.

The question has been briefly discussed in the preamble of the list of Diodotus coins (pp. 110-111, above). We have re-examined the coins and come to the conclusion that the 'Zeus thundering' coins that bear the name of 'King Antiochus' were (irrespective of the difference in portraiture) the issues of Diodotus the father, while those with the name of 'King Diodotus' were (irrespective of the royal effigies they bear) struck by Diodotus the son.

It may be noted in this connection that the unique coin of Type 4 (p. 113, above) with the portrait of Antiochus II but the name of Diodotus is (as informed by Mr G. K. Jenkins) a gold stater, not a silver tetradrachm. Then, the unique tetradrachm bearing the portrait of Diodotus (I?) and the legend *ΔΙΟΔΟΤΟΥ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ* attributed by Narain (*IG*, pp. 17-18) to Diodotus I, is, as already noted by Macdonald (*CHI*, pp. 440, 451), of the nature of a commemorative medallion, not a normal coin issued in the life-time of any Diodotus (see p. 106, above).
(5) **Eucratides.** We have listed the Eucratides coins under two heads, since modern scholars are almost unanimous in assigning the silver coins with the reverse type of the ‘Mounted’ or ‘Standing’ Dioskuroi and the copper coins issued with the epithet \( \text{MEGA} \) to Eucratides I (Megas) and the Apollo-type silver pieces to Eucratides II (Soter). We have, however, seen that Eucratides I Megas was the pioneer in India to issue a bilingual currency (see p. 39, above), and was also the first king in India to adopt on coins the compound Prakrit title \( \text{Maharaja} \), making it equivalent to \( \text{BAΣΙΛΕΥΣ MEΓΑΣ} \), not \( \text{BAΣΙΛΕΥΣ} \) alone, like all other Indo-Greek rulers who came after him (see pp. 39-40, above).

(6) **Euthydemus.** Coins bearing the name of Euthydemus have been distributed between two princes of that name. Silver coins with the ‘Seated Herakles’ type are now assigned to Euthydemus I, while those that bear on the reverse the figure of a ‘Standing Herakles’ are attributed to Euthydemus II, who is also believed to have issued the cupro-nickel and copper coins of identical types (see p. 134, Tps. 2 and 3). But the attribution of other copper coins with the name of Euthydemus is rather difficult. The axis or die-adjustment of those coins may be of some help in many cases: coins with the opposite axis (\( \uparrow \downarrow \)) can perhaps easily be assigned to the early Euthydemus, while those with the same axis (\( \uparrow \uparrow \)) may be attributed to Euthydemus II. Accordingly, our lists may contain some wrongly attributed coins, which can only be rectified on closer examination of the coins themselves.

(7) **Heliocles.** We have listed all the Heliocles coins under one head, though according to some scholars like R. B. Whitehead (\( \text{NC} \) 1950, pp. 211-12) A. K. Narain and G. K. Jenkins, monolingual Attic coins with the name of Heliocles are assignable to Heliocles I of Bactria and the bilingual Indian pieces bearing the same name to Heliocles II of India. In our opinion, however, one and the same Heliocles issued all these coins—the monolingual ones from Bactria, and the bilingual pieces from India at a somewhat later date (as did Eucratides I). If the portrait of the Indian issue is not exactly similar to that of the Attic issues, it is because it was executed by an inferior artist in India, who had to insert the Greek legend on the obverse and was, consequently, to do the portrait in a smaller scale and lower relief, and that too at a later date when the king was somewhat older in age. The supposed difference in portraiture, as believed by Whitehead to occur on the two coins, \( \text{NC} \) 1950, Pl. XII. 5 and 6, may, if at all there is any vital difference, be due to these reasons. The position would be clear if we compare the two portraits of Eucratides I depicted on his monolingual Attic and bilingual
Indian drachms, Pl. XVI. 6 and Pl. XVII. 1, which were issued by him from Bactria and India respectively. Besides these, we should also remember that not only the same epithet $\Delta I K A I O \Sigma$ but also the exactly similar reverse type and some common monograms provide an evident link between the two series of coins.

(8) Menander. We are the first to realise that the coins bearing the name of Menander fall into two clearly distinct series and are attributable to two princes of that name, the reasons being briefly stated above, p. 160. The extensive Menander coins with the epithet $\Sigma \Omega T H P$ have been assigned to Menander I Soter, while the extremely rare coinage with the name of a Menander Dikaios, which fall into as many as five clear types and forms a distinct and characteristic series, are attributable to a different monarch, Menander II Dikaios.

(9) Strato. Until recently scholars believed that Strato I who once struck coins conjointly with Agathocleia, issued joint coins with a second Strato (Philopator) at a later date, assigning an unbelievably long reign to him. But we have seen that the Strato Soter who issued joint coins with Strato Philopator could not have been the first ruler of that name, whose portrait is seen on the well-struck coins bearing various epithets—sometimes $\Sigma \Omega T H P$, sometimes $\Sigma \Omega T H P \ \Delta I K A I O \Sigma$ and sometimes, again, $\varepsilon \Pi \varphi \alpha \alpha \nu \varepsilon$ $\Sigma \Omega T H P$. Accordingly, we hold that there were three kings of the name of Strato—one earlier ‘Strato I Soter Dikaios Epiphanes’, sometimes ruling conjointly with Agathocleia and sometimes ruling alone, a later ‘Strato II Soter’ who first ruled alone and then jointly with another ‘Strato III Philopator’ (see pp. 182-183, above). Coins bearing the name of Strato have, therefore, been listed under three heads—(1) superior silver coins and all copper pieces under Strato I Soter Dikaios Epiphanes, (2) semi-barbarous coins of silver and of debased metal with a crude portrait and the name of Strato Soter under Strato II Soter, and (3) semi-barbarous pieces, similar to those of category 2, bearing the names of Strato Soter and Strato Philopator ($\Pi r i y a p i t a$) under Strato II Soter and Strato III Philopator.

There is, again, another problem of a different nature concerning the relationship between Strato (I) Soter Dikaios and Agathocleia, the first ruler of our list of coins. On the basis of the conjugate busts seen on their joint coins (Pl. I. 7-8), G. K. Jenkins ($B M Q$, XXI, pp. 70-73) has recently suggested that Agathocleia was not the mother of Strato, as often believed, but his wife. His contention for such a belief has much to commend it,
although we may put it more clearly and study the concerned coins more closely, comparing them with other known conjoint issues. On the coins in question the profile of Agathocleia is seen to the left of Strato’s profile, which is precisely the position of the wife when seen with her husband on formal occasions as amply illustrated by a number of Greek coins depicting the conjugate busts of husband and wife, viz. those of Ptolemy II and his sister-wife Arsinoe (GC, Pl. LVII. 1), of Ptolemy IV and his wife Laodice (ibid., Pl. LVIII. 7), of Hermaeus and his wife Calliope (Pl. XXII. 1), and of Heliocles and his wife Laodice (Pl. XV. 2). On the other hand, the only known coin that shows the conjugate busts of a mother and her son, viz. Cleopatra Thea and Antiochus VIII (GC, Pl. LIV. 5) has the profile of Cleopatra significantly to the right of her son Antiochus, not to the left (as that of Agathoclea in relation to the profile of Strato). These facts seem to indicate that Agathoclea was most probably the wife of Strato I, not his mother. Nevertheless, this revelation is bound to create immense complications in the matter of the chronology of Agathoclea and Strato. But that is a different point with which we are not just now concerned.

(10) Zoilus. On a critical study of all the coins with the name of Zoilus it is now possible to discern the issues of two different kings of that name. We have, therefore, attributed the superior coins with the epithet ΔΙΚΑΙΟΣ to Zoilus I (Dikaios) and the inferior pieces bearing the epithet ΣΩΤΗΡ to Zoilus II (Soter).

This is all about the controversial attributions, the problems of which must be settled before one seeks to compile a Corpus of Indo-Greek coins.

1 The relationship, though not proved by any recorded evidence, has been unanimously accepted by scholars.
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See under MacDowall, D. W. and Wilson, N. G.
ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

P.3,1.7: Read seventy-eight for seventy-four
P. 5, 1.27: Read Hönigberger for Honigberger
P. 17, 1.19: Read seldom come for seldo mcome
P. 21, 1.21: Read chain-armour for chainarmour
P. 22, 1.24: Read diadem for daidem
P. 23, 1.20: Read elephant-scalp for elephantscalp
P. 25: Add to the last paragraph on the Border: "Of special mention is also the floral border that surrounds the reverse design of the square copper coin of Zoilus I (Tp. 3: Pl. XXXIII.8)."
P. 33: Add to the second paragraph on Poseidon: "The young male head wearing a wreath that occurs on the obverse of the square copper coin of Menander I (Tp. 22: Pl. XXVI.1), has been identified by Whitehead as Poseidon because of the occurrence of the dolphin on the reverse."
P. 35: Add to the first paragraph on Animals, etc.: "A dog is seen running with Artemis on the reverse of the Zeus-head copper coin of Diodotus II (Tp. 8: Pl. XIII.8)."

P. 37, 1.1: Read [YIOΣ*] for [YIOΣ]
P. 41, 1.3: Read (pratyakṣa) for (pratyakṣya)
P. 42, 11.12, 15: Read Rajane for Rajañe
P. 43, 1.17: Read Rajane for Rajañe
P. 45, 1.7 (from bottom): Read (YIOΣ*) for (YIOΣ)
P. 47, 1.2 (from bottom): Read Rajane for Rajañe.
P. 48, 1.14: Read (PMC, Pl. V. 372) or for (PMC, Pl. V. 372 or
P. 51, 1.10 (from bottom): Read—has A1 for—ha A1
P. 52, 1.10: Read On a BM coin for On a BMcoin
P. 55, f.n. 1: Read No 1923 for No 1923
P. 65,1.15: Read tetradrachms for teradrachms
P. 68, 1.9: Read tetradrachms for teradrachms
P. 72, 1.18: Read Monogram 369. for Monogram 72.
—,1.14 (from bottom): Add after times: "—using silk ribbon,"
—, 1.7 (from bottom): delete "the minor"
—, 1.4 (from bottom): delete "her husband"
P. 73, 1.9: Read tica, for t ca,
Additions and Corrections

P. 74, last line: Read before TOY ΦΙΑΙΠΠΟΥ: "(1)"
P. 75, 1.1: Read before long sceptre: "bearing"
P. 77, 1.14: Read before Herat Museum—: "(9)"
Pl. 78, 1.3: Read 10.AE. for 10.AR.
P. 78, 1.11: Read Rajane for Rajañe.
P. 81, 1.19: Read Phrygian for Phryrgian
—, 1.3 (from bottom): Read jayadharasa for jayadharsa
Pl. 82, 1.6: Read have been for have been
—, 1.15: Read r., palm-bearing for r., plam-bearing
P. 85, 1.13: (from bottom): Read ANTIAAΔΙΑΟΥ for ANTIAAKAIΔΙΟΥ
P. 88, 1.2: Read (in exergue) for (in exergue)
—, 1.2 (from bottom): Read COIN. for COINS.
P. 90, 1.19: Read ΣΩΘΡΠ for ΕΩΘΡΡ
P. 94, 1.3: Read 4.AE.Sqr. for 4.AR.Sqr.
—, 1.6: Read ΑΠΟΔΟΔΟΣΟΤΟΥ for ΑΠΑΔΟΔΟΤΟΥ
P. 102, 1.13: Read aegis instead of for eagos instead of
P. 104, 1.17: Read ΝΝΜ 1(NSI) for ΝΝΜ 1 (JNSI)
P. 109: 1.11: Add: "See Appendix V under Demetrius."
P. 111, 1.2: Read Zeus thunder- for Zeuthunder-
P. 113, 1.16: Read Attic Stater. for Attic Tetradracm(?).
P. 118, 1.16: Read Athenas thunder- for Athenath under-
P. 120, 1.9: Read B. Normal Coinage. for B. Normal COINAGE.
—, 1.7 (from bottom): Read Dioskuroi for Dioscuoi
P. 123: Take the paragraph on Attic Octo(a)drachm(?) below the para-
graph dealing with Attic Stater.
—, last line: Read javelin with r. hand. for javelin in r. hand.
P. 125, 1.20: Read 12. AE. Rd. for 12. AR. Rd.
—, 1.30: Read 13. AE. Sqr. for 13. AR. Sqr.
P. 126, 1.8 (from bottom): Read Pl. XVII. 2, 3. for Pl. XVI. 2, 3.
P. 129, 1.22: Read ΜΕΤΑΔΟΥ for ΜΕΤΑΓΑΟΥ
P. 133, 1.16: Read Begrak, for Bogram,
—, 1.10 (from bottom): Read ΕΥΘΥΔΗΜΟΥ for ΣΕΥΘΥΔΗΜΟΥ
P. 134, 11, 3, 10, 19: Read ΕΥΘΥΔΗΜΟΥ for ΣΕΥΘΥΔΗΜΟΥ
P. 138, 1.19: Read — 1 coin for — coin
P. 140, 1.7: Read TMA, Pl. VIII. 8, for TMA, Pl. Pl. VIII.8.
P. 142, 1.12: Read ΕΤΗΡΟΣΕΥ for ΕΤΗΡΟΣΕΥ
P. 144, 1.15: Read jayamata for jayarna
P. 150, 1.9: Read IMC, p. 23, Nos. 21-23 for IMC, p. Nos. 21-23
P. 152, 1.10: Read (1-8) BMC, for (1-8) IMC,
—, 1.21: Read is held sloping. for is held sloping.
Corpus of Indo-Greek Coins

P. 158, 1.2: Read (L) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ (top) ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ for (L) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ (top) ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ


P. 164, 1.15: Read (r) Maharajasa for Maharajasa

P. 166, 1.16: (from bottom): Read tetradrachms for teradrachms

P. 167, 1.11 (from bottom): Read (below) ΦΙΛΟΞΕΝΟΥ for below ΦΙΛΟΞΕΝΟΥ

P. 168, 1.20; Read (r) Maharajasa for Maharajasa

P. 169, 1.8: Read Pl. XIII-A.5 (2) JNSI, XIII, p. 89, for Pl. XIII-A.15.
(2) JNSI, III, p. 59

P. 171, 1.7; Read Pl. XXIX. 3. for Pl. XXVIX.3.
—, 1.23: Read Tetradrachm. for Tetradrachms.

P. 173, 1.9: Read (Tp. 5 of Agathocleia) for (Tp. 6. of Agathocleia).

P. 174, 1.15: Read the author’s for the author’s
—, last line: Read ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ for ΕΩΤΗΡΟΣ

P. 175, 1.10 (from bottom): Read p. 800, Pl. 236.61. for p.200, Pl. 36.61.

P. 178, 1.5: Read Pl. VIII. 14. for Pl. II.14.

P. 189, 1.15 (from bottom): Read cursive omega for round omega.

—, 1.6 (from bottom): Read Nos. 546-49: for Nos. 646-49.

P. 191, 1.5: Take this line above the last line and read SMALL COIN. for SMALL COINS.
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