

A Copper Hoard of the Great Kushans in the Sir Sahibzada Abdul Qayyum Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, University of Peshawar, Pakistan

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Abstract: The reserve collection of the Sir Sahibzada Abdul Qayyum Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, University of Peshawar (hereafter SSAQ Museum) houses a hoard of 222 copper coins. The main part of this hoard belongs to the Great Kushan period. These coins are attributed to Vima Kadphises, Kanishka-I and Huvishka. They are known in different weight units i.e., tetradrachm, reduced tetradrachm and drachm. The heavy weight coins of the Kushans in this hoard were issued from the main mint (probably in Bactria?) and small coins produced at a subsidiary mint located somewhere in the southern/eastern part of the Kushan Empire. Apparently, the hoarding of this collection started in the heydays of Huvishka and deposited somewhere in the later part of his rule. In this regard, the deposition of the present hoard can be placed in the last quarter of the second century CE (or a bit later). It also comprises few coins of Azes-II, the last Indo-Scythian ruler. These coins might have been in circulation when the hoard was deposited.

Keywords: SSAQ Museum, Coin Hoard, Copper, Azes-II, Kushan Period, Bactria, Gandhara.

Introduction

The reserve collection of the SSAQ Museum houses a hoard containing 222 copper coins, which hitherto remains unpublished. The acquisition history and provenance of this hoard is not much clear due to its incomplete archival record. It was brought to the SSAQ Museum by the late Prof. Ahmad Hasan Dani about 30 or 40 years ago (verbal discussion with Prof. Gul Rahim Khan, former Curator of the same Museum). He labelled it as Hoard 'C'. Besides this, no contextual record and other basic information regarding this hoard was provided to the Museum at the time of its accession. It seems likely that it was recovered from Gandhara region because, other hoards of the Kushan period are also reported from the said territory and the main collection of the SSAQ Museum (except Bronze Age) is also related to Gandhara region. The hoard under discussion first came into the notice of Prof. Gul Rahim Khan during his curatorship (2013-2014) of the Museum. After this, he acquired technical data (weight and size) and provided accession number to the hoard coins. Of these, some coins are presently in a very poor state of preservation thus causing problem of attribution to a particular

dynasty or a king. However, the present author thoroughly examined the hoard and tried to identify the coins contained within. This type of coins is common and well reported from different archaeological sites in Central Asia, Afghanistan, Pakistan and India. Likewise, coins of the similar type have been published earlier by Percy Gardner (1886), Alexander Cunningham (1892), Robert Whitehead (1914), Michael Mitchiner (1978), Robert Göbl (1984, 1993), Gul Rahim Khan (2007, 2009) and Jongeward *et al.* (2014).

Classification of the Hoard Coins

Of the 222 hoard coins, 2 coins (one each official issue and imitation) are attributed to Azes-II and the remaining belong to the three Great Kushan rulers namely Vima Kadphises (4 coins), Kanishka-I (46 coins) and Huvishka (164 coins). The distribution of these coins is as follows:

Azes-II

Azes-II is represented by two coins (nos. 1-2). The official issue (no. 1) is struck in heavy weight tetradrachm unit of Indian standard. The obverse side depicts humped bull standing to right with

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Greek legend around border with name and title of the king. The Greek letter over the back of bull is not clearly visible on this coin. The reverse portrays the figure of lion standing to right with Kharoshthi legend inscribed on margin and monogram over the back of lion. The imitation coin (no. 2) is known in low weight probably drachm unit of Indian standard. This coin features on the obverse a horseman to right, holding pick-axe in raised right hand and whip in the left. The reverse shows Zeus standing to left, holding winged Nike in the forward right hand and long sceptre in the left. Kharoshthi legend around the border and the monogram in the left field both are not clear. The imitation series of Azes-II is said to have been in circulation for long time till first century CE. These coins were also current during the reign of Kujula Kadphises. It seems likely that both official and imitation coins of Azes-II were current during the deposition of this hoard.

Vima Kadphises

The hoard yields four coins (nos. 3-6) of this ruler. They are all known in heavy weight (tetradrachm unit) and are bilingual with Greek on the obverse and Kharoshthi on the reverse. The obverse shows the common design of the king standing sacrificing over a small fire altar to left. The Greek legend around the border seems interrupted by the king's head at 12 o'clock hence, it begins at 1 o'clock and ends at 11 o'clock. In other minute details, anomaly is found in the combination of Greek letters such as; (a) Greek letter omicron (O) in king's name OOHMO is sometimes dropped and shortly inscribed as OOHM and (b) Greek letter 'phi' (Φ) inscribed slightly larger than the other letters (Mitchiner 1978: 405-409, series 2; Bracey 2009: 43, A1, A2, D1; Khan & Nasim Khan 2012: 106). It is generally suggested that Vima issued such type of coins in the late phase of his rule probably north of the Hindu-Kush. Later on, this style of legend (interrupted at king's head) was regularly adopted by his lineal successors for their coins (Khan & Nasim Khan 2012: 107). The reverse of these coins uniformly displays the figure of three headed Śiva standing in front of bull, holding trident in raised right hand and animal's skin or drapery in the left accompanied

by Nandipada symbol (no. 1) shown in left field (Perkins 2007: 33; Khan & Nasim Khan 2012: 104).

Kanishka-I

Kanishka-I is identified by 46 coins (nos. 7-52). They are known in tetradrachm and drachm units of Attic weight standard. All these coins represent the common obverse design of the king standing to left and sacrificing at an altar similar to the obverse of Vima Kadphises. The reverse depicts six deities which are Athsho (8 coins), Mao (14 coins), Miiro (2 coins), Nana (1 coin), Oado (5 coins) and Oesho (6 coins). Generally, Kanishka-I portrayed himself on coins wearing three types of head crowns i.e., a low cap or diadem with crescent atop, forward-pointed bonnet/cap and low brimmed cap with a row of ornamented jewels (Göbl 1993: table 30; Khan 2007: 124; Tandon 2011: 1-2). Few coins of the present hoard generally show the king wearing forward pointed bonnet/cap but on others the headdress is not clearly visible due to the poor state of preservation of coins. The obverse of two small coins (drachm) generally portrays the same design of the king standing at an altar to left as appeared on heavy (tetradrachm) coins. However, these small coins are characterised by additional Kharoshthi letters such as *cha*, *ji*, *se*, *su* and *sam* inscribed in front of the king in left field. Furthermore, the obverse legend is also found in two forms. In the first form, it starts at 1 o'clock and in the second it begins at 8.00 o'clock (Khan 2007: 125). The coins of the present hoard exhibit partially legible obverse legend and additional Kharoshthi letter. The reverse of these coins exhibits moon god shown standing to the left with his name inscribed behind him and tamga to the front. It is generally suggested that coins of this type (small coins with Kharosthi letters) were issued from an eastern mint located somewhere in Taxila or Kashmir region (Mitchiner 1978: 423-425; Khan 2007: 126).

Huvishka

Majority number of coins (164) in the present hoard is attributed to Huvishka. Hence, the main collection belongs to the reign of this king. These

coins are known in tetradrachm and reduced tetradrachm units of Attic standard. They belong to two phases of production of the main mint at Bactria. In further classification, the coins of phase-I are 130 (nos. 53-182) while coins of the second phase i.e. phase-II are only 34 (nos. 183-216). The obverse of these coins exhibits all the three principle obverse designs of the king whereas the reverse comprises a group of five deities arranged alphabetically as Athsho, Mao, Miiro, Nana and Oesho with names inscribed in Bactrian language using cursive Greek script. Besides this, six coins (nos. 217-222) in this hoard are badly defaced and do not exhibit clear obverse and reverse features. However, the weight and size indicate that they belong to the reign of Huvishka.

Conclusion

The contents of the present hoard suggest it to be of a considerable size. The main assemblage belongs to the reign of Huvishka (c. 151-191 CE), the fifth ruler of the Kushans. The presence of phase-I and phase-II coins of Huvishka in this hoard clearly indicate that the collection started in the heydays of this king and possibly ceased and buried in the later period of his rule. In this regard, the collection period of the hoard under discussion seems to have occurred during the second half of the second century CE or a bit later. The coins of phase-I of Huvishka forms 58.55 % and phase-II 15.31 % of the total collection. This statistical comparison shows that when the light weight coins began to circulate, the heavier coins disappeared from circulation and entered the hoard. Moreover, an important conclusion that might also be drawn from the statistics of the early and late phases coins of Huvishka is that, the collector of the hoard was apparently more interested in the heavy coins of this ruler.

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Table 1: Frequency Chart showing distribution of Hoard Coins

King	Unit	Obverse	Reverse (deities)						Total	Grand Total
			Zeus	Athsho	Mao	Miuro	Nana	Oado		
Azes-II										2
Official Issue									1	
Imitation			1						1	
Vima Kadphises		King standing at altar						4	4	4
Kanishka-I										46
	Full	King standing at altar		8	14	2	1	5	6	36
		Uncertain							8	
	Quarter	King standing at altar			2				2	
Huvishka										164
Phase-I:										130
		King riding on elephant		1	26	12			1	40
		King riding on elephant							4	
		King reclining on couch		5	28	10	2		1	46
		King reclining on couch							7	
		King seated cross-legged		1	14	5			1	21
		King seated cross-legged							10	
		Uncertain							2	
Phase-II:										34
		King riding on elephant			11	3				14
		King reclining on couch			6	3				9
		King reclining on couch							2	
		King seated cross-legged			4	3				7
		Uncertain			2				2	
Unclear										6
									201	222

Chart 1. Coins of Kanishka-I

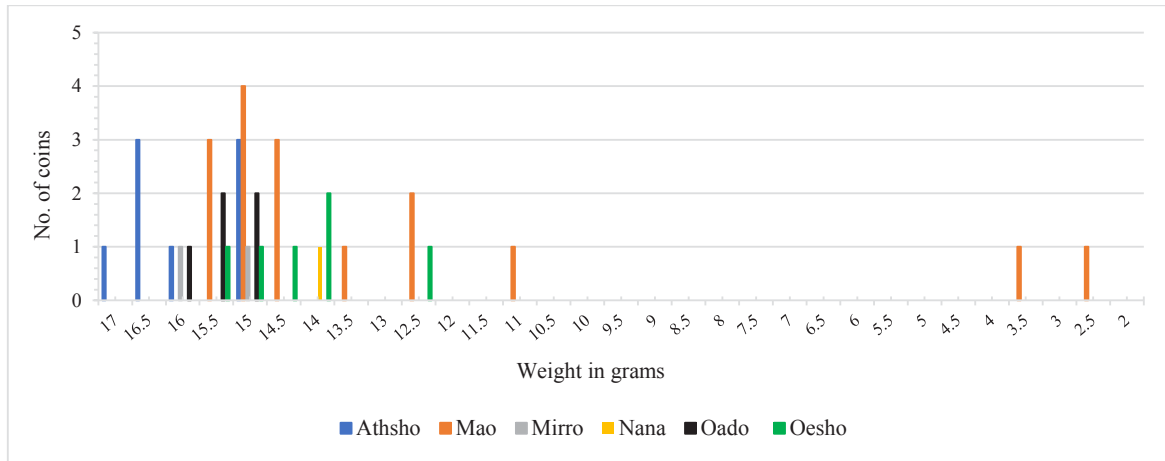


Figure 1. Kanishka-I with reverse varieties

Chart 2. Coins of Huvishka

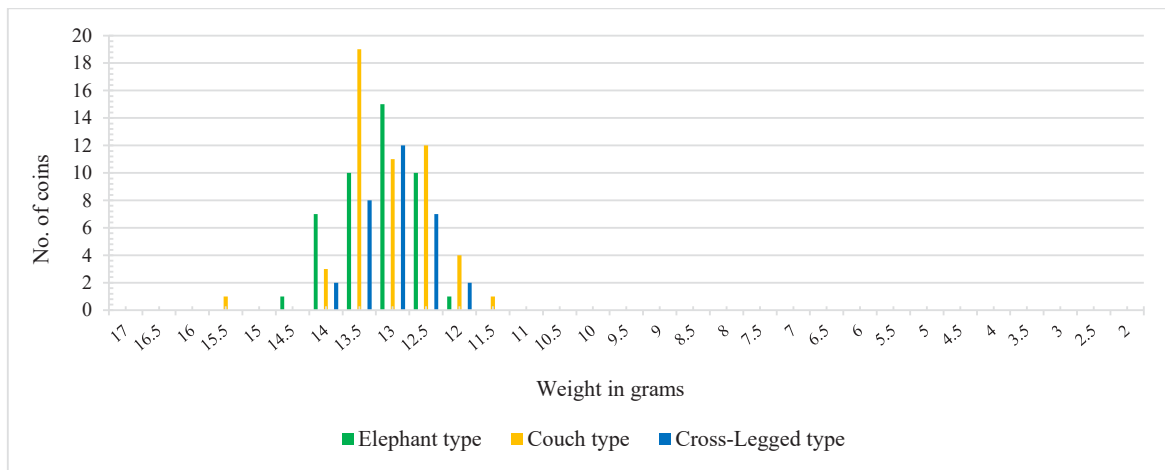


Figure 2. Huvishka, Phase-I, with obverse designs

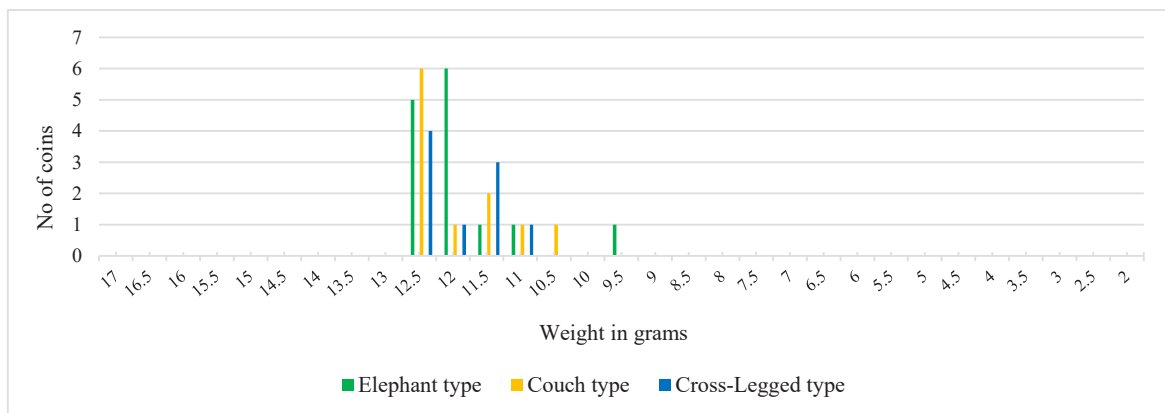


Figure 3. Huvishka, Phase-II, with obverse designs

Catalogue of Coins

1. Azes-II

1.1. Official Issue

1.1.1. Standing Bull & Lion, Copper

Obv. Humped bull standing to right, Greek letter over the back of bull is unclear and traces of Greek legend [ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΑΖΟΥ].

Rev. Lion standing to right with head facing, long curved tail over back, monogram over the back of lion is uncertain and traces of Kharoshthi legend [*Maharajasa Rajadirajasa Mahatasa Ayasa*].

Reference: Whitehead 1914, no. 257; Mitchiner 1975, no. 850

Cat.No.	Acc.No.	Weight (gm)	Size (mm)
1	002	11.28	26.0x4.0

1.2. Imitation

1.2.1. Mounted King & Zeus Nikephoros, Debased Silver

Obv. King on horseback to the right, wearing diadem (ribbons floating behind head) and chainmail tunic, holding pick-axe in forward right hand and whip in left hand. Kharoshthi letter perhaps 'u' below horse neck in lower right field and fragmentary Greek legend [ΒΑΣΙ]ΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ clockwise at 7 o'clock and the remaining legend is off flan.

Rev. Zeus standing in profile to left, wearing diadem, helmet and long garb with clear folds at legs, holding small winged figure Nike in extended right hand and a long sceptre in the raised left. Kharoshthi letter 'vi' depicted in right field and unclear monogram in the left, Kharoshthi legend illegible.

Reference: Mitchiner 1975, no. 856

2	001	2.00	14.0x2.3
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2. Vima Kadphises

2.1. King standing at altar to left & Śiva with Bull

Obv. King (bearded) standing frontally and head turned in profile to the left, wearing diadem, tall rounded headdress with floating ribbons behind head and kaftan clasped with button at his chest and open at the bottom over knee-length tunic, loose trousers and high leather boots, king sacrificing with extended right hand over a small fire altar and holding hem of dress with left hand a sword fastened with belt hanging underneath kaftan. A trident-battle axe stands in the left field besides altar and slanting club with four pronged tamga (no. 2) above in the right field. Greek legend partially preserved read as ΒΑΣΙΛΕ[ΥC] [ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ CWTHP ΜΕΓΑC] [O] OHM[O] ΚΑΔ[ΦΙCΗC] clockwise, begins at 1 o'clock and terminates at 11 o'clock.

Rev. Śiva (Oesho) standing frontally leaning against bull which faces to right, tricephalic (front head is prominent while the side heads are indicated by side blobs), hair arranged at topknot, wearing beaded necklace over left shoulder across his chest and dhoti with folds, holding trident-battle-axe in raised right hand and an animal's pelt in the left. Nandipada symbol (no. 1) above bull in left field, Kharoshthi legend [*Maharajasa rajadirajasa sarvaloga iśvarasa mahiśvarasa vima kaṭhphīśasa tradara*] illegible.

Reference: Mitchiner 1978, nos. 3008-3022; Göbl 1984, no. 762

3	003	15.38	27.3x4.3
4	004	15.30	27.2x3.8
5	021	15.30	25.0x4.5
6	005	13.15	27.4x3.3

3. Kanishka-I

Large Coins (Tetradrachm)

3.1. King standing at altar to left & Athsho

Obv. King standing frontally and head turned in profile to the left, wearing diadem, indistinct headdress (perhaps forward pointed cap), kaftan over a knee-length tunic, loose trousers tied at the ankle, high boots and mantle tied with button at chest, sacrificing over altar with extended right hand and holding spear with left hand. Bactrian legend DAO KANH DKI clockwise, starts at 1 o'clock and terminates at 12 o'clock.

Rev. Male figure (bearded) standing frontally and head turned in profile to the left, body slightly bent in the middle, flames emanate from shoulders, wearing diadem, low headdress, tunic, long-sleeved mantle tied at chest and trousers, holding diadem in the forwarded right hand and pair of tongs in left hand near his body to left side. A four-pronged tamga (no. 3) shown in left field and Bactrian legend $\text{A}\Theta\text{DO}$ (clockwise) in right field.

Reference: Göbl 1984, no. 772 [3-6]; Khan 2007 nos. 13-32

7	008	17.38	25.8x4.5
8	033	16.94	25.3x5.3
9	019	16.84	25.0x5.0
10	023	16.52	25.4x4.8
11	009	16.18	26.0x5.0
12	014	15.44	25.2x5.0
13	020	15.40	26.0x5.0
14	044	15.32	25.0x4.6

3.2. King standing at altar to left & Mao

Obv. As variety 3.1

Rev. Moon god (Mao) standing to the front with head turned in profile to the left and body slightly bent in the middle, lunar crescent behind shoulders, wearing diadem, low headdress, tunic, long-sleeved mantle tied at chest and trousers, making two fingers gesture with the outstretched right hand

and in left hand holding hilt of a sword hanging down from waist on left side. A four-pronged tamga (no. 3) depicted in left field and Bactrian type legend MAO (clockwise) in right field.

Reference: Göbl 1984, no. 774 [2-8]; Khan 2007, nos. 35-45

15	011	15.94	25.8x4.4
16	017	15.92	25.2x4.8
17	015	15.76	26.7x4.2
18	007	15.32	25.0x4.6
19	018	15.18	25.9x4.5
20	022	15.12	24.4x4.5
21	013	15.08	26.3x4.4
22	012	14.88	25.2x4.2
23	048	14.70	24.6x4.5
24	026	14.60	25.0x4.4
25	047	13.80	26.0x4.0
26	031	12.88	23.6x4.4
27	028	12.62	25.2x4.4
28	034	11.46	24.3x4.0

3.3. King standing at altar to left & Miuro

Obv. As variety 3.1.

Rev. Sun-god (Miuro) standing with head turned in profile to the left and body slightly bent in the middle, sun-rays halo behind head, wearing diadem, low headdress, tunic, long-sleeved mantle tied at chest and trousers, making two fingers gesture with outstretched right hand and his left hand rests on hilt of a sword hanging down from waist on left side. A four-pronged tamga (no. 3) in the left field and Bactrian legend perhaps MIPO (clockwise) in the right field.

Reference: Göbl 1984 no. 768

29	006	16.46	25.4x4.8
30	016	15.38	25.0x5.0

3.4. King standing at altar to left & Nana

Obv. As variety 3.1.

Rev. Female figure (goddess Nana) standing to right, hair tied in bun behind head, wearing

diadem, low headdress with small crescent at top and ankle-length double robe dress, holding short sceptre with horse protome in the right hand and bowl in left hand. A four-pronged tamga (no. 3) in right field and Bactrian legend NANA (counterclockwise) in the left.

Reference: Göbl 1984, no. 777; Khan 2007 no. 52

31	039	14.12	26.2x4.0
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3.5. King standing at altar to left & Oado

Obv. As variety 3.1.

Rev. Bearded male figure (Wind god) running in profile to left with erect hair, wearing diadem, low headdress and tight skirt with trousers and holding veil (mantle) in both upward hands. A four-pronged tamga (no. 3) in the left field and Bactrian legend OAAO (clockwise) in the right.

Reference: Göbl 1984, no. 783; Khan 2007, nos. 53-73

32	037	16.22	25.0x4.7
33	035	15.98	24.0x4.8
34	036	15.62	25.8x4.4
35	038	15.44	25.0x4.6
36	046	15.42	26.4x4.0

3.6. King standing at altar to left & Four-armed Oesho

Obv. As variety 3.1

Rev. Oesho (four-armed) standing facing with his head turned in profile to the left, wearing diadem, low headdress and dhoti with clear folds fastened by a belt round waist and beaded necklace over left shoulder across his chest. In his four arms he carries diadem in the lower left hand, thunderbolt in upper left, long trident in upper right and water flask in his lower right hand. A four-pronged tamga (no. 3) shown in left field and Bactrian legend OH PO (clockwise) in right field.

Reference: Göbl 1984, no. 781; Khan 2007, nos. 74-83

37	043	15.52	25.0x4.4
38	042	15.44	27.4x4.1
39	040	14.84	24.8x4.5
40	041	14.32	24.6x4.6
41	045	14.32	24.7x4.3
42	010	12.76	26.5x3.6

3.7. King standing at altar to left & unclear deities

Obv. As variety 2.1.

Rev. Male figures like Athsho, Mao and Miuro standing in profile to left as described above but their features and attributes are unclear. A four-pronged tamga (no. 3) inscribed in left field and unpreserved Bactrian legend in right field respectively.

43	032	15.82	25.9x4.3
44	027	15.58	24.8x4.8
45	024	15.30	25.6x4.5
46	025	15.06	26.0x4.4
47	210	14.88	24.4x4.8
48	180	13.80	26.0x4.0
49	211	13.62	25.3x4.3
50	179	12.34	25.6x4.1

Small Coins (Drachm)

3.8. Standing king at altar to left with uncertain Kharoshthi letter & Mao

Obv. King standing at altar to left as shown in variety 3.1, but uncertain Kharoshthi letter is added to the left field.

Rev. Moon god same as shown in variety 3.2.

Reference: Khan 2007, nos. 163-166

51	030	3.56	16.7x2.7
52	029	2.50	18.0x2.1

4. Huvishka

Phase-I Coins

4.1. King Riding on Elephant

4.1.1. King riding on elephant to right & Athsho

Obv. King is shown riding on an elephant to the right, wearing diadem with floating ribbons behind head, tall round crown, tunic and trousers, holding long spear across his body in outstretched right hand and an elephant's goad in left hand. Bactrian legend $\text{DAONANO DAO OOH DKE KO DANO}$ clockwise, starts from 1 o'clock and terminates at 12 o'clock.

Rev. Male figure (bearded) standing with head turned in profile to left, body slightly bent in the middle, flames emanate from shoulders, wearing diadem, low headdress, tunic, long-sleeved mantle tied at chest and trousers, holding diadem in the advanced right hand, tongs in left hand near his waist on left side, Kanishka tamga (no. 3) in left field and Bactrian legend $\text{A\Theta\text{D}\text{O}}$ (clockwise) in right field.

Reference: Göbl 1984, no. 832; Khan 2009, no. 1

53	060	13.06	25.0x4.4
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4.1.2. King riding on elephant to right & Mao

Obv. As variety 4.1.1.

Rev. Moon god (Mao) standing with head turned in profile to the left and body slightly bent in the middle, lunar crescent behind shoulders, wearing diadem, low headdress, tunic, long-sleeved mantle tied at chest and trousers, making two figures gesture with extended right hand while left-hand holds the hilt of a sword across his body near waist on left side. Kanishka tamga (no. 3) in left field and Bactrian legend MAO (clockwise) in right field.

Reference: Göbl 1984, no. 835 [1-19]; Khan 2009, nos. 2-8

54	079	15.10	25.0x4.7
55	054	14.72	24.8x4.7
56	069	14.62	25.2x4.3
57	077	14.56	26.0x3.8
58	056	14.46	26.0x4.3
59	062	14.38	24.8x4.4
60	096	14.36	23.0x5.0
61	090	14.24	26.0x4.2
62	092	14.22	25.0x4.1
63	074	14.12	26.4x4.5
64	065	14.12	25.5x4.3
65	083	14.00	24.6x4.5
66	063	13.98	25.0x4.8
67	064	13.92	25.7x4.3
68	089	13.66	25.0x4.4
69	097	13.62	25.3x4.3
70	078	13.62	24.2x4.5
71	094	13.52	25.4x4.2
72	114	13.50	26.2x4.0
73	081	13.46	25.0x4.4
74	075	13.34	24.2x4.5
75	055	13.26	26.0x3.7
76	087	13.18	25.1x4.4
77	095	13.10	26.7x3.7
78	093	13.08	24.8x4.2
79	091	12.54	25.0x4.1

4.1.3. King riding on elephant to right & Miiro

Obv. As variety 4.1.1

Rev. Sun god (Miirro) standing with head turned in profile to the left and body slightly bent in the middle, sun-rays halo behind head, wearing diadem, low headdress, tunic, long-sleeved mantle tied at chest and trousers, making two fingers gesture with outstretched right hand and left-hand rests on the hilt of a sword across his body near waist on left side. Kanishka tamga (no. 3) in left field and Bactrian legend MIIPO (clockwise) in right field.

Reference: Göbl 1984, no. 820; Khan 2009, nos. 9-11

80	070	14.54	24.4x4.9
81	073	14.52	24.4x4.6
82	058	14.48	26.0x4.4

83	088	13.90	25.4x4.6
84	051	13.80	26.0x3.8
85	057	13.72	26.0x4.3
86	059	13.66	24.6x4.1
87	061	13.64	23.6x4.7
88	067	13.62	24.5x4.5
89	049	13.54	25.5x3.8
90	111	13.50	24.2x4.4
91	072	13.02	25.4x4.3

4.1.4. King riding on elephant to right & Four-armed Oesho

Obv. As variety 4.1.1.

Rev. Oesho (four-armed) standing facing with head turned in profile to the left, wearing diadem, low headdress, short tunic and dhoti with clear folds fastened with a belt round waist and beaded necklace over left shoulder across his chest. In his four arms the deity holds diadem in lower left hand, thunderbolt in upper left, long trident in upper right and water flask in his lower right hand. Kanishka tamga (no. 3) in left field and Bactrian legend OH PO (clockwise) in right field.

Reference: Göbl 1984, no. 849

92	135	14.72	25.3x3.9
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4.1.5. King riding on elephant to right & deities unclear

Obv. As variety 4.1.1.

Rev. Male figures like Athsho, Mao and Miuro standing in profile to left as described above, but their features and attributes are not clear. Kanishka tamga (no. 3) in the left field and blundered Bactrian legend in the right.

93	101	14.88	24.5x4.5
94	086	14.24	24.8x4.0
95	099	13.30	26.0x3.8
96	209	13.28	25.5x3.8

4.2. King Reclining on Couch

4.2.1. King reclining on couch to left & Athsho

Obv. King reclining on a low cushioned couch to the left with head facing, left elbow rests on cushion, right leg (bent) on couch, left leg is resting on a low stool and holding something in his both hands before chest. Bactrian legend $\text{PAONANO PAO OOH PKE KO PANO}$ clockwise, starts from 1 o'clock and terminates at 12 o'clock.

Rev. Male figure (bearded) standing with head turned in profile to the left and body slightly bent in the middle, flames emanate from shoulders, wearing diadem, low headdress, tunic, long-sleeved mantle tied at chest and trousers, holding diadem in the advanced right hand and pair of tongs in left hand near his waist on left side. Kanishka tamga (no. 3) shown in left field and Bactrian legend $\text{A}\Theta\text{PO}$ (clockwise) in right field.

Reference: Göbl 1984, no. 833

97	148	14.28	24.6x4.4
98	193	14.16	25.3x5.0
99	116	14.12	24.5x4.5
100	139	14.02	25.2x4.4
101	149	13.86	25.4x4.4

4.2.2. King reclining on couch to left & Mao

Obv. As variety 4.2.1.

Rev. Moon god (Mao) standing with head turned in profile to the left and body slightly bent in the middle, lunar crescent behind shoulders, wearing diadem, low headdress, tunic, long-sleeved mantle tied at chest and trousers, making two fingers gesture with forwarded right hand while left-hand holds the hilt of a sword across his body near waist on left side. Kanishka tamga (no. 3) in left field and Bactrian legend MAO (clockwise) in right field.

Reference: Göbl 1984, no. 836 [1-18]; Khan 2009, nos. 14-16

102	133	16.22	25.0x5.2
103	152	14.58	26.0x4.4
104	122	14.48	24.8x4.4
105	121	14.44	25.0x4.6
106	147	14.36	26.3x4.2
107	196	14.34	25.2x4.2
108	150	14.32	25.0x4.6
109	138	14.28	25.2x4.5
110	120	14.24	24.6x4.4
111	129	14.16	24.4x4.4
112	141	14.00	26.0x4.2
113	112	13.82	25.7x4.2
114	117	13.70	25.4x4.1
115	128	13.64	25.6x4.0
116	124	13.62	24.3x4.2
117	157	13.50	25.6x4.4
118	197	13.50	24.3x4.3
119	213	13.48	25.6x4.0
120	127	13.40	27.0x3.7
121	104	13.36	25.6x4.6
122	131	13.30	25.0x4.6
123	216	13.26	26.1x4.4
124	214	13.04	25.2x4.5
125	130	12.92	27.0x3.7
126	155	12.92	25.0x4.1
127	195	12.72	24.0x4.6
128	143	12.68	24.0x4.0
129	125	12.32	25.0x3.6

4.2.3. King reclining on couch to left & Miiro

Obv. As variety 4.2.1.

Rev. Sun god (Mirro) standing with head turned in profile to the left and body slightly bent in the middle, sun-rays halo behind head, wearing diadem, low headdress, tunic, long-sleeved mantle tied at chest and trousers, making two fingers gesture with raised right hand and left hand rests on hilt of a sword across his body near waist on left side. Kanishka tamga (no. 3) depicted in left field and Bactrian legend MIIPO (clockwise) in right field.

Reference: Göbl 1984, no. 821 [1-8]; Khan 2009, nos. 17-23

130	102	14.33	25.0x4.3
131	105	14.14	26.1x4.3
132	110	14.08	25.4x4.1
133	103	14.00	25.0x4.5
134	123	13.90	24.6x4.4
135	207	13.46	24.6x4.5
136	145	13.56	25.4x4.3
137	144	13.26	26.0x3.8
138	109	13.24	26.2x4.0
139	154	13.24	25.0x4.1

4.2.4. King reclining on couch to left & Nana

Obv. As variety 4.2.1.

Rev. Female figure (goddess Nana) standing to right, hair tied in bun behind head, wearing diadem, low headdress with small crescent at top and ankle-length double robe dress, holding short sceptre with horse protome in her right hand and bowl in left hand. Kanishka tamga (no. 3) in lower right field and Bactrian legend NANA (clockwise) in the left.

Reference: Göbl 1984, no. 840; Khan 2009, nos. 24-25

140	137	14.48	24.5x4.6
141	153	13.84	24.6x4.4

4.2.5. King reclining on couch to left & Four-armed Oesho

Obv. As variety 4.2.1.

Rev. Oesho (four-armed) standing facing with head turned in profile to the left, wearing diadem, low headdress, short tunic and dhoti with clear folds fastened with a belt round waist and beaded necklace over left shoulder across his chest. In his four arms he holds diadem in lower left hand, thunderbolt in upper left, long trident in upper right and water pot in lower right. Kanishka tamga (no. 3) in the lower left field and Bactrian legend OH PO (clockwise) in the right.

Reference: Göbl 1984, no. 850

142	136	13.82	24.6x4.4
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4.2.6. King reclining on couch to left & deities unclear

Obv. As variety 4.2.1.

Rev. Uncertain male figures perhaps Athsho, Mao or Miiro standing in profile to left as described above, but their features and attributes are unclear. Kanishka tamga (no. 3) in left field and corroded Bactrian legend in right field.

143	142	14.76	25.4x4.0
144	151	14.62	25.4x4.5
145	140	14.26	25.7x4.4
146	194	14.00	24.8x4.6
147	156	13.76	25.4x4.0
148	146	13.48	26.0x4.2
149	215	13.46	26.3x3.8

4.3. King Seated Cross-Legged

4.3.1. King seated cross-legged upon mountain/clouds & Athsho

Obv. King seated cross-legged upon mountain or clouds with head turned in profile to the right, wearing diadem, tall rounded headdress with floating ribbons behind head, tunic and trousers, holding shaft of a long spear with upstretched left hand and his right hand rests in the lap. Bactrian legend $\text{DAONANO DAO OOH DKE KO DANO}$ clockwise, starts from 1 o'clock and terminates at 12 o'clock.

Rev. Male figure (bearded) standing with head turned in profile to the left and body slightly bent in the middle, flames emanate from shoulders, wearing diadem, low headdress, tunic, long-sleeved mantle tied at chest and trousers, holding diadem in the forwarded right hand and pair of tongs in left hand near his waist on left side. Kanishka tamga (no. 3) in left field and Bactrian legend $\text{A\textcircled{O} DO}$ (clockwise) in right field.

Reference: Göbl 1984, no. 834; Khan 2009, no. 29

150	169	14.26	24.2x4.6
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4.3.2. King seated cross-legged upon mountain/clouds & Mao

Obv. As variety 4.3.1.

Rev. Moon god (Mao) standing with head turned in profile to the left and body slightly bent in the middle, lunar crescent behind shoulders, wearing diadem, low headdress, tunic, long-sleeved mantle tied at chest and trousers, making two figures gesture with forwarded right hand and left-hand holding hilt of a sword across his body near waist on left side. Kanishka tamga (no. 3) in left field and Bactrian legend MAO (clockwise) in right field.

Reference: Göbl 1984, no. 837 [1-24]; Khan 2009, nos. 30-31

151	174	14.40	24.6x5.0
152	177	13.92	25.7x4.3
153	175	13.92	26.3x4.0
154	190	13.86	26.1x3.6
155	198	13.70	23.6x4.8
156	167	13.64	25.5x4.5
157	182	13.56	25.4x4.1
158	199	13.52	25.5x4.0
159	168	13.28	25.6x4.1
160	162	13.26	25.5x4.2
161	204	13.26	24.2x4.4
162	191	13.22	25.3x4.5
163	183	12.90	24.4x4.1
164	171	12.80	24.7x4.2

4.3.3. King seated cross-legged upon mountain/clouds & Miiro

Obv. As variety 4.3.1.

Rev. Sun god (Miiro) standing with head turned in profile to the left and body slightly bent in the middle, sun rays halo behind head, wearing diadem, low headdress, tunic, long-sleeved mantle tied at chest and trousers, making two figures gesture with advanced right hand and left hand rests on hilt of a sword across his body near waist on left side. Kanishka tamga (no. 3) in left field and Bactrian legend MIIPO (clockwise) in right field.

Reference: Göbl 1984 no. 822 [1-5]; Khan 2009, no. 32

165	206	14.72	25.0x4.4
166	205	14.38	26.2x4.0
167	165	13.96	24.9x4.4
168	161	13.68	24.8x4.2
169	159	13.38	25.0x4.0

4.3.4. King seated cross-legged upon mountain/clouds & Four-armed Oesho

Obv. As variety 4.3.1.

Rev. Oesho (four-armed) standing facing with head turned in profile to the left, wearing diadem, low headdress, short tunic and dhoti with clear folds fastened with belt round waist and beaded necklace over left shoulder across his chest. In four arms he holds small diadem in lower left hand, thunderbolt in upper left, long trident in upper right and water pot in lower right. Kanishka tamga (no. 3) in left field and Bactrian legend OH ÐO (clockwise) in right field.

Reference: Göbl 1984, no. 851; Khan 2009, nos. 34-38

170	172	13.38	24.0x4.3
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4.3.5. King seated cross-legged upon mountain/clouds & deities unclear

Obv. As variety 4.3.1.

Rev. Uncertain deities perhaps Athsho, Mao or Miiro standing in profile to left as described above, but their features and attributes are unclear. Kanishka tamga (no. 3) in the left field and corroded Bactrian legend in the right.

171	185	14.80	25.4x4.5
172	184	14.30	25.5x4.2
173	186	14.22	24.4x4.7
174	187	14.18	24.8x4.6
175	217	14.10	24.5x4.3
176	173	14.10	25.8x4.1
177	160	13.84	26.0x4.2
178	188	13.80	24.7x4.5
179	181	13.72	24.2x4.4
180	163	13.00	26.6x4.2

4.4. Defaced & Mao

Obv. Defaced.

Rev. Moon god (Mao) standing with head turned in profile to the left and body slightly bent in the middle, lunar crescent behind shoulders, wearing diadem, low headdress, tunic, long-sleeved mantle tied at chest and trousers, making two figures gesture with forwarded right hand and left hand holding hilt of a sword across his body near waist on left side. Kanishka tamga (no. 3) in the left field and Bactrian legend MAO (clockwise) in the right.

181	203	14.10	26.4x4.5
182	132	12.96	23.6x4.6

Phase-II Coins

4.5. King Riding on Elephant

4.5.1. King riding on elephant to right & Mao

Obv. King riding an elephant to the right, wearing diadem with floating ribbons behind head, tall round crown, tunic and trousers, holding long spear across his body in outstretched right hand and elephant's goad in left hand. Bactrian legend ÐAONANO ÐAO OOH ÐKE KO ÐANO clockwise, starts from 1 o'clock and terminates at 12 o'clock.

Rev. Moon god (Mao) standing with head turned in profile to the left and body slightly bent in the middle, lunar crescent behind shoulders, wearing diadem, low headdress, tunic, long-sleeved mantle tied at chest and trousers, making two figures gesture with forwarded right hand and left hand holding hilt of a sword across his body near waist on left side. Kanishka tamga (no. 3) in the left field and Bactrian legend MAO (clockwise) in the right.

Reference: Göbl 1984, nos. 835-5 [18-28]; Khan 2009, no. 39

183	068	12.76	26.0x3.4
184	050	12.60	28.2x3.2

185	100	12.58	26.0x3.6
186	084	12.54	26.4x4.1
187	052	12.44	25.0x3.8
188	098	12.42	24.5x4.2
189	066	12.28	25.0x4.0
190	200	12.22	24.6x3.6
191	085	12.20	24.4x4.0
192	082	11.58	26.0x3.4
193	080	9.61	24.6x3.7

4.5.2. King riding on elephant to right & Miiro

Obv. As variety 4.5.1.

Rev. Sun god (Miiro) standing with head turned in profile to the left and body slightly bent in the middle, sun rays' halo behind head, wearing diadem, low headdress, tunic, long-sleeved mantle tied at chest and trousers, making two figures gesture with forwarded right hand and left hand holding hilt of a sword across his body near waist on left side. Kanishka tamga (no. 3) in the left field and Bactrian legend MIIPO (clockwise) in the right.

Reference: Göbl 1984, nos. 820 [14]; Khan 2009, no. 40

194	076	12.76	24.3x4.6
195	053	12.16	24.5x3.8
196	071	11.02	24.4x3.3

4.6. King Reclining on Couch

4.6.1. King reclining on couch to left & Mao

Obv. King reclining on a low cushioned couch to left with head facing, left elbow resting on cushion, right leg (bent) on couch and left leg is resting on a low stool and holding something in his both hands before chest. Bactrian legend $\text{DAONANO DAO OOH DKE KO DANO}$ clockwise, starts from 1 o'clock and terminates at 12 o'clock.

Rev. Moon god (Mao) standing with head turned in profile to the left and body slightly bent in the middle, lunar crescent behind

shoulders, wearing diadem, low headdress, tunic, long-sleeved mantle tied at chest and trousers, making two figures gesture with forwarded right hand and left-hand holding hilt of a sword across his body near waist on left side. Kanishka tamga (no. 3) in left field and Bactrian legend MAO (clockwise) in right field.

Reference: Göbl 1984, no. 836 [28-45]; Khan 2009, nos. 41-42

197	208	12.74	26.0x3.8
198	134	12.71	24.4x4.2
199	126	12.52	24.6x4.2
200	107	11.46	25.2x4.0
201	113	11.42	24.0x3.7
202	115	10.72	24.0x3.6

4.6.2. King reclining on couch & Miiro

Obv. As variety 4.6.1.

Rev. Sun god (Miiro) standing with head turned in profile to the left and body slightly bent in the middle, sun rays halo behind head, wearing diadem, low headdress, tunic, long-sleeved mantle tied at chest and trousers, making two figures gesture with raised right hand and left hand holding hilt of a sword across his body near waist on left side. Kanishka tamga (no. 3) in left field and Bactrian legend MIIPO (clockwise) in right field.

Reference: Göbl 1984, no. 821 [14-18]

203	118	12.86	25.8x4.0
204	202	12.74	25.2x4.0
205	108	11.18	24.4x3.7

4.6.3. King Reclining on couch to left & uncertain deities

Obv. As variety 4.6.1.

Rev. Uncertain deities perhaps Athsho, Mao or Miiro standing in profile to left as described above, but their features and attributes are unclear. Kanishka tamga (no. 3) in the left field and corroded Bactrian legend in the right.

206	192	12.90	26.4x4.4
207	106	12.42	26.2x3.6

4.7. King Seated Cross-Legged

4.7.1. King seated cross-legged upon mountain/clouds & Mao

Obv. King seated cross-legged upon mountain or clouds with head turned in profile to the right, wearing diadem, tall rounded headdress with floating ribbons behind head tunic and trousers, holding shaft of long spear with upstretched left hand and right hand rests in the lap. Bactrian legend $\text{DAONANO DAO OH DKE KO PANO}$ clockwise, starts from 1 o'clock and terminates at 12 o'clock.

Rev. Moon god (Mao) standing with head turned in profile to the left and body slightly bent in the middle, lunar crescent behind shoulders, wearing diadem, low headdress, tunic, long-sleeved mantle tied at chest and trousers, making two figures gesture with forwarded right hand and left-hand holding hilt of a sword across his body near waist on left side. Kanishka tamga (no. 3) in the left field and Bactrian legend MAO (clockwise) in the right.

Reference: Göbl 1984, no. 871; Khan 2009, no. 44

208	189	12.80	25.0x4.5
209	170	12.16	25.4x4.0
210	119	11.84	23.8x4.2
211	176	11.18	25.3x3.5

4.7.2. King seated cross-legged upon mountain/clouds & Miiro

Obv. As variety 4.7.1.

Rev. Sun god (Miiro) standing with head turned in profile to the left and body slightly bent in the middle, sun rays' halo behind head, wearing diadem, low headdress, tunic, long-sleeved mantle tied at chest and trousers, making two figures gesture with raised right hand and left hand holding hilt of a sword across his body near waist on left side. Kanishka tamga (no. 3) in the left field

and Bactrian legend MIIPO (clockwise) in the right.

Reference: Göbl 1984, no. 822 [7-13]; Khan 2009, no. 45

212	158	12.78	24.6x4.1
213	178	11.90	23.8x4.2
214	166	11.86	25.0x4.2

4.8. Obverse Defaced & Mao

Obv. Defaced.

Rev. Moon god standing frontally as described in variety 4.7.1.

215	201	12.74	24.5x4.0
216	212	12.56	24.0x4.4




4.9. Obverse Defaced & Reverse Unclear

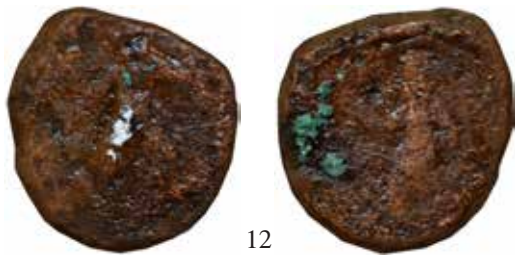
Obv. Defaced.

Rev. Traces reveal standing figures in profile to left like Athsho, Mao and Miiro as described above but their features and attributes are not well preserved. Kanishka tamga (no.3) is in the left field and unclear Bactrian legend in the right.

217	220	14.66	27.0x4.6
218	219	14.48	25.7x5.0
219	221	14.02	24.1x4.7
220	222	13.86	25.0x4.0
221	218	13.66	26.0x4.3
222	164	13.06	25.0x4.4

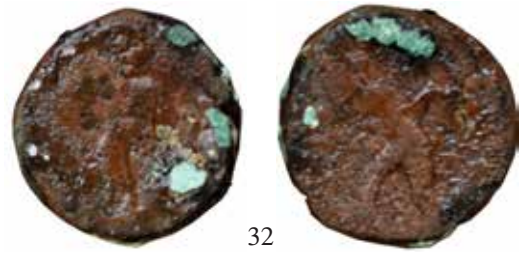
Monograms & Tamgas

1	2	3
		





31



32



33



38



41



51



52



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133



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142



150



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195



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199



200



202

