

Language and Legend in Early Kushan Coinage: Progression and Transformation

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Introduction:

Early Kushan coinage displays its affiliation and syncretism with former coin practices not only in the representation of royal and religious imagery, but also in the language, legends and the execution of inscriptions. The Kushans continued the traditional Greek practices that had already been adopted by the Greco-Bactrians, specifically the use of the Greek language on their coinage as seen frequently in Bactria. In conformity with other former traditions, the Kushans also maintained the Indo-Greek practices employed south of the Hindu Kush by using bilingual inscriptions on their coinage. The languages used south of the Hindu Kush were predominantly Greek for the obverse type and Prakrit¹ (written in Brahmi and Kharoshthi script) for the reverse. The Indo-Greeks introduced the use of the Kharoshthi script for coinage, and it was subsequently applied by the Indo-Scythians and Indo-Parthians in their respective regions. This script was used in the area of the Indus, Swat, and Kabul valleys and in a wide area of northern India and the surrounding regions. Evidence of this can be seen on the coinage of the

¹- “The language of Indic inscription”. The Prakrit or middle Indo-Aryan (MIA) language was the only inscripational language from the third to first century BC, which endured as a common language for coinage for more than two centuries. For a detailed discussion of Indian epigraphy see Salomon 1998.

Western Kshatrapas and Chashtana, whose coins from 78-130 CE² were inscribed in three writing systems: Greek, Brahmi and Kharoshthi. Among all significant ancient civilizations in the region, the Indo-Scythians and the Kushans played a vital role in the introduction and diffusion of Kharoshthi legend in India and later on in ancient Bactria.³

From Greco-Bactrian to Early Kushan

The Greco-Bactrian coins issued north of the Hindu Kush generally present Greek legends on both obverse and reverse types. However, this is not the case for the obverse of Eucratides (Figure 1) and Heliocles (Figure 2) imitation types issued perhaps by Yuezhi or Kujula Kadphises (AD 40-90), the first early Kushan king.⁴ Likewise, in Bactria a Greek legend was excluded from the obverses of the general issue (Figure 3), Heliocles imitation (Figure 4) and also the helmeted type (Figure 5) issued by Vima Takto/ Soter Megas (AD 90-113).

South of the Hindu Kush, the Greek legend surrounding the royal image was used only on the obverse type, whereas the Prakrit language which was written in Kharoshthi script is generally appeared on the reverse sides and surrounding religious images. There are, however, a few exceptions such as the Wēs/ Ardochsho type (Figure 6) of Vima Takto/ Soter Megas issued in Gandhara and likewise the bust-and-Zeus type issued in Mathura (Figure 7), which, respectively, have no inscription on either the obverse, or reverse types and bear only the Greek legend for the reverse type. This is also in accordance with the monolingual copper drachm of Vima Kadphises (AD 113-127) issued in Begram, which has a Greek inscription around the royal image on the obverse, while the reverse type lacks any legend (Figure 8). The coins issued both in Bactria and south of the Hindu Kush contain the name and title of the ruler, presenting his political and the religious status.

It should also be noted that during the early Kushan period the name and the title of the preceding long-dead king would occasionally replace the name and the title of the current ruler. This is evident in the case of the Hermaios imitation series (Figure 9), which was issued south of the Hindu Kush by Kujula Kadphises and bears the name and the title of Hermaios in the obverse and reverse legends.⁵ The bull and camel type of Kujula Kadphises (Figure 10), which was inspired by the coinage of the Indo-Scythian ruler Zeionises (AD 20-40), likewise included the name of Zeionises on the obverse. Another example of the continuing practice of making imitation issues in the name of the former king is a copper

2- Errington and Sarkhosh Curtis 2007: 62.

3- Salomon refers to some discoveries of Kharoshthi inscriptions found north of Hindu Kush, such as those discovered in Qundoz, as well as other evidence from Uzbekistan and Tajikistan. Salomon 1998: 42-45 and 152-154.

4- This an approximate time limit since the actual date for beginning of the Kanishka's era is still a controversial and much disputed subject within the field of Kushan numismatics. This problem has affected on the absolute chronology of the Kushan period. This study has refrained from delving into the ongoing speculation surrounding chronology and instead cautiously adopts the reign of Kanishka according to the most widely accepted dating of 127 AD for the first year of the Kanishka era. For more information concerning chronology and different school of thoughts see: Göbl 1967: 269-312, 1968: 3-113, 1993: 77-86, 1999: 151-171; Schindel 2004: 245-248, 2005: 217-242, 2014: 27-30, as well 2016 123-132; Cribb 1990: 151-193, 1999: 177-205, Falk 2001: 121-136.

5- According to the classification of Bopearachchi, from group IX (joint coinage of Hermaios and Kujula) onwards the name of Kujula appeared on the coinage. Bopearachchi 1991: 124.

tetradrachm of Vima Takto/ Soter Megas which was issued north of the Hindu Kush in the name of Heliocles (Figure 4). Vima Takto/Soter Megas, however, he identified himself on this coin with the four-pronged tamga, the symbol of Soter Megas, on the horse's rump, thereby differentiating his coin from the Heliocles imitation series issued by the Yuezhi and then Kujula Kadphises north of the Hindu Kush.

The coins issued independently and merely in the name of Kujula Kadphises can be classified into a couple of series, including the rare Eucratides imitation type (Figure 11), which bears his name in Greek on the reverse; and the Hermaios imitation series issued in his name and containing both the name and title in Greek and Prakrit on obverse and reverse respectively.⁶ Similarly, those of Roman type (Figure 12) and those with the cross-legged position, as well as the warrior type, carry the name and title in Greek and Prakrit on the obverse and reverse faces. In addition, one of the rare type of Kujula Kadphises (winged victory type) issued in Sind was marked with the Greek title on the obverse and the name and title in Prakrit, written in Kharoshthi script, on the reverse (Figure 13).

Following Kujula Kadphises, his son Vima Takto/Soter Megas issued coins that exhibited an almost uniform Greek inscription of the title ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΣΩΤΗΡ ΜΕΓΑΣ, “King of Kings Great Savior”. Two of his issues, however, are two exceptions: the horseman and Zeus type, which exhibits the identical Greek title on obverse and his personal name alongside his political title in Kharoshthi on the reverse (Figure 14); and the bull and camel type (Figure 15), which displays a blundered Greek inscription of Zeionises on the obverse and the political and religious title in Kharoshthi on reverse.⁷ With the exception of the monolingual bronze issue of Vima Kadphises (Figure 8), he issued the bilingual copper and gold coins with his name and imperial appellation on the reverse. His copper issues bear his name ΟΟΗΜΟ ΚΑΔΦΙΣΗΣ after the identical political title, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΣΩΤΗΡ ΜΕΓΑΣ (Figure 16), which was also employed by his father, Vima Takto. The shorter version of this title has been applied for his gold issues: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΟΟΗΜΟ ΚΑΔΦΙΣΗΣ.⁸

The gold coins copied design elements from the copper issues and it is our understanding of the copper issues that enables us to deduce how the gold coins were developed. Therefore, it has been suggested that Vima Kadphises' coins commenced with the copper issues and that the gold issues followed later on.⁹ An important clue supporting this view is that all gold coins feature a Kharoshthi legend (Figure 17); this was excluded from the early monolingual bronze issue of Vima Kadphises, which has only a Greek legend on the obverse side.

Early Kushan: Adaptation and Transformation

One of the most prominent innovations to take place during the Kushan period was the transformation of the Greek and Kharoshthi scripts into the Bactrian language, and was implemented by Kanishka. Nevertheless, the earliest issue of Kanishka bears the name and title of the king in Greek (Figure 18) and, accordingly, continued with Bactrian legends using the Greek alphabet (Figure 19). From then on, the Greek language was restricted for use as an “official language” in Bactria. This practice of changing the

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7- For progression of early Kushan royal names and appellations, language and scripts see Table 1.

8- Jongeward and Cribb 2015: 54.

9- Bracey 2009: 42.

language from Greek to Bactrian also accords with the reverse types of Kanishka's coins, which, on the earlier issues, give the name of the deities in Greek and progressively take up the Bactrian language.¹⁰

Over the last few decades, a number of researchers have sought to determine possible explanations for the linguistic shift from Greek to Bactrian during the time of Kanishka. Gerard Fussman argued that changing the language from Greek to Bactrian was an obvious political decision and demonstrates the "anti-Greek" attitude of Kanishka. This attitude is also evident in the Rabatak inscription which elaborates on the "Iranizing" inclination of the Kushans by expressing their close association with the Iranian religion and language. Fussman stated that the transition from Greek to Bactrian represents a final stage of the Hellenistic presence in Bactria.¹¹

Robert Göbl likewise considered the development of the language from the initial Greek legend to the Bactrian names, titles and the deities' names attested on the Kanishka coins as a similar transitional phase from the "Greek-only" coinage to that written in Kharoshthi script as on the coins of Vima Kadphises.¹² Additionally, Göbl proposed that the coins minted in the Greek language were issued earlier than the other issues of Kanishka. Proof of this is offered by unique gold staters of Kanishka on which the Greek inscription has been overstruck with the Bactrian legend.¹³ Observations such as those of Joe Cribb have shown that Greek was probably Kanishka's first choice, and that it might have been used as the first official language of the Kushan Empire. Subsequently, Bactrian was a secondary language used for "local translation" of any official documentation within Bactria. A similar explanation was suggested by him, that the Bactrian language may have been the administrative language of the Empire and the Greek was used for some specific purposes in the region. The same attitude regarding a change of a language is in the use of Prakrit under the Kushans. The Prakrit language was written in Kharoshthi in the northwestern provinces and was transcribed into the Brahmi script in the Indian regions.

It should be stressed that there is not sufficient evidence to make conclusive statements concerning the broad range of languages used in different parts of the Empire; however, the use of Bactrian on a broad variety of Kanishka's coinages implies that this language served an administrative function during the Kushan period.¹⁴ Even so, it is clear that coins act as a political proclamation of their issuer. Therefore, it seems plausible that Kanishka desired to make use of one distinctive language for his whole Empire in order to demonstrate his political power and his affiliation with the Iranian world. It is instructive to compare the mechanism of language use and transformation in the Kushan Empire with that of

10- Sims-Williams 1989: 344-349.

11- Fussman 1974: 313-322.

12- Göbl 1984: 61-62.

13- Göbl 1960: 94-96. On Fig. 1 the traces of overstriking the Bactrian legend on the Greek one is quite visible. It should also be noted that in 1961, Göbl proved his earlier observation through paleographic analysis. Cf. Göbl 1961: 93-116. Further to this, he initially proposed that the Greek language coins were issued in Bactria, in the Balkh mint, due to the stylistic resemblance of these coins with the Vima Kadphises issues; cf. Göbl 1983: 85, however, in his comprehensive contribution of 1984 he associated the coin with the Peshawar mint; cf. Göbl 1984: 22-23. This view has been questioned by Tanabe, who argued that the earliest Greek issues of Kanishka were minted in Bactria due to the Hellenistic features displayed on the Greek language coins of Kanishka that make them more fitting to Balkh, "where the central Asian Hellenistic tradition was preserved better than anywhere else." Cf. Tanabe 1995: 203-204.

14- Cf. Cribb 1998: 86.

the Achaemenids, and the possibly parallel political ideologies which Darius and Kanishka employed in this sense. The Achaemenids adopted the Aramaic language for official administrative purposes; the language was used in their royal court and was “their linguistic gateway to the world”. They chose Aramaic because it was a language used throughout the Babylonian as well as the Assyrian empires; thus it already had served as a *lingua franca* of the western satrapies of the Achaemenid empire.¹⁵

Darius was well aware of the diversity of languages spoken in his massive empire, and therefore realized the need to establish a common language for international correspondence. All political records and the official documents sent to the various satrapies and those received from them were translated from Old Persian into Aramaic. This shift is made evident in the Behistun inscription which was inscribed in three languages – Old Persian, Akkadian and Elamite – although copies of the inscription were written in Aramaic on papyrus and leather in order to disseminate the Great King’s message throughout the empire.¹⁶

Like the Achaemenid empire, that of the Kushans also consisted of a large population with several cultures, many of which spoke different languages. Kanishka established a policy identical to that of the Achaemenids which enabled all subjects to communicate using Bactrian as a common language. During the period of Kanishka, the Kushans made use of this language for administrative purposes throughout the empire. Similarly, some documents were translated into local scripts, as illustrated in the official Brahmi inscriptions at the Mat devakula (sanctuary) in Mathura.¹⁷

In view of all that has been discussed so far, the present findings appear to contradict those of Fussman who considered the transformation of the language from Greek to Bactrian indicative of the “anti-Greek attitude” of Kanishka, who made a deliberate political decision to change the language of the Empire. A possible explanation for this, however, could be an intentional linguistic reform made by Kanishka during his reign. This action could not only have demonstrated his close association with Iranian identity, but also enabled his huge multicultural Empire to interact at an administrative level by means of a *lingua franca*. This does not necessarily imply that he was against the Greek language, which had been used for centuries before him and was to continue in use by his successors. This may be explained by his use of the Greek alphabet for his Bactrian coin legends; further, the inscriptions on his initial coins were also in the Greek language. If his decision with respect to the language was indeed motivated by an anti-Greek attitude, it could have manifested at the earliest stage of his reign. Therefore, these factors may explain the relatively strong correlation between Kushan society wanting to establish a new administrative language and the adoption of a rather new political policy. This change may also have been the result of a process of adaptation and acculturation of the Kushan society through interaction with various other cultures that existed in the Empire.

15- Tavernier 2013: 652.

16- Shaked 1987: 251.

17- For the further information concerning the content of the inscriptions in Mat see: cf. Daya Ram Sahnî 1924: 399-406; Lüders 1961: 138-45; Rosenfield 1967: 135-153; Sims-Williams and Falk 2014: Kushan Dynasty ii. Inscriptions of the Kushans in Encyclopaedia Iranica.

Great and Late Kushan: Development and Integration

The names and titles appearing on the coins of Kanishka's successors follow a similar tradition, using the Greek script for the Bactrian language as already established by Kanishka. However, a new pattern progressively emerged in the inscriptions on Kushan coinage, namely the introduction of a Brahmi monogram which is first attested on the obverse and reverse fields of the last issues of Vasudeva I's gold coins (AD 190-227) and subsequently on the copper and gold issues of Kanishka II (AD 227-246) (Figure 20). This practice became canonical under Vasudeva II (AD 280-320), who inscribed not only his name and title in Bactrian but also the first letters of his name, *VASU*, are shown as a Brahmi monogram in the right field of his obverse type¹⁸ (Figure 21). All his successors adopted the analogous practice of reemphasizing the initial part of their name as a Brahmi monogram on the obverse field¹⁹ (Figure 22).

The legacy of using a Bactrian inscription on coins, established by Kanishka, was followed by a gradual decline throughout the later Kushan period. This can be illustrated by the incomplete or missing Bactrian legend observed respectively on the gold and copper issues of Kanishka II. The progressive reduction of the Bactrian legend was followed by the incomplete, corrupted form of legends on the Vasishka and Kanishka III coins. Ultimately, one can identify the minor traces or illegible forms of the Bactrian legend on Vasudeva II's gold coins, whereas it vanished completely from the copper issues. Nevertheless, the practice of using the Bactrian legend was maintained and later featured on the Kushano-Sasanian, Kidarite and Alchan coinage issued in north and south of the Hindu Kush.²⁰

Conclusion

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From the previous discussion, it can be seen that the transformation of language-- a significant shift impressively reflected on the Kushan coinage-- commenced with the gradual reduction in the use of Greek and the introduction of Bactrian. The similar pattern of disuse happened with Kharoshthi, which initially had been inscribed on the reverses of the early Kushan coins and was subsequently replaced by Bactrian. The Kharoshthi script ultimately remained in use as either an isolated monogram or in combination with a Brahmi letter as a control mark on later Kushan coinage.

Discontinuing the use of Kharoshthi script on coinage was presumably not associated with any political decision. Alternatively, it was a result of the coinage "becoming imperial" and spreading throughout the whole Empire rather than remaining in local circulation confined to the Gandhara and Punjab regions.²¹ This is in line with the observation that this study discussed earlier concerning Kanishka's transformation of the language from Greek to Bactrian: the abandonment of a language does not necessarily imply the opposition of a ruler to the former language and tradition. The lingual changes observed on the Kushan coinage are more likely to have been the result of a cultural reaction to changing social and imperial requirements. This may have happened in the process of becoming adapted to the new social, cultural and religious pattern of the conquered lands. This process gave rise to the adoption of a new language and satisfied a particular set of local requirements, while complying with imperial goals.

18- Errington and Cribb 1992: 70, coin no. 43, 73; cf. also Burn 1984: 54-66, 1985: 55-71; as well as Jongeward and Cribb 2015: 171-173, and on the copper issues coin no. 1651.

19- Jongeward and Cribb 2015: 6, 174-178.

20- Vondrovec 2008: 32.

21- Ibid. 6.

Table 1. Progression of early Kushan's language, royal names and appellations

No	King and type	Language	Name and Title	Denomination	Approximate geographical distribution
1	HIAOY/ ΣΑΝΑΒ/ ΣΑΝΑΒΟΥ/ ΑΝΤΕΙΧ	Greek	ΤΥΡΑΝΝΟΥΝΤΟΣ ΗΙΑΟΥ ΚΟΡΡΑΝΟΥ ΣΑΝΑΒ/ ΣΑΝΑΒΟΥ/ΑΝΤΕΙΧ	Tetradrachm	North of the Oxus/ Tokharistan region
			ΚΟΡΡΑΝΟΥ ΗΙΑΟΥ~	Obol	North of the Oxus / Tokharistan region/ some pieces south of the Hindu Kush
2	Kujula Kadphises Eucratides imitation type	Greek	ΟΝΟ ΟΖΟΥΛΟ (ΟΚΟΟΖΟΥΛΟ)	Obol	North of the Oxus
3	Heliocles imitation type	Greek	ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΗΛΙΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ	Copper tetradrachm	North of the Oxus
4	Hermaios imitation in name of Hermaios	Greek	ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΤΗΡΟΣΣΥ ΕΡΜΑΙΟΥ	AE Tetradrachm	Begram
		Prakrit written in Kharoṣṭhi script	<i>Kujula kasasa Kushana yavugasa dhamathidasa</i>		
5	Joint coinage of the Hermaios and Kujula	Greek	ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΤΗΡΟΣΣΥ ΕΡΜΑΙΟΥ	AE Tetradrachm	Begram
		Prakrit written in Kharoṣṭhi script	<i>Maharajasa khushanasa yavugasa kalana karisa</i>		
6	Hermaios imita- tion in name of Kujula	Greek	ΚΟΖΟΥΛΟ ΚΑΔΦΙΖΥ ΚΟΡΣΝΟΥ	AE Tetradrachm	Begram
		Prakrit written in Kharoṣṭhi script	<i>Kujula kasasa Kushana yavugasa dhamathidasa</i>		
7	Bull and camel type	Greek	ΜΑΝΝΙΟΛΟΥ ΥΙΟΥ ΣΑΤΡΑΠΟΥ ΖΕΙΩΝΙΣΟΥ	Copper	Kashmir
		Kharoṣṭhi	<i>Maharayasa Rayatirayasa Devaputrasa Kuyula Katakaphasa</i>		

8	Cross-legged position type	Prakrit written in Kharoṣṭhi script	<i>Kujula Kadaphsasa Kushana Yavugasa</i>	Copper	Taxila
		Greek	ΚΟΥΛΑ ΧΟΡΑΝΟΥ ΖΑΟΥΥ		
9	Roman emperor type	Greek	ΧΟΡΑΝΟΥ ΖΑΟΥΥ ΚΟΖΟΛΑ ΚΑΔΑΦΕΣ	Copper	Taxila
		Prakrit written in Kharoṣṭhi script	<i>Khushanasa ya'u'asa kujula kaphsasa s acadharmathitasa</i>		
10	Helmeted warrior Type	Greek	ΚΟΖΟΥΛΟ ΚΑΔΟΒΙΚΕΙ ΚΟΡΣΑΝ	Copper	Hazara
		Prakrit written in Kharoṣṭhi script	<i>Kushana Ya'usa Kuyula Ka'usa</i>		
11	Heraios imitation type	Kharoṣṭhi	<i>Maharajasa Rajatirajasa Devaputrasa Kuyula Katakaphasa</i>	Copper	Kashmir
		Greek	ΤΥΡΑΝΝ[ΟΝΤΟΣ ΗΙΑΟΥ] ΚΟΡΡΑΝ[ΟΥ]		
12	Vima Takto/ Soter Megas General issues	Greek	ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥ[Σ] ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΩΝ ΣΩΤΗ[Ρ] ΜΕΓΑΣ	Copper	Begram
13	Horseman and Zeus type	Greek	ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΩΝ ΣΩΤΗΡ ΜΕΓΑΣ	Tetradrachm	Gandhara
		Kharoṣṭhi	<i>Maharajasa rajatirajasa mahatasa tratarasa [vema'asa]</i>		
14	Imitation Heliocles and Zeus type	Greek	ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΩΝ ΣΩΤΗΡ ΜΕΓΑΣ	Copper	Mathura
15	Vima Kadphises	Greek	ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΟΟΗ- ΜΟ ΚΑΔΦΙΣΗΣ	Moṣṭ gold (Phase I)	Balkh
		Kharoṣṭhi	<i>Maharajasa rajatirajasa loga'isva-<i>raja maha'is-</i> <i>varasa vima kathpiśasa</i></i>	Gold (Phase I)	

16	Seated king/ Wēš and bull	Greek	ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΣΩΤΗΡ ΜΕΓΑΣ ΟΟΗΜΟ ΚΑΔΦΙΣΗΣ	Gold) Phase III (and most copper	Balkh
		Kharosthi	<i>Maharajasa rajatirajasa sarvaloga 'isvarasa mahi- varasa vrima kathpisasa tratara</i>	Gold and copper coinage	
17	Framed head of king/trident-axe	Greek	ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΟΟΗ-ΜΟ ΚΑΔΦΙΣΗΣ	dinar Quarter Bactria (Phase4)	Balkh
		Kharosthi	<i>Maharajasa rajatirajasa Vima kathpisasa</i>		
18	Standing king to left with Wēš/ monolingual	Greek	ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΣΩΤΗΡ ΜΕΓΑΣ ΟΟΗΜΟ ΚΑΔΦΙΣΗΣ	Copper	Begram
19	Kanishka	Greek	ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΚΑΝΗΡΚΟΥ	Standard and quarter Gold dinars (Phase 1)	Balkh
20		Bactrian	𐬕𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬎𐬀 𐬕𐬀 𐬕𐬀-𐬎𐬀𐬕𐬀𐬀 𐬕𐬀𐬕𐬀𐬎𐬀	Gold Dinars and quarter dinars (Phase 2 and 3)	Balkh
21		Greek	ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΚΑΝΗΡΚΟΥ	Copper (Phase 1)	Begram
22		Bactrian	𐬕𐬀𐬕𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬀	Copper (Phase 2)	Begram



Figure 1: Eucratides Imitation type
Gorny & Mosch Giessener Münzhandlung,
auktion 229, lot 1464, 2015/03/10



Figure 2: Heliocles imitation
Jean Elsen & ses Fils S.A., auktion 91, lot 184,
2007/03/24



Figure 3: Vima Takto/Soter Megas, general issue
Classical Numismatic Group, auktion 228
Lot 167, 2010/02/24



Figure 4: Soter Megas, local issue, Heliocles
imitation type
Classical Numismatic Group, auktion 344
Lot 227, 2015/02/12



Figure 5: Soter Megas, local issue, Helmeted type
Classical Numismatic Group, Triton Sale XII
Lot 1417, 2009/01/6



Figure 6: Wés/Ardochsho on a local coin
of Vima Takto
The British Museum, online collection,
museum number 1894,0506.828



Figure 7: Soter Megas, local copper issue
The British Museum, online collection
museum number 1894,0506.814



Figure 8: Vima Kadphises, Monolingual series
American Numismatic Society 1973.56.225



Figure 9: Kujula Kadphises in the name of Hermaios
American Numismatic Society 1944.100.28130



Figure 10: Kujula Kadphises, bull and camel type
Classical Numismatic Group, auction 260, lot 340, 2011/07/20



Figure 11: Kujula Kadphises, Eucratides imitation type
The British Museum, online collection, museum number 1890,0404.22



Figure 12: Kujula Kadphises, Roman type
Zeno.ru, lot 93138. 09/12/2010



Figure 13: Rare silver drachm of Kujula Kadphises
Senior 2001, Vol II: 219, Coin number B4. 2D;
also B4.1Di, B4.1Dii



Figure 14: Vima Takto/Soter Megas,
The British Museum, online collection,
museum number 1894,0506.796



Figure 15: Bull and camel type, local issue of Vima Takto
Cribb 2014: Fig. 34



Figure 16: Copper issues of Vima Kadphises with Wēs
Classical Numismatic Group, e-auction 298, Lot 83, 2013/03/12



Figure 17: Gold issues of Vima Kadphises. and Wēs
Gemini, LLC, auction XI, lot 309, 2014/1/12



Figure 18: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΚΑΝΗΡΚΟΥ on a gold issue of Kanishka
The British Museum, online collection, museum number 1929, 0725.1



Figure 19: ΠΑΟΝΑΝΟ ΠΑΟ ΚΑ-ΝΗΡΚΙ ΚΟΡΑΝΟ on a gold coin of Kanishka
Numismatica Ars Classica, lot 1502, auction 92 part 2, 2016/05/24



Figure 20: Kanishka II Brahmi letter *vi* in the right field
Spink, lot 3093, auction 16006 2016/09/26



Figure 21: Vasudeva II Brahmi legend *Vasu* in the right field
Spink, lot 550, auction 1010 2010/06/24



Figure 22: Vasishka Brahmi letter *Su* in the right field
American Numismatic Society 1944.100.59453

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