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COINS OF THE INDO-SCYTHIANS.

Preface.

On three sides India is protected from invasion; by the Himāla Mountains on the north, and on the east and west by the sea. But on the north-west side, along the line of the Indus, she is open to attack. On this side she was successfully invaded in ancient times by the Persians, the Greeks, and the Indo-Scythians. On this side also, in modern times, she was successfully assailed by the Turks under Mahmud Ghaznavi and Muhammad Ghorı, and by the Mongols under Baber.

The Persian rule in N. W. India lasted for about two centuries, from B.C. 500 to 330, from the time of Darius to the invasion of Alexander the Great. The Greek dominion lasted for about three centuries, from B.C. 330 to 26, when the Kabul valley and the Panjāb were conquered by Kujula, king of the Kushān Scythians. The flourishing period of Indo-Scythian rule also lasted for about three centuries, or from B.C. 26 down to the end of the third century A.D.,1 when it came into contact with the rapidly growing power of the Gupta dynasty of N. India.

The rise of this great dynasty deprived the Indo-Scythians of N. W. India; but they still retained possession of the Kabul valley and the Panjāb in the north and of Sindh in the south. In the latter country they remained until the seventh century, when they were dispossessed by the Brahman Chach. In the former they remained until the end of the ninth century, when they were displaced by the Brahman Kalar.

The three centuries of Indo-Scythian rule in N. India form a very striking period, as it separates Sanskrit literature into two broadly marked divisions, named by Dr. Max Müller the ancient and the modern, the former comprising the Brahmanical Veda and the Buddhist Tripitaka, and the latter all other works, including even the Rāmāyana and Mahābhārata, which in their present form are probably not older than the period of Gupta rule.

In the present account I propose to treat at some length of the three centuries of the more flourishing period of Indo-Scythian rule previous to the rise of the Gupta empire. For this period we possess not only a profusion of coins but also a considerable number of inscriptions. For the later period of almost four centuries, from about A.D. 300 down to the advent of the Muhammadans, the materials are comparatively scanty. The coins indeed are numerous, but they are unfortunately of uncertain dates, and their inscriptions, even when expressed in Indian characters, are either limited to single letters or to general titles which give but little useful information. The long legends on most of the silver coins of this period are at present quite useless, as they are expressed in an

\[\text{India—What can it teach us? p. 88.}\]
unknown Scythian character, and no doubt also in some Scythian language. According to the Chinese pilgrim, Hwen Thsang, the characters in use to the north of the Indian Caucasus in A.D. 630 were 25 in number, and were written from left to right. Not a single name is known, and as all the characters on the coins are joined together, it is difficult to find out where any particular letter begins or ends. I think that I have discovered the combination that corresponds with the title of Šáhi, and as this was the native title the characters should correspond.

In the following account I have aimed at giving a description of all the known coins of the Indo-Scythians, together with such historical notices as I have been able to gather from various sources. I have divided the work into three parts, as follows:—

Part I.—Historical notices of the Indo-Scythians.
Part II.—Notes on the coins of the Indo-Scythians.
Part III.—Descriptive lists of the coins.

There are three minor subjects, which, as they are brief, may be conveniently discussed at once. These are—

1.—The Arian legends on the coins.
2.—The monograms on the coins of the Saka kings.
3.—The monetary systems.

I.—The Arian Alphabet.

When Wilson published his Ariana Antiqua in 1840, no progress whatever had been made in reading the native legends beyond the point where James Prinsep had left it. The native forms of several important names still remained unread, such as Gondophares and Abdagases, and the legend on the reverse of Queen Agathokleia's
coin. I was the first to discover the true form of the letter G on the coins of Grundophares and Abdagases in 1841, which I followed up by applying it to the word *Strategasa, Στρατηγός*, on the coins of *Āpta Varma*, the son of Indra Varma. The discovery of GH followed immediately afterwards, as this letter is formed by the simple addition of H to G. At the same time I discovered the form of BIH in *bhṛita-putra*, or "brother’s son," as the translation of ᾳΔηΛφΙΔΕΩΣ on the coin of Abdagases, and in *bhṛāta*, or "brother," as the translation of ᾳΔηΛφΟΥ on the coins of Vonones and Spalahores. This was followed up by reading the name of *Amoghābhuti* on the coins of the King of the Kunindas.

The compound character answering to STR I found on the coins of *Hippostratñas*, which led to the discovery that the native legend of the coins of Agathokleia gave the name of King *Straton*.

In the proceedings of the Bengal Asiatic Society for April (just received) I find that Dr. Hoernle objects to the readings of *Stratasa* and *Hipostratasa*, on the ground that the *st* of Sanskrit becomes *th* in Pali. This is true for Eastern India, but not for Western India and the Panjāb and Kabul, where we know that the people preserved the pronunciation of *st* in the names of the Princes Haustanes and Astes. But the most direct and satisfactory proof is afforded by the different versions of Asoka’s inscription. On comparing the *Girnar* version, which is recorded in Indian Pali characters, I find *nāsti* in Edicts II. and VI. as in the Shāhbāzgarhi text, while the Kālisi, Dhauli, and Jaugada versions have *nīthi*. I find also *nāti* and *vīta* in Edict XIV. of Girnar and Shāhbāzgarhi, where Kālisi and Dhauli have *aṭhi* and *eṭha*.

For Western India I may refer to the inscription of
COINS OF THE INDO-SCYTHIANS.

Chashtan, the Tiastanes of Ptolemy, as the most convincing proof that the compound st was not pronounced as th in Ujain and Surashtra.

In India also we know that asra, a horse, was shortened to assa and asm in Pali. But in the west we find Tushaspa, the Yavana satrap of Surashtra under Asoka; and to the west of the Indus we have Khonspes. It will be sufficient, however, to note that the Arian compound letter read as sp, is the equivalent of the Greek ΣΠ in the names of Spalaihora and Spalayadana.

I was the first to read the name of Kushdun on the coin of Kozulu Kadphises, and that of Khushôn on the coins of Kozola Kadaphes, and to identify both with the Greek ΚΟΠΑΝΟ and ΧΟΠΑΝ. After this followed the name of Kanishka in Court's Manikyala inscription as king of the Gushâns.

Two forms of PH were obtained from the coins of Telephus and Gondophares.

CH and CHH I discovered about the same time, by identifying Chhatrapa as the true reading of Kshatrapa, or Satrap.

SW I found in Mahiswara and Sarva-lokeswara on the coins of Hima Kadphises.

The prefixed R was another valuable discovery, as it led to the correct reading of RM in dharma, as well as in Aspa Varma and Indra Varma. Then followed Sarca and acharya, to which I can now add Gondopharna.

But my chief discovery in the reading of names in the native characters was the decipherment of the names of the Macedonian months Arthamisayasa, Panemasa, and Apilassa in three different inscriptions.

In the Indian Pali alphabet I claim the discovery of the title of Râjina on the coins of Pantaleon and Agathokles,
which had baffled every previous writer. Rājine is the Pali form of the Sanskrit genitive Rājyna, "of the king." The middle letter ज had been read by Lassen; but the undulating form of the initial र had puzzled him.

I also discovered the true reading of the title of ZAΟΟΥ, or Zευς, which had always been read previously as ΖΑΟΟΥ, or Zεθθος. It is the Greek rendering of the native title which the Chinese have preserved as Shā-wu (Cha-wou).

I may add also that the true reading of the name of BAΣΟ-ΔΗΟ or Vasu Deva, was due to me. On the small copper coins the name is shortened to BΑΣ-ΔΗΟ, which is the true spoken form of Bās-deo.

It is perhaps curious to note, that though all these readings have now been generally adopted, scarcely one of them has been acknowledged as mine.

The accompanying Plate VII. gives the native names and titles of all the Indo-Scythian kings in the Arian Pali characters, as found upon their coins. The transliterations of all the legends are given in Plate VIII.

2.—MONOGRAMS.³

The Greek monograms on the coins of the Indo-Scythians are comparatively few, there being only about fifty on the coins of the Saka kings, but not even one on those of the Kushān kings. I am fully aware of the difficulty of any attempt to explain these monograms; but as they occupy a very prominent place on the faces of the coins, I do not think it right to leave them unnoticed. My previous attempt to explain the monograms on the coins of the Greek princes of Bactria and India was con-

³ For illustrations of monograms see Plate IX.
fessedly tentative. But I still feel that I was right in my original opinion, that the occurrence of the same monograms on the coins of many consecutive princes of different dates is sufficient evidence to show that they cannot be the names either of magistrates or of mintmasters, and must therefore almost certainly be the names of cities where the coins were struck.

It has been objected by M. Chabouillet that my early attempt to explain these monograms does not give the name of any one of the seventeen towns of Bactria recorded by Ptolemy. To this I can reply that only six of the thirty known Greek princes of the East were kings of Bactria, and that the number of monograms on their coins can be counted on the fingers. As all the other monograms are found upon coins bearing native legends, they must certainly be referred to the south of the Caucasus. I may note, however, that the letter N, which is found singly on the coins of Antiochus I., Antiochus II., Diadotus, and Antimachus I., perhaps denotes Nautaka, where Alexander wintered, as I find a monogram forming NA on the tetradrachm of Antimachus with the head of Diadotus on the obverse.

Mr. Percy Gardner accepts M. Chabouillet’s opinion, and adds that I profess to have found in the monograms “the names of most of the cities of Bactria and the Panjâb.” Mr. Gardner has evidently overlooked my actual profession on this point, in which I distinctly state that “I do not suppose that all, or even one half, of the names that occur on the coins of the Bactrian and Arian Greek, are the names of mint cities.”

Mr. Gardner then proceeds to state his “entire agreement with M. Chabouillet,” that there are but few cities, such as “Odessus, Patræ, and Panormus, which are known
to have placed on their coins a monogram to represent their names."

To this argument I reply that as the coins of cities usually give their names at full length, their repetition in the form of monograms was quite unnecessary. There are, however, many examples of the names of cities expressed by monograms, but only on those coins where the name itself is not given. I may quote the following:


4. Monogram forming \textit{LEONTIN} on coins of Leontini. (\textit{B. M. Cat. Sicily}, p. 94.)

5. Monogram forming \textit{KPA} on coins of Kranii. (\textit{B. M. Cat. Pelop.}, p. 80.)

6. Monogram forming \textit{KOP} on coins of Korkyra (\textit{B. M. Cat. Coreyra}, p. 128.)


8. Monogram forming \textit{SA} on coins of Samé. (\textit{B. M. Cat. Pelop.}, p. 91.)


10. Monogram forming \textit{PIO} on coins of Ptolemais. (\textit{B. M. Cat. Ptolemies}, p. lxxvi.)

11. Monogram forming \textit{AXAI} on coins of Achaia. (\textit{B. M. Cat. Pelop.}, p. 1.)

12. Monogram forming \textit{KAH} on coins of Kleitor. (\textit{B. M. Cat. Pelop.}, p. 180.)

13. Monogram forming \textit{MAT} on coins of Mateolum. (\textit{B. M. Cat. Italy}, p. 141.)
Monograms for the names of kings are not unknown, as—

ΔΗΜΗΤΡ for Demetrius of Macedon. (Head, Hist. Num., p. 204.)
NIK for Nikokreon of Cyprus. (Head, Hist. Num., p. 626.)
ΠΥΡ for Pyrrhus. (Head, Hist. Num., p. 208.)
ANTI for Antigonus of Macedon. (Head, Hist. Num., p. 204.)
MOAG for Mongetes of Kibyra. (Zeit. f. Num., I. p. 380.)

Again Mr. Gardner states his opinion that M. Chabouillet is clearly right in saying that these monograms are usually merely "the private mark of a magistrate or a contractor." That this may have been the case with many of the cities of the West I freely admit, but we are now dealing with the kings of the East, and not with the cities of the East. In the East, the right of coinage has always been a royal prerogative, which from the time of Darius Hystaspes has been jealously guarded, and its infringement severely punished. The story of Aryandes as told by Herodotus is familiar to every one.

But both M. Chabouillet and Mr. Gardner have evidently overlooked the case of the well-known coins, called Cistophori, on several of which the names of the cities where the coins were minted are certainly given in monogram, while the names of the magistrates are usually confined to the two initial letters.

1. On cistophori of Adramytteum, monogram forming ΑΔΡΑ. (Head, Hist. Num., p. 446.)
2. On cistophori of Parium or Apameia, monogram forming ΠΑ. (Head, Hist. Num., p. 450.)
3. On cistophori of Pergamus, monogram forming ΠΕΡ. (Head, Hist. Num., p. 402.)

Might not the same system have prevailed in other
countries besides Asia Minor? For instance, on a large copper coin of Alexander, I find the monogram which I have read as *Demetrias* coupled with another forming TH, and on another copper coin the same *Demetrias* monogram with the letter Δ. If one of these must be the mintmaster's name it certainly cannot be the first, as that monogram is found on the coins of no less than twelve different princes from the time of Demetrius down to Hermaeus, or for upwards of a century and a half. Similarly I find a common monogram of the coins of Hippostratus repeated on the coins of Azas. It forms the syllable APT, which I take to be the name of the mint city. On the coins of Hippostratus it stands alone, but on those of Azas it is variously accompanied, sometimes by ΔI in monogram, sometimes by MIP in monogram. As it is scarcely possible that these two kings could have had the same mintmaster, I incline to the opinion that the monogram is more likely to be the name of a town than that of a man.

On the coins of the neighbouring kingdom of Parthia we have the names of at least three cities given at full length: Katastrateia, Traxiane, and Margiane. The last Mr. Gardner takes for the name of the province of Margiana; but surely it must be intended for the ancient city of Merv, which was rebuilt by Antiochus as Antiocheia Margiane. The names of at least three other Parthian cities are given in an abbreviated form, and not in monogram. A single monogram accompanied by the word ΠΩΛΙΣ undoubtedly refers to a city; and this example serves to strengthen the opinion that several of the other monograms found on Parthian coins may be the names of cities. Some of these monograms form combinations so simple as scarcely to admit of any other readings. Amongst these I find PA for Rhyas, APTA for Artamita,
ΧΑΡΑ for Kharaz, ΑΠΑ for Apamea, ΑΝΤ for Antioch, ΗΡ and ΗΡΑΚ for Heraklea, ΨΥΛ for Phulake, ΓΑ for Gaza, and ΑΠΟΛΛ for Apollonia.

The question now arises, From whence did the Parthians derive this practice of putting the names of cities on their coins? As the kings of Syria did not as a rule do so, the Parthians themselves must either have originated the practice or they must have copied it from the Bactrian Greeks. But as I have noticed a prevailing desire to trace all the coin types of the Parthians to Syrian or Bactrian types, I presume that the Parthian origin of the custom will be disputed. In any case the custom must have been familiar to the Eastern Greeks. The name of one city I have found beyond all doubt on some coins of Eukratides, namely Karisaye-nagara, that is the city (nagara) of Karis. This city I take to be the same as Kdsi or Kdri of the Buddhist chronicles, which was the birthplace of Menander.

The practice of the Arsakidan kings was followed by the Sassanians; and on the coins of Feroz are found the names of no less than twenty-six different mint cities, accompanied by the years of the reign.

So also did the Khalifs of Baghdad give the names of their mint-cities with the Hijra dates on all their coins. Their example was followed by the Turki Sultans of Ghazni, and afterwards by the Turk and Mughal Emperors of India down to our own times.

To prevent misapprehension I may here state my views as to the information to be derived from the monograms. Such of the combinations as are simple and easily resolvable into well-known names, either in full or in part, may I think be accepted as actual names. But unless the places fulfil the condition of being within the territory
held by the particular prince on whose coins they occur, they cannot be accepted. As an example of my method I will take the monogram forming EY, which is found on the coins of Euthydemus, Eukratides, Menander, Stratton, Zöilus, Apollophonæ, and Rajubul. I take this monogram to stand for Euthydemia or Sangala, a well-known city in the Panjâb, which most probably received its name from Demetrius, the son of Euthydemus, during his Eastern campaigns. That the place was certainly in the Eastern Panjâb is declared by its occurrence on the ruder coins of Stratton, Zöilus, and Apollophonæ, which are restricted to that district. Lastly, the monogram is common on the copper coins of Menander, who, in the Pali work named the “Questions of Milindra” is distinctly said to be the King of Sâkals.

As another example I will take the common monogram, No. 15, of the coins of the Vönones family, which I read as KOTTOBAPA in full. The princes of this family held Arachosia, of which the capital in the time of Isidorus was Sigal. As the letter g is very commonly elided, I think that Sigal may be read as Sîl or Shâl, a large town close to Quetta. As the last name is a peculiarly British rendering of Kotta, or “the forta,” I think that Ptolemy’s Kottobara must be simply Kotta or Quotta, with the town of Shâl close by to represent Sigal. I would remark that the same reasons which have led to the British occupation of this position must have had equal weight with the Saka Indo-Scythians when they made it their capital.

The monogram of GAZAKA, for Ghasni, No. 14, also seems unobjectionable.

Another example which I consider as almost certain is No. 3 and No. 37 monograms, which I read as
KAΣΠΑΠΥΡΑ in full. This was the ancient well-known name of Multân, and it was from Multân, and not from Kashmir, that Skylax must have started. There are two objections fatal to Kashmir: 1, the city was not named Kasyapapura; and 2, no boat could descend the Jhelam or Hydaspes below Barahmula.

In the Plate of Monograms (IX.) I have included all that I could find on the coins of Maes and of the Vounoes family. But I have been obliged to be content with a selection of the very numerous monograms on the coins of Azas and Azilises. Some day, perhaps, a key may be found to unlock the mystery which lies hidden in these little knots of letters.

When I made an attempt nearly twenty years ago to unravel some of the monograms on the Greek coins of Bactria and India, I stated my opinion that all the coin 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." Some of the numismatists of Europe, as I have already noted, seem to think that because magistrates' names are found on the coins of Greek cities, the same custom must have prevailed in the East with the coins of kings.

One example of the name of a city I can now offer which I think is not open to objection. I allude to the name of Sangala, the Shâkula or Sâkala of the Hindus. According to Ptolemy this place was also called Euthydemia (corrected from Euthymelia). At the top of the Plate I have given several different monograms of this

place, which seem to me to be quite satisfactory. I have marked them A, B, C, D. A is found on the coins of Euthydemos and Menander. It forms ΕΥ, which I refer to Euthydemia, as we might naturally expect to find it on the coins of Euthydemus, after whom Sangala must have received its Greek name of Euthydemia. We might also expect to find the same monogram on the coins of Menander, as in the Milinda Prasna Sāgal is said to have been the capital of Raja Milindra. Sangala was in the Eastern Panjāb; and we learn from Strabo that Menander had actually crossed the Hyphasis or Biās river.

B is also found on the coins of Euthydemos. It forms simply ΕΥ for Euthydemia.

C consists of two monograms which are found together on a coin of Eukratides. The upper one reads ΕΥ, as before, but the lower one gives the alternative name of ΣΑΪΓΑΛΑ in full.

D is found on the coins of no less than four kings—Straton, Zoilus, Apollodanas, and Rajubul. It forms ΕΥ. As the coins of all the four princes on which this monogram occurs are of coarser and ruder work, and are found only in the Eastern Panjāb, I think we may admit that they were most probably struck at Euthydemia or Sangala, which was certainly the capital of that part of the country.

Of the monograms given in the Plate, Nos. 1 to 11 are found on the coins of Moa or Mauas; Nos. 12 to 19 are found on the coins of the Vonones dynasty; Nos. 21 to 49 on the coins of Azas and Azilises; and Nos. 50 to 52 on the coins of the Gondophares dynasty. No. 55 occurs on the base silver coins of Rajubul.
Monograms of Moas or Manas.

The coins of Moas are found chiefly in the Northern Panjáb and as far south as Multán; but so far as I am aware none have yet been found either in Sindh or in the Kabul valley to the west of Peshawur. If any of these monograms represent the names of mint cities, I would suggest that No. 2, which forms NIK, may be Nikuit, the city which was built by Alexander on the site of his battle with Porus. In my "Ancient Geography of India" I have shown some good reasons for fixing the site of Nikaia at Mong, which is said to have derived its name from Ruja Moga.

No. 3 I would read as ΚΑΣΠΑΠΥΡΑ, which was the old name of Multán, and which I would therefore identify with the city of Kaspapuros, recorded by Hekateus and Herodotus. If the monogram is intended for the name of a city, I think that my reading has a fair claim to be accepted. I am aware that the closet geographers of Europe have generally taken Kasapuros for Kashmir. But I have marched along the bank of the Hydaspes after it leaves the valley as far as Musafarabad, and I can safely assert that no boat could stem the rapids below Barahmula.

The remaining monograms of Moas I must leave unattempted. I confess, however, to a feeling of disappointment at not finding any knot of letters that might be united to form the name of Taxila.

Monograms of the Vonones Dynasty.

The coins of this family were found in Kandahar by Stacy and Hutton in 1840-41, and by Ventura and myself in the Western Panjáb. As only five specimens
were got by Masson at Beogrâm in a three years' collection, I conclude that these princes must have ruled over Arakhlosia from Kandahar to the Indus. The metropolis of this tract of country according to Isidorus was Sigal, which by elision of the letter ơ I would identify with Shâl, a large town close to Quetta. The proper name of Quetta is Kotta, which may be identified with Ptolemy's Kottobara. If any of the monograms on the coins of the Vonones family represent the names of cities, I should expect to find both Sigal and Kottobara tied up in some of these letter-knots. Nos. 12 to 19 are Vonones monograms.

No. 16 forms ΣΙΓΑΛ in full, but as it may be read in other ways I only propose Sigal on account of the probability of its being represented on the coins.

No. 15 I read as KΟΤΤΟΒΑΡΑ in full, and as this monogram cannot well be read in any other way, I think that there is a strong presumption in favour of its accuracy. I do not deny the possibility that Kottobara might have been the name of some subordinate officer of the Vonones dynasty, and that his son might have borne the same name and have held the same office under successive rulers. But all these possibilities scarcely amount to a probability, and I must confess that I prefer the city Kottobara.

No. 17 offers simply KΟΤΤΟ, which I take for Kotta or Quetta, without any addition.

No. 14 I read as ΓΑΖΑΚΑ, or Ghazni, with some confidence, as I do not see that it can be read in any other way.

No. 13 may be read as ΠΑΡΔΑΒΑΘΡΑ, a city placed by Ptolemy on the western bank of the Indus. I presume that this must be the same place as the Barđa of Isidorus;
but I am unable to identify it. Perhaps No. 12, which seems to be simply B, may be intended for Bactra.

Another town mentioned by Isidorus is Min, which has been identified with Ptolemy's Binagara on the Indus.

Monograms of the Azas Dynasty.

The monograms of Azas and his successor Axilises are very numerous; and in the present Plate I have given a selection of those which are found on the principal coins, ranging from No. 21 to No. 49. As the successors of Moas they must have ruled over the Northern Panjâb, from Taxila to Multân.

No. 25 monogram may be read as ΣΑΙΓΑΛΑ, a place which was certainly within the dominions of Azas.

No. 37 is similar to No. 3 of Moas, which I have already explained as making ΚΑΣΠΙΑΠΥΡΑ in full, for the ancient city of Multân.

No. 40 may be read as ΠΑΝΤΑΓΡΑΜΜΑ, a town placed by Ptolemy on the Indus. It has been identified by Mr. McCrindle in his Indian Geography of Ptolemy, with Panjpur, near Embolima, because, as he says, it "agrees closely, both in its position and the signification of its name, with the Pentagramma of Ptolemy." But the true name of the place here referred to is Panj-prir, or the "Five Saints" of the Muhammadans; whereas the Hindus call it Panch-bir, or the "Five Heroes," and refer the name to the five Pandu brothers. This monogram might form BÂTANAGARÂ, a name preserved by Ptolemy in the Eastern Panjâb. I would identify it with Pathâniya, or Pathânikot, one of the oldest places in the country. Its original name was Pratiâsthana, which was shortened to Prâthâna, or Prâthân. It was the capital of
the Odumbaris, of whom I possess coins as old as the time of Apollodotus.

No. 41 forms BAPDA, which I suppose to be the same place as Ptolemy's Purabothra on the Indus. As Azas seems to have outlived the last of the Vonones dynasty, he may have succeeded to some of the eastern portions of their dominions; or he may have held Barada during the lifetime of his contemporary Spalirises, as their names appear together on several of the coins.

Monograms of the Goudophares Dynasty.

The principal monogram of this family is No. 51, which forms the name of GONΔOΦAPΑ in full. I have no reason for supposing that he actually founded any city, but I note the fact of this possible reading as being curious, if not important.

Monogram of Rajubul.

No. 55 monogram is found on the base silver coins of Rajubul, which have been found in the Eastern Panjâb as well as at Mathura. His copper coins, with Arian legends, are found only in the Eastern Panjâb. I have therefore no hesitation in placing him at Sangala, as the monogram EY almost certainly refers to the city of Euthylemia, which was the Greek name of Sangala.


Two very marked and sudden changes took place in the weights of the gold and silver coins of N. W. India during the rule of the Greeks and Indo-Scythians. The
first change took place in the weights of the Greek silver coins after the time of Eukratides. From the existing gold and silver coins of Diodotus and Euthydemus, we see that the Attic standard of weight had been preserved with a rate of 10 silver to 1 gold. The gold stater at its full weight was 134·4 grains, which at 10 rates gave the equivalent silver value at 1,344 grains. This divided by 20 gave the weight of the silver drachma as 67·2, that of the didrachma 134·4, and that of the hemidrachma as 33·6 grains. Suddenly we find that the silver coins of the sixteen kings who followed Eukratides have become heavier, the average weight of 16 didrachmas having become 146·3 grains, while that of 82 hemidrachmas had risen to 36·48 grains. As many of the latter are over 37 grains, I take this to be the full weight of the hemidrachma, while that of the didrachma must have been up to 148 grains. Now this change must represent either a rise in the value of gold or a fall in that of silver, by which the relative values of the two metals had become 11 S. = 1 G., that is, one-tenth had been added to the weight of the silver coins. Thus:

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{Grains.} \\
134\cdot4 \text{ didrachmas} & \text{Grains.} \\
\text{Add } \frac{1}{10} = 18\cdot44 & 88\cdot2 \text{ hemidrachmas} \\
\hline
147\cdot84 & 88\cdot52 \\
\text{or 148 new didrachmas, or 37 new hemidrachmas}
\end{array}
\]

This rate appears to have been maintained down to the time of the Indo-Scythian Kushāns, when the great issue of new gold coins took place and the coinage of silver ceased. Up to this time the gold money in circulation must have consisted of the staters of Alexander, Seleukus, Antiochus, Diodotus, and Euthydemus. The Saka
Scythians coined no gold, but they issued a very large amount of silver didrachmas and hemidrachmas of the same weights as those of the Greek successors of Eukratides.

We now come to the second sudden change in the weight of the new gold staters of the Kushâns, which was reduced from the full Attic standard of 134.4 grains down to something over 122 grains.

I have taken the weights of more than a hundred gold coins of the four Kushân kings, Wema Kadphises, Kânerki, Hovërki, and Vasu Deva, which give an average of 122.50 grains. But rejecting all the specimens under 123 grains, I find—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Weight of Staters</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2 of Wema Kadphises</td>
<td>128.1 grs. out of 10 specimens</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 of Kanerki</td>
<td></td>
<td>123.4</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25 of Hovërki</td>
<td></td>
<td>128.3</td>
<td>125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21 of Vasu Deva</td>
<td></td>
<td>128.2</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>492.9</td>
<td>187</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

69 coins of four kings 128.2 grs.

The fourth part of this stater would be 30.8 grains, which agrees with the existing coins, as I find that 16 quarter staters of the same four kings give an average of 30.63 grains for the quarter stater.

The actual name of these gold coins has not been discovered; but as the gold money of the Gupta kings is called Dinar in several inscriptions, I have no doubt that the same name was applied to the Kushân gold coins, as they preserve the weight of the early imperial denarii aurei of Rome.

I would explain this change in the same manner as the other, that is, either by a rise in the value of gold or by a fall in the value of silver. As the Kushân struck no
COINS OF THE INDO-SCYTHIANS.

silver money, the old silver coins of the Greeks and the Saka Scythians must have continued current; and as less gold was now given for the same quantity of silver, I conclude that the silver had fallen to 12 rates for 1 of gold. Adopting this rate for calculation, we get from the didrachma of 148 grains of silver a value of 1,480 grains of silver for the stater, which divided by 12 gives 123:33 as the weight of the gold stater, equivalent to 10 silver didrachmas of 148 grains.

The paucity of gold coins amongst the Indian Greeks may be explained by supposing that the old Persian darics had remained current down to the beginning of the Christian era, about which time the commercial intercourse between Europe and India had fallen into the hands of the Romans. The Roman empire had then advanced to the banks of the Euphrates, and as early as the reign of Claudius the Roman merchants had already taken advantage of the trade winds to make direct voyages to India from the Arabian Gulf. The trade rapidly increased in value until before the death of Pliny, A.D. 70, Rome annually sent to India no less a sum than fifty thousand sestertia, or about £400,000. This import of specie still continued when the author of the Periplus visited India in A.D. 80—89, as he notes that Δηνάριον χρυσοῦ καὶ ἀργυροῦ, or both gold and silver denarii, were exchanged at Barygaza (or Baroch) at a profit for native money. At the same time he notes that old drachmas

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1 Hist. Nat., XII. 41 (18). Minimâque computations millies centena millia sestertium annis omnibus India et Seres, penisulasque (Arabia) imperio nostro adimunt. The sum is about £800,000, of which in another place Pliny gives half, or quingenties HS to India. Gibbon, c. 2, values the amount at £400,000.
bearing the Greek inscriptions of Apollodotus and Menander were still current in Barygaza. At other places in Southern India the principal import was great quantities of specie, χρήματα πλείστα.

These statements are specially valuable for the light which they throw upon the question of the coinage of the Kushân Indo-Scythians. Both writers were contemporary with the two great Kushân princes—Wema Kadphises and Kanishka; and there can be little doubt that a large portion of the Roman gold denarii imported at Barygaza must have been carried to the Panjâb, where they were recoined as dindres by the Kushân princes. That the Roman gold did find its way to the north is certain, as many specimens have been extracted from Stûpas in the Kabul valley and Panjâb. But so far as I am aware very few specimens have been found elsewhere. In Southern India the Roman gold was not recoined, but remained current in company with the punch-marked silver coins. In the north the Kushân struck no silver, and this fact is explained by the statement of the Periplus that the silver coins of Apollodotus and Menander were still current in his time. Along with them the tetradrachmas of Euthydemus and Eukratides must have been in common circulation, as well as the numerous hemidrachmas of the Greek princes Menander, Apollodotus, Antimachus II., and Hermæus, and the great mass of the native punch-marked silver coins.

To this influx of Roman gold I attribute the adoption of the Roman standard of 123 grains, with the name of dindr, both of which continued in use for many centuries in Northern India.

* McCrindle’s translation of Periplus, pp. 121–123.
Herr Von Sallet calls the silver coins with native legends a "reduced standard," by which I suppose him to mean that the 37 and 148 grain coins are reduced drachmas and tetradrachmas. Mr. Gardner, however, seems rather to look upon them as belonging to some Persian standard, with hemidrachmas of 40 grains and didrachmas of 160 grains. But I am not aware of any Persian standard comprising coins of these weights. The Persian siglos weighed upwards of 86 grains, and its double 172 grains. There are also many large silver pieces of 5 sigli, or quarter darics, which range up to 438·5 grains. My own heaviest piece weighed 433·5 grains, which would give a siglos of 86·6 grains. But surely the Indian Greeks and Indo-Scythians might be allowed the faculty of adjusting the weights of their coins to suit their own wants. My own opinion is that the change in the weights first of the silver coins and afterwards of the gold coins was made simply to adjust the pieces to the rate of the day.
THE INDO-SCYTHIANS.

PART I.—HISTORICAL NOTICES.

The name of Indo-Scythia is first found in Ptolemy's Geography, where it is confined to the provinces on both banks of the Indus, from the junction of the Kabul river down to the sea. Dionysius Periegetes uses the term "Southern Scythians," Νότιοι Σκύθαι, for the people of the provinces, for which his commentator Eustathius substitutes the now well-known name of "Indo-Scythians." At the present day the name is made to include all the races of Scythian origin who held the countries lying between Persia and India for nearly nine centuries, from the occupation of Bactriana by the Sakas and Kushâns down to the conquest of Sindh and Kabul by the Arabs in the beginning of the eighth century A.D.

The countries thus occupied by the Indo-Scythians were—

I.—Bactriana, or the provinces lying between the river Jaxartes and the Indian Caucasus, comprising Sogdiana, Bactria, and Margiana.

II.—Ariana, or the provinces to the south of the Indian Caucasus, from Herat on the west to the Indus on the east, comprising Aria and Drangiana, Arakhosia and Gedrosia, with the Paropamisade of the Kabul valley.

III.—The Panjâb, or upper provinces of the Indus and its tributaries, from Taxila to the junction of the Five Rivers.

IV.—Sindh, or the lower provinces of the Indus valley, which, according to Ptolemy, included both Patalene and Syrastrene.

\[1^1 \text{V. 1088, Ινδόν τοις ποταμοις ΢κύθαι ἑποίκοις.}\]
The Scythians who opposed Cyrus and Alexander on the Jaxartes are described by the Greeks as Massagetae, while their Persian neighbours knew them only as Sakus, or Sacae. Pliny says that the more ancient writers called them Aramii, and adds that both in their life and habits they resembled the Parthians. This is confirmed by Justin, who declares the Parthians to be only a separate branch of the Scythian family.

The country which the Scythians occupied between the Jaxartes and Oxus was known to the ancient Persians by the general name of Turan, and the name of Turanian is now applied to designate the Scythic version of the cuneiform inscriptions of Darius. All the provinces to the south of the Jaxartes belonged to the Achaemenian kings of Persia, and the Scythic version of the inscriptions must have been published for the information of the Turanian subjects of Darius. There can be no doubt therefore that the great bulk of the people on both banks of the Oxus were of Scythian origin. Thus, according to both Herodotus and Ktesias, the Parthians, Hyrkanians, and Derbikke, who were all of Scythian descent, were located to the south of the Oxus as early as the time of Darius. In the cuneiform inscriptions the Umu-warqa, or Amurrita Scythians, are described as forming an integral part of the Persian empire; and in the time of Xerxes they furnished a contingent for the invasion of Greece. During the long Persian rule it is probable that the people of the fertile provinces of the Oxus had become more civilised than those to the north of the Jaxartes, by continued intercourse and

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frequent intermarriage with their Aryan rulers. In fact, Strabo describes the manners of the Bactrians and Sogdians as more civilised, although their mode of life was still nomadic.9

The language spoken by these Turanian subjects of Persia must therefore have been closely connected with that used in the cuneiform inscriptions of Darius. The names of people and of things which have come down to us show no traces of Semitic origin, but have many strong affinities with the Aryan language of India and Persia. Thus saprakim, "battle," must be connected with the Sanskrit samara, which is found in the name of Samarkand, while tipi, a "tablet," is the same as the Pali tipi. But the bulk of the language would appear to be different, and to have more affinity with some of the dialects of Northern India. Justin calls the language mixed Scythian and Median.10 The following examples may be given in illustration of this opinion.

Amongst the Dards of the Indus the king's title is Tham, which is perhaps only a dialectic variety of the old Hiong-nu Vam, and is probably connected with the Sanskrit dam, the Greek ἅπαξ, the Latin dominus, and the English tame. This title, I think, corresponds exactly with Justin's Tanaus, King of the Scythians. Herodotus mentions Tomyris as Queen of the Getae, and Pliny explains Temerinda as "mother of the sea." By adding the feminine suffix ere to than, we get both Tomyris and Temeri, and by adding dd = "water," we get Temerindā, as "Queen of Waters." The common terms for water amongst the aborigines of N. India are ðā, de, ḍi, or tā, te,

9 Geography, xi, 11, 8.
10 Justin, xii. p. 2.
ti. The longer name of Thamimasada, which Herodotus gives for the "King of the Sea," may perhaps be explained by the interposition of massa—great, thus making Thamimasa-da, or "king of the great water," or "lord of the sea."

That this word for water once prevailed over Northern India may be seen in the names of Pad-da, or Ganges, Bahu-da, or Brahmaputra, Narma-da, or Narbada, Manadá, or Mahanadi, Vara-da, or Warda River, alias "Banyan-tree River." Other names are Kalin-di, or Jumna, Betwan-ti, or Betwa, and Kiyan-ti, or Ken. I think it probable also that such names as Charmanevati, Airuvati, and others may have been Sanskritized from older forms in ti. We have an example in the Pāra-ti, a principal branch of the Satlej, which has no connection whatever with Pāravatī.

The different races of Scythians which have successively appeared as conquerors in the border provinces of Persia and India are the following, in the order of their arrival:

B.C. 7: Sakus or Saca, the Su or Sai of the Chinese.
B.C. 168: Kusháns, or Tochari, the Great Yue-chi of the Chinese.
A.D. 440: Kidarita, or later Kusháns, the Little Yue-chi of the Chinese.
A.D. 470: Ephthalites, or white Huns, the Ye-tha-i-li-to of the Chinese.

The most detailed accounts of these different races we owe to the Chinese; but the short notices of classical authors, both Greek and Roman, are often of great value, either in confirming the Chinese accounts or in fixing the dates of important events. Generally they serve to corroborate each other, but there is a lamentable paucity of intelligible names in the Chinese records, owing chiefly to the incapacity of the Chinese syllables to express
foreign names, and partly also to an absurd practice of the Chinese people in altering some of the names so as to obtain an opprobrious or derogatory meaning in Chinese. Thus the *Ta-yue-chi* meant only the "Great Lunar Race," who were not recognised by the later Chinese writers under the name of *Tu-ho-to*, or Tochari, as described by Hwen Thsang. Similarly the ancient name of Kipin (or Kophene) was concealed under the later appellation of *Tsau-ku-ta*, and was absolutely lost under that of *Sieu-ia*, which was imposed by the Empress *Wu-chen*, shortly after A.D. 684. Similarly also the *Ye-tha-i-li-to*, by having their name curtailed to *Ye-tha*, were not recognised as the Ephthalites, or White Huns, although they were both recorded to have been dominant in the same country at the same time. On the other hand the ancient name of *Hien-yen* was changed to *Hiong-nu*, or "unhappy slaves," which effectually disposes of their supposed connection with the Huns. With these preliminary remarks I will now try to put together the scattered links of Indo-Scythian history as derived from all sources.

During the sway of the Achaemenian kings the inroads of the Scythians of the Jaxartes were kept in check by the frontier satraps. After the death of Alexander the same check was maintained under the vigorous rule of Antiochus, the Governor of the Eastern Provinces, who resided at Margiané, or Merv. But about eighty years later they had already begun to give trouble to the Bactrian Greeks, and Euthydemos was allowed by Antiochus the Great to retain his kingdom, on the plea that, if he was weakened, he would not be able to withstand the Scythians. Early in the second century B.C., as related by the Chinese, the horde of the great *Yue-chi*, or *Tochari*, was driven across the Jaxartes by the Hiong-nu, and, after
the loss of their king in battle, settled in Sogdiana in
n.c. 163. The Sus or Saie, or the Massagetae or Sakas of
the Greeks and Persians, retired before them, and after a
time the Yue-chi continued their advance into Bactria, to
the south of the Oxus, of which they took possession
about 130 n.c. The Ta-hia, or Dahæ, then retired to the
west towards Margiana, while the Su or Sakas retreated
to the south towards Drangiana.11

Mithridates I. of Parthia, who died in n.c. 135, took
advantage of this period of confusion to wrest the two
satrapies of Aspiones and Turiva from Eukratides, at the
same time that he checked the Scythians. The position of
these satrapies is unknown, but I conclude that they must
have been on the west and south-west frontiers of the Bac-
trian kingdom, i.e. in Margiana and Aria, along the rivers
Margus and Arius. The annexation of these provinces
would have been easy, and would have brought the Par-
thians face to face with the retiring Saka Scythians. The
victories of Mithridates would have stopped the further
progress of the Dahæ, while the Sakas managed to make
good their retreat into Arachosia and Drangiana. That
they reached the latter province we know from the fact
that after their occupation it received the name of Sakas-
tene [Σακαστήνη Σάχων Σκύθων], a name which was
altered to Sejistân by the mediaeval writers, and is now
preserved in the modern Sistân.

The Chinese fix the date of the occupation of Bactria
by the Great Yue-chi or Tochari about n.c. 130, which
agrees with the period of the defeat of Phraates II. of
Parthia, who fell in battle with the Saka Scythians in
n.c. 127 or 126. These Scythians had been engaged to

11 Remusat, Nouveaux Mélanges Asiatiques, i. p. 205.
join him in his war against Antiochus, but as they arrived too late he refused to pay them, on which they invaded his territory.

His successor, Artabanus II., was killed three years later, B.C. 124-123, in battle with the Tochari. The notice of these Yue-chi is derived from the Chinese General Chang-Kian, who in B.C. 126 was sent by the Chinese Emperor Wuti to obtain their aid against the Hiong-nu. He was captured by them, but after ten years managed to escape, and returned to China in B.C. 116, having failed to induce the Yue-chi to join in a campaign against the Hiong-nu. He reported that he had found the Yue-chi in full possession of Bactriana. From another notice we learn that about 100 years later, or say about B.C. 16, the chief of the Kushâns conquered the other four tribes of the Yue-chi, and assumed the title of “King of the Kushâns.” This chief, who was named Khien-tseu-kio, has been identified with Kujula Kadphises of the coins. He crossed the Indian Caucasus and overran Pota and Kipin, and took possession of the Kabul valley. Pota has been identified by Viv. de St. Martin with Pathâku or Puhhtâku, the country of the Pathâns, while Kipin is generally admitted to be Arakhosia, which was anciently known as Kopheo.

Later notices of the progress of the Sakas and Kushâns will be best kept separate. There can be no doubt that they came into conflict at an early date in the Panjâb, as that province was annexed by the Kushân King Yun-kuoching, the son of Kujula, in the first century A.D., while we know from the evidence of the coins that the great Saka kings, Moas, Azas, and Azilises must have had a firm hold of it during the first century B.C.

The origin of the name of Sakâ is still uncertain. The
general opinion is in favour of the Persian *Sag*, a "dog," which is still used as a derogatory term by the Persians for their enemies. I have seen a short history of Bahûwalpur, in which the Raja of Bikaner was throughout designated as the *Sag*. But there still exists a tribe to the north-east of Ladûk who bear the name *Sok-po*, or simply *Sok* as *po* is the masculine suffix in Tibetan, *Sok-po* meaning a Sok-man, and *Sok-wo* a Sok woman. Pliny's statements that they were anciently called *Aramii* is perhaps supported by the Babylonian version of the inscriptions of Darius, in which *Namiri*, or the "hunting leopards," is substituted for *Saka*. By a slight transposition the *Aramii* would become *Amarii* or *Namiri*.

**Sakas, or Sace-Scythians.**

According to the Chinese accounts the *Sai* or *Sai*, or *Sakas*, on being driven out of the countries on the Oxus by the *Yue-chi*, or *Tochari*, retired to the south and occupied *Kipin*, or *Kopheo*, comprising Arakhosia and Drangiana. The tribes of the *Sai* then spread over the country and formed different kingdoms, and it is specially stated that all the dependencies of *Huân-siun* and *Siân-tú* (Sindh) were inhabited by ancient tribes of the *Sai*.

The country which they occupied was then called *Sakastene* after them. It is the Sejistân of the early Muhammadans, and the Sistân of the present day. Isidorus of Kharax

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12 Avienus, v. p. 1297, uses the form of *Sogam infidum*; and Orosius also uses *Sogam* as the name of the country to which St. Thomas was sent.
calls it Σακαστίκαν Σάκαν Σακάσιαν, and gives the following names of its towns: 1. Barda; 2. Min; 3. Palakent; 4. Sigal; 5. Alexandria; 6. Alexandropolis. The fourth town Sigal, which is designated as Regio Sacrarum, or the "capital of the Sakas," I would identify with Shál, by the simple elision of the letter g. Shál or Kotta ("the fort," vulgo Quetta) has always been a place of consequence. Its commanding position, on the high road from Kandahar to the Lower Indus, must have insured its occupation at a very early date. For the same reason it is now occupied by a British garrison. It is most probably the Kottobara of Ptolemy.

According to Stephanus of Byzantium the two cities named Arakhosia and Arakhoti, were near the country of the Massagetae, or in other words near Sakastene, the country of the Sakas, who were of the same race as the Massagetae.

I will now give a few notices of each of the three different provinces which the Sakas occupied: 1. Sakastene or Sejistán; 2. Sindh; 3. The Panjáb.

1.—The Sakas of Sakastene and Kipin.

Closely connected with the Su or Sakas were the Ta- hia, or Daha, who were driven out of their country by the Tochari or Kushānas at the same time. These Daha are said to have retired to the west. Now Daha was not a true national name, but only a term of reproach or abuse given to the nomads by their Persian and Indian neighbours. The original word in the Sanskrit, δαχνύ, "an enemy or robber," which in Persian became dāhyu, from which the Greeks formed Dahar, Δάας, and also Δάσας. The spoken form in India is Dāku, which is found in the Latin
Dacia. A similar term is still applied to the people on the east of the Caspian, whose country is now called Daghistan or Dakhistan, or "Rebel-land."

Strabo couples the Dahœ with the Sace and Massagetes, and adds that they were divided into three tribes—1. Parni or Aparni; 2. Xanthii or Xandii; and 3. Parii or Pissuri. As Justin calls the first tribe Spartani, I conclude that Strabo's name must have been Saparni, and that these people, the worshippers of Sapa or Herakles, must have given their name to Zâbulistan, or Arakhosis and Drangiana, which is only another name for Sakas-tene.

The Xanthii are very probably the Zâths of the early Arab writers. As the Zâths were in Sindh to the west of the Indus, this location agrees very well with what we know of the settlement of the Sakas on the Indian frontier. In fact the Chinese expressly say that all the dependencies of Hien-sium and Siun-tu (Sindh) were occupied by ancient tribes of Sai, or Sakas.

According to the Chinese these Saka tribes afterwards separated, and formed several distinct states under separate rulers. This statement seems to be borne out by the three distinct dynasties of kings, whose names have been preserved to us on the coins; the one proceeding from Vonones in Arakhosis, a second from Moa and Azas in the Panjâb, and a third from the Kahanâta tribe in Sindh, to which the great Satrap Nahapâna belonged.

The Kahanâta would appear to have extended their territories beyond the limits of Sindh into Kaushh (the Odombeores or Audumbara) and Gujarat (Surâshtra), and

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12 Justin, xii. p. 1.
13 Remusat, Nour. Mélanges Asiatiques, i. p. 206.
perhaps even to Malwa. One inscription of the Satrap Nahapāna is dated in the year 42, but unfortunately no era is mentioned. If referred to the Seleukidan century beginning in 12 B.C., the date would be 42 - 12 = 30 A.D., or just forty-eight years before the establishment of the Saka era, and the probable date of Chashtana of Ujain (Tiastanes of Ozone).

I think it probable that some reference to this southern invasion of the Sakas may be preserved in the short Sanskrit work named Kālakachārya Kathā, describing the "Inroads of the Indo-Scythians into India." This short treatise was brought to notice by Dr. Bhan Dāji, in the Journal of the Bombay Asiatic Society. The account is as follows: "Shortly before the Christian era the Sakas held possession of the country on the western bank of the Indus under petty chiefs called Sāki, who were subject to one paramount ruler named Sāhina-sāhi. The Sakas crossed the Indus into Sūrashta, and advanced to Avanti-desa (Mālwa), where they defeated Raja Gardabhillā, and took possession of Ujain. Here they remained for four years until they were driven out by Vikramāditya, son of Gardabhillā, in B.C. 57."

As the dynasty of the Kshaharātas was succeeded by the new dynasty of Chashtana (or Tiastanes), I think it most probable that the notice by the author of the Periplus of Parthian rivals driving out one another must refer to these two dynasties of Scythian princes. The names of Nahapāna and Chashtan, which are certainly not Indian, seem to have some connection with the similar forms of Artapanus and Haustanes, both Parthian or Partho-Scythian names.

How firmly settled were these Sakas of Western India is most decidedly shown by some of their inscriptions which still exist in the Nāsik caves. Thus I find that the son-in-law of the Kashaharāta King Nahapāna calls himself a Saka. In one inscription he is designated as the Saka Ushavadāta, the son of Dinika, and the husband of Dakshamitrā, the daughter of Nahapāna. None of these names are Indian, except perhaps that of Dakshamitrā. Another inscription is dated in the year 42, on the 16th of the bright half of Chaitra. As it must precede the establishment of Chashtana in A.D. 78, I am inclined to refer the year to the Seleukidan century which began in 12 B.C., which would fix the date to B.C. 12 – 42 = A.D. 30.17

Two other short inscriptions record the gifts of another Saka chief named Dāma-cheka.18

The Sakas of Sejistān are repeatedly mentioned in the history of the Arsakian and Sassanian kings.

In B.C. 77 or 76, Sanatroikes obtained the throne by the aid of the Sakarauli Scythians, amongst whom he had previously sought refuge.19

In B.C. 33 Phraates IV. fled to the Scythians, who replaced him on the throne.

In A.D. 16 Artabanus III., with the assistance of the Dahæ and Sakæ, obtained the throne. He had previously lived amongst the Dahæ.20

In A.D. 40 Goterzes was similarly assisted by the Dahæ.

18 Ibid., Inscriptions Nos. 1 and 2.
19 Phlēpon apud Photium, quoted by Mr. Percy Gardner, and Lucian,Macrobr. 15.
A.D. 230 Artaxerxes, the founder of the Sassanian monarchy, was unable to reduce the Sejistânis. According to Agathias (ii. 164), quoted by Gibbon, "the princes of Sejistân defended their independence during many years," and were not finally conquered until the reign of Varahan II., a.d. 275—292. Gibbon calls the Sejistânis "one of the most warlike nations of Upper Asia."

From this time the province of Sejestân, or Sakastena, formed one of the tributary provinces of the Sassanian empire. Accordingly in a.d. 350—357 the Sejistânis furnished a contingent to Sapor I. for the siege of Amida. They were reckoned the bravest of his troops, and they brought into the field a large body of elephants.21

In a.d. 650 Yezdegird, the last Sassanian king, fled from Istakhar through Kermán and Sejestân to Khorsân, and in the following year a Muhammadan army occupied Zarang, the capital of Sejestân.22

2.—The Sakas in Sindh.

An early notice of the Saka Scythians on the Indus is given by the author of the *Periplus*, who says that "Minnagar, the metropolis of Scythia, was in his time governed by Parthian princes, who were perpetually at strife among themselves, expelling each the other."23 The date of the *Periplus* is not accurately known. But the mention of Zoakales (Za Hakale), King of Abyssinia, who reigned from 77 to 89 a.d., and of a King of the Naba-thaians, whose kingdom was absorbed by Trajan in a.d. 105, serve to fix his date between 80 and 100 a.d. As we

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23 Translation by McCrindle, p. 108.
know that the Kings of Parthia proper at this time did not possess any territory even near the Indus, the so-called Parthian rulers must refer to the Indo-Scythian Sakas, who were of the same race as the Parthians.

The position of Minnagar has not been identified, but I feel nearly certain that it must have been at Brāhmanābād, which is one of the oldest sites in Sindh. It was the "city of Brahmans" of Alexander's historians. Its Hindu name was Brahmaṇawāsi, which was changed to Brāhmanābād by the Muḥammadans, who afterwards built Mansura close to it.

As Pliny lived within a very short time of the author of *Periplus*, it is quite possible that the dynasty of Parthian kings then ruling on the lower Indus might be mentioned by him. I find the *Odombeores* or *Audumbornas*, the people of Kachh, duly recorded, and immediately preceding them are the *Varetata* or *Suvaratarata*. As the name has evidently been corrupted, I think it not impossible that the true reading may have been *Suvarata*, and that they may be identified with the *Kahaharatās* of the western cave inscriptions, of one of whose rulers, named *Natapāna*, we possess coins as well as inscriptions. As the Kahaharatās were certainly succeeded by another Scythian race under *Chashtan* (Tiastanes of Ptolomy), the description of Parthians expelling each other would seem to be well illustrated by the proposed identification.

There is now a gap of several centuries in the history of Sindh which is not likely ever to be filled up, as all the histories of Sindh begin with the Sahas dynasty which ruled for one hundred and thirty-seven years preceding the accession of the Brahmān Chach, that is from

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A.D. 505 to 642. The names given in the Chachnâma are corrupt, but they are quite sufficient to prove that the kings were Scythians. All of them are named Śāhi, or Śāhasi, which is the well-known Scythian title. Five kings are mentioned, of whom the only thing related is that the fourth king was attacked and killed by Nimroz (Parvez, King of Persia) in A.D. 627. But on the authority of Kosmas the new dynasty must have been White Huns or Ephthalites. They would therefore have had no connection with the first Saka conquerors. Unfortunately no names are recorded in the histories of Sindh, but each is called simply Rai Śāhi or Śāhasi. As this seems to be only the common Scythian title of Shāhi, we have no means of discriminating one prince from another. I believe, however, that I have found the name of the leader in Jīvwini, who formed the great reservoir of Suraj Kund at Multân. His name is also variously written as Jaswin, Jasur, and Jalbur, but as I possess coins bearing the names of Jabubal and Jabukha, I incline to adopt Jabuwan as the correct form.

The testimony of Kosmas, who actually visited the country to the west of the Indus about A.D. 530, is perhaps sufficient to show that the Scythian dynasty which ruled over Sindh from A.D. 507 to 642 must have been White Huns. As the inscription of Yasodharma, King of Mâlwa, A.D. 532, mentions that he ruled over countries which neither the Guptas nor the Hûnas had possessed, there is some difficulty as to what countries are intended. The Panjâb is most probably alluded to, as no trace of Gupta rule has yet been found there. Perhaps Sindh is also referred to, in which case the rule of the Hûnas in the time of Kosmas must have been confined to the western bank of the middle Indus. The histories of
Sindh are unanimous in claiming Mekrân as one of the provinces of the kingdom during the rule of the Sâhasi kings. I infer therefore that Yasodhárma's conquests did not extend to Sindh, but may probably have included Northern Rajputána. The mention of the overthrow of Sakas in Ruma (in the Salt country) by Vikramáditya about A.D. 580 must refer either to the Sambhar lake district near Ajmer, or to the Salt Mines in the Panjáb, and at Kâlâbagh to the west of the Indus. The latter seems the more probable, as the city of Rhon, 'Pâr, is described as belonging to the Scythian Gandarike, just as Hekataeus describes Kaspapuros.

I annex a list of these Scythian kings of Sindh as preserved in the native histories. If their title was Shâhi, they would have some claim to be taken as Sakas, as the White Huns had adopted the title of Khâkán.

<table>
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<tr>
<th>A.D.</th>
<th>Kings of Sindh</th>
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<tr>
<td>505</td>
<td>Diwâlj, ? Jibawin</td>
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<tr>
<td>688</td>
<td>Sibaras, Sahiras, ? Gollas of Kosmas Indicopleustes</td>
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<tr>
<td>690</td>
<td>Diwâlj, or Rai Sâhasi, or Shâhi-shâhi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>600</td>
<td>Sibaras, Sahiras invaded by Persians in A.D. 627, killed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>627</td>
<td>Sâhasi, Rai Shâhi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>642</td>
<td>Chach Brahman conquers Sindh</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The territory held by these princes extended from the frontier of Kashmir to the mouths of the Indus, and from Mekrân to the frontier of Kanauj. In A.D. 641, Hwen Thsang says that the reigning king was a Sin-to-lo, that is a Sudra. The names seem so much alike, Sâhasi, Sahira, and Rai Shâhi, that I cannot help suspecting they may be only a title repeated with slight changes as Rai-Shâhi or Shâhi-Rai. Now Shâhi is a well-known Scythian

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title which is found on most of the Indo-Scythian coins of the Sassanian period. This is the more probable as I find mention of an ancient King of Multān named Jihān, who excavated the Suraj Kund and built a great temple containing a golden image. He may perhaps be the founder of the dynasty Dievājī. A more probable identification is that of Dievājī with the prince named Devajārī, two of whose silver coins were found in the great Mānīkyala Stūpa by General Ventura.26 The Indian legend on these coins I read as follows. —

Sri Hittrī-cha Aivān cha paramesurava.
Sri Shāhī-țīgīn Devajārī.

The fortunate lord of India and Persia.
The fortunate valiant prince (Shāhī) Devajārī.

It will be observed that all the leading consonants, d, r, j, occur in both names joined with a long d.

All the other recorded names appear to be only corruptions of the title of Shāhin Shāhī.

I am disappointed at not finding any trace of the name of Gollas in these lists of the native historians of Sindh. I am even more disappointed at the omission of all mention of Vāsu Deva, King of Multān, Uch, and Bāhmana, as declared on his coins. He was almost certainly one of the rulers of Sindh of this very dynasty, as the style of his coins shows that he belonged to the later Sassanian period.27

Both of the coins just noticed might perhaps be said to belong properly to Multān. But there is a large number of coins in all three metals, which bear only the title of Sri-Shāhī, or in some cases only Shāhī, which might

26 See my Archaological Report, v. p. 121, and Pl. XXXVII.
27 Ibid.
belong to the kings of Sindh, whose names have not been handed down. But as most of these anonymous coins, and as I believe that all of the gold ones, have been found in the Northern Panjâb or Lower Kabul valley, I am inclined rather to assign them to the Rajas of Sâkala and Gândhâra. It is unfortunate that very few of the names have been preserved, and these mostly disguised in the strange forms of Chinese monosyllables.

Masudi records that a prince named Rânbâl, who reigned in the valley of the Indus, after subjugating Eastern Persia, had “advanced to the banks of the Tigris and Euphrates.” 28 This conqueror may, I think, be identified with the king who on his coins claims to be lord “both of India and of Persia” (Sri Hitiçi-cha Aîrûn-cha parameswara). Such an inroad might perhaps have been successful after the murder of Khusru II. in 628 A.D. This is the more probable as the ruler of Sindh had to revenge the invasion of his own country and the death of his predecessor. As Parvez had invaded Sindh by Kirmân and Mekrân, the Sindhian king would no doubt have followed the same route. I see nothing improbable in this raid, as the Persian empire never recovered its strength after the death of Parvez.

Kaikân or Kîkân, an outlying district of Sindh on the west towards Mekran, suffered from several early invasions of the Muhammadans, who were intent upon seizing horses of a fine large breed for which the country was famous. It is the Ki-kiang-uu of Hwen Thaang, who also mentions its good horses. Bîlûdûrî calls the people Türkû, by which term he probably meant Indo-Scythians. The province seems to be identical with the northern and

28 Elliot’s Muhum, Hist. of India, ii. p. 418.
hilly half of Biluchistan, comprising Kilāt and the country of the Brahūṣ. In the Chachrāmsa mention is made of a high mountain called Kaikōtan. I suspect that this name may be identified with the fort of Kapishkānish, in Arakhosia, which was seized by a rebel against Darius Hystaspes. We know that the name of the town of Kaithal is a simple contraction of Kapishthala (the Kambistholi of Arrian). In the same way I think that Kapishkānish might be contracted to Kaikān. Sir Henry Rawlinson thinks that the place must be looked for in the direction of Sistān, as the satrap of Arakhosia would probably have met the force advancing from Persia on the frontier of his province.

3.—Sakas in the Panjāb.

There is no direct historical evidence that the Sakas ever occupied the Panjāb, but the three great kings, Moas, Azas, and Axilises, whose coins are found chiefly in the Panjāb, and very rarely to the west of the Indus, are universally accepted as Saka Scythians. They certainly preceded the Kushān Prince Kujula Kadphises and his successors, with whom they seem to have nothing in common, whereas their connection with the Saka dynasty of Vonones and his successors is undoubted, as the name of Aza is found joined with those of Vonones and Spaleres. They agree also in having an extensive silver coinage of the same types, without a single specimen of gold, while the Kushānas have an abundant gold coinage and no silver money, excepting only a solitary piece of Wema Kadphises.

29 I may note here that my friend Pandit Bhagwān Lāl had a gold coin of Spalahores, but it was a forgery.
There is, however, a decided testimony of Saka occupation of some portion of Western India as late as the latter half of the fourth century in the mention by Samudra Gupta of the presents received from the Kushâns, Sakas, and Murundas: "Dâcâputra Shâhi-Shâhânu Shâhi, Saka, Murundaih."

Sakas are also mentioned in the beginning of the fifth century as opponents of a Vikramâditya of Mâlwa, and to them I would attribute the rude Indo-Sassanian coins which are now so abundant in Rajputâna. According to the Hindu accounts this prince conquered the Sakas in Ruma.30 He is perhaps the same prince as Yasodharma, of Mr. Fleet's Mundisur inscription, who possessed countries which neither "the Gupta kings nor the Hûnas could subdue." 31 The same prince also boasts of having subdued King Mihirkula. As Yasodharma's inscription is dated in A.D. 532, it seems very probable that he must be the Vikramâditya of the native legend, the contemporary of Kâlidâs and Varâhamihira. But the Mihirkul whom he subdued must have been the Mihirkul, son of Toramâna of Malwa, and not the great Mihirkul, Raja of Kashmir.

It is worthy of remark also that these Saka princes, Azus and his successors, must have employed Indian servants, such as the General Aspa Varma, son of Indra Varma, as well as a son of Vijayamitra, whose name is lost on my coins. Others were no doubt only Scythian adventurers, like Jihonia and Rajubul, whose coins belong to the same period. They must have been in the service of some of the later Greek princes, and who, as their

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31 Indian Antiq., xv. p. 255, Mr. Fleet's inscription.
masters' power became weaker, had gradually acquired strength, until some of them became independent. Moas, for instance, may have been a successful general under Menander and Apollodotus, and after their death a successful rebel, who wrested the Panjāb from Hurmeus. The coins of Moas are found chiefly about Taxila (Shāhderi and Mansera) and in the country between the Indus and Chenāb rivers.

Some of the later Greek princes would seem to have been driven towards the East—Artemidorus perhaps to Kashmir, and Dionysius, Zoilus, and Straton II. to Kangra.

The coins of Azas are also found chiefly in the Western Panjāb; only a few specimens are found in the lower Kabul valley. I obtained a small find from Bajāwar, but I saw twelve large pieces dug up from the inside of a temple at Shāhderi or Taxila. Not even one was found by Masson at Beigrām, and I may say the same for Mathura, which has yielded a considerable number of the coins of Menander and Apollodotus, Antiochus II. and Straton, with a single type of the nameless king.

The find-spots of the coins of Azilises are the same as those of Azas. One large find of silver coins was made on the bank of the Jhelam river, in the hills between Barahmula and Jhelam.

The rule of Moas and his two successors may have lasted from about 100 B.C. down to the beginning of the Christian era, when the country fell into the hands of the Kushāns.

I can perhaps best illustrate my idea of what may have taken place in the Panjāb on the break up of the Greek power by referring to what actually took place in the same country after the break up of the Muhammadan
empire of Delhi. All over the country the petty chiefs made themselves independent, or nearly so. Musalman chiefs in Multan and Mamdot, Sikh chiefs in Gujranwala, Kapurthala, Patiala, Nabha, and Kaithal, and an Englishman, George Thomas, in Hansi. After a time Ranjit Singh of Gujranwala gradually managed to overcome most of his rivals, just as I suppose Moos to have done in ancient times.

There would appear to have been several other adventurers in early days in the Panjab, who are known to us chiefly from coins. Such are the satrap Jikonia, son of the satrap Manigul, who perhaps gave his name to Mānikyāla, and the satrap Rajubul, who almost certainly held Sangala, as his coins are found in the Eastern Panjab, and bear the Greek monogram EY for Euthydemia or Sangala.

There are coins also of rajas of the same period, who must have been more or less dependent on the greater chiefs. One of these was Dhara Ghosha, Raja of Odumbara, that is of the country of Dameri or Nurpur. Other chiefs are the Kuminda Raja Amoghabhūti, and two others named Mahadeva and Rudra Varma. All of these, by their names, must have been native Hindus.

Apparely the Sakas never held any possessions in the Kabul valley, but they probably held Ghazni, which would account for some of their coins being found about Kabul. Whatever hold they may have had on the Panjab must have been soon lost on the conquest of the country by the Kushāns under Yun-kao-ching, in the first century A.D.

There is a curious passage in the Majnal ut Tawārikh, which certainly refers to these countries on the Indus, and though the period mentioned is said to be that of
Alexander the Great, it is probable that it may preserve some distorted account of the history of the early Saka kings of Sindh, as it cannot possibly refer to the time of Alexander. The following is a brief summary of the passage.32

In Sindh there were three kings until the time of Kafand, كفاءد، who conquered them all. Kafand was not a Hindu. In the Chachnâma he is called Kaid the Hindu. Kafand sent his brother Sâmîd to Mansura to expel Mahra, مهر, the Persian. Sâmîd sought the assistance of Hâl, King of India, and Mahra fled. When Kafand died his son Ayand, أياند, succeeded him, and divided his territories into four principalities.

1. Askalandûsa, or Askalandra.
2. Zor (Alor) with Anj (? Uch).
3. Sâmîd’s territory (? Sâmînagar, or Thatha).

Ayand’s son Rasal, راسل, succeeded him, but after a time he was expelled by a rebel. Rasal left two sons, Rowâl رول, and Barkamâria، باکماریا. The latter killed his brother, and became so powerful that all India submitted to him.

Hâl is the well-known name of Sâlivâhan, the founder of the Saka era in A.D. 78.

A similar division of the kingdom of Sindh into four principalities is given in the Chachnâma, as follows:—33

1. Askalandra, with Pâbiya
2. Alor (with Sâwistan).
4. Multan and Sikka.

32 Elliot’s Muham. Hist., i. p. 108.
33 Ibid., i. p. 198.
These divisions seem to be intended for the same as those of the *Majmal ut Tarārikh*. They were in existence during the rule of the Sāhi kings (A.D. 505—642), and were upheld by Chach, their immediate successor. Pābiya is said to have been to the south of the Biās River. It was therefore in the Panjāb, and consequently must have been to the north-east of Mūltān. I would identify it with Dəpālpur, and then the strong fort of Askalandra would correspond with Sherkot, or Alexandriae Soriane.

The dominions of the Saka kings of Sindh are said to have included Mekrān up to the frontiers of Kirmān and Kālkān or Kikān up to the frontiers of Khuršān. Before this time Sakastene or Sīstān had become tributary to the Sasanian kings of Persia, while Arakhosia or Kandahār, the Kipin of the Chinese, would appear to have formed an independent kingdom.

About A.D. 530 Kosmas Indicoplanates travelled over the country to the west of the Indus, which was then under the rule of a king named Gollas. He calls the country *Ωυνία, Umina*. Apparently at that time the name of the White Huns of Sogdiana, the opponents of the Sasanian kings, had become so well known that all peoples between India and Persia were supposed to be of the same race. At this very time also, or A.D. 550, Varāhā Mihira places a tribe called *Hāra-Hauras* in the north-western Panjāb.

The coins afford but little or no assistance. According to the Chinese the people of Kipin had coins both of gold and silver, with the head of a man on one side and a horseman on the other side. 24 This description agrees only

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with the coin types of Miūs and the nameless king. But there are no gold coins of either of these kings, and only copper coins of the latter. In fact there are no known gold coins of any of the Saka kings.

I see that Wilson describes the coins of the Sakas as having a horseman on one side and a portrait or figure of a man on the other. If this description be correct it would include all the coins of the known Saka kings of Kipin, Vonones, Spalahora, Spalgadama, and Spalirisha, as well as the Panjáb kings Moas, Azas, and A-nilises.

In the Chinese notices of Kipin it is said that a king named U-to-lao was a contemporary of the Emperor Wuti (d. 87 B.C.), and that his son was driven from the throne by a rebel. This looks like a repetition of the story of Ayand and his son Rásal. But these names seem to offer no resemblance to any of the coin names of Vonones, Spalahora, Spalgadama, or Spalirisha. I suspect, however, that the rebel chief may be the king named In-mo-fu, who, according to the Chinese, drove U-to-lao's son from the throne and made himself King of Kipin in B.C. 49. This date is ascertained by the accession of the Emperor Hino-yuan-to in B.C. 48, who broke off all relations with foreign countries, and would not receive In-mo-fu's embassy.

To this king I would ascribe the large silver coins (tetradrachma) with the title of Turrannountos and the name of Herāus or Miūs. In 1861 I read the names as Herāus, but some years later, when I obtained some oboli of the same king, I adopted the reading of Miūs or Miāus. Mr. Gardner prefers Herāus, and attributes the coins to a king

35 Ariana Antiqua, p. 311.
of the Sakas, by reading the continuation of the legend as ΣΑΚΑ ΚΟΙΠΑΝΟΥ. But to this reading I strongly demur. I possess half-a-dozen tetradrachms and thirteen oboli, and on none do I find the letter Κ of ΣΑΚΑ, while on every specimen I find the addition of the letter Β to this word. On one of my coins the word is distinctly ΣΑΝΑΒ; on another specimen I find ΣΑΝΑΟΒ. I also find ΚΟΠΕΑΝΟΥ instead of ΚΟΙΠΑΝΟΥ, and as this is the early rendering of the tribal name of the Kushâns on the coins of Kûjula Kadphises I feel inclined to adopt it, and to read the difficult word Sanaob as a Greek rendering of the native title of Tsanyu or Chanyu, "Son of Heaven," or king. The whole legend would then be of the paramount ruler; Miaûs (or Herâus) would therefore be a Kushân king.\textsuperscript{26} On one of my coins I find ΗΝΥΑΝΟΥ instead of ΚΟΠΕΑΝΟΥ.

In the passage which I have quoted from the Mojma't ut Tavârikh the names of four kings are given as the successive rulers of Sindh. As they are specially said to be not of Indian origin there is a strong presumption that they must have been the Scythians who conquered Sindh. Their names, as already quoted, are: 1, Kâfand or Kid; 2, Ayand; 3, Râsal; and 4, the two sons of the last-named, Râval and Barkamâria. It is curious that we possess the coins of just four princes who might possibly be identified with them were it not for the difference in the names. But it seems probable that Vonones and his relatives of the coins must have belonged to Kipin or Arachesia, while Ayand and his posterity belonged to Sindh and the Panjâb.

\textsuperscript{26} Remusat, Nouv. Mâlanges Asiat., i. p. 207.
It is possible, however, that they may be represented by Azas and his successors, thus:—

Ayand may be Aya or Azas.
Rāsal may be Ayilisha or Azilises.
The rebel might be Jhonia or Zeionises.
Rowal might be Sapalizes.
Barkamāris might be The Nameless King.

Should Barkamāris turn out to be a corrupt rendering of Bikrandīlīt this last identification might not be improbable, as several of the different types of the Nameless King have the single Arian letter Ṧ in the field. The founder of the dynasty, named Kafand, would then be identified with Moga or Mons.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>E.</th>
<th>Euthydemus, Herander</th>
<th>Euthydemus</th>
<th>C.</th>
<th>Eukratides</th>
<th>D.</th>
<th>Eukratides</th>
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<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Νοεν</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>Δηνην</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>ΒΑΡΔΑ</td>
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**INDO-SCYTHIANS — MONOGRAMS**
COINS OF THE
TOCHARI, KUSHÂNS,
or
YUE-TI.

BY
MAJOR-GENERAL SIR A. CUNNINGHAM, R.E.,
K.C.I.E., C.S.I.

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1889.
COINS OF THE TOCHARI, KUSHANS, OR YUE-TI.

According to Strabo the principal tribes of the Scythian conquerors of Bactriana were the Asii, the Pasiani, the Tochari, and the Sakarauli.¹ In the brief notices of Trogus, the Asiani and the Saranae are named as the conquering tribes. The first tribe, the Asiani or Pasiani of Strabo, is said to have given kings to the Tochari, and to have afterwards subdued the Sarduchos.² In the first passage we may perhaps read Saranoe, and in the second Sarauche, both of which might be identified with the Sakarauli or Sagaraouke of Strabo.

As the dates of Trogus and Strabo are limited to the period between B.C. 40 and A.D. 14, the Scythian occupation of Bactriana must be assigned to the second century B.C., while the union of the five tribes and the consequent aggrandisement of the Yue-chi (or Yue-ti) under the single rule of the Asiani (or Kushans), cannot have taken place until near the close of the first century B.C.

We derive some further information about the Scythian conquest of the provinces on the Oxus from a few brief

¹ Geogr., xi. 8, 2.
notices of other Chinese writers. According to them the Great Yue-ti on being driven across the Jaxartes by the Hiong-nu, occupied Sogdiana in B.C. 163, at which time the king of the Yue-ti was killed, and his skull made into a drinking-cup, that was still in use one hundred and fifty years later. The Yue-ti, under their widowed queen, gradually extended their dominions until they reached the south side of the Oxus, where they were found in full possession by the Chinese general Chang-Kian in B.C. 116. But their wars with the Hiong-nu were known in China before B.C. 126, when Chang-Kian’s embassy was dispatched. This date is confirmed by the deaths of two Parthian kings in battle with the Scythians and Thogarit—the first, Phraates II. in B.C. 126, and the second, Artabanus in B.C. 123.

About one hundred years later, or say about 16 B.C., the chief of the Kushâns, having conquered the other four tribes of the Yue-ti, assumed the title of King of the Kushâns, and advancing to the south occupied Kao-fu, or Kabul. The name of this king was Kieu-tsieu-khio. He must therefore be the Kujula Kadphies of the coins, on which he takes the title of king of the Korsun, or the Kushâns, as written in the native legends of his coins At first he would appear to have reigned jointly with the Greek king Hermaeus, as both of their names are found together on one very numerous series of copper-coins of the Kabul valley.

Kieu-tsieu-khio is said to have reached eighty-four years of age, and the great abundance of his coins bears ample testimony to a very long reign. He probably reigned for

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3 Remusat, Nouv. Mélanges Asiat., i. 205.
4 Julien’s translation in Let Hins Blinde, p. 43.
about forty-five or fifty years, or from B.C. 16 to A.D. 35. The consolidation of the five tribes of the Yue-chi under Kujula Kadphises has been generally accepted as dating from about one hundred years after Chang-Kian’s embassy, which appears to have occupied about ten years, or from B.C. 126 to 116. But M. Specht, the last translator of the Chinese accounts, fixes the date at A.D. 25. But against this late date I can offer the very strong objection that in the year B.C. 2, the king of the “Great Yue-ti” is said to have sent a mission to China under I-tsun-khi (?Asanga) with a Buddhist book. Now this king must certainly have been Kujula, who calls himself on his coins Saca-dharma-thida, or “upholder of the true dharma.” He must therefore have been a patron of Buddhism, and as he was the founder of the Kushan empire, and the immediate successor of the Greek Hermus, he must have been the king of the Yue-ti who sent the Buddhist book to the Emperor of China in B.C. 2. His subjugation of the other four tribes of the Yue-ti, and consequent aggrandisement of the Kushan power, cannot therefore be placed later than about 10 B.C. I take his actual name to have been Kujula, or in Greek KOZOYAO and KOZOLAA, while Kadaphes or Kadphises was only a title, which I believe to mean simply the “good charioteer,” as I find that Kieu-ten-fu is so translated by D’Herbelot.

Kujula was succeeded by his son Yen-kao-ching, or Yen-kao-chin-tai, who is recorded to have conquered India, where he established his generals as governors of provinces.

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7 Bibliothéque Orientale, Svo, iv. 62.
I would identify this king with Wema, or Hema Kadphises of the coins, who certainly reigned over the whole of the Punjab and North-West India, as proved by the numerous find spots of his coins. As Yin or Yen is only an interchangeable pronunciation with Wen or Hen, I take this king’s name to have been simply Wen, while Kadphises was his title, as in the case of his predecessor. In corroboration of this view I can point to the unique gold coin of this prince on which he is represented driving in a chariot.8

Now this same name of Wen was that of the famous progenitor of no less than ten branches of the Yue-ti, who after a lapse of six centuries claimed an uninterrupted descent from the Shao-tu Wen. This was in A.D. 610; but only twenty years later, or in A.D. 630, Hwen Thaeng found that no less than twenty-seven chiefs of the Tu-ho-lo or Tochari, called themselves kings, while they were all tributary to the great Khan of the Turks.9 On the coins the name of this king is written OOHMO in Greek, and Hima in native characters.10 The Greek seems to represent Wemo. One or two of the coins have Hema in native characters; but the common form is Hima. As his coins are extremely common he must have had a long reign, say of forty years, from about 35 to 75 A.D.

After him the Chinese mention king Kiu-ni-se-kia, or Kanishka, of whom we possess several inscriptions as well as numerous coins, both in gold and copper. The name

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8 Brit. Mus. Cat. Greek and Scythic Kings, Pl. XXXII., fig. 18.
9 B-al’s Hwen Thaany, i. 87.
10 The name of India is written Hian-theu as well as Yin-tu.
of Kanishka is famous in Buddhist history as a convert to Buddhism, and a great patron of Buddhist teachers. A single gold coin presents the name of BOΔΔO, with a figure of Buddha standing in a posture well known to us from numerous statues. There are also about a dozen copper coins, which bear both standing and sitting figures of the teacher. In his inscriptions Kanishka calls himself king of the Kushâns, or Gushâns, and in the Raja Tarangini he is said to have been a Tarasakka. 11

No other certain names are mentioned by the Chinese writers. But in some of the early Muhammadan authors I find the names of Bâsdeo, Ujen, and Jassud, as successors of Kanak or Kanishka. 12 But according to Binakiti Ujen was the predecessor of Kanak. By reading Waken, instead of OOΔMO, I think that this king may be identified with Wakening. Similarly Jassud may be only a slight corruption of Harânk, or Hushka, while Bâsdeo preserves the name of Vdn Deva unchanged.

During the year 94 A.D., there is a notice by the Chinese that a king of the Yue-ti was taken prisoner and put to death by the Chinese. 13 As the Chinese record every present as "tribute," I think we may safely read "frontier chief" instead of "king," as at this very time Kanishka held hostages from the tributary Chinese Princes to the west of the Yellow River. 14

During the period A.D. 220-280 the Yue-ti are said to

11 Raja Tarangini, B. 1, verse 170.
13 Les Huns Blanca, p. 51.
14 Beal's Hwen Thaung, i. 173.
have held Kipin or Arachosia, Ta-hia or Bactria, Kaofu or Kabul, and Thien-chu or India. Their capital was Lu-kien-shi, or simply Kien-shi or Lan-shi. Ptolemy places the Tochari below the Zariaspe. But the Tochari, or Tushârus, or Tukhârus, or Tù-ho-lo, then held Balkh, and were the same as the Zariaspe. Ammianus Marcellinus makes the Tochari subject to the Bactrians, by a similar mistake. At a later date, about A.D. 425 or 430, the warlike king of the Yue-ti, named Ki-to-lo, conquered Kabul and Kan-to-lo, or Gandhâra, and five districts to the north of Gandhâra. While absent on this expedition the White Huns appeared on the banks of the Oxus, and he was obliged to return for the defence of his own territory; but, before leaving he installed his son in Purushapura, as King of Gandhâra, and thus established a separate dominion known to the Chinese as the kingdom of the “Little Yue-ti,” or Little Kushâns.

As the White Huns managed to establish themselves to the north of the Oxus and also in Gorgo or Gurgân, the ancient Hyrkania, the power of the Kushâns was much weakened, and their dominions became limited to Balkh and Kabul. In the beginning of the sixth century the King of Kipin was at war with the King of the White Huns who held Peshawar.

Of Kujula Kadphises and Wema Kadphises the only remain are their coins, and the brief notices of the Chinese annalists. But of Kanishka and his two successors Huvishka and Vâsu Deva, we possess several inscriptions, most of which are dated, the dates ranging from the

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12 Am. Marcell., xxiii. 6—27.
14 Julien, in Les Huns Blancs, p. 44.
year 7 to 98 of some era. Several years ago I made the following remarks on this subject: 17

"In the Indo-Scythian inscriptions the names of four different Macedonian months have been found—namely, Panemos, Daisios, Apellaios, and Artemios. The use of these names shows incontestably that the Macedonian calendar must have been introduced in Kabul and North-West India by the Bactrian Greeks, and as the province to the west of the Indus had belonged to Seleukus I conclude that the era of the Seleukidæ must have been adopted there also. Unfortunately the year dates hitherto discovered are all small numbers, which might refer to some recently established date of the Indo-Scythians; or, as suggested by Mr. Thomas, they may possibly refer to the Seleukidän era by leaving out the hundreds, which was the common Indian mode of reckoning the Saptarshi Kāl. With the Indo-Scythian inscriptions, for instance, the dates of 9, 11, 18, and 28 of Kanishka, and of 33, 39, 47, and 51 of Huvishka, might either be referred to a new era, such as the Saka Kāl of 78 A.D., or to the years 9, 11, 18, &c., of the fifth Seleukidan century, by leaving out 400. In the former case the year 7 of Kanishka would be 78 + 7 = 85 A.D., while in the latter case it would be referred to the year 407 of the Seleukidan era, equal to A.D. 95-96." 18

As these dates are found along with the names of four Macedonian months, I feel that they should naturally be referred to the Seleukidan era. Under this view the following will be the dates of the Indo-Scythian Princes Kanishka, Huvishka, and Vāsu Deva:

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17 See my Book of Indian Eras, p. 41.
A. D.
Inscription. Kanishka 7 = 407 - 312 = 95 and 96 A.D.
" " 28 = 428 - 312 = 116 and 117 A.D.
" Huvishka 33 = 433 - 312 = 121 and 122 A.D.
" " 51 = 451 - 312 = 139 and 140 A.D.
" Vāsu Deva 83 = 483 - 312 = 171 and 172 A.D.
" " 93 = 493 - 312 = 186 and 187 A.D.

The accuracy of these dates has been confirmed by the discovery of gold coins of Wema Kadphises, Kanishka, and Huvishka, in the Abinposh Stūpa (near Jalalābād) along with some Roman gold coins of Domitian, Trajan, and Sabina the wife of Hadrian. As Sabina died in A.D. 137, and as there was only one coin of Huvishka amongst twenty-one specimens, the Stūpa was probably built not later than 130 A.D.

The approximate dates of the great Kushān Kings would therefore be as follows:

A.D. 33. Wema Kadphises.
.. 75. Kanishka.
.. 120. Huvishka.
.. 160. Vāsu Deva, still reigning in A.D. 188.

The dates of the inscriptions would only be slightly altered to nine years earlier, by the adoption of the Saka Samvat, beginning with A.D. 79 = 1, as the era in which they are reckoned.

After Vāsu Deva we have no recorded names, but there are numerous gold coins of the seated Ardoxhro type, which can only be referred to the Kushān princes who followed Vāsu Deva. They are similar to the early Gupta gold coins of Chandra Gupta and Samudra Gupta, but with the exception of a few of the earlier ones, they are much ruder in execution. The earlier specimens may date
from 200 to 400, and the later specimens from 400 to 600 or 700, A.D.

There are also numerous silver coins of the Sassanian period, which must belong to Vāsū Deva's successors, besides numerous copper coins, which appear to be mere copies of the gold coins. Some of them are, indeed, ancient forgeries of the gold coins, with the gilding still clinging to the deeper parts.

At last, about A.D. 450, we find the first coins of the Little Yue-ti, with the name of their leader recorded on them, as Kīdrā Kushāns Shāhāl. These Little Yue-ti reigned over Gandhāra, and probably also over Kashmir, as I would attribute all the coins that bear the name of Kīdrā to their descendants. The name was not dropped for many generations.

During this expedition of Kitolo, or Kūlān, the Ye-thu-i-li-to, or Ephthalites, invaded the territories on the Oxus, and Kitolo was obliged to hasten back to defend his own dominions. The Kushāns were driven to the westward, and from this time, about A.D. 470, the supreme power fell into the hands of the Ephthalites. But the mass of the population was still Kushān, and so late as A.D. 610, as I have already noted, no less than ten princes in Farghāna, Sogdiana, Nakaheb, and other places to the north, claimed an unbroken descent from the Shenouk Wen, or King Wema Kadphises, the Kushān conqueror of India. I find a corroboration of this curious fact in the embassy of Maniāch, Prince of the Sogdoites to Justin in A.D. 509. His name, ending with a guttural, proclaims him a Kushān, and the letters in the Scythian character, which he brought with him, show that he was certainly not an Ephthalite. He was, therefore, as stated by the Chinese, a Kushān prince or Shenou, a descendant of Wen.
Ibn Khurdâdbeh speaks of a Kushân Prince of Mâwarunnahr in the ninth century; and several Kushân chiefs are mentioned in the reign of Timur. They were, of course, Muhammandans.18

The statement that Yenkaoching or Wema Kadphises conquered India is confirmed by numerous finds of his coins as far eastward as Gorakhpur, and Ghazipur, and the line of railway from Allahabad to Jabalpur. In all these places several hundreds of his coins have been dug up; and much-worn specimens are also procurable in all the bazars of the Gangetic Doáb.

The coins of Kanishka and Huvishka are even more common, while the later coins of Vâsu Deva are found in thousands. They are especially common round about Mathura, which was probably the head-quarters of one of the Kushân king's satrapas. But the very latest of these coins are very barbarous; and, as the copper coins of the Guptas are exceedingly scarce, I conclude that the Indo-Scythian copper money remained current in India for several centuries.

During the first century of the Christian era Roman gold was brought to India in great quantities. The fact is preserved by Pliny, who states that "at the lowest reckoning, one hundred million of sestertes were annually taken from Rome to India, the Seres, and Arabia." The whole amount was upwards of £800,000.19 In another

18 Price, Muhammadan History, iii. 101.
19 Nat. Hist. xii. 41, 18. "Minimâque computations millies centena millia aextertium annis omnibus Indiae et Seres peninsulque illa (Arabia) imperio nostro adimunt." The influx of gold into India still continues, but the yearly amount is now over two millions sterling. For eighteen centuries the gold of the world has been flowing into India, from whence little or none has ever left, except with a few great plunderers.
place Pliny assigns half that sum, "quingenties H.S." for India, exclusive of Arabia. In southern India the Roman gold remained current, and is still found there in large quantities. In northern India it was recoined by the Kushân Indo-Scythians, although many specimens have been preserved in Buddhist stûpas even down to our times. In 1858 I made a record of the weights of all these Indo-Scythian gold coins within my reach, and on comparing their weights with those of the Roman gold coins, I then came to the conclusion that they might have been re-struck on Roman aurei of the first century. I refer specially to the gold coins of Wema Kadphises and Kanishka, which agree in weight with the early Imperial aurei of Tiberius and Nero.

Roman gold coins are still discovered in the Buddhist monuments of the Kabul Valley, from the time of Augustus down to the fifth century. I have had gold coins of Leo, Justin, and Anastasius sent to me several times, and twice I have obtained coins of Focas. Gold coins of Theodosius, Marcian, and Leo, were found by Masson in a stûpa, near Jalâlahâd, on the Kabul River.

The rule of the Great Yue-tî, or Kushân, would appear to have remained undisturbed until the invasion of the Nephthalites, or White Huns, in the fifth century. But there are notices of relations, both warlike and peaceful, with some of the earlier Sassanian kings, which must certainly refer to the Kushân. The warlike Prince Vararanes II., having conquered the Segestania, or Sakas of Sakastene, in A.D. 280, was still detained on his eastern frontier in A.D. 283, when the Roman Emperor Carus invaded Persia. As peace had been made with the Segestania, the detention would have been caused by the unsettled state of the north-east frontier of Kabul, which was then held by the
Kushâns. On the death of Vararanes the throne was disputed between the brothers Nurses and Hormisdas when the latter was assisted by the Sacei (Sakas of Segestan), and by the Gelli, who must be the same as the Gelani of a little later date. Between A.D. 301 and 309 Hormisdas II., the son of Nurses, married the daughter of the king of Kabul. That the latter was a Kushân prince we learn from a gold coin of Hormisdas, which bears the well-known type of the Kushân coins of the god Okro, with his bull.

During the following reign of Sapor II. the relations of the Sassanian king with the princes on his eastern frontier, would appear to have been friendly for a long time. In A.D. 350 Sapor was obliged to raise the siege of Nisibis, owing to a sudden irruption of the Massagetæ—that is, of the Sakas of Sakestene or Segestan. When this disturbance was settled we find Sapor bringing to the siege of Amida, in A.D. 359, a strong contingent of the warlike Segestani, along with the forces of the Chionite and the Albani, commanded by their respective kings in person. Grumbates was the king of the Chionite, and his eldest son was killed at the siege. I would identify the Chionite with the Kushâns, as I take the name to be only a Greek translation of Tushâra or Tukbarâ, the Tu-ko-lo of the Chinese, and the Tokharoi of the classical writers—meaning "men of the snowy land." The Gelli or Gelani may perhaps be the same as the Albani, but I cannot even guess at their identification.

Little Yue-ti, or Lesser Kushâns.

The kingdom of the Little Yue-chi, or Yue-ti, was established by Ki-to-lo, king of the Kushâns, or Great
Yue-chi, about A.D. 425. The Chinese syllables of the king's name may be read as Kidâra. Now I possess three large thin silver coins of Sassanian types, each bearing, in neat Indian characters, the legend—

\[ *Kidâra Kushâna Shâ(hi),* \]

or "Kidâra, king of the Kushânas." This same name of Kidâra is found also upon a great number of coins in gold and copper in the north-western Punjâb, and in Kashmir I infer, therefore, that the descendants of Kitolo, or Kidâra, must have remained in possession of some territory on both banks of the Indus for several centuries. None of these coins have been found at Kabul, and only two were discovered by Masson, in a stûpa, near Jalâlâbâd.

I have placed the establishment of the Little Yue-ti about A.D. 425, partly because the Indian inscriptions on their coins appear to me to be not earlier than the fifth century A.D., and partly because the silver coins of Kidâra himself seem to be of the same age as those of Vararan V., who reigned from A.D. 420 to 440. Kitolo's conquest of Gandhâra must have preceded the irruption of the White Huns, who established themselves at Peshawar two full generations before the visit of Sung-yun in A.D. 520—or say, about 470 A.D. The pilgrim calls the reigning king a Ye-tha—that is, an Ephthalite, or "White Hun." The full Chinese name is Ye-tha-i-li-to, which was contracted to Ye-tha, just as Fo-tho, for Buddha, was shortened to Fo.

During the occupation of Gandhâra by the White Huns, I suppose that the Little Yue-ti, the descendants of Kitolo or Kidâra, may have retired to Taxila and Mânsera. I think it probable, therefore, that they are
now represented by the Gakkars, who still hold portions of
these districts to the east of the Indus. I base my supposi-
tion on the fact that the Gakkars claim descent from a
hero named Kéd, a stranger from the Oxus, and that his
descendants reigned in Kashmir for sixteen generations.
These traditions accord very well with the Chinese story
of the conquest of Gandhâra, by the Kushân king, Kitolo
or Kidara, from the Oxus, as well as with the actual
record of the name of Kidara on the coins of Kashmir for
about four centuries.

The name of Kitolo is preserved by the Muhammadan
historians under the form of Kitormán, which was the
name of the Turki kings of Kabul, whose rule lasted down
to the time of the Brahman Kallow, about A.D. 850.
Alberuni says that Kanak was the last of the Kitormán
kings, and Binákiti says the same. Their kings also con-
tinued to use the title of Shâhi, which has been handed
down from the time of the Great Kaniashka, so that their
dominion was known as the Shâhi-râjya. But both name
and title still subsist, as the chiefs of Chitrâl, Gilgit, and
Chillas still hold the title of Shâh-kitor.

In fixing the date of Kitolo at about A.D. 425, I have
been guided by the fact that he was obliged to return to
his own country (Balkh) by an inroad of the White Huns
(Juan-jian). Now the White Huns did not become power-
ful until the time of Solien Khan (A.D. 428—443). He
himself was at war with Bahram Gor, the Sassanian. But
his son, Chu-khân, the Konkhus of Priscus (A.D. 443—464)
was a strong ruler, who assisted Firoz against Hormisdas,
and to him I would ascribe the invasion of Kitolo's
dominion. It was during his stay with the camp of
Attila in A.D. 446—47, that Priscus heard of the 'Ouvvoi
Kâapítai, or Ephthalite Huns; and I would, therefore,
ascribe the return of Kitolo to the time of Konkhas or Chu-Khán, or about A.D. 450. Kitolo then established his son in Gandhāra, and retired to his own country.

The Chinese mention that the Little Yue-ti had coins both of gold and silver, but they say nothing as to their types. To these successors of Kitolo I would ascribe most, if not all, of the gold coins that bear the name of Kīdāra under the king’s arm. The Kashmir coins of Toramāna, and his son Pravarasena, bear the same name, which I take to denote some family connection with the Kitolo kings of the Gandhāra. We know from the Raja Tarangini that Meghavāhana, the grandfather of Toramāna, had received shelter at the court of Gopāditiya, king of Gandhāra. But there are no coins bearing this name. Unfortunately, the early history of Kashmir, which ought to have assisted us, is a confused jumble of names, of which only a few can be found on the coins. These are Hiranyakula and Mihirakula, with perhaps Gokarna, and after them, Narendraditiya and Khingkila. Of the six kings of a new dynasty, not a single name agrees with the coins, and only two names of the next dynasty, Toramāna, and his son Pravarasena, are found amongst the coins. But of the succeeding dynasty of the Naga kings, established by Durlabha Vardhana, several names agree; and, as their coins still bear the name of Kīdāra under the king’s arm, I look upon these kings as the last descendants of the Kushāns in Kashmir, who reigned until A.D. 855.

But the main body of the Little Yue-ti, or Lesser Kushāns, continued to hold the Kabul Valley until they were gradually driven eastward by the Muhammadans. The title of Shāh Kitor, which is still held by the chiefs of Chitral and Gilgit, seems to me to establish this late
occupation of the Upper Kabul Valley by the Lesser Kushāns. The continued occupation by the Turki successors of Kanishka for sixty generations (?) reigns) is vouched for by Alberini, who calls Mahmud’s opponents, "Hindu Shāhi kings."

In A.D. 630, when Hwen Thsang visited Gandhāra, there was no king, and the country had become a dependency of Kapisa. I infer, therefore, that the Ephthalite king of Peshawar must have retired to Kabul or to Sindh, and that the Little Kushāns still held Taxila as a dependency of Kashmir. Here they would seem to have remained, while they gradually acquired possession of all the hill country between Kashmir and the Indus. I found my conclusion for this statement on the fact that most, if not all, of the gold and copper coins of this period which are found to the east of the Indus bear the royal title of Shāhi in addition to the tribal name of Kidara. The country itself is called Shāhi-rajya, or the "Kingdom of the Shahis," in the Raja Tarangini, while the great city of Taxila is still called Shāh-dheri and Dheri-Shāhān, or "the city of the Shāhis."

The principal occupants of this territory at the present day are the Gakkars, whom I take to be the actual descendants of the Little Yue-ti, or Lesser Kushāns. To establish this last position it is necessary to notice what the Gakkars say of themselves. They profess to have come from Tarān, or the country of Afrāsiyāb, under a leader named Klid, or Kaid, several centuries before the Muhammadan invasion. If they are the descendants of the Little Yue-ti, then this leader Klid, or Kaid, must be the Kitolo of the Chinese, and the Kidara of the coins. The earliest notice of them under their
present name is due to the Muhammedans. During the campaigns of Muhammad Ghori, they were already estab-
lished in their present territories. But two centuries earlier I find mention of a nameless people, who held the
passes leading into Kashmir. Their chief, named Sābih, son of Shāhi, son of Bamhi, submitted to Mahmud, and
offered his services as a guide. As not one of these names is Indian, the chief could not have been a Hindu;
and as the name or title of Shāhi occurs amongst them, there can be little doubt that he and his people were
Gakkars.

The Gakkars claim to have held Kashmir for sixteen
generations; and if I am right in identifying them with
the Little Yue-ti, or Lesser Kushān, I think that their
claim may have some foundation, as the coins of Toramāna
and Pravarasena actually bear the name of Kidāra. It
seems, therefore, not improbable that the princes of this
family, covering seven generations, must have been very
intimately connected with the Little Yue-ti. At a later
date it is quite certain that the rulers of Kashmir
belonged to the family of the Shāhi kings of Taxila, or
from the time of Diddā Rāni in A.D. 1000, down to the
Muhammadan conquest.

The name of Gakkar is said to have been derived from
Gakkar Shāh, one of their kings, some centuries later
than Kaid. Their original name is unknown.

Albiruni, in speaking of the Turki kings of Kabul, calls
the founder of the family Barhatakin, or Barhtigin, whom
I believe to be simply the fabulous dun-wolf Burtezena,
the legendary progenitor of the Turki races. He mentions

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30 Elliot's Muhammedan Historians, Uthi, ii. 48.
Kanak as the "last of the Kitormán kings." This would seem to imply that the Kitor kings had possessed Kabul; and this, indeed, seems very likely, as the reigning Prince of Kipin, in A.D. 520, was then at war with the Ephthalites of Peshawar. In another place Albírúni mentions that a genealogy of this family on a roll of silk containing sixty names was found in the fort of Nagarkot (Kangra). But while the Kitor kings were reigning at Peshawar the kings of Kabul could not have possessed Kangra. Or it may be that as the Kitor princes were the descendants of Kítóló, the king of the Great Yue-tí, or Kushán, they may have reckoned their genealogy from the first Kushán king of Kabul. In this way the Kitormán kings might have reached sixty generations (or reigns) from 10 B.C. to 1030 A.D. or 1040 years, at an average of 17½ years per reign.

In A.D. 630, when Hwen Thsang was in Gandhára, there was no king, the province having become a dependency of Kapisa. This may have happened by the extinction of the White Huns on the conquest of Gandhára by the Kushán king of Kabul.

I think there is good reason for suspecting that the line of the Kitor kings did not end with Kanak. Albírúni mentions the names of eight kings as his successors, as follows:

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A.D.
826, Kanak, the last Kitorman.
1. 850, Kalar, a Brahman.
2. 860, Sámánda.
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A.D.
3. 900, Kamalūa, a Brahma.
4. 940, Bhima.
5. 950, Jayapala (? a Kitor prince restored)
6. 1002, Anandapala
7. 1021, Trilochanpala
8. 1026, Bhimapala II.

Of the first four of these kings we have silver coins; but there is not a single coin of any one of the last four. Kamalūa was a contemporary of Amru bin Lais, 878 to 900 A.D. Jayapala fought with Subuktagin, and Anandapala fought with Mahmud of Ghazni. As before stated, there are no coins of the last four princes, all of whom bear the name of Pala, and the first is said to have been the son of Hispāl. These four kings, therefore, would seem to have no family connection with the first four. I suspect that they belong to the old Kitor-mān dynasty, as Anandapāl is called Shāh by Albiruni,24 and Trilochan-pāl is called Shāhi in the Raja Tarangini. As they were not Muhammadans there was no reason for giving them this title; but as Trilochanpāl is called Shāhi and not Shah, I think it is almost certain that these last four princes must have belonged to the old Kitor-mān family.

I may note here that Trilochan-pāl is the prince whom all the Persian and Arabic writers persist in calling Nar- dājam and Nardajam-pāl.25 As there are no coins of these last four princes I conclude that the very extensive mintage of Samanta Deva was found sufficient for the wants of the country.

24 Sachau Albiruni, ii. 18
25 I made this correction as early as 1842 in my account of the Ancient Coinage of Kashmir.
Ephthalites, or White Huns.

The Ephthalites, or White Huns, make their first appearance in history early in the fifth century. To the industry of D’Herbelot and De Guignes we owe the collection of the various notices of Chinese authors; but our chief debt is due to Vivien de St. Martin, who, in his *Les Huns Blanches*, has added all the scattered accounts to be found in Armenian and classical writers. By the Chinese they were usually called *Juan-juan*, or *Jen-jen*, which is said to have a derogatory meaning in their language. Their true name of *Ephthalites* was very closely rendered by the syllables *Ye-tha-i-li-to*; but as the Chinese frequently abbreviated proper names, as *Po* for *Po-tho*, or Buddha, so the name of the Ephthalites was lost sight of in the contracted forms of *Ye-tha* and *Yi-to*, which are applied to other peoples.

The earliest western notice of the White Huns is by Moses of Khorene, who mentions the *Hepthag* as one of the barbarous peoples of Scythia in the first half of the fifth century. The next notice is by the historian Priscus, who was the ambassador of Theodosius II. with Attila, in the years A.D. 445 to 447. He calls them *Ouννοι Κικάρινας*, which appears to me to be only another name for Ephthalites, as *Hidalta* or *Hidarite*. In A.D. 530 they are described by Kosmas Indicopleustes as *Λευκοὶ Οὐννοῖ*, or “White Huns,” and only a few years later, in A.D. 540, Procopius calls them by the same name as *'Εφθαλίτων ὀνόμα*, with the addition of *Λευκόν*, or white. In the following century Theophanes calls the White Huns *Νεφθαλίται*. Several other various spellings of the name are given by Vivien de St. Martin, as *Idalagdān* by Lazarus of Parha,
Abdela by Theophylact, Thedāl by the Armenians, and Haiathelah by Firdausi and in the Mojmāl ut tavārikh, as well as by the Sassanians.

According to Procopius the White Huns held the country to the north of the Persian dominions, with Gorgo as their capital, which St. Martin has identified with Gurgān, the chief city of ancient Hyrkania. According to Kosmas they occupied the country along the western bank of the Indus, to which he gave the name of Oūwua, or Unnia, and not Huinia.

From their occupation of the countries on the Oxus and the Indus, the White Huns soon came into conflict with the Persians on the west and the Indians on the east, and our knowledge of their history is chiefly due to their wars with their neighbours.

According to the Chinese, the first noted leader of the Jen-jen was Shelun, who reigned from A.D. 385 to 410. He dropped the native title of tsang for that of Khakān, which was adopted by all his successors. He was followed by three princes, of whom the last, named Tātān, must be the Khakān who fell in battle with Bahram Gor, or Vararan V., at Darband, on the Oxus, in A.D. 428. Tātān was succeeded by his son Solien Khan, A.D. 428—443, who received a Chinese princess in marriage. Next came Chu-khan, 443—464, who was driven across the Oxus by Isdegard II. But afterwards, with his aid the Sassanian Firoz (Perozes), in 459, defeated his brother Hormiadas, and became King of Persia. Priscus calls this Ephthalite king Kōwxf, which I take to be the same as the Chinese Chu-khan. His successor was Shu-lo-pu-chin, the Khush-Naurūz of Sassanian history. Feroz gave his sister in marriage to the Khakān, but his feeling of dependence so rankled in his mind that he shortly afterwards invaded
the Khâkân’s dominions, and was killed in battle. An ambassador from the Byzantine Emperor Zeno accompanied Feroz in this unfortunate invasion, which Gibbon, on the authority of Procopius, assigns to the year A.D. 488. But the eastern writers refer the death of Khushnawâz to 484—485. Three other princes followed, but the power of the White Huns was then declining, and no further relations with the Persian kings are recorded. The last prince, Ounoci, was defeated in battle by Tu-men, the king of the Turks, who put him to death in A.D. 546. "Thus," says Gibbon, "ended the empire of the Nephthelites, or White Huns, a polite and warlike people, who had vanquished the Persian monarch, and carried their victorious arms along the banks, and perhaps to the mouth of the Indus." (Decline and Fall, c. 42).

The name of Hûna was well known to the Indians as a people on the north-west frontier. The Hûnas are not mentioned in the posthumous inscription of Samudra Gupta on the Allahabad Pillar. But as this record cannot be placed later than A.D. 380, the silence of Indian evidence is in full accord with both the Chinese and the Persian accounts, which place their first appearance in the next century. Our earliest notice of the White Huns on the Indus is due to the Chinese pilgrim, Sung-yun, who in A.D. 520 visited Gandhâra. He says that it was originally called Yê-po-lo (Embolina?), and adds, "this is the country that the Yethas (White Huns) destroyed, and afterwards set up Laelih to be king, since which events two generations have passed." The king was not a Buddhist, and he had been three years at war with Kipin.

If we place the reigning king’s accession in A.D. 510, then the accession of Laelih may be placed two generations or about fifty years earlier, or in A.D. 460—470.
The king kept 700 war elephants. This agrees with the account which Kosmas, A.D. 530, gives of King Gollas, who kept 1,000 elephants.

There is a strong temptation to identify this King Gollas with the great Mihir-gul, whose title of Shâhi proclaims him to have been a Scythian. Mr. Fleet's Mandaor Inscription of A.D. 532 mentions Mihirakula as a powerful prince, who had paid homage to the reigning king of Malwa Yasodharma. It also notes that this king possessed countries which neither the Guptas nor the Hunas could subdue. From my Gwalior inscription we learn that Mihirakula's father was Toramana, and very lately an important inscription of this Toramana has been found in the Salt Range of the western Panjab. As neither Mihir-gul nor Toramana is a Hindu name, it would seem that both princes must have been Scythians. But there is nothing to show that they were Hunas, except the fact that at this period the northern Panjab was under the rule of the Hunas. If we might identify Mihir-gul with Gollas, then Toramana would be the father of the king who was reigning at Sung-yun's visit, and Laelih would be the father of Toramana. The Western coins give the name of Mihir-gul with the title of Shâhi. The Eastern coins give Mihir-kul without the title.

As the date of the settlement of the White Huns in Gandhara, and along the west bank of the Indus, corresponds with the period during which the province of Sindh, on the Lower Indus, was held by a Scythian dynasty who bore the title of Shâhi, it seems probable that the Ephthalites, as suggested by Gibbon, may have extended their conquests to the mouths of the Indus. The period of Scythian rule in Sindh lasted for 137 years, from A.D. 505 to 642. The original settlement corresponds
not only with the date of Gollas on the Indus, but also with the well-ascertained period of the wide rule of Tormâna and his son Mihir Kul. The father succeeded Budha Gupta in Malwa shortly after 174 of the Gupta era, 318+175=493 A.D., while the son had already done homage to Yasodharma before A.D. 532. The great extension of the power of the White Huns may therefore be assigned to the most flourishing period of Ephthalite dominion under Khush-Nawodz, conqueror of Feros of Persia, and under his son Fukushun, who together reigned from A.D. 464 to 508. Their rule probably lasted in the Panjâb until the close of the sixth century, as the Hdra Hûnas are mentioned by Varâha Mihir as a people of the North-west as late as A.D. 550. The "Western Hûnas" are also mentioned in the Aphsar inscription as the antagonists of Dâmodara Gupta, about A.D. 560—580. But they had disappeared as a ruling race before A.D. 530, when Hwen Thsang visited Gandhâra, as that country was then subject to the rule of Kapisa, while Taxila belonged to Kashmir.

Regarding the extension of the Ephthalite rule to Segestan I feel very sceptical. The early Muhammadan writers, who must have received all their information from the Persians, naturally described all Scythian races by the one name of Ratbil or Rantil, Zanbil or Zantil, Ratil or Abtil, &c., corrupted in a dozen different spellings. Amongst these various readings I recognise the name of the Ephthalite antagonists of the Persians. Theophylact, in the seventh century, calls them Abdela, and as this is the nearest form to the original Ephthalite, I conclude that the various names given to the rulers of Sejistan, Kabul, and Sindh, are simple corruptions of the one name.

The following notices of these conquerors are taken
from Elliot's *Muhammadan Historians of India*, vol. i., pp. 417—420:

In a.H. 22, or a.D. 648, Sejistan was taken, and shortly afterwards Mekran and Sindh were conquered by the Muhammadans, when the king, named *Rambil*, was killed.

In a.H. 78, or a.D. 697—98, Abdul Aziz, Governor of Sistan, invaded Kâbul, when the king, named *Zambil*, was killed.

In a.D. 775—800, the Khalifa Al Mahdi and Ar Rashid took tribute from *Rambil*, king of Sistan.

In a.D. 818—838, the Khalif Al Mamôn took Kâbul, when the king submitted and professed Islam.

In a.D. 869—70, Yákub bin Lais took Kâbul from *Rambil*, who appears to have been killed.

In a.D. 878—900, *Kâmnu* was reigning at Kâbul, and was contemporary with Amru bin Lais.

But only a few years previously, in a.H. 260—61, or a.D. 873—75, coins were struck at Panjshir, in Kâbul, by Yákub bin Lais.

With respect to the kings of Kâbul, there can be no doubt that they were not Epithalites, as Biruni specially mentions that the rulers previous to Kamlu and his two predecessors were Turks of the family of Kanishka, which had ruled for sixty generations up to the time of Mahmûd of Ghazni.

As the White Huns were a barbarous nomad race, who were ignorant of writing, it seems probable that they may have had no coins. The pilgrim Sung-yun, who visited Gandhâra in a.D. 520, had seen the *Yetha* in their own country on the Oxus. He found them simple nomads, who practised polyandry and had no written characters. But when they were settled in Gandhâra amongst a civilised Indian population, it seems very probable that they would have struck coins in their own names, as the previous rulers had done. As they had no written characters of their own, they would of course have adopted the
Indian characters; and I am, therefore, very strongly inclined to assign the coins of Mihir-gul to the Ephthalite Huns of the Indus. I adopt this opinion the more readily as we learn from Sung-yun that the reigning king of Gandhāra in A.D. 520 was not a Buddhist; which agrees with the strongly pronounced Brahmanism of the coins of Mihir-gul, which display the trisul, or trident, as well as the standard of Siva with the humped bull, and the inscription, jayatu Vrishi dhunaja, “May he whose symbol is the bull (Siva) be victorious.” I am inclined, therefore, to assign all the coins of this class with Brahmanical symbols, such as the conch shell of Vishnu, and the trident and humped bull of Siva, to the White Huns of the Indus.

The silence of Hwen Thsang, who twice passed through the old country of the White Huns, between A.D. 629 and 642, is a striking proof of the complete decay of their power in his time. I believe, however, that the pilgrim has actually mentioned them without recognising their name. I refer to Hi-mo-ta-lo on the Oxus, of which Hwen Thsang gives a translation as “under the snowy mountains.” But as this meaning would give a purely Indian origin to the name as Himata-la, it may be dismissed at once. I believe that the Chinese syllables simply represent the name of the Ephthalites under a slightly different form as Hematala, which approaches the Hain-thels of Firdausi. That his Himatala is the Yetha of Sung-yun is proved by a curious custom which is mentioned by both pilgrims—that the married women wore a horn three feet long on their head-dress. As this peculiar custom is not noticed regarding any other people, I conclude with some confidence that both Yetha and Himatala are only two variant forms of the same name.
II.—Notes on the Coins.

On examining the coins of the Indo-Scythians, I observe that there are several marked differences in the money of the two great races, the Sakas and the Kushâns. The Saka coins show a decided preference for the worship of the Scythian Herakles, and offer no traces of the Persian and Indian worship of the planets and elements. The Kushâns, after the reign of their first king Kujula Kadphises, adopted the Sabeanism of Bactriana with a strong mixture of the worship of Indian gods, as shown by the use of several names of purely Indian origin.

Another striking difference between the coins of the two races is the total absence of monograms on the Kushân money, while the Saka coins are remarkable for the number of their monograms, both in Greek and in Arian characters. The coins of the Greek Hermæus are never without monograms, while those of his successor, the Kushân king Kujula Kadphises, are distinguished by their total absence.

A third difference between the two coinages is the entire want of gold money amongst the Sakas, and the same want of silver money amongst the Kushâns.

These three differences are so marked that I think they might be used as fair tests of the race of any of the kings whose nationality might otherwise be doubtful. Thus Miasâ, or Heraûs, who uses no monograms, should be a Kushân, and not a Saka, king.

The abundant use of gold by the Kushâns may, I think, be explained by the great increase of commerce which took place between Rome and India with the establishment of the Roman Empire under Augustus. During
this period, as recorded by Pliny, about £400,000, or nearly half a million sterling, was the yearly sum paid by Rome to India. What became of this gold? In Southern India it circulated unchanged with the square silver indigenous coins, but in Northern India, where the people were already familiar with the Greek coins of the Bactrian kings, the Roman gold was recoined by the Kushân princes, beginning with Hima Kadphises, who certainly reigned in the middle of the first century a.d. I came to this conclusion about thirty years ago by comparing the weights of more than a hundred Indo-Scythian gold coins with those of the early Roman Emperors.

With regard to the absence of silver coins amongst the Kushân, I can only guess that the extensive coinages of silver money by the Greek kings were found sufficient for the wants of the people. But it still remains a mystery why the silver money was not recoined, as was done with the Roman gold. Perhaps as the hemidrachms of Antimachus, Antialkidas, Menander, and Apollodotus were familiar to the people, it was thought best not to disturb them, but to adjust the new gold coinage to the existing value of silver. Well-preserved specimens of these silver hemidrachms average 37 grains in weight, and the silver didrachms average 148 grains. If the new gold coin was equal in value to 10 didrachms and 40 hemidrachms its value in silver would have been 1,480 grains. This amount, at 12 rates of silver for 1 gold, would make the weight of the new gold coin 123.3 grains, which is, as nearly as possible, the actual weight of the Kushân gold.

coins. I have taken the weights of 179 examples, which give the following results:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Numeral</th>
<th>King</th>
<th>Weight in Grains</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Dinars of Hima Kadphises</td>
<td>122.21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Kanishka</td>
<td>122.19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>118</td>
<td>Huvishka</td>
<td>122.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Vasu Deva</td>
<td>123.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The later coins of Vasu Deva, which are less worn than the others, give the full weight of 123.3 grains.

The small quarter Dinârs of these four kings also average 30.8 grains, which would give a full Dinâr of 123.2 grains.

Now if these coins had been simply copied from the Roman Denarii Aurei, they would most probably have fluctuated in weight with the Roman coinage of the first and second centuries. But, on the contrary, their full weight is maintained to the last, from the earliest coins of Wema Kadphises down to the close of Vasu Deva’s reign in the end of the second century A.D.

With regard to the long-continued currency of the Greek silver coins, we have the testimony of the author of the Periplus, who says that up to his time (80 to 100 A.D. 25) “old drachmas bearing the Greek inscriptions of Apollodotus and Menander were still current at Barygaza.” As the author was a contemporary of Kanishka, his testimony is decisive as to the continued currency of the Greek coins during the reign of the Kushân kings.

The absence of gold coins amongst the Sakas may perhaps be due to the continued circulation of the old coins.

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25 He mentions Malikhos, king of the Nabathâns. As their kingdom was subverted by Trajan, in A.D. 105, the author of the Periplus cannot be placed later.
Persian Darics in Sakastene and Arakhosia. Some specimens are even now found there.

The coins offer very few examples of the Indo-Scythian speech, except in the names of the kings, as all the titles of the Saka kings are given in Greek with Indian translations. We know, however, that the language of the Sakas, or Massagetae, was similar to that of the Parthians; and this similarity is well shown in the names of Vonones, Arsakes, Gondophares, Abdagases, and Pakores. We know also that they had a distinct dialect, as the Avesta is said to have been translated into seven different languages, amongst which were the dialects of Sejistan and Merv,26 that is, of the Sakas of Salastene, and the Kushans of Merv. The only inscription of this race is a short record of Gondophares in the Indian language.

Of the Kushân dialect we have the king’s names, and the royal titles of Shauwu or Zânu (“King”), and Rao-nano Rao (“King of kings”). All the Kushân inscriptions yet found are in the Indian language. A peculiarity of the Kushân language was the fondness for the ending of proper names in ka. Thus we have Kanishka, Hu-vishka, and Kujulaka, of the coins and inscriptions, besides Jushka of the Kashmir history. At a later period we have Maniash, Prince of the Sogdoites, and during the reign of Khusru Parvez two powerful Kushân kings are mentioned under the names of Shog and Pariog.27

With regard to the partiality of the Scythian kings for the type of Herakles, I will now offer a few remarks which I think will be sufficient to show that the Turanian

27 Prof. Rawlinson, Seventh Ancient Monarchy, p. 455.
races identified the Greek demigod Herakles with their own "God of the dead," named Gebeleizes and Zamoloxia. Herodotus notes that the Getæ worshipped Herakles, but he does not mention his Scythian name. There can be no doubt however, that Gebeleizes, the Scythian "God of the Dead," was the same as Supaleizes, whose name means "Lord of the Dead," and whose figure was copied from that of the Greek Herakles.

The earliest form of the name is the Babylonian Iskalla, who is also known as Ne-uru-gal, or "Lord of the great City" or "Kingdom of the Dead." In the curious legend of the "Descent of Ishtar into Hades," Iskalla is described as the god of the house where all meet, but from which none can depart; while the Queen of Hades is named Nin-ki-gal. She is therefore the same as the goddess Nana, whose image was carried off from Erech by Kudernahundi, King of Elam, in B.C. 2280.

The king's name of Ne-uru-gal is clearly the same as Nergal, who was the god of Kutha. In the Septuagint the god's name is written 'Epyeλ, which points directly to 'Opyoς and Orcus, and also to Erkle and Herakles. Nergal must likewise be connected with the Sanskrit Naraka, "the abode of departed spirits," and therefore also with Erech, or Warka, "the burial city of the Babylonians." Another connection of the name with the dead is the Greek νέκρος, "a corpse," as well as the flower Nάρκωσος, or the "numbing," which was being plucked by Persephone at the very moment that she was seized by Hades, and carried off to become the Queen of the lower world.

In the Indian Vedas the ruler of the dead is called

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28 Herodot., iv. 94 and 60.
Yama, but he was also named Vakra, or the "cruel," which would seem to be the same name as that of the god OKPO on the Indo-Scythian coins. As King of Naraka, or Hades, OKPO is represented as holding a noose and a mace or club. On the coins he is further identified with ΗΡΑΚΙΛΟ or Herakles, with the club and lion's skin. On several coins OKPO is joined with the goddess NANA, which shows that these two deities were esteemed as king and queen, being the representatives of the Babylonian Iskalla or Nergal, and his queen Nin-kigal or Nana. That OKPO was the god of the dead is shown by the noose and the mace or club, both of which are lethal instruments of the Indian god Yama. As bearer of the former he is known as Pâsa-pâni, or "noose in hand," and as wielder of the latter he is called danda-dhara, or "mace-holder." A well-known title of Yama is Chitra, and I would suggest that the Persian name of Sitra-takhvra must have referred to Death's irresistible strength, its meaning being simply "strong as Chitra."

The name of Sapal continued in use amongst the Turanian peoples down to a very late date. Thus Dizaboulus, the great Khâkân of the Turks, who sent an embassy to Justinian, is called Shapolio by the Chinese. The Greek form of the name is due to the want of a Greek letter corresponding to sh, for which Diz was substituted. In the same way sani, or shani, the name of the planet Saturn, became Dhižâna, from which form must have originated the Ασπανος of Hesychius.

But the name of Iskalla at once suggests that of the Scythian eponymus Skolopites, and his people the Skoloti. To connect this name with Sapolauizes, I would refer to the Sanskrit savâ, a corpse, and savara, a name of Siva, as well as to the Latin sepellio and sepulcrum. I would refer also
to Sagillus, King of the Scythians, and to Sigal, the capital of the Sakastanian Sakas. The same name is found under several slight variations of spelling, of which the most notable is Kola-xais (or Skola-xais), the progenitor of the Paralates (or Sparalatae), or Royal Scythians. On the coins of the Indo-Scythian Sakas we have the name of Sapaleizes on one side, coupled with the name of the goddess Nanaia on the reverse. Sapal-eizes means simply the god Sapal, or Herakles, whose name and worship were widely spread amongst all the Scythian races. The Indo-Scythian kings Spalabora and Spalirises, in addition to their names, offer the seated figure of Herakles on their coins. On Mount Sambulos (or Sabul, dropping the epenthetic m) the Parthian king Goterzes offered worship to Hercules. The name of the mountain is slightly altered by Pliny to Kambalidus.

The last reading of Kambalidus points to Gebeleizes as only a variant form of Sapaleizes, to which I would add that Zamol-xis is another variant. I think also that the xis of Zamol-xis and the xais of Skola-xais, may be simply the equivalents of geiæs, geæses, or geæses, and eīæs or iæs, which form the termination of so many Scythian names. Xis and xais might be connected with the title of Šāhī, which was used by the Indo-Scythians both on coins and inscriptions. Geæses and eīæs are found in Abdagases, Bolagases, Monneses, &c., and may possibly have some connection with the Sanscrit īna, or "lord," as in Vajīses.

In further connection with the dead we have the form of Σαυλώνη, which was the name of the place which held the tombs of the Parthian kings. And this form leads

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29 Taciti Annal., xii. 13.
30 Plinii Nat. Hist., vi. 31.
to Shaul or Sheol, the Hebrew name of Hades. Bet-saloe also was the name of a place at Kitha, in Persia, which was noted for the worship of Nergal, or Hercules.

This widely-spread use of names connected with Sepal, or Heracles, seems to point to an early period in the world’s history, when the worship of the God of the Dead had extended from the eastern shores of the Caspian to the banks of the Danube. And this extent of the Scythian territories was in fact claimed by the envoys of the Massagetae when they met Alexander on the banks of the Jaxartes, “ultra Tanaim usque ad Thraciam colimus.”

In the following account I have divided the coins of the Indo-Scythians into several different classes, which correspond with the several different periods of their history.

Class A.—Rude Imitations of Greek Coins, from first occupation in B.C. 168, down to establishment of Kusháns in 116 B.C.

Class B.—Coins of the Sakas or Scas-Scythians in Arakhosia and India, from B.C. 116 to 16.

Class C.—Coins of the Great Yus-chi, or Kusháns, in Kabul and N.W. India, from B.C. 16 to A.D. 200.

Class D.—Coins of the Later Kusháns in Kabul and N.W. India, after A.D. 200.

Class E.—Coins of the Little Yus-chi, or Lesser Kusháns, in Pesháwar and N.W. Panjáb, after A.D. 430.

Class F.—Coins of the Ephthalites, or White Huns, on the Indus, in A.D. 480 to 600.

CLASS A.—Rude Imitations of Greek Coins.

Class A includes imitations of the small silver coins of Alexander the Great, and of the larger silver pieces of

Curtius, Vit. Alex., vii. 8, 30.
Seleukus I. and Antiochus I. of Syria, and of the Bactrian kings Euthydemus, Demetrius, Eukratides, and Heliokles. These Bactrian imitations are by far the most numerous, and more especially those of Euthydemus in silver, and of Heliockles in copper. On some of the imitations of Antiochus and Euthydemus there are native characters in addition to the corrupt Greek names of the imitated coins. These native legends have not yet been read. They may be only transliterations of the Greek names, but Mr. Thomas's attempts to read them as such were not successful. The characters appear to me to be similar to those on the coins of the Arsakian kings of Parthia.

On the imitation of the tetradrachms of Eukratides I find the detached Greek letters NA. I have a cast of a true tetradrachm with the same letters, and there is a true coin of the same type in the British Museum. If these letters are intended for a date, they would represent 51, or, with the centurial figure added, they would represent 151 of the Seleukidan era, equivalent to B.C. 161, which corresponds with the early part of the reign of Eukratides.

The small silver oboli are simple copies of the coins of Eukratides, including even the monogram.

One of the coins having the name of Heliokles, with the figure of Zeus, is also a simple copy both of the obverse and reverse. But the other coin with the horse on the reverse is perhaps original, although the horse may have been copied from the square copper coins of Hermæus.

All these rude imitations of the Greek coins I attribute to the early Indo-Scythians who conquered the countries on the Oxus. Only a few stray specimens are found in the Kabul valley, and none in the Panjáb. The types are nearly all taken from the coins of the Greek kings who
ruled in Bactria, the few exceptions being copied from the money of Mithridates I. of Parthia. The Scythian archer, on the imitation coins of Antiochus, is probably original.

It is not easy to fix a date for the issue of these coins, but I am inclined to think that none of them can be earlier than B.C. 103, when the Yue-chi, being driven to the south of the Jaxartes by the Hiong-nu, pushed the Sakas to the south and west. The Bactrian Greeks then retired to the south of the Oxus, and, after some time, continued their retreat to the south of the Indian Caucasus, and left the whole of Bactriana in the hands of the Scythians. These coins I believe to have been issued chiefly by the Sakas; but until we can read the names recorded on some of them in native characters it seems useless to hazard any speculations about their issue. This rude coinage probably continued down to about B.C. 16, when the Kushān conqueror Kujula Kadphises imposed his name on the reverse of the copper coins of Hermāns.

The coins of Hurkodes are the only Scythian pieces that offer purely native types not borrowed from the Greeks. If I am right in identifying the hero figured on the reverse as the representative of the mythical leader of the Turki races, Barterchino or Bertzinya, then Hurkodes must have belonged to the great horde of the Yue-ti; but to which of the five divisions there is nothing to show. The latter part of the name recalls the Thracian Kotys—of which Miltokuthes seems to be a compound form. But it is more probable that the Scythian name of Hurkodes may be a compound of Hurk, "the wolf," which is found in Hyrkania, and that Hurkodes is only a variant rendering of Barterchino, or Bertzinya, or Barhatigun, the hero of the Turkish race. The armed figure on the reverse would then be the God of War, who was specially worshipped by
the Scythians. The legend of Ardeithrou would then be equivalent to Ruomrethrho of the coins of Huvishka—that is, the god Ares, or Athôe. According to Abu Rihan's account, Barhatîgin preceded Kanak or Kanishka. There are two distinct kinds of his coins—one with the war god on the reverse and the other with the fore part of a horse bridled. On the former the inscriptions are always in Greek letters; on the latter they are sometimes Greek on the obverse and Parthian on the reverse, or Parthian on both sides. The Greek inscription on the obverse is always ΥΡΚΩΔΟΥ, and the corresponding Parthian inscription I read as Kauâkau, or Garatagiu. The Parthian inscription on the reverse I have not succeeding in reading. Mr. Thomas read it as Kūdāt.

The Greek legend of MAKAPOY ΑΡΔΗΘΡΟΥ, which accompanies the divine figure on the reverse of the large coins, I take to mean simply "Ardethra of Makar," taking Makar to be the same as Bakar of the following legend, preserved by Biruni.44 "Kabul was formerly governed by princes of the Turkish race, and the first of them, named Barhtîgin, dwelt when he arrived at Kabul in a cave (named Bakar)." After remaining in the cave for some time without food, "Barhtîgin came all of a sudden out of the cave . . . clothed as a Turk, with a tunic, cap, boots, and armed from head to foot." A similar story was told of Bertozena, the first leader of the Turks. But Bertozena, or Burtechino, is clearly the same name as Barhtîgin, and I have no doubt that the divine figure on these coins is intended for the legendary leader of the

44 Elliot's Muh. Hist., ii. 9. On the later coins MAKAPOY is changed to OAKAPO, which is an equally correct rendering of Bakar.
Turks, armed from head to foot, just as he was said to have issued from the cave.

The date of the coins of Harkodes cannot be placed earlier than the first century, owing to the late shape of the omega, ω. Raoul Rochette suggested that they might "have been struck by some of the barbarous tribes upon the borders of the Caspian, from whence they seem to have been brought."

Smardates and Rangodeme.—This curious coin presents two heads; that of a king on the obverse, and of a queen on the reverse. I have two other specimens of the same types, but in very bad order. I read the two names as ΤΑΝΛΙ ΣΜΑΡΔΑΤΗΣ and ΚΥΡΙΑ ΡΑΓ-ΓΟΔΗΜΗ, or King Smardates, and Queen Rangodeme. I take the king's name to be Smardates preceded by the title of Tanli, which I refer to the Scythian Than, or "king." Tanli or Tanais may be compared with Justin's Scythian King Tanaus. The queen's name I take to be Rangodeme, and the term Kuria to be the title of "queen." We know from Herodotus that the Scythian Apollo was called ΟΙΤΟΣΥΡΟΣ, but from an inscription we learn that the full form was ΟΙΤΟΣΚΥΡΟΣ, while the moon was called ΣΕΛΟΙΤΟΣΚΥΡΑ. The terms skuros and skura would thus seem to mean simply "god and goddess," or king and queen. By dropping the initial Σ in both we get kuros and kura.

There is nothing except the rude workmanship and the round form of the sigma, C, to declare the age of these coins. My three specimens were obtained at different times, and they are the only specimens that I have seen during fifty years of collecting. My impression is that they belong to the country on the Oxus, and that their style is due to Parthian rather than to Indo-Grecian influence.
### III.—DESCRIPTIVE LIST OF THE COINS.

#### RUDE IMITATIONS OF GREEK COINS.

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Pl.</th>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Inches</th>
<th>Grains</th>
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<td>0·6</td>
<td>R</td>
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**IMITATIONS OF ALEXANDER.**

Rude copy of silver drachma.
Barbarous head covered with lion's skin to r.
Rev.—Figure seated on chair, with bird on outstretched r. hand, copy of Zeus Aetoporphus. These pieces are small and thin, and are very common.

**IMITATION OF SELEUCUS I.**

Rude copy of silver tetradrachm.
Barbarous head to l., covered with lion's skin.
Rev.—Zeus Aetoporphus seated in chair. Corrupt Greek legend, ΣΛΕΤΚ [for ΣΕΛΕΥΚου]. Under the seat the letters ΔΙ, and beneath them Π.

**IMITATIONS OF ANTIOCHUS I.**

Rude copy of silver drachma.
Helmited head with cheek-piece, to r.
Rev.—Vitcory placing wreath on trophy. ΑΝΤיוΧο.
Rude copy of silver drachma.
Diademed head of king to l., with moustaches. Native legend of five letters behind head.
### III.—DESCRIPTIVE LIST OF THE COINS—continued.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Numeral</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Numeral</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Rude copy of silver tetradrachm. Diadem and head of king to r.</td>
<td>0-5</td>
<td>Rude copy of silver tetradrachm. Diadem and head of king to r.</td>
<td>1-05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Rude copy of silver tetradrachm. Diadem and head of king to r.</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>Rude copy of silver tetradrachm. Diadem and head of king to r.</td>
<td>175</td>
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<tr>
<td>I.</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1.05</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>137</td>
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<td>I.</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>212</td>
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<tr>
<td>I.</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I.</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>0.45</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>9</td>
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Letters. The fourth and latest are extremely rude, and bear native characters only: Ariana Antiqua, I. 9. I have given the inscribed reverse and form of these rude pieces, No. 6 of the Plate. Both Mr. Thomas and myself have attempted to read the legend, but without much success. The letters appear to be Parthian.

**IMITATIONS OF EUCRATIDES.**

Rude copy of silver tetradrachm.
Helmeted head of king to r.

Rev.—The Dioskuri mounted, to r. Corrupt Greek legend, ΠΣΙΛΕΠΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΕΥΚΡΑΤΔΥ. In the field to r, the detached letters NA.

N.B. There is a genuine tetradrachm with these two letters in the British Museum, and I possess a cast of a similar coin.

Rude copy of silver obolus.
Helmeted head of king to r.

Rev.—Caps and palms of the Dioskuri. Greek legend, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΠΕ ΕΥΚΡΑΤΔΟΥ (sic). Greek monogram in field forming ANTI.

Rude copy of silver obolus.
Helmeted head of king to r.

Rev.—Caps and palms of the Dioskuri. Greek legend, ΛΙΑΚΟ ΚΟΖΟΥΛΟ. Greek mon. in field.
N.B. Liaka Kusulaka, as we learn from a copperplate inscription found at Shah-dheri (Taxila) was a satrap in the W. Punjab. The record is dated in the year 78 of the era of the great king Moga. If this king is the same as M昙 of the coins, the inscription must belong to the latter half of the 1st century a.c. The satrap Kusulaka is also mentioned in the great Satrap inscription from Mathura, with the title of Maha Chhatrapa.

IMITATIONS OF HELIOCLEON.

Rude copy of silver tetradrachm.
Large head, diademed to r.
Rev.—Zeus standing to front, with spear and thunderbolt.
Corrupt Greek legend on three sides, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΣ ΑΙΑΙΟΥ ΗΛΙΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ.

N.B. There are small coins of the same types and legends, weighing 57 grains.

Rude copy of silver tetradrachm.
Large rude head, diademed to r., as in No. 10.
Rev.—Horse stepping to l., as on coins of Mithridates I. of Parthia. Corrupt Greek legend, as on No. 10.
N.B. There are also small coins of this type. On some specimens the omikron are not omitted, but are represented by simple small dots.

NATIVE TYPES.

Horse stepping to the r., as on the last.

Rev.—Feathered arrow, surrounded by a wreath.

Rude head to l., with native legend.

Rev.—Pallas armed to front, with native legend

[Brit. Mus. Cat., xxiv. 16.]

Very rude head of king to r.

Rev.—Rude figure of Hercules with club. Greek legend in late letters, ΓΕΙΓΑ ΧΑΙΡΕ.

HURGODER.

[Brit. Mus. Cat., xxiv. 8.]

Silver coin, drachma size (slightly broken).

Bearded head of king to r. YPKwΔΩY.

Rev.—Armed figure to front, flames rising from shoulders, spear in r. hand. ΜΑΚΑΡΟΥ ΑΡΔΗΘΡΟΥ.

N.B.—On later specimens. ΟΑΚΑΡΟ ΟΡΔΗΟΡΟ.

King’s head to r. with long pointed beard. Native legend of six letters behind head.
### III.—DESCRIPTIVE LIST OF THE COINS—continued.

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Pl.</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>Inchs</th>
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<th>Description</th>
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<td>L</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>54</td>
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**Rev.**—Half horse, bridled to r. Native legend of five letters above.

**N.B.** These horse coins are of three kinds:—
1. With Greek name of Hurkodes on both sides.
2. With Greek name on obv. and native legend on rev.
3. With native legend on both sides.

**SMARDATEΣ ON MARDATEΣ.**

King with crested helmet to r.

**ΣΜΑΡΔΑΤΗΣ.**

**Rev.**—Head of queen to r., covered with veil, holding flower in r. hand.

**ΡΑΓΓΟΔΗΜΗ ΚΥΡΙΑ.**

**N.B.** I take *kuria* to be the royal title of queen, and *Rangode* to be her name. *Ems* is, in fact, the feminine suffix of the Mongols.
COINS OF THE SAKAS.

PART II.

BY

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K.C.I.E., C.S.I.

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LONDON:
1890.
COINS OF THE SAKAS.

CLASS B.

COINS OF THE SAKAS OR SACÄE-SCYTHIANS.

Class B includes all the coins which bear names either of Parthian origin, or of kindred forms, beginning with Moas and Vonones and ending with Pakores. There appear to be at least three distinct families of these Princes, the two earlier ones of Moas and Vonones being contemporary, while that of Gondophares was some time later. All the coins of this class have on their reverse literal translations in the Indian Pali language and in Arian characters of the Greek legends of the obverse.

Coins of MOAS.—The earliest coins of the Sakas or Scææ-Scythians are certainly those of Moa, or Manas, as his name is written in Greek characters. This name is found only in Western Asia in the compounds Mogetes and Moaphernes, but I have failed to find the meaning of it. Arrian mentions a king of the Sakas, named Mabakes, who joined Darius Codomannus. His name might also be read as Manakes. A coin of Mogetes, tyrant of Kibyra, was published by Pellerin, with a monogram forming MOAI. Moaphernes was the uncle of Strabo's mother, and was a person of some consequence during the reign of Mithri-
dates of Pontus. If the full name of this king was Moga, as I originally suggested in my reading of the copper-plate inscription of King Moga, it is quite possible that the old town of Mong, in the Panjâb, may have derived its name from him as Mogapura, which would soon have been curtailed and nasalized into Mong, after the usual Panjâb fashion. It is certain at least that the coins of Mosa are found only in the Panjâb, not a single specimen, to my knowledge, having been found in the Kabûti valley. The first coins of this prince were obtained by Ventura in the Panjâb, and the whole of my own collection, now numbering over two hundred specimens of more than twenty different types, was gathered in the same country. His silver coins have been found at the old town of Mansera, sixteen miles to the north of Abbottabad, and about eighty miles to the north of Rawal Pindi.

By what route Mosa and his followers reached the Panjâb is not clear; but I feel quite certain that they could not have come through Kashmir by the Karakoram Pass, as suggested by Professor Gardner, as that pass, instead of being open all the year round, is closed during winter, and could never be traversed by an army, even in summer. My own opinion is that the first bands of Scythians, the Sakas, came from the Oxus, as stated by the Chinese. They first occupied Sakastene, or Arachosia and Drangiana, but soon spread themselves over the country to the eastward, where they gradually got possession of the valley of the Indus, including both the Panjâb and Sindh. In fact, the Chinese authorities distinctly say that the Sakas, after their retirement to the south, formed several separate states. The boldest and more adven-

1 Strabo. Geogr. xi., 2, 18, and xii. 3, 88.
2 Ramusat, Nour. Mélanges Asiatiques, i. 205.
turous spirits might have pushed ahead, and overrun the Panjâb up to the foot of the Kashmir hills within a couple of years, just as in after years was actually done by the Brahman Chach, as well as by the first Muhammadan conqueror, Muhammad Kâsim. I see no necessity for supposing that Moas and Azas came through Kashmir. Bâber and all previous invaders came from the west.

The Indian dominion of Moas seems to be plainly indicated by the Indian types of many of his coins. Thus, there are 4 with an elephant, 1 with an elephant's head, 4 with a river deity—which can only be the Indus, and 3 with a humped bull, or altogether eleven types referring directly to India out of the twenty-two types already known.

In later times we know that Husâm-ud-din Ewaz had already made himself the independent ruler of Bengal within twenty years of the occupation of Delhi by Kutb-ud-din Aibak. We have only to suppose that Moas was the leader of the Sakas about A.C. 120, and that he himself pushed forward from Sakastene to India, leaving Vonones in command behind him. Then, about 100 B.C., Vonones may either have rebelled, or have been installed by Moas himself as king of Sakastene, while Moas himself was content with his Indian dominions.

Some supposition of this kind is perhaps required to account for the names of Vonones and Azas appearing on the same coin. On the death of Moas the vacant throne may have been claimed by Vonones, and the claim could have been adjusted by admitting the equal authority of Azas. Both chiefs called themselves “King of Kings.”

The type of Poseidon trampling upon a river-god would seem, as suggested by Raoul Rochette, to point to a successful passage of the Indus. On one coin Poseidon, with
trident in hand, is represented trampling the river-god with his foot, while he levels a thunderbolt against a small figure which is clinging to an aplustre, or raised "poop-ornament" of a boat. On another coin the same figure is apparently seeking protection from a tall female figure, which perhaps represents India. On another rare coin Zeus is seen seated, with the hasta pura in his left hand, and with right hand extended towards a small female figure surrounded by foliage, which I take to be a personification of India. This identification seems to be confirmed by the presence of the humped bull and the elephant on other coins.

It is worthy of note that on all the large coins of Moasa the native legend is limited to the simple title of Raja-diraja as the translation of ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ, while the coins of all his successors take the fuller and loftier title of Maharajadhiraja. On the large coins with the elephant's head the only legend is in Greek, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΑΥΟΥ. But in this instance the coin is probably an early one, as it is a simple copy of a coin of Demetrius. The small copper coins bear the simple title of Maharajasa Moasa.

The find spots of the coins of Moasa and the Eastern Sakas are restricted to the Panjáb, so far as my experience extends. A few specimens of Azae have been obtained round about Peshawur and in the Swáét valley. I saw twelve of his coins extracted from beneath the statue platform of an ancient temple at Shák-dhéri or Taxila.4

Coins of VONONES.—The coins of Vonones and his family come chiefly from the ancient Arachosia, or Kandahar and Ghazni. Some have also been found in Sistán,

4 Archaeological Survey of India, v. 72.
the ancient Drangiana. A few have been obtained at Kabul, but as not even a single specimen was got at Bagram by Masson during his three years' collection, it seems almost certain that Vonones could not have ruled there. For a similar reason the family of Vonones could not have ruled for any time in the Panjâb, as their coins are very rarely found there. In fact, the Panjâb must have been held by Azas and his successors, whose coins are very numerous all over the northern districts.

It seems strange that no coins of Vonones himself have been found, his name being restricted to the obverses of the coins of Azas,4 Spalahores, and Spalgradames. I think it probable that he was the great chief of the Saka horde, after the death of Moas, and that he must have remained in Sakastene, while his relatives and generals had possession of the eastern countries, Kandahar, Sindh, and the Panjâb.

I note that the silver coins of the two branches of the Sakas in Kandahar and the Panjâb bear the same type of the king on horseback, but their copper money has little in common. The type of the horseman was first introduced by Moas, and its general adoption by both branches seems to point to a community of race. Politically they were certainly connected, as Azas acknowledged the supremacy of Vonones, and afterwards of Spalirises, by placing their names on the obverse of his coins. On the first he adopts the simple title of Rajadiraja, which was used by Moas, while he gives the title of BASILEOS

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4 When E. Thomas stated that I had discovered a coin with the joint names of Azas and Vonones (Pinesp s Ant. ii., 203) he forgot that the coin was in the Stacy collection and that he had catalogued it himself (Bengal Asiat. Soc. Journal, 1858, p. 252).
ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ to Vonones. On the other coins he adopts an equal title with that of Spalirises.

Spalahora does not take the royal title of Basileus. He is simply the king's brother, and was no doubt the governor of a province with the title of Maharaja. His son Spalynades also does not take the royal title, but calls himself simply the son of Spalahora. Spalirises, therefore, would appear to have been the King who succeeded Vonones. At first he calls himself the king's brother, and has the simple title of ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ. But afterwards as king he becomes ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΖΑΣ. With Azas he calls himself ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΖΑΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ, while Azas has the titles of Maharajasa Mahatotasa. At the same time the types of this coin are copies of one of the finest coins of Moas, while the monogram is the same, forming ΝΙΚ [No. 2], although it does not appear to have been used by Azas himself.

There is a peculiarity in the Greek spelling of the name of Spalirises that requires special notice. On a few specimens it is written ΠΑΛΙΡΙΣΟΥ, as if the first letter was an imperfect square μ. But the usual form is, ΡΠΑΛΙΡΙΣΟΥ, Rpalirison. As the initial letter in the native legend is undoubtedly σρ, the Persian form of the Indian σ, I take the character to be formed of the palatal sibilant Π σ with Ρ σ joined on the right, thus making σρ. As this σ is frequently pronounced as  abril, the initial ρ, Ρ, of the Greek rendering must be taken to represent the palatal sibilant, thus making the initial syllable σρα, as in the Persian aspa. Now we know that the regular sibilant abril in the names of Kanishka, Huviabka, and Kušāna is represented by a peculiar form of the Greek ρ, thus Ρ, with the perpendicular stroke elongated upwards. This peculiar use of ρ to represent abril I pointed out in 1872,
when I suggested that it was in accordance with a well-known usage of the Turki dialects, which changes an initial " or " to "5. The lengthening of the perpendicular stroke I was of course aware of, but I then considered it as only an abnormal variation. From these coins of Spalirisce it would seem that the attempt to represent " or the palatal sibilant " by a Greek "kho, was made upwards of a century before the time of Kanishka. The square sigma " is used for the name of Spalhara, [ΣΠΑΛΥΡΙΟΣ, and the round sigma " in the name of Spaleizes, [ΣΠΑΛΕΙΣΗΣ.

It is difficult with our present scanty information to assign, with any degree of certainty, the countries over which the family of Vonones reigned. The facts recorded by Masson would seem to exclude them from the Kabul valley, as only two coins of Spalhaires and three of Spalirises were found at Bêgrâm during three years' search. A good number of specimens were obtained by Colonel Stacy and Captain Hutton at Kandahar, and I have picked up a few in the Panjâb. The Ventura collection, also made in the Panjâb, contained only four specimens of this family.6 I am inclined to place them at the Saka capital of Sigai, which I would identify with "Shâl or Kotta (vulgo Quetta), the Kottabara of Ptolemy. Their dominions would have embraced the Kandahar valley, and perhaps also Ghamni, while the Kabul valley was still held by some of the later Greeks.

**Coins of AZAS.**—The numerous silver coins of Azas, with but one exception, present the king on horseback on the obverse, with only the slight difference that on some

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6 Num. Chron., 2nd Series, xii., 181. Dr. Stein's paper on this subject was not published until 1887, or fifteen years later. His Zoroastrian readings I will discuss hereafter.
6 Thomas, Prinsep., Plate XV., Figs. 5, 6, 9 and 10.
pieces the king bears a couched lance, while on others he carries a whip, and has a bow case behind him. These two varieties are given in Plate V., marked A and B.

This type of the king on horseback seems to distinguish all the Saka princes from the Kushāns. Moas has only two horseman coins of copper, but the horseman is by far the commonest type on all the coins of his successors Azas and Azilises. It is also the common type on most of the coins of Vonores and his relatives Spalahora, Spalga-dama, and Spalirisas. And at a still later date it was adopted by Gondophares and the members of his family Abdagases and Sasan. Lastly, it forms the type of at least nine-tenths of the money of the Nameless King.

Masson has recorded the important fact that not a single coin of Azas was obtained from the ruined city of Beigrām, to the north of Kabul. But his money is very plentiful in the Western Panjāb, where Ventura made a large collection, and where I have since obtained a great number of all types and sizes. I believe, therefore, that Moas and his successors, Azas and Azilises, must have ruled over the Western Panjāb, with their capital at Taxila, from about 100 to 20 a.c. During this time the Eastern Panjāb was certainly held by some of the later Greeks, with their capital at Sangala. These Greeks would include Zoilus, Dionysius, Stratton II, and Apol-lophanes.

The Satraps, whose coins have been found in consider-able numbers, such as Zeionises or Jihoniṣa, and Aspa Varma, must have been governors under Azas and Azilises. Of Aspa Varma we are quite certain, as he calls himself on his coins the General [stratega] of Azas.
Miaūs or Heraūs.

The nationality of Miaūs (or Heraūs) and of the Nameless King is unsettled. I have placed their coins along with those of the Sakas, or Sakae, chiefly on account of the horseman type, which is common to all the known Saka kings of the families of Moas and Vonones. For the same reason I look upon Gondophares and his relatives Abdagases and Sasan as later Sakas.

The coins of Miaūs (or Heraūs, as read by Mr. Gardner) are altogether exceptional, as they consist chiefly of tetradrachms and oboli, of which no other examples have been found amongst the money of the Saka princes. I think it probable that Miaūs, or Miauēs (as his name is also written), may be the interloper Yin-mo-fu, or In-mo-fu, to whom the Chinese attribute the conquest of Kipin in B.C. 49. The name on the coins is variously written, and may be read as MАОY and HIAOY on the tetradrachms, and as MIAOYЕ and MIAIOYE on the oboli. The name is preceded by the title of TYPANNOYN-ΤΟΣ on the large coins, and followed by ΣΑΝΑΒ or ΣΑΝΑΟΒ ΚΟΡΕΑΝΟΥ, while the oboli omit the two titles, and read simply MIAOY ΚΟΡΕΑΝΟΥ.

Mr. Porcy Gardner reads the name of the king as Heraūs, or ΗΡΑΟΥ, just as I did myself when I got the first tetradrachm some twenty-five years ago. But after finding the oboli I gave up that reading for MIAOY. Mr. Gardener reads the whole legend as TYPANNOYN-ΤΟΣ ΗΡΑΟΥ ΣΑΚΑ ΚΟΡΕΑΝΟΥ. But he has omitted the letter B at the end of ΣΑΚΑ (or ΣΑΝΑ),

which is found on all the eight or ten tetradrachms that I have seen, and is quite distinct on the British Museum coin. He also points out that the third letter of the word read as ΣΑΝΑΒ is not found like the other N's on the coin, but like a retrograde Ν. But I may refer him to his own note at the foot of the same page, where the same retrograde form is found in the word read by him as ΚΟΙΠΑΝΟΥ, but which should therefore be ΚΟΙΠΑ-ΚΟΥ. M. Tiesenhausen's coin, he admits, seems to read, ΣΑΝΑΒ, and I may add that on one of my tetradrachms the N is properly formed, reading ΣΑΝΑΔΒ. I may mention also that on one specimen all the N's of Τυραννώντος and Κοιρανόν are retrograde.

Heraüs, according to Mr. Gardner, thus becomes a King of the Sakas; but according to my reading of the last two words ΣΑΝΑΒ (or ΣΑΝΑΔΒ) ΚΟΡΕΑΝΟΥ, he must have been the king (Sanaob or tsanyu) of the Korsdu or Kushâns. We know that on all the coins of Kujula Kadphises the name of his tribe Kushâna in the native legend, is rendered as ΚΟΡΕΑΝ in the Greek legend. We know also that Tsanyu or chanyu was a royal title. As an interloping conqueror Minaüs may have been a Kushân, who made a temporary conquest of Kipin. All that the Chinese authors say of Yin-mo-fu or In-mo-fu, is that he was the son of the King of Yung-Khiu, and that he attacked and killed the son of U-then-lao, King of Kipin, and took possession of his throne in a.c. 49. As U-then-lao, the father, was a contemporary of Wu-ti of the Han dynasty, who died in a.c. 87, his son would have succeeded him about 70 a.c., and this date would agree very well with the date of his supplanter

* Remusat, Nouv. Mélanges Asiatiques, i. 207.
Yiu-mo-fu, who sent an embassy to the Emperor Hina-
yuan-ti in B.C. 49.

Now the coins of Miaüs (or Heraüs) certainly belong to about the same period. The tetradrachms use the correct form of the sigma, α, as on the coins of Hermæus and Kujula Kadphizes, while on the coins of Kujula alone, and on those of Kadaphes, the round sigma, C, is used. Miaüs must therefore have preceded the final settlement of the Kushân under Kujula in the latter half of the first century B.C. That he was a contemporary of Kujula is rendered nearly certain by the discovery of one of his oboli by Masson in the Kotpur Stûpa No. 2 along with ten copper coins bearing the joint names of Hermæus and Kujula Kadphizes. There was also included a clay seal with the "standing figure of an armed prince" holding a spear and shield. An engraving of this seal is given by Wilson in Pl. IV., Fig. 6, of the Relics of Masson’s Topes. It agrees with the armed soldiers on some rare coins of the Kushân Prince Kujula Kadphizes, of which two specimens are shown in the accompanying plates. All the evidence therefore is strongly in favour of my conclusion that Miaüs was a contemporary of Kujula. I may add the fact that both princes use the form of ΚΩΠΛΑΝ for the name of their tribe.

Another point in favour of the identification of Miaüs with In-mo-fu is the fact, also recorded by the Chinese, that the gold and silver money of Kipin bore on one side the figure of a horseman, and on the other side the head of a man. Now, there are only two kings in the whole

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8 Wilson, Asia Minor Antiqua, p. 66, describes it as a small piece of silver, with one side worn smooth. I examined the coin myself in 1867 in the Masson collection in the India Office, and recognised it as an obolus of Miaüs.

9 Renan, Notez Mélanges Asiatiques i., 200.
series whose money corresponds with this description. These two are Miaûs and the Nameless King. But as no silver money of the latter has yet been found, the description agrees only with that of Miaûs.

The Greek title ΣΑΝΑΒ or ΣΑΝΑΟΒ may perhaps be intended for the Scythian title of ṭsanyu, which is a contraction of Tsoûli-kuthu-tanju, or "Heaven’s-son-great," of which only the first and last syllables are preserved in the Scythian title. The meaning of this title is exactly the same as that of the Chinese Tieu-ise, or "Son of Heaven." In the Indian inscriptions of the Kushân Princes Kanishka and his successors Huvishka and Vasu Deva the same title is given to them in its Indian form of Dēra-patra, or "God’s-son." I therefore read ΣΑΝΑΒ KΟΡΕΑΝΟΥ as ṭsanyor-korovanu, the exact equivalent of Dēra-patra Kushâna. In support of this reading I am now able to refer to a duplicate copper coin of Miaûs, on which one half of the Arian legend is quite legible. Under the king’s bust I read Maharaja, the equivalent of TYPANNYYΝΝΩΣ, and on the right hand I read Dēraputra ku, the rest being illegible. All the left half of the legend is lost. But the title of Dēraputra, which was peculiar to the Kushân kings, coupled with the reading of KΟΡΕΑΝΟΥ, seems to me to offer a very strong proof that Miaûs was not a Saka king. I take him to have been the chief of the Kushân tribe of the Great Yueti, and I think also that he may possibly have been the father, as well as the predecessor, of Kujula Kadphizes, who united the five tribes of the Great Yueti, and conquered the last Greek Prince Hermias.

Coins of the NAMELESS KING.—The immediate successor of Miaûs was most probably the Nameless King, who gives only the titles of BACIΛΕΥΣ BACIΛΕΩΝ
MIAUS, OR HERAUS, CHIEF OF THE KUSHANS.
Cu'THR MEGAC. His coins are exceedingly common all over the Panjáb, as well as in Kandahar, and in the Kabul valley. They are of several types, but not one of them gives even a single letter of any name. The inscription is simply BACIΛEYC BACIΛEwN Cu'THR MEGAC. All of them have a three-pronged symbol, which was apparently the peculiar symbol of this prince. On two of my coins the symbol has four prongs, owing perhaps to a blunder of the die-cutter. On the helmeted and bilingual coins, and also on the small Ardokhro coins, there is a single Arian letter, Ψ, which may possibly be the initial of the king's name, perhaps of Vikramaditya, whose date, as well as I am able to judge, must have coincided with that of this nameless prince. His rule must have been very extensive, as well as very long, as his coins are found as far eastward as Mathura.

I have sometimes thought that this nameless prince with the initial Ψι might be identified with one of the early Kushán kings, by supposing that these coins without name might be the money of his different satraps in the conquered provinces, while the gold and copper coins, which bear the names of the Kushán kings themselves, would have been the coinage of the Kabul valley. The syllable Ψι would thus stand for the initial of Vima or Vikramadīta. I have already noticed that both sets of coins have the inscription in the nominative case, BACIΛEYC BACIΛEwN. The sceptre carried in front of the face is also a peculiarity of the Kushán king's coinage.

The want of monograms which distinguishes the coins of the Nameless King from those of the Partho-Scythian dynasties of Mōs, Vonoens, and Gondophares, would seem to connect him with the Kushāns. The bust also does the same. But the horseman is the favourite type of the Saka kings.
The coins of the Nameless King are found in copper only. His Mathura coins were a local coinage, which is not met with elsewhere. As Mathura certainly belonged to the early Kushan kings this local coinage must have been issued with their authority.

I have already pointed out the possibility that Vononesia and the Saka kings may be alluded to in the traditional account of the early rulers of Sindh preserved by Rashid-ud-din. Their names are.—1. Kafand, the founder, who was not a Hindu; 2. Ayand; 3. Rasal; and 4. Rosal, and his brother, 5. Barkamaria.

1. Kafand, who sent his brother Sāmid against Mahra, the Persian, to expel him from Sindh. By a very slight change of r to ə the name of Mahra may be read as Mahua, which would correspond exactly with the Greek Maua. As Vononesia and Maua would appear to have been contemporaries, the former ruling in Arakhosia, the latter in the Panjāb, I think that the identification of Maua with Mahra, the antagonist of Kafand, is not an improbable one. The name of Kafand might even be a possible alteration of Waua, or Vononesia.

2. Ayand I would identify with Azas, whose name is written Aya in the native legends of his coins. He was a powerful king, who divided his dominions into four separate governments. This would agree with the known facts of the reign of Azas, who certainly confided one province to his general, Aspa Varma, and most probably a second to the satrap Zeionies, whose coins are copied from those of his supposed suzerain. Azas was also a contemporary of Vononesia, as both names are found on a rare coin of early date copied from Moas.

* H. M. Elliot's *Muhom. Historians of India*, i. 108.
3. Rāsaś! I would identify with Aṣilīses. He is said to have lost part of his kingdom to a rebel. This rebel, I have already suggested in another place, might have been Misās (or Herās).

4. Rōdl I would identify with Sapaɫesεs, as the reign of each was a short one.

5. Barkamārīs, his younger brother, might be the Nameless King, whose coins are very numerous. All India is said to have submitted to him. For "all India" we must read the countries on both banks of the Indus, now known as Afghanistan and the Panjab.

**Dynasty of Gondophares.**

There are four members of the dynasty of Gondophares, who are united by a common symbol, as well as by an acknowledgment of relationship. The symbol may be described as a variant form of the caduceus of the planet Mercury. If I am right, its use would be very appropriate on the coins of Gondophares, as I take his name to be one of the Indian titles of the god of the wind, as Gandha-ṝāha, or in Persian Gonda-baṇa, or the "Scent-bearer."

The names of these princes are Abṇgases, the nephew of the founder, Orthagnes, and Sasa. With them must be classed Arsakes and Pakores, and perhaps Sanahares. I possess also four coins of this Partho-Scythian class, with a king's bust and Victory, which, as the portraits differ from those of the known kings, must belong to other princes of the same dynasty. Unfortunately the legends are too much injured to be deciphered.

The date of Gondophares is very clearly defined by his coins, which are certainly *later* than those of the dynasties of Vonones and Azas, and earlier than those of Kanishka—that is, they are later than B.C. 50, and earlier than
A.D. 78. This date is corroborated by the legendary account of the visit of St. Thomas to King Gundofores, to which I was the first to draw attention in 1854.13

The *Legenda Aurea* says that Gundofores, King of Upper India (*Indiam superiorem*), sent an official (*proconsul*) named Abbanes, to obtain a skilful architect. St. Thomas accompanied Abbanes to India, where he is said to have converted the king himself, as well as his brother Gad, and his sister's son, Labdanus.12 Another version says that Migdonia, the queen's sister, was converted, on which account St. Thomas was put to death.14 Lastly Leucius, in the Apocryphal Acts, states that the Apostle was sold as a slave to King Gundophores, after which he went to the country of Meodeus, where he was eventually put to death.15

An inscription of Gadophara, or Gondophares, found at Takht-i-Bahi, to the north-east of Peshawur, is dated in the 26th year of his reign. There is also a date of Samvat 103, as I read it. The numeral for 100 is certain, and as this is followed by three upright strokes, the whole date would appear to be 103. The era, however, is quite unknown. If referred to the Vikramaditya Samvat it would be 103 — 57 = 46 A.D. This date would place the beginning of the reign of Gondophares in 46 — 25 = 21 A.D., and, as his coins are very numerous, he must have had a long reign, perhaps thirty or forty years, or down to A.D. 50 or 60. The reading of the name of Gadaphara in

12 *Journal Bengal Asiat. Soc.*, 1854—"Coins of Indian Buddhist Satraps."
14 Turner, *Anglo-Saxons*, ii. 147, and Mrs. Jameson's *Sacred and Legendary Art*, i. 225.
15 Sir Henry Yule, *Cathay*, ii. 376.
the Takht-i-Bahi inscription is thought to be doubtful by those who have not seen the stone. I have examined the inscription many times, and I reassert that the reading of the name is most certainly Gadophara, the separation in the middle of the name being simply due to an original fault in the stone. I may note here that there are many similar faults in the great Kāśi inscription of Asoka.

Abdagases is a known Parthian name, as that of one of the nobles who dethroned Artabanus in A.D. 35. He was then an old man of great power and influence, but the active rebellion was carried on by his son Sinnakes. As the dates correspond, it seems to me quite possible that this Abdagases may have been the father of Gondophares, as well as of Sinnakes, and that the son of Sinnakes may have been named after his grandfather, Abdagases. This would make our Abdagases the brother's son of Gondophares, as stated on his coins. The discovery of a silver coin of Gondophares, of Parthian type, with the title of Autokrator, is greatly in favour of my conjecture that he must have belonged to a powerful Parthian family, such as that of Abdagases, the noble who assisted in the dethronement of Artabanus. I may note that I have possessed two silver coins of Artabanus, countermarked with the peculiar symbol of Gondophares.

The coins of Abdagases, like those of his uncle, are of two distinct classes, namely, bust coins and horseman coins. The latter alone give the family relationship of brāhmaputra, or brother's son, while the former bear the simple titles of BACIAEWU CWTHPOC. Perhaps the horseman coins may belong to a period of dependency during the lifetime of his uncle, while the bust coins may be assigned to his independent sovereignty. His name is written in Arian character Aodagases.
A few rare specimens of the bust type bear the somewhat similar name of Hardagases, in Greek ΑΡΔΑΓΑΣΟΥ, and in Arian letters Hardagaun. The Greek Π and the Arian initial H are quite distinct; but as I have not seen more than four specimens, I am inclined to look upon them as exceptional variations, more particularly as the Arian legend may be preferably read as Haradagaasa. In this case the Greek Π would be only an incomplete Β.

The coins of Sasan, as I have ventured to call the king whose name in the native character, if indeed it be a name, is written Sassa, are not uncommon. They are of two types, each bearing a horseman on the obverse, and a figure of Zeus on the reverse. On one class Zeus simply extends his right hand; on the other he holds out a figure of Victory. On both the name of Gadaphara occurs in the native legend. On the first kind the name of Gadaphara is preceded by a title which I read as Derahadhama, or Derawrada—the letter d is certain. It seems to be a title of Gondophares, as it is found on his square coins. I have suggested Dera-Iridya as a possible reading, after the manner of Dioctrophes and Theotropos. On the Greek side I have not, amongst hundreds of specimens, been able to make out any name. I have found ACoY on one coin and ACHC on another. The native name is written with three similar letters, Sassa, of which the last is simply the genitive case. I have sometimes thought that Sassa might be a colloquial form of Sassarvase, or the "sister's-son" of Gondophares. Sasi, however, is found in several native names, as Sisenea, Sisimithres, Sisikohtos, Siagambri, and others. Sasan, or Sassan as it is also written, was an undoubted Persian name. Two or three of this name are mentioned amongst the ancestors of Ardashir, of whom one at least was as old
as the date of Gondophares. In the St. Thomas legend Lab-danes is said to have been the sister's son of Gondopores.

The coins of Orthagnoes are of two classes, each bearing a bust and a figure of Victory, but with different legends. One has the simple titles of ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ, while the other has ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΣ ΟΡΘΑΓΝΗΣ. The native legends also differ, the former being a mere copy of the Greek, while the latter introduces the name of Gudaphara immediately before the king's own name. The four letters forming the name seem to read Gurdana, or simply Gudana. Gurdana occurs in the name of Gurdanasp. Orthagnoes would have been pronounced Orthanæs (Strabo), and I would compare it also with Ordones and Bardana. I consider the name of Orthagnoes to be the true form of the later Orlagno, which is found on the coins of the Kushân king, Kanishka. According to Dr. Stein this name (ОРЛАГНО) "was first recognised by Benfey as Verethraghna, the Iranian war-god." 16 The king's name of ОРЛАГНΗС shows that the other form is corrupt, and that we should rather read ОРЛАГНО. Verethraghna is the old Avestic form of the name, which became Varahran in Pahlavi, and Bahram in modern Persian. Dr. Haug 17 compares the old form with the Vedic Vrtrañá, which was one of the titles of Indra, as the "killer of enemies." An older Indian form was probably Vritraghan, in which the g of Orthagnoes and Orlagno is preserved. The old form of ghan is seen also in Amitra-ghanâ, which has the same meaning of "enemy killer." I would further compare the name with the Latin Feretrius, which was an old title of Jupiter.

As the name of Orthagnoes is written in Arian characters

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16 Babylonian and Oriental Record, i. 159.
17 Haug, Essays on the Parsee, by West, p. 213.
as Gurdana or Gadana, beginning with the letter G, it seems not improbable that he is the king’s brother mentioned in the legend of St. Thomas under the name of Gad.

The coins of Arsakes are extremely rare. Dr. von Sallet has published a square copper piece copied from the money of Moas, but without any native legend. The Greek legend is incomplete ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΩΕΟΥ... ΣΑΚΟΥ. The name might therefore be either Basakes or Masakes; but as Arsakes is known from other coins of a different type it seems a preferable reading. The types of this square coin would point to some connection with the earlier dynasty of Moas, but as the types of the larger coins are like those of the Gondophares family it seems more probable that Arsakes belonged to the later dynasty. The use of the round sigma, C, on three of his four known coins, shows conclusively that he must have been later than Moas and Azas. He takes the title of ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥ-ΟΝΤΟΟ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ, which is also found on some coins of Abdagases. The types are the king on horseback, with Zeus carrying a figure of Victory. He uses a symbol peculiar to himself. None of his coins have been found in the Panjāb.

The coins of Pakores come from Kandahar and the countries to the west of Bhakar, on the Indus. They follow the types of Orthaghes with a bust of the king and a figure of Victory. The native characters are peculiar in having an angular foot-stroke. The name of the king is written Pakorasa.

The great power of Gondophares is proved by the wide extent of country over which his coins are found. In 1840—41 both Colonel Stacy and Captain Hutton obtained them in Kandahar and Sistan, whilst I have found them all over the Panjāb, from the hills down to Multan.
Masson obtained only fifty-five specimens from Begrám during his three years' collection, but he found none in the Kabul Stūpas, and only four specimens in those near Jalalabad, where they were in company with numerous coins of Kujula Kadphises and a few of the Nameless King. I conclude, therefore, that he was a contemporary of Kujula, who must have held the Kabul valley, while Gondophares ruled over Kandahar and Sistan in the west, and over Sindh and the Panjāb in the east. After his death, about A.D. 60 or 60, the Panjāb was wrested from his successors by Yen-kao-ching, or Wema Kadphises, the Kushān conqueror of North-west India.

**Saka Satraps.**

I have kept the coins of the Saka satraps apart from those of the kings, as I felt uncertain where to place them. That they belong to the period of Saka rule is clearly shown by their types, which are chiefly copied from the coins of Azes.

But a most decisive proof of their Saka nationality is found in the Arian Pali inscriptions of a pillar capital which was found at Mathura about twenty years ago by my lamented friend, Pandit Bhagwān Lāl. The principal inscription records the erection of a Stūpa for the relics of Buddha by the Queen Nandāsāriyā in the time of the great Satrap Rajul (Rajubul of the coins) and of the Yuva Raja Kharadost, who also bore the title of Satrap. Mention is made of Prince Tulama, the son of Kharadost, and also of the Satrap Sudās, the son of Rajul. A separate inscription on the same capital records the name of the great Satrap Kusulna, who is almost certainly the Satrap named Liṣa-kuṣulnaka in the Taxila copper plate.18 In both

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inscriptions the title of *patika* is added to his name. A silver obolus of this Satrap, copied from the well-known oboli of Eukratides, is shown in Plate I., Fig. 8. On the same capital with these Satrap names there is a short record which proves that all of them must have been *Sakas*. The words are *sara* *Sakastāna puyae*, “for the merit of all the people of Sakastān,” that is of the country occupied by the *Sakas*. The name of the city of Taxila is also found on the capital. At this time, therefore, the Indian territory of the Sakas must have extended from the Indus to Mathura, and from Kashmir to Sindh.

The Taxila copperplate inscription of *Liaka-Kusulaka* is dated in the year 78 of the great king *Moga*. As the number 78 is too high for a single reign the date must refer to the era of *Moga*, and if, as I suggested in 1863, he is the same as King *Moa*, or *Manas*, of the coins, who was certainly one of the leaders of the *Sakas*, the establishment of the era may be referred to their conquest of the provinces on the Indus. As this event cannot be placed later than B.C. 120 the date of Liaka-Kusulaka would fall about 40 B.C., or rather more than half-a-century before the conquest of the Panjāb by the Kushān king, Wema Kadphises.

But we learn further from this Mathura inscription that most, if not all, of the *Saka* Satraps had embraced Buddhism. I had previously discovered the *Stūpa* of the Satrap *Jihonisa*, or Zeionises, at Manikyāla, and now we learn that the whole family of the great Satrap *Rajubul* had founded a *Stūpa* at Mathura to contain some relics of Buddha. There is nothing, however, to show whether the great *Saka* kings themselves, *Mauas*, *Azas*, and *Azi-lises*, had also become Buddhists. Their coins show no traces of Buddhism. On the contrary they show the
marked devotion of the Saka Scythians to the worship of the club—here *Sapat*, or Herakles, the *Gebeleizos* of Herodotus, and the *Sapatelizos* of our coins.

The worship of the club-god was indigenous in the Panjâb, as we learn from Q. Curtius that a statue of Herakles was carried in front of the army of Porus when he advanced against Alexander. Strabo also says that the people in the hills of India worshipped Bacchus, while the people of the plains worshipped Herakles.¹⁹ The worship of Bacchus appears to me to have been founded on a mistake. According to Khares of Mytilene, one of the companions of Alexander, the actual name of the god was Ἐρωταῖος, that is, *Sûrya Deva* or the "sun-god." The name of *Sûrya*, or *Sûrah*, the sun, must have been confused with *sûra*, wine, as Khares gives its translation as ὀνυκοῖός, or "wine-maker." We know from Philostratus that there was a temple of the sun at Taxila, and from Plutarch, *de Fluxiis*, that there was another on the Hydaspes, to which the elephant of Porus ascended on the advance of Alexander. The Indian Herakles is called *Dorians* by Hesychius. Arrian also says that the Sura-seni called him *Gégenés*, or "indigenous," ²⁰ and Diodorus states that he was born in India.²¹

**Jihonisa or Zeionises.**

As the coins of Zeionises or Jihonisa are of superior execution, I would assign him to an early date during the reign of Azas, or about 80 B.C. I take him to have been the Satrap of Taxila, as I found one of his coins in a stúpa at Manikyâla, along with a relic casket marked

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¹⁹ *Geogr.* xv. 1, 88.
²⁰ *India*, viii. p. 4.
with the Arian letter ι (J) on each of its three pieces. The coins give the name of his father Manigul, and as he is also called a satrap, I think it probable that Manikyta may have received its name from him. The coins of Jihonisa are found chiefly in the north-west Panjáb. The silver pieces are rare, but the copper coins are common. The name of Manigul is decidedly like that of a later prince Mihirgul.

**Aspavarma, Son of Indravarma.**

The coins of this chief certainly belong to the reign of Azas, as the name of the king is found in the Greek legend of the obverse, while the striker of the coin calls himself Strategas (Στρατηγός) in the Arian legend of the reverse. Both the name and the title were first read by myself. I see that Dr. Von Sallet proposes to read Aspa-bati, while Dr. Oldenberg prefers Aspa-pati. But I most decidedly demur to both of these readings. The compound letter which I have read as rm in conjunction is simply formed by lengthening the right limb of the crescent-shaped m, across which is placed the letter r. The correctness of the attribution is proved by its use in the well-known word Dharma, on the coins of Kadoshes. Exactly the same process is followed in the formation of rv in Sarco, and of ry in acharya, and of rkhe in Arkhebias (Arkhebios), and of rt in Artemidoras (Artemidorus). The coins of Aspa Varma are common. They are found all over the Panjáb, but chiefly in the north-west. The legends are neatly but rather stiffly executed. No specimens were found at Begrám by Masson, which tallies exactly with the absence of the coins of Azas himself at the same old site.

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22*Archæol. Survey of India,* vol. ii., Pl. LXV.
COINS OF THE SAKAS.

SON OF VIJAYA-MITRA.

There are some rare coins of the same types as the last, which bear the names of other native chiefs. Nos. 7 and 8 of the Plate give the father's name in Vijaya-mitra-patrasa, or "Vijaya-mitra's son;" but I can only trace the beginning of the satrap's own name as Ati or Atri. The coins can be distinguished at once by the presence of a star on the right, and of a Buddhist symbol on the left.

KHARAMOSTIS, SON OF ARTAÜS.

The coins of the satrap Kharamostis are very rare. They are all square, and bear types of the horseman and lion as on some of the coins of Azas and Azilises. The specimen No. 0 gives the Greek legend complete—

XAPAMwCTEII CATPANEII APTAOY.

The native legend is generally incomplete, and has not yet been read satisfactorily. I make out with some hesitation—

Kharn[m]esta Artasa chhatrapasa putrasa.

The father's name would appear to be simply Arta in the native legend, and Artaus in the Greek legend. The coins are found only in the North-west Panjab. They are very rare, as I have seen only seven specimens in fifty years. I had one in 1841, which was engraved in my unpublished plates. But he must have been a chief of some note, as his name occurs three times in the great satrap inscription from Mathura, which is now in the British Museum.

In line 4 on top he is called Khara ostara Yues Rajna.
In line 1 of No. 3 he is called Khara ostn Yues Raja.
In right corner of No. 4 he is called Khavda man Chhatrasa.
COINS OF THE SAKAS.

Here we see that he bears the title of Ūnya-raja, or "Sub-raja," which was generally given to the heir-apparent. In one only is he called satrap in the peculiar local form of Chhatraṇa for Chhatrapa, a peculiarity which is seen also in the word thuan, for thupa, the Pali form of Stūpa. The same peculiarity still exists in the use of wind for pind in Rai-wind, near Lahore.

RĀJUBULA.

The coins of this satrap were first made known by myself in 1854 from a hoard of base silver pieces found at Mathura. Since then I have received several small copper coins of similar types and legends from the Eastern Panjāb, besides a few copper specimens from Mathura of pure Indian types, with Indian Pali legends. On these last the inscription is simply Mahakhatapasa Rājubula, "of the great Satrap Rājubula." In the Greek legends of the billon coins he takes the title of "King of kings."

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΟΝ ΣΩΤΗΡΙΟΝ ΡΑΖΙΒΑ,

but in the Arian legends of the reverse he is called simply Satrap, with the additional title of "invincible with the discus."

Aprutichakrana Chhatrapasa Ranjubulasa.

Several of these billon coins have the Greek monogram No. 55, forming ΕΥ, which I take to represent Euthydemia or Sangala, as on the coins of Zoilus and others, from which his types are copied. From the find-spots of his coins, I conclude that Rājubul must have held the East Panjāb and North-west India as far eastward as Mathura. In the great satrap inscription from Mathura his name is shortened to Rājula in two different places.

An imperfect inscription which I found at a well near Mathura gives the full name in Indian Pali letters as Rājubula. I take him to have been the independent ruler of North-west India just before the conquest of Wema Kadphises early in the first century A.D.

Saudāsa.

Rājubula was succeeded by his son Saudāsa, of whom both coins and inscriptions have been found at Mathura. On his coins he is called Muhakhatapasa putraa Khatapasa Saudāsa, or simply "Satrap" and not "great Satrap," like his father Rājubul. I had already proposed this connection with Rājubul, which has since been confirmed by the discovery of the great Satrap inscription at Mathura in which he is called

Muhachhatrapasa Rajulasa-putraa Saudāsa chhatraasa,

that is, "the great satrap Rajula's son Saudāsa the satrap." As none of his coins have been found in the East Panjāb, I conclude that his rule was limited to the districts around Mathura during the rule of the great Kushān conqueror Wema Kadphises.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PL.</th>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Form.</th>
<th>Inches</th>
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<th>Grains</th>
</tr>
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<tr>
<td>II.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>1·05</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>141</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**MOA OR MAUAH.**

**SILVER COINS.**

[Duplicate Bodleian Library. Weight 131 grains.]

*King radiate, standing in Bu/a to r., holding spear in r. hand. Driver in front of King.*

**ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΜΑΥΟΥ.**

*Zeus to front seated in chair, r. hand extended to r., holding hasta pura in l. hand.*

*Rajatirejasa mahatasa Moasa.*

No. 1, mon. to 1.

[Duplicate Brit. Mus. Weight 87·8 grains.]

Same types and legends, and mon. as No. 1.

No. 2, mon. E.

Same types and legends as No. 2; mon. E.

[Brit. Mus. Cat., xvi. 2.]

*Zeus standing l., holding hasta pura in l. hand, r. extended. Legend as on No. 2.*

*Victory to r., with wreath and palm. Legend as on No. 1. No. 2 and 3 mon.*

Same types and legends as on No. 4. Mon. No. 3.
COPPER COINS.

[Brit. Mus. Cat., xvi. 1.]
Elephant’s head, with upraised trunk and bull.
Rev.—Caduceus. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΑΥΟΥ. No. 2 mon.

[Brit. Mus. Cat., xvi. 8, unique.]
King on horseback to r., whip and crouched lance. Greek legend, as on No. 1. No. 4 mon.
Rev.—Standing female, turreted crown and wheel. Arian legend, as on No. 1, and field Arian letters dami.

[Brit. Mus. Cat., xvi. 4.]
Artemis radiate running to r., flowing drapery, chiton and boots. Greek legend, as on No. 1.
Rev.—Humped Indian bull to l. No. 5 mon. Arian legend, as on No. 1.

[Brit. Mus. Cat., xvi. 5.]
Heracles standing to front; club on l. shoulder. Greek legend, as on No. 1.
Rev.—Maneless Indian lion to l. No. 2 mon. Arian legend, as on No. 1.

[Brit. Mus. Cat., xvi. 6.]
King on horseback to r., with whip and crouched lance.
Greek legend, as on No. 1. No. 6 mon.
**COINS OF THE SAKAS—continued.**

<table>
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<th>No.</th>
<th>Form</th>
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<th>Name</th>
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<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>E</td>
<td></td>
<td>Victory to L., with palm and wreath. A six-pointed star on each side. Greek legend.</td>
<td>165</td>
<td>No. 1. Mon. No. 2.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>E</td>
<td></td>
<td>Victory to L., with whip and crouched lance.</td>
<td>163</td>
<td>No. 8.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>E</td>
<td></td>
<td>Male figure to front, with elephant on front. Greek legend.</td>
<td>145</td>
<td>No. 1. Mon. No. 2.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>E</td>
<td></td>
<td>Harpy with outward wings (?), holding bow with L.</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>No. 8.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**BASILEOS MAYO** on No. 8. Mon. M.
| Rev. | Tripod in beaded square. Arian legend Mahārajasa Moasa.
|------|--------------------------------------------------
| Same types and legends as No. 14. |

**Brit. Mus. Cat., No. 28.**

**Horse to r., trotting. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΑΥΩ.**


**Brit. Mus. Cat., xvi. 6.**

**Elephant walking to r., holding wreath in upraised trunk. Greek legend, as on No. 1.**

**Rev.** Indian humped bull to r. Mon. No. 8. Arian legend, as on No. 1.

**Brit. Mus. Cat., xvi. 5.**

**Elephant running to r., holding wreath in upraised trunk. Greek legend, as on No. 1.**

**Rev.** King seated on raised cushion. Mon. No. 8. Arian legend, as on No. 1.

**Elephant walking to r., with trunk touching the ground. Greek legend as on No. 1. (Corner broken off.)**

**Rev.** Humped Indian bull. Mon. No. 8. Arian legend, as on No. 1.

**Brit. Mus. Cat., xvi. 8.**

**Male figure standing to front, holding club in r. hand and a peculiar headed sceptre in l. hand. Greek legend, as on No. 1. Mon. No. 6.**
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Isshez.</th>
<th>Metal</th>
<th>Grains</th>
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<tr>
<td>20</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>0.95</td>
<td>Ε</td>
<td>144</td>
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<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>1.05</td>
<td>Ε</td>
<td>186</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Rev.**—Standing female to r., with flying drapery, holding out a long fillet. Arian letters Datum. Arian legend, as on No. 1.

N.B. As the mon. on the obverse can be read as ΔΑΜΙ in exact agreement with the two Arian letters, I conclude that this is the true reading of the monogram.

[Brit. Mus. Cat., xvii. 4.]

Male figure standing to r., r. hand extended, scepvre in l. hand. Greek legend, as on No. 1.

**Rev.**—Male figure standing to front, with petasus on head. Arian legend, as on No. 1. Mon. No. 8.

[Brit. Mus. Cat., xvi. 9.]

Zeus seated on throne; scepvre in l. hand; r. hand extended to small female figure surrounded by rays (?). Greek legend, as on No. 1.

**Rev.**—Female standing to front, head turrated, scepvre in l. hand, and veil held out by r. hand. Mon. No. 8.

[Brit. Mus. Cat., xvii. 1.]

Poseidon standing to front, holding trident in l. hand, and
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Size</th>
<th>Ref.</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Trampling on a river-god with r. foot. Greek legend, as on No. 1.</td>
<td>0.85</td>
<td>E</td>
<td>122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>Female figure standing to front between two vines which she grasps with her hands. Arian legend, as on No. 1.</td>
<td>0.85</td>
<td>E</td>
<td>129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>Poseidon, as on No. 28. Mon. No. 10, of Arian letters, forming melam or milam. Greek legend, as No. 1.</td>
<td>0.85</td>
<td>E</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Poseidon standing to front. L. hand holding trident, r. hand extended; apparently trampling on river-god. (Coin broken off.) Greek legend, as on No. 1.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pl.</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Form.</td>
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<tr>
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<td>0.5</td>
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<td></td>
<td>27</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>ΑΕ</td>
</tr>
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<td>IV</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>O</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>ΑΡ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Rev.**—Female standing to front, between two vines (?). Arian legend, as on No. 1.
Same as last on both sides.

[Brit. Mus. Cat., No. 14, p. 70.]

**Zeus on throne, holding Victory in r. hand. Before him forepart of elephant with upraised trunk. Greek legend, as No. 1.**

**Rev.**—Herakles standing to front, in l. hand club and lion's skin, in r. hand wreath, with which he is crowning himself. Arian legend, as on No. 1.

**VONONES AND SPALAHORSE**

[Brit. Mus. Cat., xxi. 7.]

**King on horseback to r. with couched lance.**

**ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΟΝΩΝΟΥ.**


[Brit. Mus. Cat., xxi. 8.]

**Same types and legend as No. 1. Mon. Nos. 12, 13, and 14.**
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Weight</th>
<th>Metal</th>
<th>Ref.</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>Αη</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>Herakles standing to front, in l. hand club and lion's skin, in r. hand wreath, with which he is crowning himself. Greek legend as on No. 1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Rev.—Pallas standing to l., with helmet, spear, and shield, r. hand extended. Arian legend, as on No. 1. Mon. Nos. 12 and 13.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3A</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>Αη</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>N.B. A half coin of same types and legends.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>Αη</td>
<td>186</td>
<td>Vonones and Spalagadames.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>King on horseback, to r. with courched lance.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>Αη</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>Basileos Basileon Megalion ONQNYO.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Rev.—Zeus laureate, standing to front, spear in l. hand, thunderbolt in r. hand, Arian legend, Spalagadames. Mon. No. 51.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>0.85</td>
<td>Αη</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>Types and legends as on No. 4. Mon. No. 15.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>[Brit. Mus. Cat., xxi. 10.]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[Brit. Mus. Cat., xxi. 11.] Herakles standing, club and lion's skin in l. hand, wreath in r. hand, with which he is crowning himself. Legend as on No. 4. Rev.—Pallas standing, as on No. 8. Mon. No. 15. Arian legend, as in No. 4. |
<table>
<thead>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>King on horseback, to r.</td>
<td>Spagiric Type</td>
<td>0.06</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Herakles standing to front, l. hand holding club, r. hand</td>
<td>Collection of Bengal Asiatic Society</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>B. A.</td>
<td>A.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**NOTES:**
- **Rev.—** Herakles standing to front, l. hand holding club, r. hand.
- **Obv.—** B. A.

[Brit. Mus. Cat., xxii. 2.]

King walking to r., with battle-axe and bow.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΣΠΑΛΙΡΙΣΟΥ.


Spalirisas and Azas.

King on horseback to r., with couched lance.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΡΠΑΛΙΡΙΣΟΥ.


[Brit. Mus. Cat., xxii. 8.] The same types and legend as No. 11. Same mon.

[Brit. Mus. Cat., xxii. 4.] King on horseback to r. Same legend as No. 11.

Rev.—Strung bow and arrow. Mon. No. 19. Arian legend, same as No. 11.
<table>
<thead>
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<th>Grains</th>
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<tr>
<td>3a</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>0·6</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
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</table>

**Ariax.**

**Silver Coins.**

*King on horseback to r., with couched lance. Type A.*

**ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΑΖΩY.**

Arian letter μ in under horse.

*Rev.—Winged figure of Victory to l., with palm-branch and wreath. Mon. No. 21, with Arian letter so. Arian legend, Mahārajas vijārajas Mahātasa Ayasa.*

[Brit. Mus. Cat., xviii. 12.]

Zeus standing to l., sceptre in l. hand, r. hand extended. Greek legend, as on No. 1.

*Rev.—Winged figure of Victory to r., holding wreath and palm. Arian legend, as on No. 1. Mon. No. 22.*

King on horseback, with couched lance. Type A. Greek legend, as on No. 1. Arian letter under horse.

*Rev.—Zeus laureted standing to front, with sceptre in l. hand, and thunderbolt upraised in r. hand. Arian legend, as on No. 1. Mon. No. 23, with Arian letter a.*

[Brit. Mus. Cat., xvii. 2.]

Same types, legenda, and mon. as No. 3.
<table>
<thead>
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<th>Numeral</th>
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<th>Thickness (mm)</th>
<th>Weight (oz)</th>
<th>Description</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>0.95</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>King on horseback to r., with couched lance. Type A. Greek legend, as on No. 1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4a</td>
<td>0.75</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>Rev.—Zeus laureated standing to front, sceptre in l. hand, thunderbolt in extended r. hand. Arian legend, as on No. 1. Mon. No. 25, with Arian letter dhra. Same types and legend as on No. 4. Mon. No. 25, with Arian letter na.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>1.05</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>142</td>
<td>King on horseback, with couched lance. Type A. Greek legend, as on No. 1. Arian letter pri under horse.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Rev.—Zeus radiated to l., sceptre in l. hand, r. hand extended. Arian legend, as on No. 1. Mon. No. 24, with Arian letter mon. N.B. This reverse is the same as the obverse of No. 2.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>0.95</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>152</td>
<td>King on horseback, with whip and bow. Type B. Greek legend, as on No. 1. Arian letter de before horse.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Rev.—Zeus standing to l., sceptre in l. hand, Victory in extended r. hand. Mon. No. 26, with Arian letter dhra. Arian legend, as on No. 1.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### COINS OF THE SAKAS—continued.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Form.</th>
<th>Inches</th>
<th>Metal</th>
<th>Grains</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>AR</td>
<td>149</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>AR</td>
<td>188</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8A</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>0.60</td>
<td>AR</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Same types and legends as No. 6.) Mon. No. 26, with Arian letter 

*King on horseback, with whip and bow.* Type B. Greek legend, as on No. 1. Arian letter præ before horse.

*Rev.—Poseidon with trident walking to r., r. hand extended.* In field mon. No. 27, with Arian letter sř. Arian legend, as on No. 1.

[Brit. Mus. Cat., xviii. 10.]

*King on horseback, with couched lance.* Type A. Greek legend, as on No. 1.

*Rev.—Female figure to l., carrying palm on l. shoulder, and uncertain object in r. hand.* Mon. No. 28. Arian legend, as on No. 1.

N.B. It seems very doubtful for whom this female figure is intended. H. H. Wilson calls her Victory, while Professor Percy Gardner suggests a city. I incline to Demeter, or Fortune (Tyche). The date-palm is a good symbol of productiveness, quite equal to the cornucopia.

Same types and legends as No. 8. Mon. No. 81.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>O</th>
<th>1:00</th>
<th>R</th>
<th>145</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>1:00</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>145</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9a</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>0:70</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>1:05</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>143</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10a</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>0:70</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>88.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>1:03</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>141</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11a</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>0:70</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>85.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>1:00</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>143</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Brit. Mus. Cat., xviii. 4.*

**King on horseback, with whip and bow. Type B.** Under horse, Arian letter *lu.*

*Rev.*—**Pallas to front, spear and shield in l. hand, r. hand raised to head. Mon. No. 29, with Arian mon. san.** Arian legend, as on No. 1.*

Same types and legends as No. 9. Mon. No. 29.

**King on horseback to r., with whip and bow. Type B.** To r., Arian letter *ga.* Greek legend, as on No. 1.

*Rev.*—**Pallas standing to l., shield on l. shoulder, r. hand extended. Arian legend, as on No. 1. Mon. No. 29.*

*Brit. Mus. Cat., xviii. 6.*

Same type, legends, and mon. as No. 10.

*Brit. Mus. Cat., xviii. 2.*

**King on horseback to r., with couched lance. Type A.** Greek legend, as on No. 1.

*Rev.*—**Pallas to l., shield on l. arm, and thunderbolt in raised r. hand. Mon. No. 28, with Arian a. Arian legend, as on No. 1.*

Same types and legends and mon. as No. 11.

*Brit. Mus. Cat., xviii. 8.*

**King on horseback, with whip and bow. Type B.** Greek

*See Plate XIII for statue of Athene from Peshawar.*
## COINS OF THE SAKAS—continued.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pl.</th>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Form.</th>
<th>Inches</th>
<th>Metal</th>
<th>Grains</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>V.</td>
<td>12A</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>0.65</td>
<td>AR</td>
<td>37.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>13</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>AR</td>
<td>186</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Legend, as on No. 1. Arian letter ph in front of horse.

*Rev.*—Pallas to r., holding spear and shield with l. hand, and extending r. hand. Mon. Nos. 29, 33; also No. 31, with Arian st. Arian legend, as on No. 1.

Same types, legends, and mon. as No. 12.

King on horseback, with whip and bow. Type B. Greek legend as on No. 1. Arian letter ka.

*Rev.*—Pallas to r., carrying shield with l. hand, and holding with r. hand spear behind her. Mon. Nos. 32, 33. Arian legend, as on No. 1.

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### COPPER COINS.

[Brit Mus. Cat., xix. 10.]

Poseidon to front, holding trident in l. hand, and trampling on river-god with right foot.

**ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΑΖΩΥ.**

*Rev.*—Female standing between two vines, which she clasps one in each hand. Mon. No. 21. Arian legend. Maharājasa rajarājasa mahātasa Ayasa.
[Brit. Mus. Cat., xix. 9.]
King riding two-humped camel to r., with whip in r. hand and bow behind. Greek legend, as on No. 1.
Rev.—Humped Indian bull to r. Mon. No. 25. Arian legend, as on No. 1.

[ Brit. Mus. Cat., xix. 8.]
King on horseback to r., with couched lance. Greek legend, as on No. 1.
Rev.—Humped Indian bull to r. Mon. No. 29. Arian legend, as on No. 1.
Same types, legends, and mon. as No. 8.
Same types as No. 3.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΑΖΟΥ.
Rev.—Same as No. 3. Arian legend, Maharajasa mahatasa Ayasa.

[Brit. Mus. Cat., xx. 1.]
King on horseback, triform symbol, No. 85.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΑΖΟΥ.
Rev.—Female standing to front, l. hand holding cornucopia; r. hand stretched out. Complex Arian monogram forming Sheyasha, No. 84, with kha. Arian legend, Maharajasa mahatasa dhramikasa Rajadhiraja Ayasa.

King on horseback, jumbled Greek inscription.
### Coins of the Sakas—continued.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pl.</th>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Diameter</th>
<th>Metal</th>
<th>Grains</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>VI</td>
<td>6</td>
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<td>Ε</td>
<td>110</td>
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<td>Ε</td>
<td>84</td>
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<tr>
<td>8a</td>
<td></td>
<td>O</td>
<td>0.75</td>
<td>Ε</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Rev.**—Pallas armed to r., Arian legend, Maharājasa Rajputraja mahatasa Ayasa. In field, No. 28 mon., with Arian letter bu, and Buddhist symbol.

**King on horseback to r.**

**ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΑΖΣΥ.**


N.B. Two specimens agree in omitting rajarajasa.

**Male figure standing;** in l. hand elephant goad, r. hand extended. Greek legend, as on No. 1.

**Rev.**—Lion to r., with forepaw raised. Arian legend, as on No. 1.

[Brit. Mus. Cat., xix. 8.]

**Hermes to l.,** holding caduceus in l. hand, r. hand extended. Greek legend, as on No. 1. Mon. No. 86.

**Rev.**—Demeter to r., r. hand extended; cornucopia in l. hand. Arian legend, as on No. 1. Mon. No. 87, with Arian bu.
<p>| | | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>1-10</td>
<td>Æ</td>
<td>170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9a²</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>0-80</td>
<td>Æ</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9b²</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>0-50</td>
<td>Æ</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>1-10</td>
<td>Æ</td>
<td>204</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>0-60</td>
<td>Æ</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**[Brit. Mus. Cat., xix. 1.]**

*King squatted on cushion: looking to l. hand, whip in r. hand, and holding sceptre in l. hand across his knees.* Blundered Greek legend, intended for No. 1. In field, Arian *gha.*

**N.B. This is the only specimen out of several hundreds on which the whip is in the right hand.**

*Rev.—Hermes* to front, l. hand carrying caduceus, r. hand extended. *Mon. No. 37, with Arian B and ta.* Others have Mon. No. 37, with *an.* Arian legend, as on No. 1.

Same types and legends as No. 8.

Same types and legends as No. 8.

**[Brit. Mus. Cat., xix. 2.]**

*Demeter seated on throne, r. hand extended, l. hand holding cornucopia.* Greek legend, as on No. 1.

*Rev.—Hermes* to front, r. hand extended, caduceus in l. hand. Arian legend, as on No. 1. *Mon. No. 29, with Arian *san.*

**N.B. Many coins of this type have been struck upon the elephant coins of Azes. I possess one with half of the elephant visible, and with half Greek, half Arian, legends on both sides.**

**[Brit. Mus. Cat., xix. 4.]**

*Lion to r.* Greek legend, as on No. 1.
## Coins of the Sakas—continued.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Pl.</th>
<th>Obverse</th>
<th>Reverse</th>
<th>Legend</th>
<th>Metal</th>
<th>Glamour</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>VI</td>
<td>[Brit. Mus. Cat., xix. 7]</td>
<td>Indian elephant to l., coin on coin in l. hand, r. extended.</td>
<td>Arian legend, as on No. 1.</td>
<td>Z.</td>
<td>Z.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12a</td>
<td></td>
<td>Same types and legends as No. 11.</td>
<td>Same types and legends as No. 11.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12b</td>
<td></td>
<td>[Brit. Mus. Cat., xix. 12]</td>
<td>Same types and legends as No. 11.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12c</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Female figure to front, naked to waist, l. hand on hip, r. hand raised to hold.</td>
<td>Greek legend as on No. 1.</td>
<td>Z.</td>
<td>Z.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td></td>
<td>Humped bull to r.</td>
<td>Humped bull to r.</td>
<td>Greek legend, Mahajanaka manakevanta Agana.</td>
<td></td>
<td>1.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14a*</td>
<td>14b*</td>
<td>14c*</td>
<td>15</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0.85</td>
<td>0.60</td>
<td>0.70</td>
<td>0.90</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AE</td>
<td>AE</td>
<td>AE</td>
<td>AE</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>115</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>138</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Rev.**—Maneless Indian lion to r. Mon. Arian aasi. Arian legend, as on No. 1.

Types and legends as No. 18. **Obv.** Mon. 83; **Rev.** Mon. 82.

Same types and legends as No. 18.

Same types and legends as No. 13.

[Brit. Mus. Cat., xix. 11.]

Heracles to front, club and lion's skin on l. arm, r. hand raised to crown himself. Greek legend, as on No. 1. Mon.

**Rev.**—Horse to r. Arian legend, as on No. 1. Mon. Arian m1.

### Azilises

#### SILVER COINS.

These two coins bear the joint names of Azas and Azilises. A 1 in the French collection, gives the name and titles of Azas on the Greek obverse, and the name and titles of Azilises on the Arian reverse. A 2, in my own collection, reverses this order, the name of Azilises being on the Greek side, and that of Azas on the Arian side. The type of the obverse A is the king on horseback.

King on horseback, with whip and bow, with couched lance. Type B.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Diam.</th>
<th>Metal</th>
<th>Grains</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1A</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>0.65</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>2.00</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>149.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2A</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>0.70</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>148</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**King on horseback, with couched lance. Type A.**

**ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΑΖΟΥ.**

Rev. - Pallas armed to l., shield on l. arm; thunderbolt in upraised r. hand ready to hurl. Arian legend, *Maharaja's rajaprada mahatasa Agilasa*. Mon. No 23 with u.

[Brit. Mus. Cat., xx. 4.]

Same types, legends, and monogram as on No. 1.

**King on horseback with whip and bow. Type B.** Mon. No 42

Rev. - Zeus diademed and bearded to r. carrying sceptre in l. hand, and in r. hand a small uncertain object. Mon. No 43. Arian legend, as on No. 1.

Same types, legends, and monograms as No. 2.

**King on horseback to r., with whip and bow. Type B.**

Greek legend, as on No 1. Mon. No 42

Rev. - The Indian goddess *Lakshmi* standing to front on a lotus flower, from which two stalks spring to the r. and l. each supporting a small elephant, which pours water on the head of the goddess. Arian legend, as on No. 1. Mon. No 43.
[Brit. Mus. Cat., xx. 9.]
King on horseback, with crouched lance. Type A. Greek legend, as on No. 1.
Rev.—Goddess to l., with filleted palm in l. hand, and uncertain object in r. hand. In field to r. Arian letter $\nu\mu\mu$ to l. Mon. No. 44, with Arian letter $\delta\kappa\rho\alpha$. Arian legend, as on No. 1.

[Brit. Mus. Cat., xx. 11.]
Types and legends as on No. 4. Mon. 28, with $\mu\alpha$.

[Brit. Mus. Cat., xx. 7.]
King on horseback to r., with whip and bow. Type B. Mon. No. 38. Greek legend, as on No. 1.
Rev.—One of the Dioskuri to front, with sword and spear. Arian legend, as No. 1. Mon. No. 45, Arian $\mu\iota\kappa\alpha\iota\mu\iota$.

[Brit. Mus. Cat., xx. 8.]
Types and legends as No. 5. Mon. No. 88.

[Brit. Mus. Cat., xx. 5.]
King on horseback, with whip and bow. Type B. Greek legend, as on No. 1. Mon. No. 46.
Rev.—The Dioskuri dismounted to front, each with Phrygian cap, spear, and sword. Arian legend, as on No. 1.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pl. VII</th>
<th>No. 6a</th>
<th>Form.</th>
<th>Dia.</th>
<th>Metal.</th>
<th>Grains</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>0-65</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>150</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[ Brit. Mus. Cat. xx 6. ]

Types and legends as No. 6. Mon. 46 (No. 6 mons.).

King on horseback, with whip and bow. Type B. Greek legend, as on No. 1. Mon. No. 48.

Rev.—Two figures, male and female, standing to front, male figure apparently Zeus, as on No. 2, with sceptre and small uncertain object in r. hand. The female, with turrsed head-dress and wreath, represents a city. Arian mons. spila and pa. Arian legend, as on No. 1.

Same types, legends, and mon. as No. 7.

8      | O      | 0-70  | R    | 85     |

Zeus to l., with sceptre in l. hand, and Victory with wreath and palm in r. hand. Greek legend, as on No. 1. Mon. No. 49.

Rev.—Mounted Dioskuri, with palms, charging to r. Arian legend, as No. 1. Arian letters pan and na.

8a     | O      | 0-65  | R    | 86     |

Types, legends, and mon. as on No. 8.

9      | O      | 0-65  | R    | 86     |

Zeus seated on throne to r., holding small figure of Victory with wreath in r. hand. Mon. No. 47 to r. Greek legend, as No. 1.

Rev.—Mounted Dioskuri, with palms, charging to r. as on No. 8.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Weight</th>
<th>Value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>King on horseback to r., with couched lance.</td>
<td>0.90</td>
<td>157</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>King on horseback to r. Greek legend, as on No. 1.</td>
<td>0.85</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td>King on horseback to r. Greek legend, as on No. 1.</td>
<td>0.80</td>
<td>122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3*</td>
<td></td>
<td>Herakles seated on rock to l., club in r. hand, resting on knee, l. hand on rock. Mon. No. 81. Arian legend, Maharajasa mahatasa Ayilisasa.</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td>Greek legend, as shown by part of Greek legend EwN BACIIETL, and part of Arian legend Maharajasa still remaining. Both of these forms are peculiar to the coins of Spalirises. Elephant moving to r. Greek legend, as on No. 1.</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>152</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td>Greek legend, as No. 1.</td>
<td>0.85</td>
<td>152</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Copper Coins.**

[Brit. Mus. Cat., xxi. 8.]

**VIII.**

**Rev.**—Humped bull to r. Arian legend, Maharajasa mahatasa Ayilisasa.

**Rev.**—Elephant to r. Mon. No. 81; with Arian si. Arian legend, Maharajasa mahatasa Ayilisasa.

**Rev.**—Humped Indian bull to r. Arian legend, as No. 1. Herakles standing to front, holding club in l. hand, and wreath in r. hand. Jumbled Greek legend.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pl.</th>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Inches</th>
<th>Metal</th>
<th>Grains</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>VIII.</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>0·85</td>
<td>E</td>
<td>113</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>0·60</td>
<td>E</td>
<td>39</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>8</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>1·00</td>
<td>E</td>
<td>187</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>9</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>0·90</td>
<td>E</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Rev.**—Humped Indian bull to l. Mon. No. 29. Arian legend imperfect — sa mahatasa —.

**Female figure with turretted head-dress seated on throne to r.**

**ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ Μ**

**Rev.**—Male figure to front, carrying club in l. hand, and Victory in r. hand. Arian ro in field. Arian legend, as on No. 1.

**Male figure to r., carrying club and Victory. Arian legend, as No. 1. Mon. No. 47.**

**Rev.**—Female figure, with flowing garments, to front. Arian legend imperfect, harajasa.

[Brit. Mus. Cat., xxi. 4.]

**King helmeted standing to r., with spear and shield in l. hand, and right hand extended. Greek legend, as on No. 1.**

**Rev.**—Female figure to r., holding out wreath in r. hand. Arian legend, as on No. 1.

[Brit. Mus. Cat., xxi. 6.]

**Male figure to front, carrying two indistinct objects on l. shoulder. r. hand extended. Mon. No. 38. Greek legend, as on No. 1.**
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>IX.</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>0.05</th>
<th>R</th>
<th>215</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1a</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>1.15</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>237</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>O</td>
<td>1.30</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>206</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>O</td>
<td>1.20</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>240</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>O</td>
<td>1.15</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>233</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>0.45</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2a</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>0.45</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2b</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>0.45</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2c</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>0.45</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Rec. — Lion to r., with r. forepaw raised. Arian legend, as on No. 1.

[Brit. Mus. Cat., xxii. 35.]

Herakles to front, in l. hand club and lion’s skin, r. hand extended. Greek legend, as on No. 1. Mon. No. 88.

Rec. — Horse to r. Arian legend, as in No. 1. Arian mon. over horse, No. 45.

**HERAUS OR MIAUS.**

[See Brit. Mus. Cat., xxiv. 7.]

Bare diadem of bust of king to r., in circle of fillets.

Rec. — King on horseback to r., Victory flying behind to crown him.

Upper legend, **TYIANNTON HIACY.**

Lower legend, **ΣΑΝΑΒ ΚΟΠΛΑΝΥ.**

N.B. Mr. Gardner reads **ΣΑΚΑ ΚΟΠΑΝΩΥ,** which leaves the final letter B unaccounted for.

Same head as on No. 1.

Rec. — Male figure standing to r. **MIAICY ΚΟΠΛΑΝΥ.**

Similar to No. 2.

Same types as No. 1. **HIAICY ΚΟΠΑΝΩΥ.**

Same as No. 2b.
**COINS OF THE SAKAS—continued.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pl.</th>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Diameter (mm)</th>
<th>Metal</th>
<th>Grains</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>IX.</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>0-90</td>
<td>ÅE</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*King's head, as on No. 1, with Arian legend.*

**Irr.**—King on horseback, with Victory flying behind.  
**TYPANNO... KL PLEAN.**

N.B. The name of this king is uncertain. In 1801, when I got his first coin, I read the name as HERALIS, just as Mr. Percey Gardiner still reads it; but some years afterwards, on obtaining other specimens, and more particularly a number of oboli, it seemed to me that MIAUS would be a preferable reading. Some of the oboli insert an i after a, thus making either HPAIOE or MIAIOE. If the copper coin had been in better preservation we should, no doubt, have got the reading in the Arian legend. I have discussed the name and position of this king in another place.

**NAMELESS KING.**

[Brit. Mus. Cat., xxiv. 6.]

*Bust of king to r., with crested helmet, holding a lance upright in r. hand, surrounded by circle of fillets. Behind head three-pronged symbol, No. 56, and in front the Arian letter V*.
Rev.—King on horseback to r., with r. hand raised. In front the same three-pronged symbol, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥωΝ ΣΩΤΗΡ ΜΕΓΑΣ.

[Brit. Mus. Cat., xxiv. 1.]
King on horseback to r., as on No. 4, with same symbol. Rev.—Zeus to r., with sceptre. To r., round vessel with plant; to l., Arian letter VI. Arian legend, Mhavijasa rajatirajas mahatasa trulatasa.
Same types, legends, and symbols as No. 5.

[Brit. Mus. Cat., xxiv. 2.]
Radiated and diademed bust of king to r., holding lance upright in r. hand. Four-pronged symbol behind head.
Rev.—King on horseback to r., uncertain object in r. hand. Four-pronged symbol in front. Greek legend, as on No. 4.
(These coins usually have the three-pronged symbol.)
Same types and legends, as No. 6.

[Brit. Mus. Cat., xxiv. 5.]
Diademed bust of king to r. Three-pronged symbol to r. Rev.—Zeus standing, with spear and thunderbolt, as on the coins of Heliokeles. Greek mon. forming ΠΛ. Greek legend, as on No. 4.
N.B. These coins are commonly found at Mathura.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pl. IX.</th>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Form.</th>
<th>Weight</th>
<th>Metal.</th>
<th>Grains.</th>
<th>Figure standing to front, like OIKPO with trident and club. Three-pronged symbol, and Arian letter τ.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>8</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>0·45</td>
<td>₠E</td>
<td>2½</td>
<td>Rev.—Female figure to r., holding cornucopia like ΑΡΔΟΧΡΟ. Buddhist symbol and pot of flowers.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Sapaleizes.**

[Brit. Mus. Cat., xxiv. 14, 15.]

Helmeted head of king to r. ΚΑΠΑΛΕΙΖΗΣ.

Rev.—Maneless Indian lion to r. On each side Greek legend, ΝΑΝΑΙΑ.

**Gondophares.**

**Silver Coin.**


Bust of king to l., diademmed and bearded with Arakidan tiara.

Rev.—King seated on throne to r. Victory behind crowning him. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΕ ΥΝΔΟΦΕΡΗΣ ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΙ. |
COPPER COINS.

[Brit. Mus. Cat., xxii. 12.]
King on horseback to l., receiving wreath from Victory. Greek legend incomplete on the few known specimens.

ΦΑΡΣΥ ΕΡΑΛΚΥ ΓΩΝΔΑ.

Rev.—The Gondpharvan Symbol Ζ. Arian legend in small letters incomplete, the missing portion supplied in brackets [Mahurjasa rajadrajus maha.tus] dharmikasa apratihatusa dvedhulas Gondpharvan. In field to r. and l., Arian letters tyn and bep.

Bare diademcd head of King to l. Corrupt and imperfect Greek legend, ΒΑΣΙΛΕ—ИНДУ ΦΡΡΥ.

Rev.—Winged Victory to r., with palm and wreath. Arian legend in rude letters not read, but seems to be, Mahurjasa rajadrajus mahatuns Gondpharvan.

N.B. On all my three specimens the sigma is of the early form.

[Brit. Mus. Cat., xx 11.]
Bust of King to r., diademcd and bearded.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΥΝΑΔΦΕΡΡΥ.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Form.</th>
<th>Diameter (inches)</th>
<th>Metal</th>
<th>Grais.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>0.45</td>
<td>Ε</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>0.96</td>
<td>Ε</td>
<td>145</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


N.B. The compound letter *rn*, in the latter half of the name, is quite distinct. It is formed of the common *n* with *r* placed across it. All my specimens of this type have this form, and so has the British Museum specimen above quoted.

[Brit. Mus. Cat., xxii. 7.]

Bearded head to r. Rude Greek legend.

*Rev.*—Pallas with shield and thunderbolt. Arian legend, completed from several specimens: *Maharājasa tradatasa Gondopharasa.* In field, Arian letters *bo* and *stva*.

[Brit. Mus. Cat., xxii. 8], Billon.

King on horseback to l., with r. hand stretched in front. Victory flying behind with wreath to crown him.

**ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΥΝΔΟΦΕΡΡΟΥ**

In field to l., the Gondopharian symbol No. 50.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Coin</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Weight</th>
<th>Diameter</th>
<th>Material</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>125</td>
<td>King on horseback, with symbol</td>
<td>0.85</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>Silver</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>161</td>
<td>King on horseback, with symbol</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>Silver</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>148</td>
<td>King on horseback, with symbol</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>Silver</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*COINS OF THE SAKAS.*
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Arm.</th>
<th>Grns.</th>
<th>Metal.</th>
<th>Units</th>
<th>Weight</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>ZE</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.75</td>
<td>ZE</td>
<td>122</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.26</td>
<td>ZE</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Description:**
- **Table:**
  - **Column 1 (No.):** Numbers indicating the sequence of coins.
  - **Column 2 (Arm.):** Arm. (Armament) with units and weights for each coin.
  - **Column 3 (Grns.):** Greek grana.
  - **Column 4 (Metal.):** Metal used in the coinage.
  - **Column 5 (Units):** Units for each coin.
  - **Column 6 (Weight):** Weight of each coin.

**Notes:**
- **COINS OF THE SAKAS—continued.**
- **Legend:** Greek B and Arman r to r. Legend lost.
- **Description:**
  - **Entry:** Various descriptions and features of the coins, including their depiction, legends, and associated symbols.

**Reference:**
- **Footnotes:** [Brit. Mus. Cat., xxxiii. 9.]
- **Legend:** Mahanikaiari, right-dated and indented.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>13</th>
<th>O</th>
<th>0.85</th>
<th>ΑΕ</th>
<th>121</th>
<th>Diademed bust of King to l. Greek legend incomplete</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΟΡΟΑ</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Rev.—Winged Victory, with wreath and palm to l. Arian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>legend incomplete: mahatna Gudranasa (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N.B. The exact form of the name is doubtful. I believe it to be the same as the <strong>ΟΡΑΛΑΝΟ</strong> of the gold coins of Kanishka, and also as the Orthane of Strabo. This form would easily pass into Gurdanes, a name which is preserved in Gurdanasas, a general in the service of Khurru Parvez.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>SANABARES.</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>[Brit. Mus. Cat., xxi. 10.]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>0.75</td>
<td>ΑΡ</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>Bust of King, diademed and bearded to r. Behind the head the Parthian letters σα.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rev.—The King seated and holding a bow, as on the Parthian coins. Greek legend. <strong>ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΜΕΓΑΣ ΛΑΝΑΒΑ.</strong> Above, ΓΙΤ; to r. mon. No. 52.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>0.85</td>
<td>ΑΕ</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>[Brit. Mus. Cat., xxi. 12.]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Bust of King to r., diademed and bearded. <strong>ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΔΝ.</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rev.—Winged Victory to r., with wreath.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>ΛΑΝΑΒΑΡΟΥ.</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pl.</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Form.</td>
<td>Inches</td>
<td>Metal</td>
<td>Grains</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>--------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XI</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>0-9</td>
<td>Æ</td>
<td>130</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**HABDAGASES OR ABDAGASES.**

N.B. The bust coins bearing these two names are so exactly alike in types and general appearance, that the slight difference in the spelling may be quite accidental. But as there is a difference in the Arian reading as well as in the Greek reading, I have thought best to give both names.

[Brit. Mus. Cat., xxiii. 1.]

*Bust of King, bearded and diademed to r.*

**ΒΑΣΙΛΕЎΟΣ ΑΡΔΑΓΑΣΟΥ.**

*Rev.—Winged Victory to r., with wreath and palm.*

Arian legend, Maharajasa tradatasa Haradaga,sam. In this legend the initial letter of the name is *h*, of the same form as *h* in maharaja. It has a foot turn to the right, quite different from the initial letter in Abdagases. Were it not for the Greek *ΑΡΔΑ*, I should be ready to accept the Arian legend as representing an aspirated form of the name as Habdagases.
Diademed and bearded head of King to r.

**BACILEwC CwTHPoC ABDAGACoY**

Rev.—Winged Victory to r., with palm and wreath.
Arian legend, Maharajasa Arodagasa tria
tasa.

Same types and legends as No. 8, but both types to l.

[Brit. Mus. Cat., xxiii. 3.]

King on horseback to r. ‘Gondoparian symbol in front.

**BASILEYONTOS YNADEFIERO**

ADELIDAEwC.

Rev.—Zeus standing to r., with sceptre. Arian legend,

Gundapharam khrata putrama maharajasa tradatasa Arodagasa. Various Arian monograms.

N.B. One coin has **GONDOFAPA** on Greek side.

King on horseback to l. Gondoparian symbol in front.

**BASILEYONTOS BASILEwN ABDAGACOY.**

Rev.—Zeus standing to front, holding Victory in r.

hand. Arian legend, as on No. 5. Mon. No.

27, with B and Arian ra.

King on horseback to r. Greek legend incomplete.

**BASILEYONTOS**

Rev.—Zeus holding out figure of Victory. Arian legend

incomplete, Maharajasa—A (vadagasa). In
field to r., B and Arian ra.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pl.</th>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Form.</th>
<th>Inches.</th>
<th>Metal</th>
<th>Grains</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>XI.</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>0.80</td>
<td>ΑΕ</td>
<td>158</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>8α</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>ΑΕ</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>9</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>0.85</td>
<td>ΑΕ</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Sasan.**

The coins of this king, which are no longer rare, are found in company with those of Abdagases, which they closely resemble, both in types and legends. The name of the king I have read provisionally as Sasan. On the Greek side I have not been able to get more than the termination in ΑCOY; but on the Arian side the name is complete and distinct as Sassasa, which would give Sasa in Arian and Sases in Greek. His connection with the family of Gondophares is shown by his use of the family symbol.

King on horseback to r., with Gondopharian symbol. Greek legend jumbled—ΑIΛAΛWINNISIIIVIV.

Rev.—Zea to r., with r. hand extended. Arian legend, Maharayasa mahatasa tradatasa Derahadasa Gudopharasas Sasaas. In field to l., Buddhist symbol, No. 58; to r., Arian letters va and pa.

Same types and legends as No. 8.

King on horseback to r., with Gondopharian symbol. Greek legend, BACIΛEYΩ . . . . . . .

ΑCOY.
Rev.—Zeus standing to front, holding out Victory in r. hand. Arian legend, Maharajasa rajatirajasa mahatasa dharmikasa Gudaparasu Sasana, in field to l., mon. No. 27; and to r., Greek B, with Arian va.

Assakes.
[Brit. Mus. Cat., xxxii. 12.]
Horse to r. Mon. No. 5, forming AP.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΘΕΟΥ ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ.
Rev.—Bow-case with bow, surrounded by a square of astragalus beads.

N.B. As both of the types of this coin are found in the Parthian series, and as it wants the Arian legend, I incline to refer it to Parthia.

King on horseback to r., ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΟΝΤΟΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ, (coin stolen).

Rev.—Type obliterated. Arian legend, Maharajasa rajatirajasa mahatasa Arsahakasa travidasa.

King on horseback to r., Arian letter gn.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΟΝΤΟΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ (τινατ)ΟΥ ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ.

Rev.—Zeus to l., holding figure of Victory, Mon. No. 87 to l.; symbol No. 54 to r. Arian legend, Maharajasa rajatirajasa ... Arah (kasa).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pl.</th>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Inch.</th>
<th>Metal</th>
<th>Grams</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>XI</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>0.85</td>
<td>A²</td>
<td>122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XII</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>1.05</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>152</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**PACONES.**

Rust of king, diademed and bearded, to l.

**ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥϹ ΒΑΣΙΛΕՈΝ ΜΕΓΑϹ ΠΑΚΟΡΗϹ**


N.B. The Arian characters have a foot stroke turned to the left.

**SATRAP.**

**ΖΙΗΩΝΙϹΑ ΟΙΝ ΖΕΙΟΝΙϹΕΝ.**

[Brit. Mus. Cat., xxiii. 4.]

Satrap on horseback to r., with whip and bow.

**ΑΝΝΙ ΓΛΟΥ ΥΙΙ ΣΑΤΡΑΠΕΙ ΖΕΙΩΝΙϹΟΥ.**

Buddhist symbol in field to r.

Rev. — King standing on l., facing a female figure, who is crowning him with a wreath. This figure has a modius on her head, and a cornucopia on her l. arm, and is most probably intended for a city. In field to r. and l. Arian letters, Arian legend, *Manigulasa Chhatrapasa putra ς Chhatrapasa Jihomasa*.

N.B. From the legend we learn that the Satrap Jihonisa was the son [putra] of the Satrap Manigula.
### Coins of the Sakas

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Legend</th>
<th>Weight</th>
<th>Count</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>85</td>
<td>King on horseback, with Greek legend as No. 1, rear—Satrupa standing to front, on 1. Victory, and on r. a man in a lion's skin, both crowning the king. Arian legend, as on No. 1.</td>
<td>[Brit. Mus. Cat., xxxii. II.]</td>
<td>ER</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>86</td>
<td>Humped Indian bull to r. Various letters to r., as pu, and on one coin Buddhist symbol over bull.</td>
<td>[Brit. Mus. Cat., xxxiii. 5.]</td>
<td>ER</td>
<td>126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>81</td>
<td>Same types and legend as No. 4.</td>
<td></td>
<td>AE</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Elephant to r., Greek legend, corrupt and imperfect.</td>
<td>[Thomson's Pratap, P. xiii. S. R. 211.]</td>
<td>E</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Humped Indian bull to r., Arian legend, Chhatrapati-Jainikendras.</td>
<td></td>
<td>E</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N.B. I possess two catta of a second specimen.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Prices

<table>
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<tr>
<td>ER</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>1-05</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0-55</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-00</td>
<td>1-00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0-60</td>
<td>0-85</td>
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<td>6</td>
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### Mon., Aug.

<table>
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<th>Description</th>
<th>Legend</th>
<th>Weight</th>
<th>Count</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>85</td>
<td>King on horseback to r., with whip and bow Arian</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Motif</td>
<td>Obverse</td>
<td>Reverse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>---------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Notes:**
- Star and Buddhist symbol used on No. 98 to r. Arian legend.
- Aramaic and symbol on No. 6 as on No. 5, with same mon. star.
- Aramaic legend imperfect.
- Son's name will remain very doubtful.

**Kharosthi:**
- [Brit. Mus. Cat., xxii, 61.]
- Aramaic letters.

**Aramaic:**
- Aramaic legend, Buddhist symbol.

**Metros:**
- 0.976 E 0.88 E 0.95 E
N.B. In the great inscription of the Satraps found at Mathura, the name of this Chief occurs three times:

1. Kharanastasa Yuenas rajna.
2. Kharanasto Yuenas rajna.

The reading of the name is, therefore, still uncertain. The use of initial O in the middle of the name is peculiar.

**Rajabula.**

[Brit. Mus. Cat., xv. 11.]

*Diademed bust of king to r.*

**Bacilei BacilwC CwTHPOG PAIY.**

Pallas armed with shield and thunderbolt Arian legend, Apratihutakhusa chhatrunasa Rajabula. in field Arian letters a and ya.

[Brit. Mus. Cat., xv. 12.]

*Bust of king, as on No. 12, but ruder. Corrupt Greek legend.*

*Rev.—Pallas armed to l. Arian legend shortened to Apratihutakhusa Chhatrunasa Rajabula. Arian letters ha and sti. On some the Greek mon. No. 55, forming EY.*

*Bust as on No. 13, with corrupt Greek legend.*
### COINS OF THE SAKAS—continued.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Diameter (inches)</th>
<th>Metal</th>
<th>Grains</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>15&lt;sup&gt;0&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>Æ</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>0.65</td>
<td>Æ</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


**N.B.** These copper coins found in E. Panjāb and to east of Satlej River.

*Figure standing between tree and snake*. Indian Pali legend, *Mahakhatapasa Rajubhuma*.

**Rev.**—*Figure being anointed by two elephants*.

**N.B.** In the great Satrap inscription from Mathura, where all these coins were found, this chief’s name is thus shortened—*Mahachaturama Rajulama*.

[Thomas’s *Princp*, Pl. xlv. 21.]

*Figure standing between trident and snake held in r. hand*. Indian Pali legend, *Mahakhatapasa putasa khatapasa Saudhuma*. Swastika beneath figure.

**Rev.**—*Lakshmi being anointed by two elephants*.

**N.B.** These coins of *Saudum* are found at Mathura, where also I got a long inscription bearing his name. In the great Satrap inscription he is said to be the son of the Satrap Rajula, a relationship which I had previously suggested.
INDO-SCYTHIANS. SAKAS. PLATE II.
INDO-SOYTHIANS. SAKAS. PLATE V.
INDO-SCYTHIANS.  SAKAS, PLATE X.
INDO-SCYTHIANS. SAKAS, PLATE XI
INDO:SCYTHIANS. SAKAS. PLATE XIII.
Height of figure 2 ft. 9 in. (cf. Pl. V 9.)
COINS OF THE INDO-SCYTHIAN
KING MIAÜS, OR HERAÜS.

PART II.
SUPPLEMENT.

BY
MAJOR-GENERAL SIR A. CUNNINGHAM,

REPRINTED FROM THE NUMISMATIC CHRONICLE,
Vol. VIII., Third Series, Pages 47—68.

LONDON:
1888.
COINS OF THE INDO-SCYTHIAN KING MIAÜS.
OR HERAÜS.

In 1874 Mr. Percy Gardner published a tetradrachm similar to those represented in the accompanying Plate. He attributed the piece to Heraüs, King of the Sakas, by reading the legend.¹

ΤΥΙΑΝΝΟΥΝΤΟΣ ΜΙΑΟΥ ΣΑΚΑΒ ΚΟΙΙΑΝΟΥ.
as Τυραννοῦντος Ἡραύ Σάκα Κοιιάνου.

This assignment of the coin to a Saka king was eagerly adopted by Mr. Fergusson, who, by a bold conjecture, metamorphosed the Turushka king Kanishka, the sovereign of the Kushâns, into a king of the Sakas, and the founder of the Sâka era.²

But Mr. Fergusson was not the only rebel against "time-honoured" Sâlivâhana, whose name, as Professor Kern boldly suggested,³ had been added to the Sâka era by the English. But this suggestion is utterly without foundation, as there are many inscriptions, both in Southern and in Northern India, dated in the Sâlivâhana Sâka era. I need only quote one of S. S. 1466, or A.D. 1544, from

³ Dr. Max Müller, India—What can it teach us? p. 800.
Badami in Southern India, and another of S. S. 1583, a.
d. 1561, from Chamba, in the Punjab. Does Professor
Kern believe that the English ruled over India in those
years? 

In 1881 Dr. Oldenberg published a notice of the same
coin, in which he retained the reading of ΣΑΚΑ, and
ignored the existence of the following letter B, while he
objected to Κωάνον, and proposed to read either Κοράνον or
Κορανον. He thus found "a decisive proof" that the Κορανο
or Κουθάν princes, and more especially "Kanishka, must be
regarded as Sakas." He then goes on to say that "we
know from coins as well as from inscriptions of a mighty
Saka king Kanishka." With this statement I altogether
disagree. I am well acquainted with all the inscriptions
and coins of the Indo-Scythian princes, and I can state
positively that neither coins nor inscriptions give the title
of Saka to Kanishka. In the inscriptions he is always
called by his own tribal title of Kushān, or Kushān, and
on his coins he is invariably called Korano.

I presume, however, that Dr. Oldenberg refers to this
coin of Heraüs as establishing his conclusion that Kanishka
was a king of the Sakas, or Saka-Kushāns. But the reading
of ΣΑΚΑ I dispute, as all my coins read ΣΑΝΑΒ and
not ΣΑΚΑ. This word is, however, not always spelt in
the same way. I find ΣΑΝΑΒ on six coins, the Ν being
sometimes reversed, ΣΑΝΑΟΒ on one coin, and
ΣΑΝΑΒΙΥ on one coin.

It is true that the Ν is sometimes reversed, but so it is
sometimes both in ΤΥΡΑΙΝΟΥΝΤΟΣ and in ΚΟΙΛΑ-

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p. 196.
5 Indian Antiquary, x. p. 215.
IOY. Of the latter form Mr. Gardner has given an instance in his footnote, page 47, quoting M. Tiesenhausen's coin.

Taking the various readings of Sanab, Sanob, and Sanabiu, I think it probable that the term may be intended to represent the native title of tsanyu, or chanynu, "chief," or "king." As the last word on the small silver oboli is KOPLANOY, there can be no doubt that the king belonged to the Korsan, or Kushan tribe. Tsanyu is a contraction of Tsemi-Khuthu-tanju, "Heaven's son great," or "Great Son of Heaven," = Devaputra. As the common pronunciation of the Greek Β was Β, the Greek form of SANAB, or SANABIIY, would approach very nearly to the native title.

With respect to the tribal name of Kushtu, an examination of the earlier coins of Kujula Kadphizes shows that the first Greek forms of the name were Korsan, Korsan, and Khorsanu, which agree with the title of KOPLANOY on the oboli of Miaus in the Plate. In common speech this name might become either Korsanu by the omission of s, or Kushtu by the omission of r. But the Greek form I prefer to derive from the common practice of changing s to h, which would change Korsanu into Korkano, or into Korrhano, or KOPPANNOY.

That the original form of the name was Korsan, or Khorsan, is, I think, supported by the name of the province of Khorasan, which was certainly occupied by this tribe. I suspect also that Chorsari, which Pliny says was the name given by the Scythians to the Persians, must refer to the Kushans of Khorasan, who had come to be looked upon as Persians by the Scythians of the Jaxartes.

According to my view the legend of the tetradrachms is simply—
On the oboli the legend is restricted to two lines, in which the name of the prince is spelt in two different ways, as ΜΙΑΟΥΣ and ΜΙΑΙΟΥ. With the tribal title of ΚΟΠΕΑΝΟΥ below, the whole legend is simply "Μιαύς, the Kushán," or rather the Κορεāμ.

The unique copper coin is unfortunately too much worn to give any assistance in reading either the name or the titles. But as it bears an Arian legend in addition to the Greek inscription it is invaluable as a proof that the territory over which the king ruled was not Bactria, but some country to the south of the Hindu Kush. On the Greek side I can read ΤΥΠΑΝ and ΚΟΠΕΑΝ; but of the Arian legend I can make nothing certain.

Of the find-spots of the tetradrachms I am unable to speak. But of the oboli I can say positively that my twelve specimens all came from Western Afghanistan, that is from Kabul and the country to the south of Kabul. A thirteenth obolus was actually found by Masson in No. 2 Tope at Kotpur, along with ten copper coins bearing the joint names of Hermicus and Kujula Kadphizes. Masson describes the coin as "a small circular piece of silver, doubtful whether a coin from its smooth reverse, but on the obverse bearing the bust of a king, whose head was bound with the Greek diadem." I saw the piece in the Indian Museum in 1870 amongst Tope relics, and I at once recognised it as a coin of Mīaûs, from the king's head being an exact representation of the head on the two tetradrachms which I then possessed. In the same Stūpa

* Arian Antiqua, p. 66.
Masson obtained a clay seal (see *Ariana Antiqua*, Plato IV. Fig. 6 of Antiquities), with an armed figure standing with lance in hand. As my new coins of Kujula Kadphises present the same armed figure we thus obtain a second connection with Kujula.

With respect to the date of Miaüs I think that the following facts all point to the latter half of the first century B.C.

1. One of his coins was found in company with ten copper coins bearing the joint names of Hermæus and Kujula.

2. The Greek Σ is used always in *Turannontos* and Σανν, but in Korsano it takes the round form, which is also found on some of the later coins of Hermæus.

3. The type of the king on horseback, with Victory flying behind to place a wreath on his head, is the prototype which was afterwards copied on the coins of Gondophares.

Taking these facts in conjunction with the find-spots of the coins, I infer that Miaüs must have ruled over the country to the south-west of Kabul, about Wardak and Ghazni, some time during the latter half of the first century B.C.

If my inference be correct we may, perhaps, gain some further information about this unknown king from the Chinese records. Turning, then, to their account of *Kipin*, that is of the country to the south-west of Kabul, I find the following facts recorded.

1. The first King of Kipin known to the Chinese is named *U-theu-lao* by Remusat⁷ (or *Woo-tow-lau* by Wylie). He was reigning about the beginning of the

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first century B.C. He was succeeded by his son, who was defeated and killed by a rebel named Yin-mo-fu, son of the King of Yang-Khiau, assisted by the Chinese. Yin-mo-fu thus became King of Kipin. Having imprisoned the Chinese general Chao-te and killed some seventy of his officers, he sent an embassy to China to excuse his conduct. But the Emperor Hiao-yuan-ti had then stopped all communication with foreign countries, and the embassy was not received. As this emperor began to reign in 48 B.C., the conquest of Kipin by Yin-mo-fu may be placed about 50 B.C.  

2. The people of Kipin had gold and silver money which bore on one side the figure of a horseman, and on the reverse the head of a man. Wylie says a man on horseback and a man's face. Now it is remarkable that the only coins which tally with this description are those of Mius and of the nameless king. But as there are neither gold nor silver coins of the latter the description can apply only to the former. This being the case, the coins with a horseman on one side and a king's head on the other should belong to Yin-mo-fu, the conqueror of Kipin, and Yin-mo-fu should therefore be Mius, or Miusos. There is a tempting resemblance between the two names, which, supported by both time and place, suggests the possibility of identifying Yin-mo-fu, King of Kipin, with Mius, or Miusos, whose coins belong to the same country as well as the same age.

With respect to the name of the king, I must confess that it is still uncertain. Twenty-five years ago, when I got my first two tetradrachms, I read the name as HPAOY,

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* Remusat, Nouv. Mélanges Asiatiques, i. p. 206
* Num. Chou., N.S., ix. p. 70.
or Heraüs, as I noted at the time in the Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society. In 1874, after Mr. Percy Gardner had published the British Museum coin, on which he also read the name as Heraüs, I was induced to examine the silver oboli of the same king which I had lately acquired. On some of them I found a sloping stroke in the first letter of the name, which seemed to agree with the first letter on the two tetradrachms, Nos. 3 and 4 of the accompanying Plate. I then read the names as NIAOYE, or MIAOYE, and also on some of the oboli as NIAIOY, or MIAIOY. On looking over the recorded names of Indo-Scythian kings, it struck me that the Greek name might possibly be a variant form of the Chinese name of Pin-mo-su. Except for this possibility I cannot say that my present reading of Minuis is preferable to my early reading of Heraüs. For the solution of the doubt we must await the discovery of a second specimen of the bilingual copper coinage, as the native rendering of the two names in Arian characters would be very different. Heraüs would most probably be РАЙЛ, Herayasa, while Minuis would be РАЙЯ, Mia-
yasa.

But whether the name of the king be Heraüs or Minuis, it is certain that he belonged to the KOPLANO, or Kushâna tribe, and consequently that he could not have been a Saka. I will now try to make this clear. For many centuries before the arrival of the Yuechi horde in Bactriana, the provinces on the Jaxartes and Oxus had been occupied by the Sakas, or Sacae, where they successively opposed the armies of Cyrus, Darius, and Alexander. Their language, as shown by their names as well as by the Scythian version of the cuneiform inscriptions of Darius, has little in common with that of the Kushânas who formed one of the five tribes of the Yuechi—a great
Turkish horde. Darius records the suppression of the rebel Sarukha, a leader of the Sakas. Herodotus describes the Scythians in the army of Xerxes as Amurgian Scyths who carried the battle-axe called Sagaris. They were therefore the same people whom Darius calls Saka-Humacarga. There can be little doubt therefore that they were the same as the Sagaranaka, who also carried the Sagaris, from which they must have derived their name. I have long ago identified the Sagaranaka with the Sarducha of Trogus by reading A for Δ, and sliding the ɡ. The words of Trogus are very important: "Scythicæ res additae, reges Thocarorum Asiæni, interitusque Sarducharum." Now the Thocari are the Yuechi, who were called Tusharas, or Tukharas, by the Indians, and Tu-ho-lo by the Chinese; and the Asiæni must be the Kushāns, or Guashāns, whose chief conquered the other four tribes, and took the title of "King of the Kushāns." The Sarduchas are the Sai, or Sakas, who were driven out by the Kushāns. Now this title of "King of the Kushāns" is found on all the coins of Kujula Kadphizes, the Yuechi chief who conquered Hermæus, the last of the Greek kings of India.

That the Yuechi were a different race from the Sakas is shown by their history as related by the Chinese annalists. In the beginning of the second century a.c. they were driven by the Hiungnu from their home in the province of Shensi, near the Great Wall of China. They retired to the west, and, being again defeated and their king killed by the Hiungnu, they migrated still farther to the west, and settled in the country along the Jaxartes in a.c. 163. In a short time they spread over the whole of the provinces on both banks of the Oxus, from which,

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*Justinian, Prol., chap. xlii.*
about 130 to 126 B.C., they expelled the Tu-Hia, or Bactrian Greeks, and the Sai, or Sakas. One hundred years later the chief of the Kuei-shwang, or Kushân tribe, having subdued the other four tribes, united the whole horde of the Yuechi, and took the title of "King of the Kushâns," after which he conquered the Kabul Valley, where he came into contact with the Greek king Hermeus.

Now this title of "King of the Kushâns" is the same that was borne by Kanishka, who is styled in Court’s Manikyâla inscription "Samvardhaka Gushâna sama," or "the aggrandizer of the Kushân race." In the Sanskrit history of Kashmir he is called a Turushka, or Turk. Hwen Thsang calls him a Tuholo, or Tukhâra, while Biruni and other early Muhamedan writers call him a Türk, to which Biruni adds that his ancestor, the founder of the family, was Barhatigin. As Tigin is a Türkì word, this statement furnishes another proof of the Türkì origin of the Kushâns.

Hwen Thsang says that the language of Folihsiatangua, or Kabul, was different from that of Tuau-ku-ta, or Kipin.11 Again, in speaking of Teau-ku-ta, or Kipin itself, he says that the writing and language were different from that of other countries.12 But if the Kushâns were Sakas, the language of the Kushâns of Kâbul and of the Sakas of Kipin (Sakastene) would have been the same. The Kushâns are, in fact, separately distinguished from the Sakas in the Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudra Gupta under the well-known title of Daicaputra Shihî, which was used by Kanishka and his successors in all their inscriptions.

12 Beal, ii. p. 284; Julien, iii. p. 188.
In the face of all these facts I do not see how it is possible to maintain the identity of the Sakas and the Kushans. Even if the word which I read as ΣΑΝΑ should hereafter be found to be actually ΣΑΚΑ, as read by Mr. Gardner and Dr. Oldenberg, I should object to these two distinct peoples being rolled into one tribe of Saka-Kushans. My explanation would rather be that Heraüs, or Miaûs, was the king of both peoples—of the Kushans by inheritance, and of the Sakas by conquest.

I will now describe the different coins of this king which I have given in Plate III.

TETRADRACHMS.

Obv.—Bare head of king, diademed, to right, with long hair and moustaches, surrounded by border of fillets.

Rev.—King on horseback, to right, left hand holding bridle, right hand resting on bow-case attached to saddle. Victory flying behind with wreath in outstretched hand to crown the king. Legend in corrupt Greek characters in one half-circle above, and two straight lines below.

No. 1.—ΤΥ/ΑΝΝΟΥΝΤΟΣ ΗΙΑΟΥ ΣΑΝΑΒ.IOΛΟΥ.

2.—ΤΥ/ΑΝΝΟΥΝΤΟΣ ΗΙΑΟΥ ΣΑΝΑΒ ΚΟ/ΑΝΟΥ.

3.—ΤΥ/ΑΝΝΟΥΝΤΟΣ ΜΙΑΟΥ Σ. Ι. Ν. Ι. ΟΒΗΝΥ/ΑΝΟΥ.

4.—ΤΥ/ΑΝΝΟΤΟΥΟΥΣ ΗΑΟΥ ΣΑΝΑΒ ΠΙΑΝΟΥ.

5.—ΤΥ/ΑΝΝΟΥΟΥΝΣ ΟΑΟ‡, ΣΑΝΑΒΙΨΙΑΝΟΥ.

6.—ΤΥ/ΑΝΝΟΥΝ ΥΠΙΑΝΟΥ.

EOA BY

The British Museum specimen agrees very closely with Nos. 1 and 2, but the coin of M. Tiesenhausen, quoted by Mr. Gardner, appears to be more like No. 4. My No. 6.
is an ancient forgery thickly plated. The other five coins average 226 grains, the heaviest, No. 4, being 240 grains.

Oboll.

The small silver coins preserve very successfully the portrait of the king as shown on the tetradrachms. The weight varies from 8 to 9, 9½, 10½, and 11 grains. Mr. Thomas 12 notices one of these oboli in the possession of General Pearse, but he seems to have looked upon it as belonging to the barbarous imitations of the oboli of Bukratides, as he describes it as "an example of an exceptionally common class of silver coins," whereas General Pearse's and Masson's specimens are the only coins that I know of in addition to my own.

Obv.—Bare head of king to right, as on the tetradrachm, in a dotted circle.

Rev.—Male figure, standing to right, with both hands raised. Greek legend in two perpendicular lines.

No. 7. — ΜΙΑΙΟΥ. | ΚΟΡΚΑΝΟΥ.
8. — ΜΙΑΙΟΥ. | ΚΟΡΚΑΝΟΥ.
9. — ΜΙΑΙΟΥ. | ΚΟΡΚΑΝΟΥ.
10. — ΜΙΑΟΥ. | ΟΙΑΙΟΥ.
11. — ΜΙΑΟΥ. | ΚΟΡΚΑΝΟΥ.
12. — ΜΙΑΟΥ. | ΟΠΚΑ.

Copper Chalkous.

18. Obv.—King's head to right, with Arian legend illegible.

Rev.—King on horseback to right, with Victory flying behind, as on the tetradrachms. Greek legend imperfect.

I can read TYPAN to left, and KOIC below, but I do not see any trace of letters between the horse's feet.

12 Bartrian Coins and Indian Dates.
Some day, perhaps, a lucky find will give us the king's name in Arian characters. The legend on the right looks as if it was Maharayusa.

With respect to the letter Β at the end of the word ΣΑΝΑΒ, Mr. Thomas has a curious note in which, by some legerdemain, he makes it an undeveloped form of a well-known monogram Β. This he takes for Drangia; but unfortunately in the Greek spelling of the name ΔΡΑΓΓΙΑ there is no Ν, while there are two γαμμας, of which there is no trace in the monogram.
COINS OF THE KUSHÁNS,  
OR 
GREAT YUE-TI. 

PART III 

BY 
MAJOR-GENERAL SIR A. CUNNINGHAM, 

REPRINTED FROM THE NUMISMATIC CHRONICLE, 
Vol. XII, Third Series, Pages 40—82. 

LONDON: 
1892.
COINS OF THE KUSHĀNS, OR GREAT YUE-TI.

CLASS C.

(See Plates IV.—VIII.)

Before describing the coins of the Kushāns, it is necessary that I should state my reasons for considering them a separate race, quite distinct from the Sakas, or Saka Scythians. This is the more necessary as the Turki nationality of the famous King Kanishka has lately been denied by Mr. Ferguson, relying on the erroneous reading of the legend of a single coin. The coin was a tetradrachm of Heraüs, or Miaûs, on which the legend of ΣΑΝΑΒ ΚΟΡΓΑΝΟΥ was read as ΣΑΚΑ ΚΟΙΠΑΝΟΥ, or King of the Sakas. In my original paper on the coins of this chief,¹ I suggested that the word ΣΑΝΑΒ might be only the Greek form of the title of Tsanyu or Tanju, which is itself a contraction of the Chinese Tsam-li—Khu-thu—Tan-ju, or "Heaven's-son-Great," or "Great son of Heaven." My suggestion has since been confirmed by the acquisition of a duplicate copper coin, on which in Gandharian characters I read the Indian title of Dēraputra, which has exactly the same meaning. As this title is used by the three Kushān kings Kanishka, Hu-

¹ *Num. Chron.* 3rd Series, viii. 47, and x. Pl. IX. fig. 3.
vishka, and Vasu Deva, its use by Minus would seem to prove that he also was a Kushan, as I had already pointed out by my reading of KOPLANOY.

The earliest notices of the Kushans we owe to the Chinese. In B.C. 165 the Great Yue-ti, being driven across the Jaxartes by the Huing-nu, succeeded in establishing themselves in Sogdiana. After some time they advanced to the Oxus, and about B.C. 126, they were found by the Chinese envoy Chang-kao in full possession of Bactriana, from which they had driven out the Tuk-hia, or Greeks, and the Sai, or Sakas. The horde then consisted of five tribes. One hundred years later, or about 20 B.C., the chief of the Kushan tribe subjugated the other four tribes, and took the title of "King of the Kushans." This king, named Kien-tsiiukhio, then crossed the Caucasus and occupied the Kabul valley. He has been identified by general consent with Kujula Kadphises of the coins, who was the contemporary of the last Greek King Hermius. His son, named Yun-Kao-ching, is said to have conquered India. As Yun, Hun, and Wan are only dialectical variants of the same term, I have identified the conqueror of India with the Hima or Wenna Kadphises of the gold and copper coins, and also with Wen, the common ancestor of no less than ten of the reigning families of the Yue-ti in Bactriana and Sogdiana. All of these chiefs bore the title of Shao-sue, which I long ago identified with the ZAOOY of the coins of Kozola Kadaphes.

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1 Remusat, Nouv. Mélanges Asiatiques, i. 227.
As these Chinese accounts are generally corroborated
by the few statements of classical authors which have
come down to us, I will now compare them together.

1. Strabo (Geogr. xi. 8-2) states that "the best known
tribes (of Scythians) are those who deprived the Greeks
of Bactriana, the Asii, Pasiani, Tokhari, and Sakarauli,
who came from the country beyond the Jaxartes." Here,
then, Sakarauli are clearly the Sakas, and the Tokhari are
the Yue-ti, who drove out the Sakas. The Pasiani I would
identify with the Kushâns. Trogus also refers to the
same events when, after noting the rebellion of Theo-
dotus, he says [Prolog. xli.]: "Deinde qua re pugnantes
Scythicæ gentes Sarauca et Asiani Bactra occupavere et
Sogdianos."

2. The death of the Parthian King, Phraates II.,
a.c. 126, in battle with the Scythians, as related by Justin
[xlii. 1], I would refer to the retreat of the Sakas south-
ward before the Yue-ti. The death of the next Parthian
King, Artabanus II., in a.c. 123, in battle with the
Thogariti, I would refer to the advance of the Tokhari,
after the defeat of the Sakas.

3. The Chinese account of the subjugation of the four
tribes of the Yue-ti by the chief of the Kushâns (the fifth
tribe), is confirmed by the statement of Trogus (Prolog.
xlii.), "Addite res Scythicæ"; "reges Thogarorum
Asiani, interitusque Saraucarum." This I take to be a
succinct record of the fact that the Kushâns (Asiani)
gave kings to the Tokhari, and defeated the Sakas
(Sarauca).

4. Both Trogus and Justin spell the name of this
people with Tha, as if derived from a Greek source. I
notice this spelling for the purpose of referring to a state-
ment of Pliny, who says that the stone Callaina, of a pale
green colour, is found in the country of the Phycari. As he locates the Phycari at the back of the Indian Caucasus, I would correct the name to Thychari, by changing the Greek @ to O. This change is supported by the fact that the Callais or Callaina stone, the "Turquoise," is most plentifully found at Nishapur in Khorasan, in the Western extension of the Caucasus. We thus learn that the Tokhari had pushed their conquests westward as far as Nishapur, before the time of Pliny, or say as early as 50 A.D. By the Hindus these princes were named in Sanskrit Tushāra, or "men of the snowy land." But the Pali or spoken form of the name was Tukhāra, which was the original of the Toxapōi of Strabo and Ptolemy, and of the Tu-ho-lo of the Chinese. The name is still preserved in Tokhāristan.

The successor of Yun-kao-ching (or Wema Kadphises) was Kanishka, of whom we possess several brief but independent notices, all of which give the most clear and satisfactory evidence that he was not a Saka.

According to the Raja Tarangini (i. 170), he was a Turushka, or Turk (Turushkānwaya).

In Court's Manikyāla inscription, he is called "the aggrandizer of the Gushān race" (śramaṇarāja Gushāna rājasa).

According to Biruni (Sachau's translation, ii. 11), Raja Kanik was the descendant of the Turki chief, Barhataqin, the founder of the Shāhiya rule in Kabul. He is further described as being dressed like a Turk, in a high hat and boots, which is a very exact description of the costume of

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¹ Nat. Hist., xxxvii. 33.
² I would identify him with Butechino, or the "dun wolf," who was believed to be the progenitor of the whole race.
the Kushān kings, Wema Kadphises and Kanishka, as seen on their coins.

Having thus shown, as I believe conclusively, that Kanishka was a Kushān Tukhāra, it follows that he could not have been the founder of the Saka era. The era is, in fact, always ascribed to a Saka King in hundreds of inscriptions. In one of the most ancient inscriptions, indeed, the establishment of the era is referred to the abhithaka, or "installation" of the Saka king. I believe that the actual founder of the Saka era was the Saka king Choshtauna, the Tiestanes of Ptolemy, whose descendants certainly made use of it in dating their coins and inscriptions.

But if Kanishka did not found the Saka era, it does not seem likely that he would have used it. What, then, is the era which is found in the inscriptions of the three Kushān kings, Kanishka, Huvisaka, and Vasu Deva, in both the Gandharian and Indian characters. This I believe to have been the Seleukidan era. My reason for this belief is the fact that the Kushāns make use of the Macedonian months. The names of Artemision, Panemos, and Apellaion were first read by myself. Daisios followed soon after; and I am now able to add Peritios. It seems therefore a reasonable conclusion that the Kushāns must have adopted the Macedonian calendar of the Seleukidæ. If so, the date of these three Kushān kings might be explained by the omission of the hundreds of the Seleukidan era, which we know was a common practice in India in reckoning the Sapt Rishi kāl, or "Era of the Seven Rishis." This mode is used in fact throughout the Raja Tarangini. I find the same mode also on the coins of the Rajput Chief, Maluya Varma Deva, which bear the shortened date of S. 83, as well as the full date S. 1283
This practice of expressing curtailed dates, by leaving out the hundreds, had already been adopted on some of the coins of the Greek kings, Eukratides and Heliokles. Mr. Thomas thus explained the letters ΠΓ = 83, on the coins of Heliokles, by pointing to the full date of ΠΠΓ = 183, on a tetradrachm of the same king in the British Museum. In the same way I would explain the letters NA = 51, and ΟΓ = 73, on the tetradrachms of Eukratides as being intended for 151 and 173 of the Seleukidion era.

The earliest and latest dates of Kanishka yet found are 8. 7 and 8. 28, which, if referred to the Saka era would be A.D. 85 and 106. But if read as 407 and 428 of the Seleukidion era, they would correspond with A.D. 95 and 116. The difference from the Saka era is only ten years; but I must confess that I feel a strong repugnance to the use of the Saka era by the Kushāns. I fully believe that the Saka era was founded by a Saka king; but as it is not possible that the Kushāns might have adopted the same era, I am willing to make use of it as giving at any rate a very close approximation to the true dates of the Kushān kings. Their dates would, therefore, be as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>B.C.</th>
<th>A.D.</th>
<th>Comments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>Kujula Kadphises</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70</td>
<td></td>
<td>Wema Kadphises</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>78</td>
<td></td>
<td>Kujula Kara Kadphises</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>120</td>
<td></td>
<td>Kanishka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>150</td>
<td></td>
<td>Huvishka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>176</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>Vāsu Deva</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Kujula-Kadphises.**

The coins of the Scythian chief, Kujula Kadphises, King of the Kushāns, are very numerous both in the
Kabul valley and in the Western Panjâb. From his coins we learn that he was the over thrower of the last Greek king, as we find the name of the Greek Hermæus associated with that of the Scythian Kujula Kadphises on the same coins. On those with the joint names of Hermæus and Kujula, the Greek legend is invariably blundered, as ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΤΗΡΟΣ ΣΥ ΕΡΜΑΙΟΥ. But the same blundered legend is also found on the small coins with the figures of Victory and of Zeus seated, which bear the name of Hermæus alone, although the native legend is quite correct. Fifty years ago, I suggested that the letters ΣΥ might possibly be intended for Συγγενής, the "kinsman" of Hermæus, by the marriage of the Greek king’s daughter with the Scythian conqueror. In this manner Seleukos and Chandra Gupta became allies; and at a later date the Sassanian Hormisdas II. married the daughter of the Kushân King of Kabul. Such an alliance would have secured for Kujula a favourable reception by the Greek subjects of Hermæus. I only offer this as a mere conjectural explanation of the puzzling ΣΥ.

The coins Nos. 5 and 6 of Plate XIV. are specimens of a new and rare type, on which the king is represented, with a helmet, on the obverse, and armed with a spear and shield on the reverse. A clay seal with the same figure is given in Ariana Antiqua, Pl. IV. 6, amongst the relics found by Masson in the Kotpur Stûpa.

Kozola-Kadaphes I take to be only a variant spelling of the same king’s name, on the issue of a different mint. The head seems to be imitated from the coins of Augustus, his contemporary.

The coins with the two-humped camel were formerly assigned to Azas. Several years ago I read the name in
the long native legend as *Kujula-Kara-Kadphises*. He must have been a king of the Kushâns, as he takes the well-known Kushân title of *Deva-putra*. I conjecture that he may have been the eldest son and immediate successor of Kujula Kadphises, and, therefore, the predecessor of Wema Kadphises. So far as I know, his coins are rarely found to the west of the Indus.

**Wema-Kadphises.**

The coins of Wema Kadphises offer little variety. The reverses, without a single exception, are confined to the worship of the Indian god, Siva. On some, the god is represented standing alone, holding a trident in his right hand, with the tiger's skin on his left arm, and a water vessel in the hand. On others he is accompanied by his bull, Nandi. On the small gold coins, *quarter dinârs*, the type is simply the trident of Mahadeva with the axe attached to the side.

On a single double dinár the king is seen sitting on a throne with both feet resting on a footstool, and holding a flower in his right hand. On the other coins he is represented holding a club either in front of his face or resting on his right shoulder. On a single gold dinár he is seen riding in a two-horse chariot with his club resting on his right shoulder and a small driver in front.

The Greek inscriptions are invariably in the nominative case, either *BASILEVOC BASILEWN OOMHO KADPHICH* as on the copper coin, or simply *BASILEVOC OOMHO KADPHICH* as on the gold coins. The native inscription is always in the possessive case, *Mahârajâsrajâ ajadhirajâs varelopa ikuruna mahâvaruna hiim kathpisana trada.* I have long ago
identified Hima, or OOHMO, with Wen, the common ancestor of all the Kushân kings. Wen is identical with the variant pronunciation of Yen and Hen. The Chinese give this name at full length as Yen-kao-ching, and attribute to him the conquest of India. His rule probably extended from 30 to 70 A.D.

**KANISHKA.**

The name of Kanishka has been preserved by the Chinese both in its full form as Kiu-ni-se-kia, and also in its common spoken form as Ka-ni-kia, or Kanikh. It is found in the native history of Kashmir as Kanishka, a Buddhist prince of the Turushka race; and in its shortened form of Kanak it is preserved by Al Biruni as the Turki king of Kabul, who founded the great Stûpa at Parshâwar. In his inscriptions his name is invariably written Kanishka, both in Indian and Gandharian characters. On his coins the Greek spelling is KANHPOKOY and KANHPOKI, which may be rendered as Kaneshka, taking the abnormal ρ to be intended for sh.

On his coins we see the various changes of his religious belief. According to the Chinese pilgrim, Hwen Thasang, "he had no faith either in right or wrong, and he lightly esteemed the law of Buddha." His earliest coins show a preference for the pantheism of the Greeks in the worship of Helios, Salene, and Hephaistos. Then comes a mixture of Mazdean fire-worship and Indian nature-worship, followed by his conversion to Buddhism. The name of Kanishka is famous in Indian history as the great patron of Buddhism, who assembled a synod of five hundred monks in Kashmir, under Pârswika, for the compilation of an authoritative text of the Buddhist scriptures.
The inscriptions of Kanishka are dated in various years, from S. 7 to S. 28—which, if referred to the Saka era of 78 A.D., are equivalent to A.D. 85 and 106.

Huvishka.

Huvishka, the Hushka of Kashmirian history, was certainly the successor of Kanishka, as the dates of his inscriptions begin with S. 33, and continue at various intervals down to S. 51 of the Wardak record. The Buddha Gayā Colossal Buddha, which is dated in S. 64, I would also attribute to his reign, as the impression of one of Huvishka's gold coins formed part of the Relic deposit under the throne of the Great Temple of Mahā-bodhi at Buddha Gayā. As the two extreme dates of S. 33 and S. 64 are equivalent to A.D. 111 and 142, I think that we may safely assign to him a long reign, from S. 32 to S. 72, or from 110 to 150 A.D. The Roman gold coins found in the Ahimpoch Stūpa confirm this date, as the latest coin of Sabina, the wife of Hadrian, cannot be earlier than 136 A.D.

The coins of Huvishka present the same mixed cult of Mazdean and Indian origin as those of Kanishka, with a few additions such as the Mazdean Ashavikšaḥo and Oaninda, and the Indian Mahasena, Skanda Kumāra, and Visaktka. His gold coins, which are very numerous, present the king's bust, and on one rare variety the head only. A few very rare coins show the king seated or riding an elephant. The copper coins present the full-length figure, either riding on an elephant, or lounging on a couch, or sitting crossed-legged. On two very rare copper coins, now lost, the king was shown on his knees before the goddess NANA.
COINS OF THE KUSHANES, OR GREAT YUE-TI.

VASU-DEVA.

Vasu-Deva is connected with Kanishka and Huvishka by the similarity of his coinage in weight, make, and type, and in the peculiarity of using only Greek inscriptions. Three of his gold coins were found in a ruined Stūpa, below Ali Masjid, and there was a large number of them in the treasure trove of about 1,200 dinārs found at Peshāwar. They are common also all over the Punjāb and in North-west India. His inscriptions have hitherto been found only at Mathura and in the Indian character. But other inscriptions in Gandharian characters show that it was in use for some time after his reign. The dates of his Mathura inscriptions range from S. 74* to S. 98, or from A.D. 152 to 176. I think it probable, therefore, that his reign may have extended from 150 to 180 A.D.

The most notable peculiarity about his coins is the change in the symbol. His three predecessors, Wema Kadphises, Kanishka, and Huvishka, had all made use of the same symbol. But the symbol of Vasu-Deva must have had some marked significance, as it is used as the sole type of one of his copper coins (Pl. XXIV. fig. 1) with his name in Indian characters, written perpendicularly, Vasu. This particular symbol continued down to the time of the Guptas. The only innovation that I notice on the coins of Vasu-Deva is the representation of the god Siva, with three heads and four arms, in the orthodox Indian fashion.

* Originally I read this date as 44, but as the symbols for 40 and 70 are very similar I have no hesitation in correcting my reading to 74 (see Archæol. Survey ill., Pl. XV., No. 8), as we know certainly that Huvishka was reigning from S. 33 to S. 51.
Types of the Coins.

As many of the coin types of the great Kushân kings, Kanishka, Huvishka, and Vasa-Deva, appear to me to refer to the worship of the seven planets, and the various functions assigned to their regents, I have thought it most convenient to arrange them in the same order as the names of the seven week-days. I find about thirty different types, most of which appear to be susceptible of explanation. The chief difficulty lies in determining the source from which each name may have been derived, whether from India or Persia. At the first glance we can see that the figure labelled MIIPO is the Persian Mithra, or the sun, while that labelled MAACHNO must be the Indian god of war, Mahasena. The goddess NANAIA, or NANA, must also have been derived from Persia, while CKANΔO-KVMAPO is clearly the son of the Indian god Siva. The termination of all the male names in O shows a decided Iranian influence. But the Kushâns themselves were a Turki tribe of Scythians, of whose worship we know absolutely nothing. On examining the coins of the first two kings I find that Kujula Kadphises adopted the type of the standing Herakles, while Wema Kadphises adopted the type of the Indian god Siva with his bull. But as the Greeks had already, as early as the time of Alexander, identified that Indian god with Herakles, I infer that the chief object of the early Kushân worship must have been the Scythian Herakles, or Sapaleizes, whom I would identify with the Scythian god Gebeleizes of Herodotus. A figure of Herakles was carried in front of the army of Porus. The
people of the plains also are said to have worshipped Herakles,7 while the people of the hill country worshipped Σορούς, that is Surya Dera, or the "sun," and not Dionysos, the "god of wine," as Khares, of Mytilene, erroneously translated the name by οὐνομοσ, or the "wine-maker."

The objects of worship in ancient India and Persia sprang from a common source. The gods of India are well-known. Those of Persia have been described by Herodotus, Strabo, and Diodorus. They comprised the sun and moon, and the four elements of fire, wind, earth, and water, with the firmament of Heaven over all. Herodotus adds that "these were the only gods whose worship had come down to them from ancient times; but they afterwards adopted the worship of Urania from the Assyrians." This new goddess is Anaitis (Namaia or Venus), whose worship was introduced by Artaxerxes Mnemon.

In the time of Herodotus the Persians had no temples and no images; but both temples and statues of Mithra and Anaitis were introduced during the reign of Artaxerxes I. (B.C. 485—435). About four centuries later statues of Omanos, Anaitis, and Anadatus were seen by Strabo in a temple of Kappadokia. The statue of Omanos, which was of wood, was carried in procession. The temples were Pyraetheia in which a perpetual fire was kept. These are the Fire Temples of the Parsi books, called Azer or Ader. Each temple received a separate name from the planet or power to which it was dedicated. The

7 Strabo, xiv. 1-58.
following lists are taken from Hyde's *Relig. Vet. Pers.* 100, and from the Bundahist (West, p. 21):—

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Temple</th>
<th>Planet</th>
<th>Planeta</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Azur i Mihr</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>Sun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Azur i Nush</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Moon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Azur i Behram</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Mars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Azur-i-ayin</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Mercury</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Azur i Khurdad</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Jupiter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Azur i Barzin</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>Venus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Azur Zarduash</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Saturn</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These names clearly represent the seven planets. But there is another set of seven names, consisting of Ahuramazd and the Ameshaspentas, or Amashaspands. They were originally mere abstractions which, being afterwards personified, were held to be the offspring of Ahuramazda. Their names are—

_Haurestät_, genius of health, presided over water.
_Ameratät_, genius of immortality, presided over trees.
_Kehathru-varya_, perfect sovereignty, presided over metals.
_Asha Vahishta_, holy order, genius of fire.
_Armaiti, Vessu Aramati_, goddess of earth.
_Vohuman_, good thought, god of living beings.

The names of the Amashaspands are taken from the Gāthas, or earliest portions of the Avesta, which are generally admitted to be as old as the time of Darius Hystaspes. It must be remembered, however, that _Ormazd_ is mentioned in the inscriptions by Darius himself.

During the six centuries between Darius and Kanishka
several of the names preserved in the Gāthas of the Avesta became much modified. The later forms of the Indo-Scythian coins, as Dr. West observes, "bear a strong resemblance to Pahlavi, with a general leaning rather towards modern Persian than towards Avesta forms." All of these changes will be noticed hereafter.

A Zoroastrian origin for some of these Indo-Scythian deities has been claimed by Dr. A. Stein, based on a new reading of the variant form of the Greek ρο in the names Ranishka and Huvishka, and of their tribal name of Kusháñ. So far back as November, 1860, when I read the name of Huvishka in the Mathura inscriptions as they were exhumed, I recognised that he was the OOUPKI of the coins, and the Hushka of Kashmir history, as well as the Huvishka of the Gandharian inscription on the Wardak Vase. This change I explained by the well-known usage of the Turki dialects, which substitute r for an initial s or s. The title of ßAÖ I took for the simple title of Rao or Rajà. I see that M. Ed. Drouin notes that Rao is a modern form; but I believe this to be a mistake, as the title of Rao is commonly used by the bard Chand before A.D. 1200, and is found in all the bardic chronicles at a still earlier date. In fact, the Raos of Jaisalmer are said to have used no other title from the very foundation of their kingdom in the first century A.D. But as the title of ßAONANO ßAO shows a decided Persian form like Shāhāna-Shāh, instead of the Indian form of Rājā-Rājānām,

* The identification of Hoerki with the Hushka of Kashmir I had made as early as 1845. See Journal Bengal Asiatic Society for that year, p. 481.
I am willing to accept Dr. Stein’s reading of this abnormal form of ro with the side stroke lengthened upwards as sh. It is, perhaps, not impossible that the Kushāns themselves may have pronounced the title as Rao, whilst all other people said Shao. But the Chinese form of the title Shao-xml seems to confirm the native pronunciation of Shao. I may note also the fact that r and sh were interchangeable letters in ancient Persia, according to Dr. West, who says that in dealing with Avesta names “we have to recollect that ura and asha (r and sh) are merely dialectical variants of the same sound, as ancient *ura = Avesta asha, Avesta persotam = peshotam, and Pahlavi arda-rakhista = Astarakhista.” Following these examples the title of Shao might have been dialectically pronounced Rao by the Kushāns. The earliest Kushān coins of Mianis and Kozola Kadaphes spell the name as Korsun with the common rho. I suspect that the adoption of a modified form of the Greek rho as P, sh, may have been purposely intended to show its intimate connection with the original P or r. The Indian pronunciation of the title, as declared by the Indian inscriptions of Kanishka and Vasu Deva, was certainly shāki; and the same pronunciation was perpetuated by the later coins. The general adoption of some portion of the Mazdean cult was certainly due to Kanishka, as his predecessor, Wema Kadphises, was a steady worshipper of the Indian Siva, whose trident, with battle-axe attached, is seen on all his coins, along with the figure of the moon-crested

* Babylonian and Oriental Record, vol. i. 155.
* Babylonian and Oriental Record, vol. ii. 287.
god himself, and his bull Nandi. On the copper coins this king is represented with his right hand pointing downwards near an altar, which is usually described as a fire altar. This type of the king sacrificing was adopted by all his successors.

I possess a curious copper coin (Pl. XV, fig. 14) which must almost certainly belong either to Wema Kadphises or to his successor Kanishka. On the obverse is the king sacrificing, but turned to the right. On the reverse is a double-faced bust, the right face being beardless and the left face bearded. Before the former is the well-known three-pronged symbol of the Nameless King, and before the latter is the symbol used by Wema Kadphises and Kanishka. There are traces of legends on both sides, but nothing is legible. In my account of the coins of the Nameless King I have noted that both he and Wema Kadphises have the same peculiarity of using the nominative case, while the forms of some of the Gandharian letters, which are common to both, are not used on other coins. These facts are, perhaps, sufficient to show that the two princes were contemporaries. But this new coin seems to offer a closer connection between them, if, as I suppose, the double-faced bust gives us the heads of the two kings united together. Perhaps it was due to a league between them that the Saka chiefs were driven out of Northern India in the first century A.D.

The names of the deities represented on the coins of Kanishka are certainly not Scythian. The goddess NANA was of Babylonian origin, but her worship had been adopted by Artaxerxes Mnemon, who set up her statues in several of the principal cities of the Persian empire. On the coins which bear Greek inscriptions she
is called NANAIA. Her figure may, perhaps, be a copy of some Persian statue; but its pose and action agree so closely with those of the other deities that I feel satisfied the whole were the offspring of the same period during the reign of Kanishka. The designs I would attribute to the school of Indo-Greek art, which about the same time produced so many fine specimens of architecture as well as sculpture.

The finest coins are those which bear the Greek title of BACILÆVC BACILÆWN with the figures of ΗΙΟC, ΢ΑΛΗΝΗ, ΗΦΑΙΣΤΟC, and NANAIA. These figures were afterwards copied exactly on the coins which bear the native title of ΡΑΟΝΑΝΟ ΡΑΟ, with the corresponding native names of ΜΙΠΟ, ΜΑΟ, ΑΘΡΟ, and NANA. The remaining names are partly Persian and partly Indian with the single exception of ΗΡΑΚΙΛΟ, or Herakles, with whom the Indo-Scythians identified the Indian god ΟΚΦΩ. This figure of Herakles is undoubtedly Greek; and the standing figures of ΟΚΦΩ with a club are direct copies of it. But the other figures of ΟΚΦΩ, with the trident and the bull Nandi, are certainly of Indian origin. Some have three heads and four arms. That the Indians possessed statues long before the time of the Indo-Scythians we know from the sculptured remains of Asoka’s period at Bodh Gayā and Sānchi. But we have also the direct testimony of Q. Curtius, who says that a figure of Hercules (Herculis Simulacrum) was carried in front of the army of Porus."

On a single gold coin of Kanishka we have a represen-

tation of Buddha, under the name of **BOΔΔΟ.** The figure is standing with the right hand raised in the act of blessing. He is also represented in the same attitude on some rare copper coins with the title of **CAKA MANO BOYΔΟ, or Sakya-Muni Buddha.** On a few copper coins Buddha is represented sitting in native fashion on the ground, with his right hand raised in the act of teaching. I have referred to these coin figures because they are the earliest representations of Buddha that have yet been found. The sculptures at Bodh Gayā (s.c. 250) and at Bharhut (s.c. 150) are remarkable for the absence of any figure of Buddha. His empty throne, his hair (**chudā-mani**), his bowl, and his foot-prints, are frequently shown; but I have not seen any Indian sculptured figure of Buddha himself prior to the time of Kanishka. The earliest figures are those found in Gandhāra to the west of the Indus. This is the more remarkable as the Indian representations of Lakshmi at Bodh Gayā and Bharhut are found very exactly copied on the coins of the Indo-Scythian Azilises. Even at Sānchi, so late as the middle of the first century a.d., there are no figures of Buddha. I think, therefore, that the well-known designs of Buddha, both sitting and standing, which were spread all over India from Mathura to Ceylon, must be ascribed to the Indo-Greek sculptors of the Indo-Scythian king Kanishka, about a.d. 100. I may add also that the designer, whoever he was, has clad

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11 See Brit. Mus. Cat., Pl. XXVI. 8, and XXVII. 2; also *Ariana Antiqua*, Pl. XIII. 1, 2, 3. This reading is Mr. Rapson's.
12 See my coin in *Bengal Asiatic Society Journal*, for 1845, and Von Sallet, Pl. VI. 1.
the figures appropriately in Indian garments, in the
ṣaṇghāṭī, or kilt, fastened round the waist, and the uṭtaraṣaṇghāṭī, or robe, which sometimes enveloped the whole
figure, and at other times was so arranged as to leave the
right shoulder bare. As the artist had daily opportuni-
ties of seeing Buddhist monks, he may be credited with
clothing the Teacher in his native costume, instead of in
the foreign garments of Greece, the khīlūm and hinuation,
as described in *Brit. Mus. Cat.* p. 133.

Kujula Kadphises, the founder of the Kushán kingdom,
would appear to have been content with the simple reli-
gion of his ancestors, who worshipped the god of Death,
a deity carrying a club, whom the Greeks identified with
Herkles, and the Indians with Fama or Siva. His suc-
cessor, Wema Kadphises, or Yen-Kao-Ching, the conqueror
of India, continued the same worship, and adopted the
Indian figure of the god Siva and his bull Nandi on all
his coins. But a complete change took place after the
accession of Kanishka, whose wide domains probably ex-
tended from the Caspian on the west to the junction of
the Ganges and Jumna on the east. In Court’s Manikyāla
inscription he is expressly named as the “aggrandizer of
the Kushán race,” *Guhana-vānas Samrādhaka*. His terri-
tories embraced large portions of both Persia and India,
with the natural consequence that the barbarian conqueror
adopted much of the religions of the two conquered races.
This result is clearly displayed on the numerous coins of
Kanishka and his successor Huśishka, which are described
in the following pages. Altogether, their coins give the
names of no less than 33 deities, of which several are
unmistakably Greek, while the rest are partly Persian,
and partly Indian. Several of the names are, of
course, only different appellations of a single deity with different functions. Thus the regent of the planet Mars, who represented the element of Fire, was also the god of Battle, with whom was associated the goddess of Victory. These three figures are all described in the group of the planet Mars.

As before stated, I have divided all the names into seven classes, according to my view of their affinities with the seven planets, and in the order of the seven weekdays. The coins bearing the name and figure of Buddha form an eighth class. In the following lists the names are arranged in their respective groups. The letters K and H stand for Kanishka and Huvishka, the kings on whose coins the different deities are found. With the single exception of one piece of Nanaia, the gold coins of Vasu Deva present only the single type of Sica. His copper coins give all the seven deities in very rude style.

Since writing the above I have received a gold coin of Huvishka, with the reverse of ΑΡΩΟΑΣΠΟ, which has led me to reconsider the probable meaning of the name. I now think that it may be rendered by Arcea-Aspo, taking arcea as "air" in gentle motion, as represented by the walking horse. The word arcea in fact seems to be identical with the Greek ἀέρα and the Latin aura. The name of ΑΡΩΟΑΣΠΟ must therefore be assigned to No. IV. group of Mercury, following ΟΑΔΟ. The quick-running figure of ΟΑΔΟ represents the "Wind," or air in quick motion, i.e. ἀετός, or ventus, as distinct from the atmosphere which we breathe. The name may also be read as Arba-Aspo—and as Arba and Arcea are both names of Indra, the full name would mean "Indra's
steed," that is the "Wind" which brings the rain. Another similar name of the Wind is Prishadaswa, or Premaspes, or the "Rain Steed."

The discussion on the meanings of the different names will follow with the next paper on the coins of Huvishka.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>L. — Sun.</th>
<th>O.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ΝΔΙΟΣ</td>
<td>Halos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ΜΙΡΟ</td>
<td>Miros</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ΑΡΑΚΗΡΟ</td>
<td>Acharaka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ΑΙΝΟ</td>
<td>Aino</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ΟΜΒΟΡ</td>
<td>Ombor</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| K | K
| K | H
| H |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>II. — Moon.</th>
<th>☿</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ΣΑΛΗΝΗ</td>
<td>Saleno</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ΜΑΟ</td>
<td>Mao</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ΜΑΝΑΟ-ΒΑΓΟ</td>
<td>Mana-bago</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| K | K
| H |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>III. — Mars.</th>
<th>☿</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ΗΦΑΙΣΤΟΣ</td>
<td>Hephaistos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ΑΘΡΟ</td>
<td>Athron</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ΛΟΝ</td>
<td>Lon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ΑΡΟΝΑΣΠΟ</td>
<td>Aronaspod</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ΜΑΛΧΝΟ</td>
<td>Malxno</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ΚΑΝΑΔΟ-ΚΟΜΑΡΟ</td>
<td>Kandako-komaro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ΒΙΖΑΓΟ</td>
<td>Bizago</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ΟΡΑΛΓΝΟ</td>
<td>Oralgno</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ΟΑΝΙΝΔΑ</td>
<td>Oaninda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K</td>
<td>H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>IV. — Mercury.</th>
<th>☿</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ΟΑΔΟ</td>
<td>Oado</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P. Bad. S. Vita</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K</td>
<td>H</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**COINS OF THE KUSHANS, OR GREAT YU-TU.**
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MAZÂOÂOÂNO</th>
<th>K</th>
<th>K</th>
<th>K</th>
<th>K</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ΦÂPPO</td>
<td>K</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>K</td>
<td>H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ΠÂLÎHÂO</td>
<td>K</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>K</td>
<td>H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NÂNÂA A NÂNÂA</td>
<td>K</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>K</td>
<td>H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ZÂIPO</td>
<td>K</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>K</td>
<td>H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ΒOÂDÂO</td>
<td>K</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>K</td>
<td>H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>СÂAKÂ</td>
<td>K</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>K</td>
<td>H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ΒOÂDÎO</td>
<td>K</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>K</td>
<td>H</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Note: The letters K and H on the right hand stand for Kmrak and Hrvak, or the goddess of Fortune. As both presided over metals, they are represented in armour.*

1. *Avaro, Son of Earth (pro), is Krerva, the god of Richa, Sivli, the wife of Krerva.*
DESCRIPTION OF THE PLATES.

N.B. Unless otherwise noted, all the obverse legends are in Greek letters, and all the reverse legends of the coins of Kujula Kadphises and Wema Kadphises are in native characters. These native characters I have hitherto called Arian. Lassen called them Kabutil, and Wilson named them Arianian. I now propose to style them Gandharian, because they were used throughout Gandhara, to the east as well as the west of the Indus, from Kandahar to the Jumna. The name of Bactrian, or Indo-Bactrian, is certainly wrong, as no coins have yet been found to the north of the Indian Caucasus with any native characters, save those known as Chaldean-Pahlavi.

The coins of each king are numbered continuously on the left. The references to the Plates are given on the right.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Inčes.</th>
<th>Grams.</th>
<th>Plate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Ε</td>
<td>0.75</td>
<td>73 &amp; 90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΤΗΡΩΣ ΣΥ ΕΡΜΑΙΟΥ.**
Zeus enthroned, with r. hand extended. Mon. No. 10, forming Δ.

Maharaja mahatasa Hermayana.

**Head of King to r.**, as on No. 1. Legend the same.

| 2   | Ε      | 0.6    | 42    | XIV. 2 |
DESCRIPTION OF THE PLATES—continued.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Ø</th>
<th>Inches</th>
<th>Grains</th>
<th>Plate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>0.95</td>
<td>180</td>
<td>XIV. 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td>151</td>
<td>XIV. 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>0.75</td>
<td>89 &amp; 81</td>
<td>XIV. 5, 6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Winged Victory, with palm and wreath to l. Mon. No. 16, with prn.

Mahārāyana rāyāraya mahaśā na Herārayaśa.

N.B. Two reverses are given, so as to complete the native legend.

The Greek legend on these two coins requires special notice. The omeip is always omitted in ΣΠΤΗΡΟΣ, and the two letters ΣΥ are invariably inserted. I once thought that these letters might have been intended for Σύμμαχος, the "ally" of Hermāna. On No. 2 coin, with Victory, the high-sounding title of "King of Kings" (rāyāraya) is curious.

[Brit. Mus. Cat., xxv. 1.]

Head of King to r.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΠΤΗΡΟΣ ΣΥ ΕΡΜΑΙΟΥ.

Herakles standing to front, with club in r. hand and lion's skin on l. arm.

Kujula Kasaśa Kushāna Yavogata dharmathidasa.

[Brit. Mus. Cat., xxv. B.]

Head of King to r. ΚΟΖΟΥΛΟ ΚΑΔΙΖΟΥ ΚΟΡΓΝΑ.

Herakles standing as on last, and Gandharvan legend the same.

[5 coins, author.]

Helmeted head of King to r.

ΚΟΖΟΥΛΟ ΚΑ . . . ΚΟΡΓΝΑ.
Soldier armed with spear and shield to r.
Kuyula Kasasa Kushara Yavuasa.

**KOZOLA-KADAPHERS.**

Diademed head of King to r. Like head of Augustus,
KOZOLA ΚΑΔΑΦΕΣ ΧΟΡΑΝΧΥ ΖΑΟΟΥ.
King seated on chair. Symbol to l. Bra to r.
Kuyula Kasasa dharma-thidasa Khushanasa Yuassa.
A similar coin to No. 7, with Victory on the reverse, was lost
by wreck of Indus steamer.

On all these coins Kujula declares himself the King of the
Kushâns. On the smaller coins, No. 7, which are more neatly
executed, the tribal name, both in Greek and in the native
character, is spelt with Kh, as Kushân. The title of ZAOOU
is certainly the same as Shaou, which the Chinese give to
these Yuett. On the later coins of Kanishka it was shortened
to Shao. The imitation of the head of Augustus Cesar on
No. 7 confirms the date of Kujula, which we derive from the
Chinese, as lying between 20 B.C. and 80 A.D.

**KUJULA-KARA-KADAPHERS.**

[Brit. Mus. Cat., xxiii. 7.]

Humped Indian Bull to r. Buddhist symbol, No. 58, above.
Greek legend corrupt. ΝΙVΥΟHΙΝΔΝΙΝ.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Diameter (inches)</th>
<th>Weight (grams)</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Plate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td>167</td>
<td>Two-humped Bactrian Camel to r. Gandharan mon., No. 57, to r. Maharayasa Rayrayasa Devaputra Kuyula Kara Kaphusa. [2 specimens.] Humped Bull as on No. 1, with Buddhist symbol above. Corrupt Greek letters, ΝΑΘΙΥΙ. Bu. Two-humped Bactrian Camel to r., with ka and cha. Kuyula Kara Kaphasa Maharayasa rayatrayasa. [Von Sallet, Pl. VI 9, 10.]</td>
<td>XIV. 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>Types and legends as on No. 4. When I first saw these coins, I read the name as Kujulakasa instead of Kujula-kara, as I remembered the name of Linaka Kusalaka. But as I find on 20 specimens that the last letter is certainly not s, but either r or t, I read</td>
<td>XIV. 12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>67–26</td>
<td></td>
<td>XIV. 13</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
the name, with some confidence, as Kujula-Kara. I suppose that he may have been a son of the founder of the Kushan dynasty.

**Hema-Kadphises.**

*Brit. Mus. Cat., xxv. 6.*

King on throne to front, with flower in r. hand; both feet on footstool. He wears a tall helmet, with front peak and fillet, and long tunic with sleeves, and large Tartar boots.

Symbol, No. 58.

**ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥϹ ΟΩΗΜΟ ΚΑΔΦΙϹΗϹ.**
The Indian god Siva, standing in front of his bull Nandi, holding trident in r. hand; leopard's skin over left arm; Buddhist combined symbol over Bull.

Maharajasa Rajadhirajasa Sarva-loga-isvarasa Mahiswarasa.
Hima-Kathpisasa tradatu.

The letter pi in the name has a St. Andrew's cross placed over its lower part, which I take to be the Gandharian letter th. This letter is properly a St. George's cross, +; but, as this upright form could not be added to p without absorption, I conclude that the sloping cross was adopted.

The high-sounding title of Sarvalokeswara, “King of the
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Inches</th>
<th>Grams</th>
<th>Plate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>2.50</td>
<td>2.50</td>
<td>245</td>
<td>XV. 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>245.5</td>
<td>XV. 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td>123.5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>249</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

World, was probably assumed after the conquest of N. India, which is ascribed to Yin-Kaouching, the successor of Kujala. [Brit. Mus. Cat., xxv. 7.]

King squatted in Eastern fashion, with crossed legs, wearing peaked helmet and diadem. Club in r. hand resting on shoulder; l. hand resting on knees. Symbol to l. The tunic is fastened at the neck by a couple of buttons or studs. Greek legend, as on No. 1.

Siva standing in front of Bull, as on No. 1, and Gandharian legend the same.

Bust of King to r., with helmet peaked and filleted. Club on shoulder, held by right hand. Flames behind left shoulder, symbol above. Greek legend, as on No. 1.

Siva standing in front of Bull, as before. Gandharian legend the same. [Brit. Mus. Cat., xxv. 8.]

Types and legends as on No. 3, but without Bull. Symbol of Kadphises to l., Buddhist symbol to r.

Bust of King to l., helmeted, holding club upright in r. hand before face, and some small indistinct object in l. hand, perhaps an elephant-goad. Greek legend, as on No. 1, and symbol of Kadphises.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>N</th>
<th>8</th>
<th>122.5</th>
<th>XV. 6</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>122.5</td>
<td>XV. 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45</td>
<td>80.5</td>
<td>XV. 8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>56.5</td>
<td>XV. 9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Siva standing before Bull. Gandharian legend as before, and Buddhist symbol.**

*Brit. Mus. Cat., xxv. 9.*

**Bust of King, with Greek legend as No. 5, and symbol of Kadphises.**

**Siva standing, without Bull. Gandharian legend as on No. 1. Symbol of Kadphises to l., and Buddhist symbol to r.**

*Brit. Mus. Cat., xxxii. 18; Ar. Ant. x. 9.*

**King in Riga to r., with club on r. shoulder. Small driver in front. Greek legend as before.**

**Siva standing to front, with trident in r. hand, and leopard-skin over l. arm. Gandharian legend as before, and both symbols as on No. 4.**

*Brit. Mus. Cat., xxv. 10.*

**Bearded head of King, in picture-frame; fingers of hand appearing outside lower part of frame. Greek legend as on No. 1.**

**Trident of Siva on stand, with battle-axe attached on l.; club to r. Both symbols. Gandharian legend, Maharaja Rajadrija Hima Kathpirua.**

*Brit. Mus. Cat., xxv. 11.*

**King standing to l., with r. hand over small altar, and l. hand on hip. Trident to l., and club to r.**

**ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΣ ΟΟΝΜΟ ΚΑΔΦΙΣ.**

**Siva standing, with Bull, as on No. 1. Buddhist symbol above.**
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Diameter (in.)</th>
<th>Weight (Gms.)</th>
<th>Obverse Description</th>
<th>Reverse Description</th>
<th>Plate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Ø 0.95</td>
<td>260</td>
<td>Maharajasa rajadrajasa Sarraloga-isaecarsa Mahisscarasas Hima- Kothiassa tradata.</td>
<td>N.B. The weight of this coin shows that it was intended for the equivalent of the Roman silver denarius, just as the gold coins of the Kushan kings had been assimilated to the Roman denarius aureus. But the name of the gold coin was also adopted as Dinar, which is found in all the inscriptions of the Guptas. In fact, I look upon these Indo-Sassanian Dinars as a simple reissue of the Roman Denarii Aurei after recollection. The two coins would, therefore, have been current at the same time, the recollected Dinars in N. India, and the Roman Aurei throughout S. India.</td>
<td>XV. 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Ø 1.05</td>
<td>268.2</td>
<td>King standing to l. as on the silver coin. Trident and chib. Kadphises symbol, and Greek legend as on No. 1. Siva standing before Bull, trident in r. hand, leopard's skin over l. arm, and water-pot in hand. Buddhist symbol over Bull. The whole surrounded by a circle of reeds and pellets. No legend.</td>
<td>[Brit. Mus. Cat. xxv. 18.]</td>
<td>XV. 11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[2 coins, Author.]
Same as No. 11, but middle size.

[Brit. Mus. Cat., xxv. 13.]

Same as No. 11, but small size.

[Brit. Mus. Cat., xxv. 14.]

[Author, unique.]

Bust with two faces, surmounted by an Indo-Scythian helmet.
Left face, bearded, with Kadphises symbol in front.
Right face, smooth, with symbol of Nameless King in front.
King standing to r., sacrificing at small altar, like Wema Kadphises.

This coin is unfortunately in very bad preservation. There are traces of legends on both sides, but I cannot recognise any single letter with certainty. On the king's side the traces look like Greek.

In addition to the two symbols of Wema Kadphises and the Nameless King, I notice the following peculiarities, which are common to the coins of these two Princes.

1. Both use the same titles of ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΚΩΝ ΘΕΡ ΜΕΓΑΣ in the nominative case.

2. Both make use of a circular margin composed of reeds and pellets, in the place of the native legend.

3. Wema Kadphises holds a club upright before his face.
   The Nameless King holds a sceptre upright before his face.

4. Both use the same peculiar form of the Gandharian letter j, thus: ι.
DESCRIPTION OF THE PLATES—continued.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Height</th>
<th>Weight</th>
<th>Plate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td>128</td>
<td>XVI 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.85</td>
<td>122</td>
<td>XVI 2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

I may add that the coins of both kings are common in the Kabul Valley, throughout the Panjab, and in N.W. India, as far east as Benares and Ghazipur.

**KANISHKĀ.**

**THE SUN. O HELIUS. MIRO.** [B.M. from Author.]

Standing figure of King, bearded, with sword and spear; dressed in tunic, trousers, and boots, and holding r. hand over small altar. Cloak over shoulders, with ends flying out to front and rear.

**ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΚΑΝΙΣΧΚΟΥ.**

Radiate figure of Sun, standing, dressed in long tunic; l. hand on hip, and r. hand extended, with forefinger pointing before him. Symbol like that of Wema Kadaphises.

**HAIOC.**

King standing, with spear in l. hand, and r. hand over altar, as on No. 1.

**ФΡΟΝΑΝΟ ΦΑΟ ΚΑΝΙΣΧΚΙ ΚΟΡΑΝΟ.**

Radiate figure of Sun, as on No. 1, but with sword only. Kadaphises symbol. **MIPO.**
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Weight</th>
<th>Denomination</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>AE</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>AE</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>AE</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>AE</td>
<td>0.65</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**[Dichalkon.]**

King, and Greek legend as on No. 1.
Radiate figure of Sun, and symbol as No. 1. 

**[Hemiobolion.]**

King, standing, as on No. 1. 

**[Dichalkon.]**

Radiate Sun-god, as No. 1. 

Same types and legends as No. 4.

**[Dichalkon.]**

Same types and legends as No. 4.

N.B. The copper coins of the Kushána follow the weights of the drachma, didrachma, and tetradrachma. The first, of 66 gr., is the chalkous, the second is the dichalkon, and the third is the hemiobol. Taking the obolus at 11 gr., the rate of silver to copper was 1 to 48. This is the very same rate that I had already determined. (See Num. Chron., 1879, p. 216.)

**[Brit. Mus. Cat., xxvi. 1.]**

**[Moon.]**

King standing, with spear in l. hand, and r. hand over altar.

**[Mon. Cat.]**

Male figure of Moon standing, with crescent behind shoulders; sceptre in l. hand, and r. hand extended, with fore-
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th></th>
<th>Inches</th>
<th>Grams</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
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<td>0.85</td>
<td>122</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>120</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>0.55</td>
<td>80.5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>30.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Æ</td>
<td>1.05</td>
<td>200</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Æ</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>130</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Æ</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>65</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**DESCRIPTION OF THE PLATES—continued.**

- **finger pointing forward.** **ΣΑΛΗΝΗ,** and Kadphises symbol.

  - [Brit. Mus. Cat., xxvi. 9.]
  - King standing, as on No. 7, with crescent and sceptre.

  - **ΠΑΟΝΑΝΟ ΠΑΟ ΚΑΝΗΡΚΙ ΚΟΡΑΝΟ.**
  - Male figure of Moon, as on No. 7. MAO, with Kadphises symbol.
    - [Unique.]
  - King standing, as on No. 7. Same legend.

  - Four-armed Moon-god enthroned to front; crescent behind shoulders; sceptre and callipers in two hands, and two indistinct objects in other hands; feet on footstool.

  - Kadphises symbol to r. **ΜΑΝΑΟ—ΒΑΓΟ.**

  - Bearded bust of King to l.; sceptre in l. hand. Legend as on No. 8.

- **Figure of Moon as on No. 7.** Same symbol. **MAO.**

- **King standing as on No. 7.** Same legend.

- **Figure of Moon as on No. 7.** Same symbol. **MAO.**

  - [Brit. Mus. Cat., xxvii. 8.]

  - Bearded figure of King, standing, as on No. 7.

  - **ΠΑΟ ΚΑΝΗΡΚΙ.**

- **Standing figure of Moon-god, with crescent.** Symbol. **MAO.**

  - Same types and legends as No. 12.

  - Do. do. do.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Num. Armors</th>
<th>1228</th>
<th>1229</th>
<th>1230</th>
<th>1231</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>XVI. 11</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XVI. 12</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XVI. 13</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XVI. 14</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XVI. 15</td>
<td></td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name.</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Basiyeus Basileon KanhipkoY</td>
<td>Bearded figure of King, standing, spear in l. hand, r. hand over altar.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Standing bearded figure, with sword. l. hand on hip. r. hand holding wreath. Symbol of Kushans.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Same type and legend as last.</td>
<td>Male figure of god, with sceptre and wreath. Symbol, Aepo.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paiono Pao Kanhipko</td>
<td>Male figure of god, with sceptre and wreath. Symbol, Aepo.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male figure of god, with sceptre and wreath. Symbol, Aepo.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male figure of god, with sceptre and wreath. Symbol, Aepo.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male figure of god, with sceptre and wreath. Symbol, Aepo.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Num. Armors</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>N 0.55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>N 0.6</td>
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<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>N 0.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>N 0.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>N 0.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>N 0.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Description of the Plates—continued.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Inches</th>
<th>Grains</th>
<th>Plate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Ε</td>
<td>1.05</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>Ε</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Ε</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Bearded deity with wreath in r. hand, standing beside a bridled horse. Kadphises symbol. ΑΡΟΟΑΣΠΟ.</strong> [Brit. Mus. Cat., xxvii. 1.]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>ΑΕ</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>260</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>Μ</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>180</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>Μ</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>Ν</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Bearded figure of King. Symbol: ΞΑΟ ΚΑΝΗΡΧΙ.</strong> Same types and legends as No. 21. Do. do. do.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Mercury. ΟΔΟ. Υ</strong> [Brit. Mus. Cat., xxvii. 6.]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>ΑΕ</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>260</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>Μ</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>180</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>Μ</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Bearded figure of King, standing, to l., as on 16. ΞΑΟ ΚΑΝΗΡΧΙ. Male bearded figure, running, to l.; head rayed; holding up expanded dress with both hands. Kadphises symbol. ΟΔΟ.</strong> Same types and legends as No. 24.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>Ν</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Bearded figure of King, standing, as on No. 16. Legend the same.</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>Scale</td>
<td>Description</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>Helmeted figure of deity, standing, to r.; spear in l. hand; indistinct object in r. hand. Kadphises symbol: <strong>ΔΦΩΡΩ</strong>. Same types and legends as No. 27. [B.M., from Author.]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>0.75</td>
<td>122</td>
<td>King, bearded, standing, as on No. 16. Same legend. Mule figure riding a horse, with two heads, to r. Kadphises symbol: <strong>ΜΑΖΔΙΟΑΝΟ</strong>.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Venus Genetrix. Διόκρινος. Demeter.**

[Brit. Mus. Cat., xxvi. 6.]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Scale</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>122.5</td>
<td>Bearded King, standing, as on No. 16. Legend the same. Goddess, standing, to r.; modius on head; holding cornucopia in r. hand. Kadphises symbol: <strong>ΑΡΔΩΧΡΟ</strong>. [Brit. Mus. Cat., xxv. 13.]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>30.4</td>
<td>Types and legends as on No. 30.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>0.85</td>
<td>120.5</td>
<td>Bearded King, and legend, as on No. 16. Vima, in Indian letters, in field. Gandharvan letter, <strong>pr</strong>, to left. Goddess, with nimbus, seated on throne; holding wreath in r. hand, and cornucopia in l. hand. Kadphises symbol to l. Indian letter, <strong>r</strong>, to r. above throne. <strong>ΑΡΔΩΧΡΟ</strong>. [Author, unique.]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>Bearded King, as on No. 16. Greek legend, in stiff square characters, as on No. 16. Indian letter, <strong>pr</strong>, in field.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Description of the Plates—continued.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
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<th>Grains</th>
<th>Plate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>84</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>0.95</td>
<td>125.5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>85</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>0.85</td>
<td>80.2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>86</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>0.85</td>
<td>120.5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>87</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>30.2</td>
<td>XVI. 9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>88</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>0.55</td>
<td>81.0</td>
<td>XVI. 10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Goddess**, with nimbus, seated on throne without back; holding flower in r. hand, and wheat stem in l. hand. Kadphises symbol. ΑΡΔΟΝΔΟ.

**Venus. Nanaia. Artemis, Persephone.**

- **Bearded King**, and Greek legend as on No. 16.
- **Draped goddess**, standing to r., with nimbus and lunar crescent; sword on her left side, and sceptre in r. hand, with half-animal top. Kadphises symbol to r. NANA to l. 
  - [Brit. Mus. Cat., xxvi. 11.]
- **Types and legends** as No. 84.
- **Bearded King**, and legend, as No. 84.
- **Draped goddess**, with rainbow and crescent; sword at her l. side, and sceptre in r. hand. Kadphises symbol. NANA ΔΑΟ.
  - [Brit. Mus. Cat., xxvii. 11.]
- **Types and legends** as on No. 86.
- **Bearded bust** of King with sceptre to l., as on No. 10. Same legend.
- **Draped figure of Goddess**, as on No. 84. Kadphises symbol. NANA.
Bearded bust of King, with sceptre. **ΔΑΟ ΚΑΝΗΡΚΙ**.

Draped figure of Goddess. Kadphises symbol. **ΝΑΝΑ**.

[Brit. Mus. Cat., xxvi. 8.]

**ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΚΑΝΗΡΚΟΥ**.

Draped figure of Goddess, with nimbus and crescent; sceptre in r. hand, and flat dish in l. hand. Kadphises symbol. **ΝΑΝΑΙΑ**.

[Brit. Mus. Cat., xxvii. 5.]

Bearded King, standing, as before. **ΔΑΟ ΚΑΝΗΡΚΙ**.

Draped Goddess, as before, Kadphises symbol. **ΝΑΝΑ**.

Same types and legends as No. 41.

Do. do. do.

**ΣΑΤΥΡΝ. ΟΡΣΗ. ΗADES.**

[Brit. Mus. Cat., xxvi. 12.]

Bearded figure of King, standing, to l., as usual, with light cloak over shoulders; spear in l. hand, and r. hand over altar.

**ΠΑΟΝΑΝΟ ΠΑΟ ΚΑΝΗΡΚΙ ΚΩΡΑΝΟ.**

Four-armed male deity to front. In his two r. hands small hand-drum, and water-vessel with mouth downwards;
DESCRIPTION OF THE PLATES—continued.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Inches.</th>
<th>Grains.</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>45</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>0·5</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>0·5</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47</td>
<td>æ</td>
<td>1·05</td>
<td>260</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48</td>
<td>æ</td>
<td>0·8</td>
<td>180</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49</td>
<td>æ</td>
<td>0·7</td>
<td>70</td>
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</table>

Buddha.

<table>
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<th></th>
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<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>50</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>0·8</td>
<td>100·2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Buddha, standing, to front, with nimbus; clad in long robes to mid-leg; carrying alms-bowl in L. hand; R. hand advanced to front, as if in act of blessing. Kadphises symbol BOΔΔO.

N.B. This is one of the usual attitudes of the standing figures of Buddha.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Plate</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>XVIII. 2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XVIII. 3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XVIII. 4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XVIII. 5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XVIII. 6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XVIII. 7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Bearded figure of King, and legend, as usual, on copper coins.  
Figure of Buddha, with nimbus, standing, to front; hands raised before breast. Legend beginning from upper left hand, and continuing round on r. hand, in boustrophedon fashion. **CAKA MA**. Kadphises symbol.  
**OΔYOBOY** (to be read from right to left).  

Similar. [Author.]

**[Arian. Ant., xiii. 1. Middle size.]**

Figure of King, and legend, as on No. 51.  
Buddha, standing. Greek legend, beginning from left of head downwards, and continuing from Buddha's left foot upwards. **CAKA MANO BOYΔO**. This reading I owe to Mr. Rapseon.  


**[Author.]**

Bearded King, standing. **PAO KANHΔKI**.  
Buddha, seated, with left hand in lap, and right hand raised in the attitude of blessing. **ΔYBOY**. to be read backwards, as, **(CAKO MANO) O BOYΔO**.  


Similar. [Author.]

King Kanishka, standing, armed. **PAO KANHΔKI**.  
Buddha, seated, on pediment, with both hands raised in front.  

**XVIII. 8**

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**XVIII. 9**

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**XVIII. 10**

---

**XVIII. 12**

---

**XVIII. 14**
<table>
<thead>
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<tr>
<td>Denomination</td>
<td>16</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

**Description of the Plates—continued.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Obverse</th>
<th>Greek legend incomplete. Reading on left, CAK; and on right, N BOYΔ.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No. 58</td>
<td>Obverse thick coin, taken from a sketch made in 1842. Coin XVIII, 15</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Harrana (7).**

*Obverse.*—King riding on an elephant. Legend in very corrupt Greek letters, quite unrecognizable.

*Reverse.*—Buddha seated, with left hand on knee, and right hand raised in front of breast, in the attitude of blessing.

Legend in large Gandharan characters:

In 1845 I read the name, as *Hauptoφes*, tentatively. But, with a very slight correction, it reads quite clearly, *Haribho*. As the elephant-rider on the obv. is the commonest type of Harrana's copper coins, this reading of the name seems very probable. The use of the Gandharan letters in this legend is quite unique.
COINS OF THE KUSHANS,
OR
GREAT YUE-TI.

BY

MAJOR-GENERAL SIR A. CUNNINGHAM,
K.E., K.C.I.E., C.S.I.

REPRINTED FROM THE NUMISMATIC CHRONICLE,
Vol. XII., Third Series, Pages 98–159.

LONDON:
1892.
COINS OF THE KUSHÂNS, OR GREAT YUE-TI.
(See Plates IX.—XIV.)

HUISHKA.

The gold coins of Huvishka offer four different busts of the king, which, to save needless repetition, I will now describe. All four representations are given in Plate XIX., marked A, B, C, D, by which letters they will be quoted.

A—is a very rare large head of the King, covered with a round jewelled helmet with spreading crest, and the ends of the diadem hanging down behind. A large ornamental earring is in the ear, and flames spring from the shoulders. The legend, in badly-formed Greek letters—

ΔΑΟΝΑΝΟ ΤΑΟ ΟΟΗΠΙΚΙ ΚΟΦΑΝΟ.

"The King of Kings HUVISHKA, the Kushân."

B.—Half-length figure of the King to left, with pointed helmet, thickly jewelled, holding sceptre in left hand, and club in right hand before face. On some coins the sceptre is changed for the ankus, or "elephant-goad," which refers to the King as an elephant rider, as seen on his copper coins.

C.—Half-length figure of the King, with round jewelled helmet, to left, club and ankus in hands.

D.—The same half-length figure of King to the right.

On some of the coins the King's name is ΟΟΗΠΙΚΙ, Huvishki.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Images</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Images</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Images</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Half-length figure of King, as C. Sun-god, MIPO, radial to right, and Moon-god, MAC. Symbol of Havishta, and lower members.</td>
<td><img src="https://example.com/1.png" alt="Image" /></td>
<td>Half-length of King, as C., name, OHOHPI—Havishta. Sun-god radiates to L., sceptre in r. hand, l. hand on hip. Havishta symbol.</td>
<td><img src="https://example.com/2.png" alt="Image" /></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>121</td>
<td>0.075</td>
<td>122</td>
<td>0.075</td>
<td>121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>123</td>
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<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>0.075</td>
<td>123.5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Description of the Plates:**

- **Plate XIX. 1:**
  - Description: Half-length figure of King, as C. Sun-god, MIPO, radial to right, and Moon-god, MAC. Symbol of Havishta, and lower members.
  - Image: ![Image](https://example.com/1.png)

- **Plate XIX. 3:**
  - Description: Half-length of King, as C., name, OHOHPI—Havishta. Sun-god radiates to L., sceptre in r. hand, l. hand on hip. Havishta symbol.
  - Image: ![Image](https://example.com/2.png)
<p>| 5  | N  | 0.80 | 122.5 | Halflength of King, as B, but round helmet. Sun-god radiate to l., sceptre in l. hand, r. hand extended, sword by side. Huvishka symbol. MIPO. |
| 6  | N  | 0.80 | 122.5 | Head of King, as A. Legend as on A. Sun-god radiate to l., carrying sceptre and sword. Huvishka symbol. MIPO. |
| N  | 0.80 | —    | 122.5 | A quarter-Dinar, of same type. |
| 7  | N  | 0.75 | 123   | Halflength of King, as B, and also as D. Sun-god radiate to l., right hand extended, l. hand on sword. Huvishka symbol. MIOPO (sic). |
| 8  | N  | 0.85 | 122.5 | Halflength of King, as B, with round helmet. Sun-god radiate to r., holding sceptre in r. hand, wreath in l. hand. Huvishka symbol. MIPO. |
| 9  | N  | 0.70 | 120   | Halflength of King, as B, with round helmet. Sun-god radiate to l., holding wreath in r. hand, l. hand on sword. Huvishka symbol. MIPO. |
| 10 | N  | 0.75 | —     | Same as No. 9, but Sun-god has a very small wreath. MIPO. [Brit. Mus. Cat., xxviii. 1.] |
| 11 | N  | —   | —     | Same as No. 9, but Sun-god has both sword and sceptre. |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Obverse</th>
<th>Reverse</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Half-length of King, on E. Sun-god radiate to 1, with sword. 1 hand on hip, r. hand extended. Huvishka symbol. APA&lt;IAPO = Awarina.</td>
<td>190-5</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Half-length of King to 1, as B. Sun-god radiate to 1, with r. hand extended, and 1 resting on sword. Huvishka symbol. OMP&lt;IOOP = Omerop.</td>
<td>193-6</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Half-length figure of King to 1, as B. The second letter is very corrupt. Sun-god radiate to 1, with r. hand extended, and 1 resting on sword. Huvishka symbol. ONIA, or AIKSO, read from r. to l.</td>
<td>196-7</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The copper coins of Huvishka present three different obverses, as represented in Plate XIX. under the letters E, F, and G.

E.—The Raja is represented riding an elephant, with sceptrum in right hand, and an elephant goad ("ankus") in left hand. Legend, in corrupt Greek characters—

\[ \text{P} \text{A} \text{O} \text{N} \text{A} \text{N} \text{O} \ \text{P} \text{A} \text{O} \ \text{O} \text{O} \text{H} \text{P} \text{E} \ \text{K} \text{O} \text{P} \text{A} \text{N} \text{O} \]. See Brit. Mus. Cat., xxix. 2.

F.—King seated on throne with radiated back, r. leg raised up and resting on seat, l. leg hanging down. Brit. Mus. Cat., xxix. 5, 6.

### Description of the Plates—continued.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
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<th>Plate</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>260</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>260</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>260</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Plate 1: Sun-god Radiate, as on Copper Coins of Kanishka.

- **King riding an Elephant to r., as E. Legend as E.**
- **Sun-god radiate, as on copper coins of Kanishka. Havishka symbol.**

**MIIPO.**

### Plate 2: Sun-god Radiate, as on Kanishka's Copper Coins.

- **King seated on throne, with right leg raised, as F.**
- **Sun-god radiate, as on Kanishka's copper coins. 58 symbol.**

**MIIPO.**

### Plate 3: Sun-god Radiate, as on Kanishka's Copper Coins.

- **King sitting cross-legged in Indian fashion, as G.**
- **Sun-god radiate, as on Kanishka's copper coins. 58 symbol.**

**MIIPO.**

### The Moon: G. MAO.

- [Brit. Mus. Cat., xxvii. 17.]

**XX. 1**

- **Half-length of King, as C. Legend as A.**
- **Four-armed Moon-god seated on throne, to front, with feet on footstool; crescent behind shoulders. In two left hands, sceptre and callipers; in two right hands, indistinct objects. No. 58 symbol. MANAOBA GO.**

[Brit. Mus. Cat. xxvii. 28.]

**XX. 2**

- **Half-length of King, as C.**
- **Moon-god to right, with crescent behind shoulders. In l. hand, sceptre; in r. hand callipers. No. 58 symbol. MAO to l.**
Half-length of King, as B.
Moon-god to r., with crescent behind; sceptre in r. hand; sword at side. Huvishka symbol, No. 58 to r. MAO to l.
[Brit. Mus. Cat., xxvii. 21.]

Similar to No. 21, but Moon-god to left, and King figure as C.
[Brit. Mus. Cat., xxvii. 19.]

Half-length of King, as B.
Moon-god to l., with crescent; sceptre in l. hand; r. hand extended. Huvishka symbol to l. MAO to right.

Half-length of King, as B.
Moon-god, with crescent, facing l.; r. hand extended; l. hand on hip. Symbol, and MAO.
[Brit. Mus. Cat., xxvii. 20.]

Same types as No. 28.
[Brit. Mus. Cat., xxvii. 22.]

Half-length of King, as C.
Moon-god with crescent, sceptre in l. hand, sloping; sword by side. Huvishka symbol. MAO.

Half-length of King, as B.
Moon-god to l., with crescent; l. hand on sword; r. hand holding wreath. Huvishka symbol to l. MAO to r.

Half-length of King, as B.
Moon-god to l., with crescent; sceptre and sword; wreath in r. hand. MAO.

A quarter-Dinar, of same type.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pl.</th>
<th>Mass.</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>136</td>
<td>Half-length of King, as B.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>0.80</td>
<td>Half-length of King, as B.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>129</td>
<td>Half-length of King, as B.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Mass.</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>0.80</td>
<td>Half-length of King, as B.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>129</td>
<td>Half-length of King, as B.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>128</td>
<td>Half-length of King, as B.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>Half-length of King, as B.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>Half-length of King, as B.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>Half-length of King, as B.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Victory, winged, to right, carrying wreath and trophy, or cornucopiae. Symbol, **OANINDO**.

**MAHASENA.**

[Brit. Mus. Cat., xxvii. 16.]

87  N  0.75  122  Half-length of King, as C.  
Male deity to front, with nimbus, holding in r. hand a standard surmounted by a bird; his l. hand resting on sword. Huvishka symbol, **MAACHNO**.

**SKANDA-KUMARA AND VISARA**.

[Brit. Mus. Cat., xxviii. 22.]

88  N  0.80  122.5  Half-length of King, as C.  
Two male figures, standing, to front, both nimbate, and carrying sword and sceptre. Symbol between them. Symbol, **SKANDAO KOMARO BIZAGO**.


89  N  0.50  —  Same types and legends as No. 88.

[Brit. Mus. Cat., xxviii. 24.]

40  N  0.75  122  Half-length of King, as C.  
Three figures standing side by side in a temple, each nimbate. The middle figure is inscribed, **MAACHNO**; that on the left, **SKANDAO KOMARO**; and that on the right, **BIZAGO**.
DESCRIPTION OF THE PLATES—continued.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Ø</th>
<th>Inches</th>
<th>Grains</th>
<th>Plate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>41</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>1:00</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>XX. 18</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
|     |   | King riding Elephant to r., with sceptre and ankus. 
|     |   | Fire-god, \( \text{Αθηρό} \) = Athsho, as on copper coins of Kanishka. 
|     |   | Huvishka symbol. |
| 42  | Ø | 0:90   | —      | XX. 19 |
|     |   | King riding Elephant. 
|     |   | Figure of Fire-god, Athsho, with hammer and tongs; with mistaken legend of \( \text{ΜΑΟ} \), the "Moon." 
|     |   | N.B. I attribute this blundered inscription to the ignorance of the die-sinker, and not to accident, as I have met with several specimens of \( \text{ΑΡΔΟΧΘΟ} \) with the cornucopias duly labelled \( \text{ΜΑΟ} \). The blundered legends of the obverses also point to the same conclusion of the die-sinker's ignorance of Greek. 
|     |   | [See Prinsep’s Essays i., Pl. XXXII. 18.] |
| 48  | Ø | 1:00   | —      | XX. 20 |
|     |   | Rude figure of King riding Elephant, Jumbled Greek legend, as made out by Prinsep from four specimens: 
|     |   | \( \text{ΟΙΛΗΩΗ ΟΙΑΡΟΙΑΛΗΙΑΡΟΙΙΙΩΗ} \). 
|     |   | Figure of Fire-god, as usual, with l. hand on hip, and r. hand extended. Huvishka symbol to l.; to right, \( \text{ΟΛΗ} \). 
|     |   | The obverse legend does not seem to retain any trace of
the usual ΠΑΟΝΑΝΟ ΠΑΟ, but is more suggestive of ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΩΝ.

MERCURY. ΟΑΩΟ. ־

[Very rare; only 2 specimens.]

King riding Elephant to r. Legend obliterated.

Male figure, running quickly, to l., carrying a light scarf, which forms a canopy overhead. ΟΑΩΟ.

[Author, unique.]

Half-length of King, with pointed head-dress, as B.

Bearded male figure, standing, to front, beside an ambling horse.

Huvishka symbol. ΑΡΩΑΑΡΘΗ.

N.B. On the similar type of Kanishka the horse has only one leg raised.

JUPITER. ΠΙΑΒΡΙΟ. ־

Half-length figure of King, in highly ornamented dress, to l., nimbate and diademed; with sceptre in l. hand, and, in r. hand, standard with bird on top. Legend corrupt.

ΠΑΟΝΑΝΟ ΠΑΟ ΟΟΗΡΚΙ ΚΟΡΑΝΟ.

Male figure, nimbate, to left; sceptre in l. hand, and holding out in right hand a flat vessel containing "grain seeds."

Huvishka symbol. ΦΑΡΡΟ.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Inches</th>
<th>Grains</th>
<th>Plate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>N</td>
<td>0.75</td>
<td>123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>[Brit. Mus. Cat., xxviii. 28.]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Half-length of King, as B, with sceptre and club.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Same figure as on last, but helmet winged. In l. hand, sceptre, and in r. hand a closed bag. Huvishka symbol. ΦΑΡΡΟ.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>0.80</td>
<td>123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>[Brit. Mus. Cat., xxviii. 28.]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Half-length of King, with sceptre and bird standard, as on No. 48.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Same figure as on last, with sceptre in l. hand, and closed bag in r. hand; the whole surrounded by foliage. Symbol ΦΑΡΡΟ.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>0.80</td>
<td>123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>[Brit. Mus. Cat., xxviii. 28.]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Half-length of King, as C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Male figure, nimbate and diadem, with winged head-dress.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>In l. hand, sceptre; in r. hand, wreath. Symbol ΦΑΡΡΟ.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>0.80</td>
<td>123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>[Brit. Mus. Cat., xxviii. 29.]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Half-length of King, as B, with round helmet.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Male figure, nimbate, with winged head-dress; sceptre in r. hand, left on hip, holding ankus. Symbol ΦΑΡΡΟ.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>0.75</td>
<td>121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>[Brit. Mus. Cat., xxviii. 29.]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Half-length of King, as C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Male figure as on last, but turned to left, and without ankus.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Huvishka symbol. ΦΑΡΡΟ.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>0.75</td>
<td>123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Half-length of King to l., as C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Same figure as No. 51, but facing to r. Winged head-dress.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Sceptre in left hand, and flat vessel in right hand. Huvishka symbol. ΦΑΡΠΟ.

Same types and legends as No. 52. (See Brit. Mus. Cat., xxviii. 80.)

[Brit. Mus. Cat., xxviii. 25.]

54 | N | 0.75 | 122 |
Half-length of King, as C.
Male figure, with winged head-dress, facing l.; holding flat vessel of shooting corn in r. hand, and resting l. hand on hilt of sword. Symbol of Huvishka. ΦΑΡΠΟ.

[Brit. Mus. Cat., xxviii. 26.]

55 | N | 0.80 | 122 |
Same types as No. 54, but the god holds sceptre in l. hand.
Winged head-dress strongly marked. Flames or ornaments on shoulders. Symbol: ΦΑΡΠΟ.

[Brit. Mus. Cat., xxviii. 27.]

56 | N | 0.80 | 123-8 |
Same types as Nos. 54 and 55, but deity facing to right, and holding in left hand a flat dish filled high with fruits. Huvishka symbol. ΦΑΡΠΟ.

N.B. Mr. P. Gardner describes the patera on these coins as containing fire, but the same vessel filled with fruits is seen on the coins of ΑΡΔΟΧΡΟ.

[Brit. Mus. Cat., xxviii. 81.]

57 | N | 0.80 | 122.4 |
Half-length of King, as C.
Mute deity, with winged head-dress and nimbus, standing on a small circular frame, his r. hand extended, and l. hand holding some indistinct object. Huvishka symbol. ΦΑΡΠΟ.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Inches</th>
<th>Origna.</th>
<th>Plate</th>
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<tr>
<td>58</td>
<td>0.85</td>
<td></td>
<td>XXI. 14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>59</td>
<td>0.85</td>
<td></td>
<td>XXI. 15</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>XXI. 16</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**King riding Elephant, as Plate XIX., fig. E.**

Male figure, standing, to left, with sceptre in left hand, and a bag in extended right hand. Huvishka symbol. οIoAPO.

Same types as last. Huvishka symbol. ΦΑΡΡΟ.

**Sardonyx—Seal. Author.**

Two figures, male and female, standing facing each other.

The Male figure, with winged head-dress, holding sceptre in right hand, and flat vessel, with sprouting corn, in left hand—exactly like Pharro of the coins.

The Female figure, with modius on head, and cornucopias in left hand—exactly like the Ardokhsho of the coins. A lunar crescent above, and a child behind the male figure. Inscription, in corrupt Greek letters:

ΧΑΡΟΒΑΛΑΝΟ = Khasho Balano.

As the same legend is found on a seal of different type, it must be the owner's name (General Pearse).

**Agate—Seal. Author.**

Female figure, standing, with modius on head, and cornucopias in left hand. Right hand extended towards a child. Greek legend, in late letters, ΠΟΟΓΑΟ = Shao Gao, the "Queen of Earth." Gao is one of the Old Avesta names for the Earth, as Go is one of the Sanskrit names.
Chalcedony—Seal. King's Antique Gems, Plate IV., fig. 12.
"Sassanian Queen and infant Prince, inscribed "Arminlochter," vol. ii., p. 45.
Female, standing to left before child, holding cornucopiae in right hand. Legend, in Chaldeo-Pahlavi letters, Arman-
dukhta, or "Queen Arman," that is, "Queen Earth." The old Avesta name for the Earth-goddess is Armaiti, which is the same as the Vedic Aramati.

Dukhta, "Princess or Queen," was the common Sassanian royal title, as in Aria-dukttha, the Queen of Artaorxes I., and also Pura-dukht and Azermi-dukhthta, two of the late reigning Queens. Zarman-dukhth was one of the Armenian Queens.

**EARTH. ARDOXHOS. DEMETER.**

[Brit. Mus. Cat., xxvii. 12.]

King riding Elephant to right, sceptre in right hand, ankh in left hand.

**ΔΑΟΝΑΝΟ ΠΑΟ ΟΟΗΔΚΟ ΚΟΡΑΝΟ ΠΑΟ.**

Draped female to right, holding cornucopiae in both hands.
Huvishka symbol. ΑΡΔΟΧΡΟ.

[Brit. Mus. Cat., xxvii. 10.]

Half-length of King, as B. Usual legend.
Draped female, standing, to r., holding cornucopiae with both hands. Huvishka symbol. ΑΡΔΟΧΡΟ, in straight line.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Plate</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Grains</th>
<th>Diameter (inches)</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>65</td>
<td>XXII. 8</td>
<td>Half-length of King. Draped female, standing, to left, holding cornucopia before her. Huvishka symbol. <strong>ἈΔΟΧΠΟ.</strong></td>
<td>128</td>
<td>0.80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>66</td>
<td>XXII. 4</td>
<td>Half-length of King. Draped figure of <strong>ἈΔΟΧΠΟ</strong> to left, holding cornucopia in l. hand, and wreath in r. hand. Huvishka symbol.</td>
<td>122.5</td>
<td>0.80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>67</td>
<td>XXII. 5</td>
<td>Half-length of King, as C. Draped female to l., holding cornucopia in l. hand, and wreath in r. hand. Huvishka symbol. Legend, <strong>ΔΟΧΠΟ</strong>—perhaps corrupt.</td>
<td>122.5</td>
<td>0.80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>68</td>
<td>XXII. 11</td>
<td>Half-length of King, as C. Figure of <strong>ἈΔΟΧΠΟ</strong>, as on No. 68.</td>
<td>80.5</td>
<td>0.80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>69</td>
<td>XXII. 8</td>
<td>King riding Elephant, nimbate, with sceptre and ankus. Goddess standing to front, with cornucopia in l. hand, and r. hand on hip. Huvishka symbol. <strong>ἈΔΟΧΠΟ.</strong></td>
<td>0.90</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70</td>
<td>XXII. 7</td>
<td>King riding Elephant, as on No. 68. Goddess, nimbate, to left, with cornucopia in l. hand, and wreath in r. hand.</td>
<td>0.90</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Shahrevar, or Airavava. God of Wealth.

[Brit. Mus. Cat., xxviii. 17.]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>71</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>0.80</th>
<th>122.5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Half-length figure of King, as B.
Male figure to right, fully armed, with helmet, spear, and shield. Huvishka symbol. Pəʊ PHOPO, in straight line.

[Brit. Mus. Cat., xxviii. 19.]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>72</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>0.80</th>
<th>123</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Half-length figure of King, as B.
Male figure, fully armed, to r., with helmet, spear, and shield. Huvishka symbol. Pʌɬ PHOPO, in curved line.

[Brit. Mus. Cat., xxviii. 18.]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>78</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>0.80</th>
<th>128</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Half-length figure of King, as B.
Male figure with spear to left, shield on right arm. Huvishka symbol. PəʊPHOPO.

Ridh, or Riddhi. Goddess of Fortune.

[Brit. Mus. Cat., xxviii. 20.]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>74</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>0.80</th>
<th>122</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Half-length figure of King, as B.
Armed female, standing, to right, with helmet, spear, and shield. Huvishka symbol. PIΔH.

N.B. Riddhi, the goddess of Fortune, was the wife of the Indian Kuvera, the god of Wealth, who was also named Airavava.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>76</td>
<td>King sitting cross-legged, helmeted, and dishevelled, holding in left hand a standard surmounted by bird; right hand on front of breast.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>77</td>
<td>Half-length figure of the goddess Nana, standing to the right, with crescent and nimbate sceptre in right hand, with her symbol on left side.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>78</td>
<td>Half-length figure of King, with round helmet, with crescent and nimbate sceptre on left hand and a standard in right hand.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Description of the Plates—continued.**

**Venus or Artemis, Nana. Euphrates.**

**[Brit. Mus. Cat., xviii. 10.]**

**PAONANO PAO OOHPKO KORANO PAO.**

**Draped figure of the goddess Nana to left, with crescent on right hand, and dishevelled sceptre in right hand, with Havravaiy symbol to right, NANA.**

**XXII. 12**

**XXII. 18**

**XXII. 14**

**XXII. 15**
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>0.80</th>
<th>121</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>79</td>
<td></td>
<td>0.80</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80</td>
<td></td>
<td>0.75</td>
<td>122.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>81</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>82</td>
<td></td>
<td>0.80</td>
<td>123</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Half-length of King to left, with sceptre and club, as B.

The goddess NANO, with nimbus and crescent, to right, as Artemis, holding bow in left hand, and drawing an arrow with right hand from quiver at her back. Huviahka symbol.

[Author, only 2 coins.]

Types as No. 79, but legend ΨΡΟ, perhaps ΖΗΡΟ = Zohra, the Persian name for Venus. According to Hesychius, Zarēsis was the Persian Artemis.

Jacinth—Seal. Author.

The goddess Namath, sitting to front on a recumbent Lion; crescent on her head, and symbol in right hand. General Pears has a duplicate in red carnelian, with the same inscription. The letters are, apparently, corrupt Greek —ΦΕΙΧΟΔΑΝΟ.

N.B. As the same legend is found on another seal of quite a different subject, it is probably only the name of the owner.

[Author, now in Brit. Mus.]

Half-length of King, nimbat, to left, as B, holding sceptre in left hand, and club in right hand.

The goddess NANO, with nimbus, crescent, and sceptre, seated on a Lion, as on the gem No. 78. The Lion's feet are apparently fettered. Huviahka symbol to left.

[Author, only 2 coins.]
**DESCRIPTION OF THE PLATES—continued.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th></th>
<th>Inches</th>
<th>Grains</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>88</td>
<td></td>
<td>0.75</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Half-length of King, with nimbus, diadem, and pointed helmet, as B. Goddess, with nimbus and crescent, standing to right, holding patera with shooting corn in left hand, and her peculiar sceptre in right hand. Symbol, <strong>PAO NANA</strong>. On some specimens the legend is <strong>NANA PAO</strong>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>84</td>
<td></td>
<td>0.55</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>Half-length of King to left, as B. The goddess <strong>NANA</strong>, nimbote, to right, carrying her peculiar symbol with half-deer on top. Huvishka symbol.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>85</td>
<td></td>
<td>1.10</td>
<td>260</td>
<td><strong>King, nimboate</strong>, to left, sitting cross-legged on a pile of cushions, his head covered with a round helmet, holding in right hand a club before his face, and resting his left hand on his hip. Legend imperfect. <strong>King Huvishka</strong>, kneeling, with hands joined before the goddess <strong>Namain</strong>, who is standing, fully draped and nimboate, with her peculiar symbol in her right hand, and looking towards the King. Behind her is Huvishka’s symbol, and her name, <strong>NANA</strong>. Over the King’s head is inscribed, <strong>PAIT PAFAN</strong>. “King of Kings,” and round the top of the coin an imperfect legend, beginning with <strong>OCHOIAGORW</strong>.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**Lady Sale, lost in Mutiny.**

King, nimbate and diademed, riding Elephant, to r. Legend illegible.

King Huvishka kneeling before the goddess Nana, as on No. 85. Legend the same, as far as readable.

N.B. By a strange fatality both of these important and interesting coins have been lost. Of No. 86, Lady Sale's coin, nothing now remains but a slight tracing of my original drawing. But of No. 85 I still possess a leaden impression, which was recovered uninjured after six months' submersion in the wreck of the steamer Indus.

The attribution of both coins to Huvishka is rendered quite certain by the types of the King riding and sitting cross-legged, as well as by the peculiar symbol, which is found only upon the coins of this Prince.

There are copper coins, with the reverse of NANA, of all three types, E, F, G, of obverse, but they are rare, and generally in poor condition. Specimens may be seen in Ar, Ant. xiii. 7, and in Author's collection.

**Saturn, Oshro. Siva, or Yama.**

[Brit. Mus., from Author.]

Half-length figure of King to left, as C. Legend as usual.

Two standing figures, male and female, facing each other. On right, the Indian god Siva, nimbate and four-armed, holding a deer and trident with two left hands, and a
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Numismatic</th>
<th>Obverse</th>
<th>Reverse</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>88</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>0-80</td>
<td>125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>89</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>0-85</td>
<td>125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>90</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>0-60</td>
<td>128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>91</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>0-75</td>
<td>128</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Plates:**
- **Nano:** [Brit. Mus., Cat. xxviii. 14.]
- **Okpo:** [Brit. Mus., Cat. xxviii. 16.]
- **Okpa:** [Brit. Mus., Cat. xxviii. 16.]

**Notes:**
- The Indian god Shiva to left, with four arms and crescent on head, holding in two right hands a small drum and water-vessel, and in two left hands a trident and club. Crescent surrounding heads.
- Half-length of King to left, holding in two right hands a small drum and water-vessel, and in two left hands a trident and club.
<p>| 92 | $\xi$ |  | cloth, with wheel and Deer in two right hands, and drum and trident in two left hands. Huvishka symbol. ОКФО. |
| 93 |  |  | King riding Elephant to right. Four-armed figure of Siva, holding trident and Deer in two left hands, and small drum and noose in two right hands. Huvishka symbol. ОКФО. |
| 94 | $N$ | 0.75 | 128 | Standing figure of Siva, with two arms, holding trident and water-vessel. Legend to l., in Gandharvian letters, Sangharasana. Legend to r., in Indian letters, Si . . . . Not read. |
| 95 | $N$ | 0.50 | 80 | Half-length of King to left, as C. Usual legend, but name ОРОНКИ, for Huvashki. Deity, standing to left, with short sceptre in left hand, right extended. Huvishka symbol. САРАПО. |
| 96 |  |  |  | Half-length figure of King, as on No. 94. The god Sarapis, seated on throne, with modius on head, sceptre in left hand, and noose (?) in right hand. Huvishka symbol. САРАПО. |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Plate.</th>
<th>Obverse</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>96</td>
<td></td>
<td>Variety (?), (Brit. Mus. Cat. xxvii. 32.)</td>
<td>Half-length figure of king to left, bare, with modius on head,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>97</td>
<td></td>
<td>Obv.</td>
<td>Half-length of king, as on the last,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>98</td>
<td></td>
<td>Obv.</td>
<td>Half-length of king, as in right hand, and same unknown object in left hand, Hiuviska symbol.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Description</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>99</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>Half-length figure of King, as B. Bearded male figure, standing, naked, to front; in right hand, a club; in left hand, an apple, with lion's skin hanging over arm. Huvishka symbol: ΗΡΑΚΙΛΟ. [Author, rare.]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100</td>
<td>AE</td>
<td>King riding Elephant to right. Figure of Herakles, with club in right hand, as on 99. Legend, ΗΡΑΚΙΛΟ, imperfect. [Author, rare.]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>101</td>
<td>AE</td>
<td>Both types same as 100, but legend, ΟΚΡΟ, corrupt.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>102</td>
<td>AE</td>
<td>King riding Elephant, as on 100. Herakles, standing, to front, with club in r. hand resting on shoulder. Huvishka symbol: ΗΡΑΚΙΛΟ.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>103</td>
<td>AE</td>
<td>King riding Elephant. Herakles to front, crowning himself with r. hand, and club in l. hand resting on shoulder. Lion's skin over arm. ΗΡΑΚΙΛΟ.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Description of the Plates—continued.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Indian Name</th>
<th>Greek</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Vasu-Deva</td>
<td>54/5</td>
<td>King's name, written perpendicularly, YASU, in Indian letters, as seen also on the gold coin No. 12. The peculiar monogram, or symbol of Vasu Deva, which is found on all his coins.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>PAONANO PAO BAZO AHO KOBO</td>
<td>125/5</td>
<td>King, standing to left, diadem and nimbus, dressed in long tunic, trousers, and Tartar boots, conical helmet, sword girl on left side, sceptre (or hasta) perva) in left hand, and his right hand pointed downwards towards a low altar. Legend in Greek letters, BUHONANO PAO BAZO AHOKOBO. Fully draped figure of the goddess Nana, with nimbus and crescent; holding her peculiar sceptre in right hand, and a flat dish in left hand. Symbol of Vasu Deva, No. 59, to right, and NANA to left.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>Size (inch)</td>
<td>Notes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>-------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>0.80</td>
<td>123</td>
<td>King, standing, to left, as on No. 2. Legend, incomplete from want of room, ΠΑΟΝΑΝΟ ΠΑΟ ΒΑΖΟΔΗΟΚ. The Brit. Mus. specimen has the legend complete. The Indian god Siva, as Yama, with three faces, standing, to front, with trident in left hand, and noose in right hand. The Vasu Deva symbol to left, and legend, ΟΚΦΟ, to right, perhaps only a blunder for ΟΚΦΟ, which is the legend on a fine specimen belonging to Mr. Theobald. Two Brit. Mus. specimens read οκάκο and οκάκο. A fifth specimen appears to read ΟΚΦΟ = οκάκο.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>0.50</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>Same types and legends as on No. 3. A quarter-Dinar.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>0.55</td>
<td>26.5</td>
<td>King, standing, to left, as on Nos. 2 and 3, with trident in field to left over the altar. Greek legend as on No. 2. The God Siva, with one head and two arms, holding trident in left hand, and noose in right hand. Behind is the Bull Nandi. Vasu Deva symbol, No. 59, to left, and legend to right, ΟΚΦΟ.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Before describing the different figures of Siva on the reverses of Vasu Deva's money, it will be convenient to give a short account of the variant obverses, which for the sake of brevity may be afterwards referred to as A, B, C, D, E, and F.

Fig. A.—represents the Raja, nimbate, standing to the left, holding an erect sceptre (or kasta pura) in his left hand, and pointing downwards with his right hand towards a small altar. His dress is a long tunic, with trousers, and Tartar boots. He wears a conical helmet, and a sword at his left side. Behind his head there is a small flower on an upright stalk. Legend, in corrupt Greek letters, PAONANO PAO BAZO ΔΗΟ ΚΟΠΑΝΟ.

Plate. XXIV. A

Fig. B.—The Raja, as on A, with the addition of a trident over the altar. Legend as on A.

Fig. C.—The Raja as on A. Legend corrupt, reading simply, PAONANO PAO BAZ ΔΗΟ, with the shortened name of Bax-Deo, and omitting the tribal name of Koshano.

Fig. D.—The Raja as on A. The legend very corrupt, the name being spelt AAZO ΔΗΟ, and the tribal name omitted.

Fig. E.—The Raja as on A, with the addition of a trident to the left, and a symbol like the united Buddhist Tri-ratna and Dharma-Chakra on the right. Legend as on A.

Fig. F.—The Raja as on A, but the execution rough and rude. Trident to left, and Buddhist symbol to right. Three dots overhead, three dots between feet, and six dots to right. Legend very corrupt, all the vowels being simply O.

Plate. XXIV. B

XXIV. C

XXIV. D

XXIV. E

XXIV. F

There are other varieties of these obverses. Some have a Swastika between the feet, and one has a small circle under the left arm. The groups of dots also differ—some having five, six, seven, or eight pellets.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Inches</th>
<th>Grains</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Plate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>0.80</td>
<td>124.5</td>
<td>King, standing, as on A, B, C, D, E, F, with various legends, as just described. The Indian god Siva, as Yama, with one head and two arms, standing to left, with trident in left hand and noose in right hand. The god wears only the Indian dhoti. Behind is the bull Nandi, to the left the Vasu Deva symbol, and to the right ΟΚΦΟ. [Author.]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>0.75</td>
<td>123</td>
<td>King, standing to left, as on A. Same legend. The Indian god Siva, standing to front, with three heads and two arms, holding trident and noose. The bull Nandi behind. Vasu Deva symbol to right, and legend ΟΚΦΟ to lower left hand. [Author.]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>0.80</td>
<td>122</td>
<td>King, standing to left, as Fig. A. Legend the same. The Indian god Siva, standing to front, with three heads and two arms, as on No. 7. The bull Nandi behind, with head turned round. Vasu Deva symbol. Legend, ΟΚΦΟ. [Author.]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>0.80</td>
<td>123.5</td>
<td>King, standing to front, as Fig. A. Legend the same.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Description of the Plates—continued.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Plate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>The Indian god Siva, with three heads and four arms, standing in two right hands, nose and water-vessel; Naga, behind, with bell. Symbol No. 50. Legend, OβO.</td>
<td>XXIV. 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>King, standing, as on the gold coin. Same legend.</td>
<td>XXIV. 11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>King, standing, as on the gold coin. Same legend. The goddess APΩΩPO (Lakshmi), seated, with cornucopia. Obverse legend, ARΔΩΩΦΩ.</td>
<td>XXIV. 12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Same types as the gold coin No. 12.</td>
<td>XXIV. 15</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Plate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>E 0.95 180</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>E 0.70 0.70</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>N 0.70 1.00</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>E 0.80 1.20</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Notes on the Names of the Deities.

I have reserved my explanations of the names of the Kushân deities to the last. I am particularly anxious that they may be accepted simply as attempts, more or less plausible, to ascertain the nature and functions of the numerous gods and goddesses whose names are found upon the coins of the two great Kushân kings, Kanishka and Huvishka.

The founder of the dynasty, Kujula Kadphizes, presents only the figure of the Scythian god of Death, who was identified with the Greek Herakles with his club. But as Kujula calls himself Sacha-dharma-thida, or the "upholder of the true Dharma," it would seem that he had studied, and perhaps partially adopted, Buddhism.

His son, Hima Kadphizes, presents only the figure of the Indian Siva or Yama with his "noose," who, as I conclude, was identified with Gebeleizes or Sapaleizes, the Scythian Herakles, or god of Death.

With his successors, Kanishka and Huvishka, we get an extensive Pantheon of Persian and Indian deities, which includes the sun and moon, and the five planets, besides the elements and numerous attributes. Thus the planet Mars is the element of fire, and also the god of War, with his attribute the goddess of Victory. So also the Earth, with her mines of metals, became the mother of the god of Wealth and of the goddess of Fortune. Likewise the deity of the lower world became the Regent of Water, and the god as well as the judge of the dead.

Some of my identifications seem to offer some hitherto unsuspected affinities with the Western Mythologies. Thus Vasravana, or Wessawana, the father of Kuvera, may be Iasion, the father of Ploutos. Kuvera, the god of Wealth,
was also called Pautastya, after his grandfather. Verethraghna, the god of War, may be Jupiter Feretrius. I suspect also that the name of the Indian Maruta, the twin brothers, is preserved in Birutis in the Troad, and in Bruttium in S. Italy, as both present the Dioskuri on their coins. Birut is only a slightly different form of Marut.

I.—The Sun. 〇


5. Ombor?

1. Helios. This Greek name of the Sun is found only on the coins of Kanishka, both in gold and copper, which give the king’s titles in the Greek form of BACIEYo BACIEwN. The figure, with a rayed halo round the head, faces the left, with the right hand extended as if pointing to some object, and the left hand resting on the hip.

2. Miuro. This figure is an exact copy of Helios. On the coins of Huvishka the name is often spelt Miuro, and on a single specimen I find Miuro; but I have not seen any coin with Mithra. On these coins the titles are given in the native form of Shaonan-shao, with the tribal name of Koshano added. On a few specimens of Huvishka the figure holds out a wreath, and on one coin a pair of calipers, which I take to represent the Sun as a “measurer of time” by years. The same type occurs with the moon-god Mao, who was also a “measurer of time” by months.

The Greeks generally used the form of Mithra, as in the names of Mithridates, Mithro-barzanes, Mithraistes, Mithraeus, Aespa-mithres, and Mithravenes. But the true Persian form of Mihr is also found in Meranes and Mordasas, and better still in Mheordates.
3. *Asha-vikhsha* is the usual figure of *Mitro* with the rayed halo. The name has been compared by Dr. Stein with that of the Mazdean Amsasaundra, *Asha-vaahishla*, which means literally "best goodness," and is supposed to refer to the brilliant light of the sun, as he is invoked to keep up the "splendour of light." I look upon him as simply an impersonation of "Sunlight." Preferentially I read the fourth letter of the name as a digamma, thus making *Asha-vikhsha*, which I would refer to as *viksha* = "sight" or "seeing."

4. *Aino*. The reading of this name is not certain, as the first letter is corrupt. But as it is so read by all, the name may perhaps be referred to *Ahan*, the "Day," as the sun is popularly known as the "Day-lord," *Aharpati*, and as *Dirakara*, the "Day-maker."

5. *Ombror (?)* In this name the second letter is corrupt. The coin is very rare, as I have seen only one specimen of the type, of which I possess a cast.

II.—The Moon.


1. *Saléné*. The figure of *Salene* is exactly repeated in the representation of *Mao*; but the former coin gives the titles of the king in Greek, as *BAΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ*, while the latter gives them in the native language as *Shaonano Shao*. The figure is represented exactly in the same attitude as that of the sun-god, but instead of a rayed halo, it has a lunar crescent behind the shoulders.

2. *Mao*. In ancient Persia, as well as in India, the "Moon" was a male deity. *Mao* is the Zend form of the
ancient Persian māh. In addition to a sword the moon-god nearly always carries a sceptre.

Another figure of the moon-god, with the same name of Mao, seems to be simply a repetition of the sun-god as a "measurer of time," with a pair of callipers in the extended right hand. The moon has been the recognised measure for months from time immemorial, and hence the word māh signifies both moon and month in Persian. In Sanskrit the term is mās for both. The Roman poet Catullus also calls Diana, "Goddess measuring the months" (xxxiv. in Dianam)—

"Tu, curae, Dea, menstruo
Matiens iter annum."

3. Mana-o-bago is a third representation of the moon-god, who is here undoubtedly the "god of measure," as declared by his name, mana being "measure," and bago being "God," in ancient Persia. The figure, which is four-armed, is represented sitting on a throne with a lunar crescent behind his shoulders. One hand holds out a pair of callipers, a second grasps a sceptre, a third rests on the hip, while a fourth hand holds an indistinct object in the shape of a circle, surrounded by twelve dots which, by their number, may be supposed to typify the twelve months of the year, as well as the twelve signs of the zodiac. As the Indian moon-god, Soma, is usually represented with four arms, and a lunar crescent behind the shoulders, I infer that the figure of Mana-o-bago must be of Indian origin.

The copper coins offer only the common standing figure with the lunar crescent behind the shoulders, and a sceptre in the left hand. The right hand is simply extended to the front.
There are several varieties of the standing figure of Mao on the gold coins. On some he carries a sword only, on some a sceptre only, whilst on others he carries both sceptre and sword. On a fourth variety the right hand holds out a wreath.

The personal names connected with the moon are not very numerous. From the shorter form Mao (Persian Mah) were formed Madates and Maniates, besides Ha-Ma-datha, the father of Haman. From the longer name of Mauao were probably formed Monobatus and Moweeses.

III.—Mars. 8


Mars is represented under a greater variety of names than any other of the planetary deities.

1. Hephaistos. As the god of "Fire" his figure was probably borrowed from a Greek source. He is represented with a hammer and a pair of tongs, with flames springing from his shoulders. The same figure is repeated with the name of AΘPO, or Athsho, for the old Iranian Ader or Azer—"Fire"—or in modern Persian Atash. A few coins give ΑΘΘΠΟ, or Athasha, which is clearly intended for Atash.

2. Athsho, or Athsho, is a bearded figure, holding out a wreath in the right hand, and resting the left hand on the hip or on the hilt of his sword, in the same pose as the figures of Miuro and Mao. I take this figure to represent the Element of Fire (Brit. Mus. Cat. xxvi. 4). There are many personal names formed with the old Iranian Atur or Ader = Fire—as Atradas, Atropates, Atrines, Artabazus, Artabonus, Artaphernes, Artabanus, Artagierses, Artabaria.
Artembares, Artaxostra, &c. But I cannot find a single name formed with the modern Persian Atash.

3. Loē. A similar figure on a copper coin is labelled ΛΟΗ. Only four coins with this legend have yet been discovered. From the obverse type of the king riding an elephant the coin might be assigned to Huvishka; but the corrupt Greek legend is quite unintelligible. I possess one of the four specimens; the coins were originally published by Prinsep (see E. Thomas's Prinsep, vol. i., Pl. XXII., Fig. 12). The short legend was the same on all. I think the word must certainly refer to fire or heat. In India the extreme heat of the summer air is called luh; and in England we have glow and glow-worm, as well as luke-warm; besides lwe and love in love-bell, a bell with a light placed inside, which was used for fishing at night. I suspect that the word may be connected with the Scythian Roï or Rhoi, which appears in the name of Rhoisakes, the "friend of Rhoi." Rheo-mithres would have the same meaning; but of Rhoi-metalikes and Rhoi-skuporis, I cannot even guess the meaning. I find Rhōsakis mentioned as a noble Persian under Ochus, who was descended from one of the seven conspirators. There was also a Persian Rhoisakus at the battle of the Granicus. The word Loē must also be connected with the old Greek Áîçυ and the Sanskrit Luk, both signifying "light," and also with the Latin lux and luces. Lohita and Rohita are also used to denote the red colour of fire. Hence Agra, or "fire," is called Rohitāsca and Lohitāsca, or the "red steed" of Mars. The name was common in Persia as Rhodaspes. Iron, the metal now dedicated to Mars, is called Lohn; but as iron is not red, I conclude that bronze was the original metal which was considered emblematic of fire, its green and red tints resembling those of the
planet. *Ayas* also is another name for *iron*, but as may be inferred from the Latin *aes*, it must have been originally given to bronze. The full name of iron would appear to have been *Kālāyas*, or "black bronze," to distinguish it from the well-known *ayas* or *aes*.

4. *Maáseno*.
5. *Skando-Kumaro*.
6. *Bilago*.

All these three names are genuine titles of the Indian god of War, who is also known as *Kārtikeya*.

*Mahāsenā* simply means a "general," or "commander of an army."

*Skanda-Kumāra* is the "Prince Skanda." Skanda is also used alone.

*Visākha* is the name of one of the two nymphs, or personified asterisms, by whom the infant *Skanda-Kumāra* was suckled.

In all these representations the god of War carries a sword and a spear. From the latter weapon he derives his Indian names of *Sakti-dhara* and *Sakti-pāni*, or "spear-holder," and "spear in hand," just as the Roman Mars was called *Quirinus* from carrying a *quiris*, or "spear." All of the three figures are standing to the front, as if on show. The Quirinal hill must have been named after the god *Quirinus* who carried the *quiris*, and not the god after the hill, as usually stated.

7. *Orlagno*, or *Orthagnes*. This name has been compared by Benfey with *Verethragha*, the Zoroastrian War-god. The Indian form of the name is *Vritrāhan*, an abbreviation of *Vritraghan*, which was a personification of Indra as the "cloud-striker," or "foe-killer." The form of *ghan* is preserved in *Amitra-ghanā*, the Greek *Amitro-chanon*, and it is still used in the well-known name of the
Kachwāha Rajputs as Kachhapa-ghāta, or "tortoise-killers."

When Indra gave place to Ormazd, the warrior Vṛitra-
ghana was made into a War-god, as Verethraghna, which has
been gradually contracted to Varuhrān and Bahram. It
is possible that the name is preserved in the Roman Jupi-
ter Feretrius.

The name of Orlagno on the Kushān coins I would cor-
rect to Ordagnno, on authority of the Saka names of Orthag-
nes and Orthanes, as well as on that of its well-ascertained
identification with Verethraghna.

On the gold coins of Kanisakka the god is represented
armed with sword and spear, and wearing a helmet
crowned by a bird with expanded wings, which Dr. Stein
has identified with the bird Vāraghna. In the Bahram-
Yasht the god Verethraghna is represented as "flying
with great flapping wings, the swiftest of the flying."¹
The flapping wings of the bird are seen on the helmet of
Ordagno on the coins.

As noticed above, I think it probable that the god of
Victory, Verethraghna, may be identified with the Roman
Jupiter Feretrius, in whose temple all spolia opima were
dedicated. This dedication alone would seem to indicate
that Feretrius was a "War-god." If this identification be
correct, then the Roman name must be earlier than the
separation of the Eastern and Western Aryas, and the
consequent degradation of Indra. Could the Sabine word
quiris, "a spear," have any connexion with the common
Indian word chārr, a "stick or lance"? The Sabine words
hirpus, a "wolf," and teba, a "hill," would seem to coun-
tenance an Eastern connexion.

8. Qaninda, or Vaninda, is a winged female figure

¹ Spiegel, 108.
carrying a trophy-stand in her left hand, and holding out a wreath in her right hand. As the figure of Vaninda is a very close copy of the Greek Nikê, Dr. Stein has identified her with the female genius Vananiti uparata, or "victorious superiority," who is always joined with Vere-thraughma in the invocations of the Avesta. According to Haug, p. 217, the Vanant Yasht is "a very short prayer addressed to the star Vanant, by which the Dasturs understand the Milky Way."

IV.—Mercury. ♀

1. Oado or Vado.—2. Arvoaspo.

Oado, or Vado. The old Persian name for the "wind" was bād, Sanskrit vāt, or as rendered on the coins in Greek OΑΔΟ = Vado. The element is appropriately represented as a running figure with distended robes. The term bād is often used in the composition of Persian names, as Badines and Badres; and, perhaps, also in Vasakes and Vajises, with the shorter form of Wāh, the "wind."

By the ancient Persians the planet Mercury was called Tигра or Thr. the "arrow," on account of the rapidity of its motion. The river Tigris was so called for the same reason. Tigranes preserves the full name of the planet, and so also does Tigar-mitra, which is found in the Wardak Inscription. The shorter form of Thr is found in Tiridates and Tiribazus; the former meaning "given by Mercury," and the latter the "worshipper of Mercury." It occurs also in Teri-teukhmes, or Tiri-takhma, "strong as Mercury."

One of the commonest old names for the planet, both in India and in Persia, was Vayu, and this, I believe, is found in 'Oo βαχορ, or Vayu-Basu, the worshipper of Vayu, a Persian mentioned by Herodotus, ix. 115, as
having been sacrificed by the Apsinthians to their god Pleistòrus.

2. Arroaspo, or Arhooaspo. This name is found only on a single specimen of Huvishka, although it is not uncommon on the coins of Kanishka. In both cases it is corruptly spelt as ΔΡΟΟΑΣΠΟ, as the initial should clearly be A, making ΑΡΟΟΑΣΠΟ. I have already noticed a similar mispelling in ΟΡΛΑΓΝΟ, for ΟΡΔΑΓΝΟ, the ΟΡΘΑΓΝΗΣ of the Saka series of kings. Dr. Stein is willing to accept the name as it stands for Loharasp; but I prefer to consider it as a simple mistake.

The type shows a bearded male figure standing beside a bridled horse, with two legs on the same side raised as if ambling. There are only two bearded figures in the whole series of these Kushān coins, namely, ΑΘΦΟ, Athsho, the God of Fire, and ΟΑΔΟ, Vado or Bād, the God of Air or Wind. Both Arroas and Arha are Sanskrit names of Indra, and joined to Aspa would mean "Indra's steed," that is the wind which brings the rain. A different form of the name, known in Persia, was Praxasp, or Prishadasca, the "Rain Steed"; but the commonest descriptive name for the wind was Gandha-rāha, or the "Scent-wafters," which is found on the coins in the form of Ganda-phara, or Gondophares, or Undophares. The symbol of Mercury, ☿, is placed on many of the coins of this king.

The general of Khusrū II, who made his master a prisoner, is named Gurdanaspes by the Emperor Heraclius, and Gundabunas by Theophanes. The first name may perhaps be corrected to Gurdanaspes=Gandhanasonic, the "Scent Steed," and the latter to Gundabares, the "Scent-bearer."
V.—JUPITER. 2

1. MAZDOHANO.—2. PEARBO.

In ancient India, as well as in ancient Persia, Heaven and Earth were the acknowledged parents of all creation. The Rain showers of the sky fertilised the earth, hence Heaven was called Parjanyu, or the "Rain-god," or simply Parjan, the "Impregnator." Strabo (v. I—69) specially mentions that the Indians worshipped Zeus Ombrici, that is, Indra, the Rain-giver. Similarly, in Persia, Ormazd himself was the creator; who, as Bédîn, the giver of Rain, fertilised the earth. But as the old Iranians had de-throned Indra, and adopted Ahuramazda or Ormazd as the author of creation, we ought to find the name of Ormazd himself on the Zoroastrian coinage, and that of Parjanyu on the Indian coinage of the Indo-Scythians. We do in fact find the names of MAZDOHANO and of PHAPPO on the coins of Kanishka, and of PHAPPO on the coins of Huvishka.

1. MAZDOHANO. I take this name to be the same as the Avesta Mazdaonho, the plural of Mazdao. Ormazd himself is simply the Ahura, who is called Mazdao, the author of the Mazdean religion. The two primeval principles of good and evil were united in Ahuramazda himself, the beneficent spirit being called Spenta-Manjyu, and the hurtful spirit Aŋgro-Mainyus. In the Yasna (West, 189) these two spirits are called the "two creators," but they were not separate beings (p. 304), but spirits "inherent in his own nature." Hence I infer that the two-

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3 His nineteenth name was the "Creator."—Darmesteter, ii. 25.

4 West’s Heng, p. 301.
headed horse, which is ridden by Mazdaouko, may be intended to typify the two spirits of good and evil, which were inherent in the one supreme creator, Ormazd. As the lord of all, the Armenians called the planet Jupiter by his name. He is also said to be the father of the Amanar-Spentas, and of the powerful goddess Ash-Vanguki, whose mother was Spenta-Armaiti, or the "Earth."

The name of the great Ahura is found in Orohades, Orophernes, Orodes, and Hurodes. The name of Ormazd is found in Ormizdates, Oromasdes, and Hormizdas. Baga, or "the god," is also used for Ormazd, as in Bugophanes, Bugopates, Bagasakes, &c.

2. Pharbo. Throughout the ancient world there appears to have been a general belief that the great god of the firmament of Heaven was the author of all being, and that the Earth was the mother. In India we have this belief very clearly announced in the Vedas, with reference to Parjanya. Three hymns are addressed to him. In Rig Veda, vii. 101—6, it is said, "He (Parjanya) rules as god over the whole world, he is the life of all that moves and rests." Again in Rig Veda, v. 83, it is said, "Praise Parjanya, worship him with veneration, for he, the roaring Bull, scattering drops, gives seed fruit to plants." In the Atharva Veda, xii. 1—12, its full belief is announced; "The Earth is the mother, and I am the son of the Earth; Parjanya is the Father."

From Herodotus, iv. 59, we learn that the Scythians made the Earth the wife of Zeus. So also at the present day the Russian Slava worship Parun, the great god, the husband of mother Earth.

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4 Dr. West suggests Mazdaouko = "Mazda-uniting," i.e.—the two powers.

5 Max Muller, 180, 183, 185.
In Greece the feeling was universal. In Athens newly married couples sacrificed to "Heaven and Earth," whose junction was called γαμος, or "wedding." In the Eleusinian mysteries the Heaven and Earth were called by mystic names, he as "Υγη, or the "Rain-god," and she as Ταυτη, or the mother "who brings forth." The same belief is frequently alluded to by the poets, as by Æschylus (quoted by Athenæus, xiii. 73):

"Then, too, the Earth feels lones, and longs for wedlock,
And Rain, descending from the amorous air,
Impregnates his deiring mate; and she
Brings forth delicious food for mortal men—
Herds of fat sheep, and corn."

So also Euripides speaks of Γαία μεγίστη καὶ Δίως
'Αθηρ, "

"O heavenly Aether, mighty Earth,
He that to gods and men gave birth,
She, teeming mother, on whose breast
Heaven's fertile rain-showers fall,
From whence all living things spring forth,
Both flower and fruit, both man and beast,
Thy do mankind justly call
Mother of all."

The same feeling about Father Heaven and Mother Earth was also common to the Roman poets, as in Lucretius, de Rerum Nat., i. 151:

"Postremo peremit imbres ubi ego Pater Aether
In cremum Matris Terrae precipitavit."

And also in Virgil, Georgic, ii. 325:

"Tum pater omnipotens fecundis imbribus Aether
Conjugis in cremum hese descendit, at omnes
Magnum alit."

"In fruitful showers Almighty Father Heaven
Falls on the bosom of his happy spouse."
Having shown the wide extent of this belief in the ancient world, it now remains to prove that the god Phraeo of the coins is identical with the "Rain-god" Parjanya of the Aryan peoples. I find no trace of the name in the Zoroastrian books. But though Indra was supplanted by Ahuramazda amongst the Iranians, yet the functions of the god of the firmament still remained, and Ormazd, the creator of the material world, possessed all the powers of Indra. As the bestower of all good things, he was the giver of the Rain that fertilised the Earth. It was by the agency of his son Tishtrya (the bright star Sirius) that he bestowed the Raina. The Tir-yasht is dedicated to the propitiation of Tishtrya, the giver of Rain. At the present day the Heaven is called Bārds, the "fertiliser," from birīsh—rain.

Practically the name of Parjanya would have been shortened to Parjan, just as Aranya and Hiranya became Aran and Hiru. In this slightly altered form of Parjan I think that I can recognise the god of Rain in the name of Parshan-datha, the son of Haiman, the Pharsannes of the Septuagint, and the Varaz-tad or Pharas-dates of the Armenians. Here we see that the ṣ of Sanskrit becomes š in Hebrew, s in Persian, and z in Armenian. In Pharas-menes the s is still preserved. But just as currus became currus, so I infer that Pharsa became Pharra, with the final n of parjan retained as in Pharan-dates, Pharna-bazos, Pharna-zathres, Pherendostas, &c.

There are several myths connected with the union of Heaven and Earth. Thus in India Parjanya, or Parjan, with his rain drops blesses the earth with his seed (Rig Veda, v. 83). In Greece, Zeus in a golden shower visits

* Darmesteter, p. lxii., ii. 97. Tir-yasht.
Danaë (dry earth), who gives birth to Perseus, i.e. as in Persian to *bar = σπόρος* = "seed," who thus becomes the conqueror of Medusa; in Sanskrit, *mrityus,* or "death."

The god *Pharro* is represented on the coins as a male figure, with sword, or sceptre, or sometimes with both; and always with a winged head-dress. In his right hand he generally holds a flat, shallow vessel, with some sprouts of corn rising upwards. Mr. P. Gardner calls this a vessel of *fire.* In my opinion the vessel contains *shoots of growing corn,* of which *Pharro,* the Rain-god, is the begetter. On some coins the god holds a small bag, which Mr. Gardner calls a purse. I take it for a bag of seed-corn, as one of my coins shows the small seeds inside the bag. On a single specimen I find the coin with the bag entirely surrounded by branches of foliage, which I take to denote a vegetable creation.

As an illustration of the significance of the vessel with corn-shoots I can quote the fact that at the New Year's Festival still held at *Yuzd-i-Khast,* one of the last strongholds of Zoroastrianism, every house *has a dish of green corn ready for the feast of No-rooz.* The seeds are sown some weeks before, so that they might grow up green ready for the New Year's Festival.\(^7\)

The same shallow dish of springing corn is also represented on some of the coins of the Earth-goddess *Arlikhsho,* and notably on some silver coins of the Sakha kings Azas and Axilisca. On these last the goddess carries the dish in her extended right hand, and a palm-branch resting on her left shoulder. Mr. P. Gardner hesitates to identify this figure, and suggests a city (?). But the *date-palm* is surely intended for a symbol of *abundance."

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\(^7\) *English Illustrated Magazine,* January, 1890, p. 326. *"Travels,"* by Mr. Theodore Bent.
As a last illustration of the connection of Pharro with the Earth-goddess, I can quote the engraved gem in my own possession on which the figures of Pharro and Ardokhsho are standing together with a child beside them. He has the winged head-dress and the dish of sprouting corn, while she carries the cornucopia [Pl. XXI. 15]. Similar representations of the Earth-goddess will be referred to presently. The junction of the two figures on the same seal with the child, and the cornucopia and the dish of growing corn, I take to be a clear declaration that the figures represent the Heaven and the Earth as the creators of all things living.

On the Indo-Scythian coins the Creator is known only as Pharro; but he was also commonly known as Baga, or "the God," which the Greeks frequently changed to Mega for euphony. Thus we have Pharmazaxus, Baka-bazus, and Megabyzas; Pherendostes, Megadostes, and Bagosakes; Pharnapates, Bagupates, and Megabates.

VI.—Venus Genetrix, Wife of the Lord of Heaven, (?) the Earth = Demeter.


1. In treating of Pharro, the Rain-god of the Firmament whose showers fertilised the earth, I have somewhat anticipated the functions of the Earth-goddess. In the Vedas she is named Armaiti, and in the Avesta Armaiti. But neither of these names is found upon the coins, which give only Ardokhsho, or ΑΡΔΟΧΣΟ. I have described the figure of the Earth as represented on my seal, which gives the figures of Pharro and the Earth and their child
and their symbols. On another seal in my possession a similar female figure, with a child, is labelled in corrupt Greek ΠΟΟΓΑΟ, or Shao Gao, or "Queen Earth" (Pl. XXI. 16). Gao is one of the Avesta names for the Earth. On a second seal which has been published by Mr. King (Pl. IV. fig. 12, Antiquity Gems), in my Pl. XXI. fig. 17, I find a similar female figure with child, labelled in Chaldeo-Pahlavi characters, Arman-dukhta, or "Queen Arman," that is, the "Earth." Here, then, we have a direct proof that the female figure on the coins, which is labelled Ardokhsho, is actually an impersonation of the Earth-goddess.

The female figure named Ardokhsho is represented in two positions, either sitting or standing. When standing she usually carries a large cornucopia, which she appears to grasp with both hands. On a single specimen she carries the cornucopia in her left hand, and holds out a wreath in her right hand. This last type is also that of the coin with the shorter legend of Dokhsho. On a few rare specimens a flat dish filled with fruits, or young shoots of corn, is placed in the field near the feet of the goddess. As a sitting figure she is seated on a high-backed throne, holding a cornucopia in her left hand, and a wreath in her extended right hand. This seated figure is almost an exact copy of the goddess Demeter on the copper coins of Azas.

The derivation of the name of Ardokhsho has not yet been ascertained; but as the shorter form of Dokhsho is found upon a few coins, and as Doksho is one of the Sanskrit names of the earth, I think that the name may

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7 Both Amos viii. 1, and Jeremiah xlviii. 32, speak of a "basket of summer fruits."
stand for Arta-daksha or Ard daksha, which thus became Ardaksha by the coalescing of the two d’s. One of the Queens of Armenia, the wife of Páp, was named Zaran-
dukht, and Artadukhta was the Queen of Ardashir I. the
Sassanian. That Ardaḵsha represents the Goddess of the
Earth, the Prithivi of the Indians and the Spenta Armaiti
of the ancient Persians is certain. According to Haug
p. 150, Armaiti created the material world, but Ormazd
was the soul of it. As the mother of all she was the
Magna Dea of the Mazdeans, and might thus have been
called Arto-duktta.

It is to this Venus, the bride of Heaven, and the
mother of all things living, that Lucretius makes his
noble address in the opening of his poem:—

"Aseneadum genitrix, hominum divomque voluptas,
Alma Venus colit subter labentia signa
Quae mare navigerum, quae terras frugiferenteis
Concelebras; per te quoniam genus omne animantum
Concipitur, visitque exortum lumina Solis:
Te, Dea, te fugiunt venti, te nubila coeli,
Adventumque tuum; tibi suaveis sedala tellus
Summittit flores; tibi rident aquora ponti,
Placatumque nitet diffuso lumine colum."

"O genial Venus, joy of gods and men,
Mother of Rome, who, as the seasons roll,
Fillest the ship-starred sea and corn-clad earth,
Through thee all living beings have their birth,
Spring into life, and hail the glorious Sun.
At thy approach the winds and clouds disperse,
The dædal Earth puts forth her sweetest flowers,
Rough ocean laughs, and well-pleased Heaven beams
Without a speck to dim his smiling face."

The planet Venus was called Anāhid or Nanaia. She
is the Venus Urania who was added to the Zoroastrian
creed by Artaxerxes Mnemon. The Earth-goddess was
the Zir-Banit, or Zir-genetrix, the wife of Bel Merodach,
just as Demeter, the wife of Zeus, was the mother of Persephone.

2. Shahrezaw, or ΔΑΟΦΟΠΟ of the coins, whose full Avesta name of Kshathra-vairya, Prof. Darmesteter (I. lx.) translates as "perfect sovereignty," while Haug calls it (p. 306) "possession, wealth." But both agree that he was the "God of Wealth," and the "Lord of Metals." In this capacity he agrees exactly with the Indian Kuvera, the King of the Yakshas, and the God of Riches. In modern times Kuvera is represented as deformed, from a perverse derivation of his name from Ku = "bad" and vera = "body." But in early times the Yaksha Kuvera was noted for the comeliness of his person, as we learn from the story of Sakya Sinha's first appearance as an ascetic at Rajagriha, when the people wondered who he could be. "Some took him for Siva, some for Brahma, and some for Vaisravana" (or Kuvera, whose patronymic was Vaisravana). The comeliness of his personal appearance is further vouched for by one of the sculptures of the Bharhut Stūpa (see my Stupa of Bharhut, Pl. XXII. fig. 1, p. 21). His statue is duly labelled Kuhipro Yakho. In the Vishnu Purana he is called "King of Kings," and the same title is given to him by the poet Kālidās in his Meghaduta, sôk. 3.

As metals and wealth are dug out of the earth, Kuvera

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* Hardy, Manual of Buddhism, p. 20. Mr. Beal also notes how 500 Rishis, flying through the air, mistook Buddha for Vaisravana, the god of Riches.—Babyl. and Oriental Record, v. 87.

** The change in the meaning of name of Kuvera I would attribute to the period of Greek ascendancy in N. India, when some attempt may have been made to identify the Indian Kuvera, the worker in metals, with the lame Hephastos, the Greek god of Metal-Working; hence ku = "earth" was altered to ku = "bad."
was appropriately made the son of *Ira-cira*, or the "Earth" by Visravana (or Wessawan). He was therefore called *Airavira*, or the Earth's son, and as he was the grandson of Pulastya, he was also called *Paulastya*, or in the spoken form *Paulast* or *Paulat*. As all these names recall those of the Greek god *Ploutos*, who was the son of *Insion* by *Demeter* (the Earth), it seems to me highly probable that the Indian myth of the god of Wealth had been known in Greece as early as the time of Hesiod.

From this account it appears that *Shahrevar* or *Kshatra-rairya*, the "genius of metals and the giver of wealth," is identical with the Indian *Airavira* or *Kucera*.

3. *Rixê*, *PíAH*, is a female figure, armed with helmet, spear, and shield, like the Greek Athene, and the exact counterpart of the male *Shahrevar*.*¹¹ The similarity of the equipment suggests some connexion between the two figures, and as the male figure is the god of *Wealth*, I take the female figure to be the Goddess of *Fortune*, under the Indian name of *tiddhi*, तिद्धिः. The Zoroastrian representative of Fortune is the goddess *Ashi-cangushi*, whom Haug *¹² calls the "Spirit of Fortune." This name is now corrupted to *Ashi-shang*, and the goddess is identified with *Lakshmi* by the Parsi priests. The connexion between *Wealth* and *Fortune* is shown by the Indian names of *Sri* for *Kuvera*, and of *Sri* for *Lakshmi*.

Having read the Greek name as *Ride*, *PíAH*, my attention was struck by a remark of Prof. Darmesteter *¹³ that, "*ashti* is not the feminine adjective of *ashta*, but is *ar+ti*, and means *bhakti*, or piety." I saw at once that the Sanskrit *Riddhi* might become *Ardhithi* or *Arti*, the

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¹² West's *Hymg.,* p. 184.
¹³ ii. 270, note.
original of Ašši. Now Riddhi was the wife of Kuvera, and Ašši-ranghni only means the "good Ašši," or Aṛti or iddhi. She was the daughter of Ahura-mazda and Armaiti (the Earth), and the ancient Persians prayed to her for wealth, for victory, and for children. She is described as riding in a chariot, and there is a doubtful allusion to "her shining wheel." At least Spiegel thus translates the passage in the Ašši Yasht (ii. 118), which Prof. Darmesteter refers to her loud sounding chariot (ii. 119). Perhaps the round object which I have described above as a shield may be the wheel of fortune. The symbol had already appeared on one of the coins of King Moas, as a real wheel with radiating spokes, while on the coin of Huvishka the round object seems to be solid like a shield.

As Rīḍī, or Iiddhi, is an undoubted Indian name, it seems to me highly probable that the names of her mother Ardokhša and her brother Shuorcoro must also be of Indian origin, as I have already suggested, by deriving the former from Sanskrit Dukhā, the "Earth," and the latter from Airavīra, the earth's son.

4. Nana, or Nanaia, the Babylonian Venus, was one of the most ancient deities of the East. Her statue had been carried off from Erech by Kudur-Nahundi, king of Elam, 2300 years B.C.¹⁴ In Assyria she was worshipped as Išhtar, in Phoenicia as Astarte, and the planet Venus is still called Ašhtar by the Mendeans, and Nānī by the Syrians. Her worship was foreign to the original Mazdaism of Zoroaster; but during the reign of Artaxerxes Mnemon, B.C. 404—361, her statues were set up in Babylon, Susa, and Ecbatana, when her worship was also

introduced among the Persians and Bactrians on the east, and to Damascus and Sardis on the west. In Persia her cult was taught in the Abân Yasht, where she is described under the name of Ardri-Sura-Anâhita. She is the Anaitis of the Greeks, and the Nana or Nanaia of Persian history and of the Indo-Scythian coins. As the Persian name for the planet Venus is Zarah, the adoption of the name of Anâhîd shows that her worship was a foreign addition to the original cult.

In the Avesta Ardri-Sura-Anâhita is “the high, powerful, undefiled spring of water” which flows down from heaven upon the earth. Her statue is described as carried forth in a standing position, and some details of her dress are given. In her hand she carried a baresma or barson. On the coins Nanaia carries a peculiar symbol or sceptre, which may perhaps be intended for her barson. Her golden crown is mentioned, but in the coins there is only a lunar crescent. This crescent, however, connects her with the moon, which agrees with the general opinion of antiquity. A bilingual inscription at Athens translates Abd Tanaêt by Artemidora, and she is called Tanaêta in the cuneiform inscription of Artaxerxes. Plutarch says: “Artemis quam vocant Anaitida,” 13 and Hesychios says Zôpîrûs was the Persian name of Artemis, i.e. Zarah. In the Abân Yasht it is said that she presided over the birth of children, and that women in labour prayed to her for a happy delivery. Here, then, she appears as Juno Lucina. By the Assyrians she was accounted the daughter of the moon-god. All connexion with the moon appears to be dropped in the Abân Yasht; and yet we have the lunar crescent preserved on all the Indo-

13 Hyde, 94.
Scythian coins of Nanaia. Perhaps the crescent is meant in the description of her "well-made crown in the shape of a ratha with fillets streaming down." But I should prefer to identify the ratha with her sceptre, which is sometimes represented with pendent fillets.

On some rare coins of Huvishka Nano is connected with Oksho, the two deities standing side by side and facing each other. As Oksho is certainly the god of Death, this connexion would seem to point to the identification of Nano with Persephone, the Queen of Hades. It is perhaps not impossible that the Assyrian myth of the "Descent of Astarte into Hades" may have been the original of the famous Rape of Persephone from the field of Henna.

On other coins Nano is represented as Artemis, holding a bow in the left hand, and with her right hand drawing an arrow from the quiver at her back. One coin of this type has a corrupt legend, which may be read doubtfully as ZEPO or ZEPO for Zahra, the Persian name of Venus.

On a single coin and on two gems she is represented sitting on a lion. The legend on the coin is simply NANO, but both of the gems have an unread legend, ΦΕΙΧΩΔΗ, Phreikhoudē, which seems to offer some sort of approximation to the name of Persephone. As Homer calls her éφασώ, the "terrible," Persephone might be compared with the fierce goddess Durgā, who is well known as Sinha-rathī, because she is represented "riding on a lion." As Durgā was called Kumāri, or the "maiden," so also Persephone was generally known as the kōry, or virgin goddess. In fact kōry or kουρη is the same word as the Sanskrit Kumāri, which in its
spoken form becomes Kuārī. I would suggest also that the title of Despoina, which was applied to Persephone as "mistress of the lower world," may have been originally Dis-potnia, or "wife of Dis," as poína would appear to be only a contraction of potnia, or Sanskrit potni, a "wife."

On two very curious copper coins the Kushān king Huvishka is represented kneeling before the goddess Nana, who is standing as usual. Behind her is inscribed her name NANA, and round the king’s hand is inscribed his title of PAΓ PAΓ(AN)—or King of kings. Above is an incomplete legend beginning ΟΜΟΙΑΓΟΓΟ...

Here there is no doubt of the Indian origin of the title, which is clearly Raja Rajanām, and not the Persian Shāhānu Shāh.

As the brightest star in the heavens the planet Venus was called barez or barzin, the "brilliant," Sanskrit bhrāj, and her name was very common among Persian ladies.

The goddess Nana or Nanaia was closely connected with the god Oksho, as she is represented standing beside him on several gold coins, both large and small. From their positions facing each other they must certainly be husband and wife. In this case Nanaia will represent Persephone as Queen of the Lower World, or Hades. Except on one coin she is always represented standing, and fully clad, with a crescent on her head. In one hand she carries a peculiar short sceptre, which appears to be surmounted with the forepart of a deer. In the other hand she carries a small vessel holding some uncertain objects. The union of the goddess Nana with the god of the lower world is confirmed by Strabo, who saw the statues of Anaitis and Omanos placed together in the same temple. Omanos is the Greek form of the Avesta Vohumano, in Sanskrit Vāhu+manas or Su+manas, who was the Indian Yama, or Judge of Hades. His title of
Dharma Raya has the same meaning as the Avesta name. He must also be identified with the Roman Summannus. The name of Omans is not found on the coins; but as Oksko is represented with a club and noose, we know that Yama is indicated. Summannus is directly identified with Pluto and Dispiter, by Martial and Arnobius.

The usual legend on the gold coins is either NANAIA or NANA or NANO; but it is extended to NANA DAO or DAO NANA. With this royal title of “Queen Nana” she generally carries a sword in addition to the sceptre.

A new type shows the goddess fully clad, holding a bow in her left hand, and drawing an arrow from a quiver at her back. This representation fully confirms her identification with Artemis. The same figure is found on an unique coin of Azas.

Another type shows the goddess sitting on a lion, with the crescent on her head, and her peculiar sceptre in her hand. This is one of the common representations of the Indian goddess Deri, the wife of Siva, who is therefore called Sinha-rähini, or the “lion-rider.” Siva in the form of Yama is the god of the Lower Regions, like Oksko. Homer calls Persephone ἐπαυῆς, “the terrible,” and the Indian Deri is also called Bhaváni, “the terrible.”

The Babylonian account of the “Descent of Ishtar into Hades” may be compared with the Greek account of the Rape of Persephone, and her consequent descent into Hades.

The planet was generally known as malkat shawaina, or the “Queen of Heaven.” Amongst others we have Barsine, the widow of Memnon and mistress of Alexander, and Stateira, the eldest daughter of Darius, who was also called Barsine, a name derived from berez, “brilliant,” a
title of the planet Venus. It seems, therefore, not improbable that the Greek Persephone, or Phersephone, may be only the Persian Barsaphanes. I find no personal names connected with Nanaia—perhaps because it was of foreign origin. But Bidukht was another Persian name according to Hyde (p. 90), which was probably in common use, as it is found in the same way as other female names, as Arta-dukhta, Asermidukht, Purandukht, and Armandukht. Perhaps the female names of Parysatia and Pharsicis may be made up from the title of Berez, or Venus, "the bright." Orsabaris, the daughter of Mithridates Eupator, may also be referred to berez.

5. Zeiro, or Zero, is found only on one coin, which is in the British Museum. As the same figure on other coins is named Nane, the corrupt legend is most probably intended for Zahra, the Persian name of Venus, or rather of Artemis, as the goddess is armed with bow and quiver. The wife of Haman was named Zahra, which in the Septuagint is rendered by Sozara, Σωσάρα. Omitting the initial syllable, this is the same name.

VII.—Saturn. 19


1. Herakilo, or Herakles. On a single gold coin, and on several rare copper coins, there is a naked standing figure, armed with a lion’s skin and club, and inscribed ΗΡΑΚΙΛΟ. The figure on the gold coin is clearly a rude copy of some one of the many known statues of Herakles. On the copper coins the attitude and the position of the club are varied.

2. Oksho, ΟΚΣΟ, is a standing figure, evidently sug-
gested by that of Herakles. But the figure has now become an Indian god with three heads and four arms. With one hand he grasps a club, which rests on the ground; the second hand holds a trident; the third a thunderbolt; and the fourth a water-vessel. (Huvishka.)

A second representation of Oksho, also with three heads and four arms, shows him as a naked mendicant with trident, damara or drum, chakra or wheel, and deer. This is the Phallic Siva. (Huvishka.)

A third representation of Oksho, with one head and four arms, shows him carrying trident, drum, and water-vessel, and holding a deer. This is the common form on the coins of Kanishka.

A fourth representation of Oksho shows the god with one head and two arms, carrying the trident, and the pāśa or noose on coins of Vasu Deva.

A fifth representation of Oksho shows the god with one head and two arms, armed with trident and noose, standing in front of the humped bull Nandi. (Vasu Deva.)

A sixth is similar to the last, but the head of the bull is turned round, boustrophedon. (Vasu Deva.)

A seventh shows the god with three heads and four arms, standing in front of the bull Nandi. Some two-headed figures also have four arms.

3. Sarapo is represented both sitting and standing. The former type occurs only on the small gold coins, but the figure corresponds so closely with that of the Greek Pluto that there can be no doubt it is intended for the king of the Lower World. He is represented with a modius on his head, as described by Suidas, seated on a throne, with a sceptre in his left hand and a “noose” in his right hand. It is not a wreath, but is the regular Indian pāśa, or
"noose," from which _Yama_ gets his titles of _pāṣi_ and _pāṣi-pāma_, or "noose-in-hand."

On the larger coins Sarapo is represented as a standing figure with a simple head-dress, and a short sceptre or rod in his left hand. His right hand is extended with forefinger pointing, as shown in the figures of _Mūro_ and _Mao_, but it is empty.

Both Porphyry and Suidas say that Sarapis presided over the "invisible world." 17 Suidas adds that the statue of Sarapis bore on its head a measuring vessel, and in the hand a cubit, or measuring rod for fathoming the depth [of the Nile]. 18 Diodorus calls him the Egyptian Pluto. Porphyry couples Sarapis with Hekatē. No derivation has yet been found for the name, but it seems not impossible that the name may be identical with गर्व सारास, one of the titles of the Indian Siva (? _Sarasa-pa_ = Lord of all). 19 Perhaps _Sarapis_ may represent "Time," and would thus symbolize the annual rise and fall of the Nile, as well as the gradual growth and decay of heat, and its renewal every year. _Sarpa_, the serpent which renews its skin, is known to the languages of India, Greece, and Rome. I would identify _Sarapis_ with the Greek _Minos_, the Indian _Yama_ or _Dhārma_ _Itaja_, and the Zoroastrian _Bahman_ or _Vohumano_, all of whom sat to judge the dead. _Vohumano_ in fact is described as "rising from a golden throne to welcome the souls of the dead into Paradisa."

4. _Hōron_, _UPOH_, and 5, _Okhako_, _OKPO_, are found only on two very rare coins; the latter, in fact, I believe to be unique. I couple them together because the two figures are exactly alike. Both are bearded; each has a _modius_

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17 Prichard, *Egyptian Mythology*, 98.
18 Prichard, 91.
19 Hang, 255.
on his head, each holds a sceptre in his left hand, and each points downward with his right hand. Perhaps both may refer to the god of water, of which the modius, or water vessel, would be a symbol. In this view the name of Hōreō might be compared with Varuna, the Indian god of water, while that of Oksho might be referred to Akshara, or Akhra, a name of Siva, which in the Vedas is also used to designate "water."

These are mere guesses, but of the next I cannot even make a guess.

6. Oksho or Vaksho, ΟΑΧΘΟ. This figure differs entirely from ΟΧΘΟ as well as from ΟΚΘΟ, so that there is no possibility of the legend being blundered. The figure is that of an old man holding a long sceptre in his right hand, and carrying what looks like a dolphin or fish in his left hand. If I could be sure as to the fish or dolphin, I should be inclined to accept the figure as the god of the "Ocean."

7. OMANOS, ΩΜΑΝΟΣ, is coupled by Strabo [xv. 8. 15] as being placed with Anaitis in a common shrine. He must therefore be Hades, the lord of the Under World. The name of Omanos has already been identified by Hang (p. 255) with Vohmano or Bahman, who is described as rising from his throne to welcome the souls of the dead. As the name means the "right-minded," in Sanskrit Sūmanas or Sumati, in Greek Eumenes, this form of the god is clearly the same as the Indian Yama, or Judge of the Lower World, and the Roman Summanus, or Pluto.20 His name is not found on the coins, but as the god is represented with club and noose under the name of Oksho we

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20 Summanus is directly identified with Pluto and Disputer by Martial and Arnobius. The Indian Yama is also named Suman, or the "Killer," from saw, to kill.
know that Dharma Raja is intended, which is one of Yama’s titles.

8. Sapal or Sabal. The name of Sapal does not occur on any of the Kushān coins, although it appears on most of the Saka coins. It is found in the name of Sapaleizes, whom I believe to be the same as Zamol-xis or Gebel-zises, to whose realm the dead were supposed to go (Herod. iv. 94). Zamol and Gebel appear to be only variant forms of Sapal. The word is, no doubt, connected with the Sanskrit Sava, a “corpse,” from which Siva received his title of Savara, or “receiver of the dead.” It is also connected with the Latin sepelio and sepulcrem, and with the Hebrew Sheol, or Shaul, as Gesenius writes it. The country occupied by the Saka Scythians received the general name of Zabolistan, and their capital was called Sigal. But the name was very widely spread over all the countries between the Indus and the Euphrates. Thus we learn from Tacitus (Annal. xii. 18) that when the Parthian king, Gotarzes, arrived at Mount Sambulas he sacrificed to Hercules, the principal god, whose shrine was on the mountain. Pliny also (Nat. Hist. vi. 27) calls the same hill Mount Kambolidas. Omitting the eneptic Greek w before b, we get Sabula and Kabala as the actual name of the hill, in which I recognise the two forms given by Herodotus of Zamol-xis and Gebel-zises. On some rare Indo-Scythian coins I find the name of Sapal-eizes. I think, therefore, that this god, who was worshipped on the mountain of Sambulas, was actually Hercules himself, whose name is not otherwise mentioned by Herodotus.

In the curious legend of the “Descent of Ishtar into Hades,” the god or king of Hades is called Iskallo, a name which is clearly identical with Sakal, and, therefore, with Sapal. As I have already shown that Herakles, as Nergal,
was the god of the dead, it follows that he must be the same god as Ἰσκαλλα or Sapal. Hence we see how easy it was for Herakles, the god of Death, to be the victor in all encounters.

The name of Sapal or Sapar is found in every country occupied by people of Scythian race, from the Saparnian Hyrkani on the Caspian, to the Sabellian Hirpini on the Tiber, who worshipped Sanceus, the Samnite Hercules. In Ariana we have the names of Sapaleizes, Spalahora, and Spalirises, and the Spartani of Zapaortene. In the West we have Sparamizes and Parmizes, Sparadokus, Spartokus, and Spartaucus. In another form we have Skolopitus, king of the Skoloti, and the more contracted forms of Saulius and Sauloë. In both countries the wolf was called hirkus and hurk, and a bull tebu and tibā.

**Buddha.**

The coins with the figure of Buddha are extremely rare. He is represented both standing and sitting, but only on the coins of Kanishka. The gold coin, which is unique, was found in the Stūpa at Ahin-posh, near Jelalabad, and two copper pieces were found in Ventura's Manikya-līn Stūpa. These three are all of the standing type. I have obtained only three specimens of the sitting type during my long career.

On the gold coin the legend is simply **ΒΟΔΔΟ =** Buddha.

On the copper coins the legend is longer, and is rather difficult to read, as the latter part is reversed in boustrrophedon order. Beginning at the upper left hand I read **ΣΑΚΑΜΑ,** continued from the lower right in reverse order, **ΝΟΒΟΥΔΟ.** For this reading I am indebted to Mr. Rapson.
On left Cakama.
On right Odyobon.

The copper coins are in three sizes, like those of Kanishka's money generally (see Ariana Antiqua, xiii. 1, 2, 3; see also Thomas's Prinsep's Antiquities, Pl. VII. fig. 21, and Journal Bengal Asiatic Society, 1845, Plate II., fig. 7).

In the same Plate, fig. 6, I have given a specimen of the seated Buddha.

These figures are of some interest as they are the earliest known representations of Buddha. They would also seem to have been the original representations, as all the Indian figures follow the same types.
INDO-SCYTHIANS. KUSHANS. PLATE XIX.
INDO-SCYTHIANS. KUSHANS. PLATE XXIV.