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The Early Coinage of Central Asia

BY

MICHAEL MITCHINER



THE EARLY COINAGE OF CENTRAL ASIA

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Preface

The coins under discussion were all struck in what may be aptly termed the periphery of the civilised world. To the south and southwest of these regions lay the urbanised kingdoms of the Iranian-Afghan plateau that were successively ruled by Achaemenid Persian, Macedonian and Indo-Greek or Parthian sovereigns, while to the north and northeast lay the lands of the Central Asian nomads. The coinage of this buffer region, which generally lay between the Caspian Sea and the Pamir mountains, is traced from its origins in the fourth century before Christ until the time when the Mohammedans established a unified currency for the area in the period of Abbasid caliphs. The fundamental political re-organisation of this region, produced by the ingress of the migrant Yueh Chi in the second century before Christ, is emphasised and the history and coinage of this people is traced until some decades after one of their clans founded the Kushan kingdom about the time of Christ.

During the half century that has elapsed since these coin series were last discussed as a whole by Allotte de la Fuye, a substantial body of new evidence has accumulated and it is hoped that the exposition presented here will meet with the general approval of scholars and prove useful to collectors wishing to study these series. This work would not have been possible without the help and criticism of numerous friends and colleagues to whom the author would like to register his gratitude.

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THE EARLY COINAGE OF CENTRAL ASIA.

by Michael Mitchiner

The coins discussed in this paper were issued between the time of Alexander the Great and the Mohammedans in the region that is bounded to the north and south by the Aral Sea and the Central Afghan mountains, to the east by the Jaxartes and the Pamirs and to the west by the Caspian Sea. Within these confines the land forms three geographical divisions that were often the seats of separate kingdoms.

It is a land of generally barren elevated steppe in which the main centres of population tended to cluster along the rivers that were often separated from each other by desert. Its three main centres of population were Choresmia in the west, Sogdiana in the east and Bactria, together with other districts of the north Afghan plateau, in the south. Sogdiana situated between the middle Jaxartes and the middle Oxus was watered by these two rivers as well as by smaller rivers, such as the Zeravshan, flowing north from the Pamirs. Its northern limit was the Kizyl Kum desert between the lower Jaxartes and lower Oxus. South of the Oxus the eastern end of the north Afghan plateau comprised the district of Bactria, ringed by the Pamirs in the east, by the Afghan massif in the south and extending westwards to include the valley of the Murghab river.¹ West of this the valley of the Hari Rud formed the northern part of Aria and further west the north Afghan-Iranian plateau comprised the districts of Parthia and Hyrcania which included the Meshad region. Choresmia, situated to the north of Hyrcania and to the north-west of Bactria, occupied the eastern shore of the Caspian. Choresmia and the various districts of the north Afghan plateau all had as their common frontier a large desert, the Kara Kum, lying between the Oxus and the Caspian. This desert formed the south-eastern and eastern frontier of Choresmia, the northern frontier of Aria, the northern and north-western frontier of Bactria and was only separated from Sogdiana by the Oxus.

Although the geography of this area played a major role in its history, there was another equally important factor. This was the situation of Choresmia, Bactria and Sogdiana as a buffer zone between the nomad tribes to the north and east and the urbanised kingdoms on the rest of the Iranian-Afghan plateau. The history of this area is dominated by three major waves of nomad migration that had as their consequences the establishment of Scythian (Saka) tribes during the pre-Achaemenid period, the establishment of the Yueh Chi during the second and first centuries before Christ and the establishment of the Hephthalites in the fourth and fifth centuries after Christ. All these movements placed Choresmia, Bactria and Sogdiana outside the main stream of Iranian-Afghan culture so that during the intervening periods their history was marked by settlement of the nomads with re-assertion of urban culture and the formation of new and stable kingdoms that progressively became more closely integrated with the other urbanised kingdoms on the Iranian-Afghan plateau.

Choresmia, Bactria and Sogdiana acquired their urban culture when they formed satrapies of the Persian Empire from the sixth century before Christ and it is important to remember that during the rest of the pre-moslem period these three districts formed the north-eastern outposts of Iranian-Afghan culture and coinage and that they were also the outposts of urbanisation. For most of this period they were

outposts whose settled way of life differed sharply from that of normal tribes beyond their frontiers whose tendency to migrate presented a constant threat of invasion.

EARLY HISTORY.

This region entered history with the foundation of the Persian Empire by Cyrus (c.560-520 BC) and Darius I (c.520-486 BC), and was introduced by Herodotus². He described the peoples living around the Bactrian plain as the Choresmians, the Parthians and the Hyrcanians, the Sarangians and the Thamanaeans and suggested that when the Persians occupied Bactria some of its inhabitants were expelled to Choresmia. Herodotus named these peoples by the territories they occupied and not by any tribal name, for they were, respectively, inhabitants of the satrapies named Choresmia (Chorasians), Parthia (Parthians & Hyrcanians), Drangiana (Sarangians) and Satagydia (Thamanaeans)³. Herodotus also described how Cyrus, who was successful in his occupation of Sogdiana and founded the city of Cyropolis on the Jaxartes,⁴ campaigned against the Massagetae who were then a powerful tribe living across the Jaxartes.⁵ When Cyrus crossed this river the Massagetae defeated his army and he was killed.

The administrative divisions, or satrapies, of the early Persian empire were defined in the Bisoutun and Naq-e-rustam inscriptions of Darius I and amplified by Herodotus. Satrapies conformed, in general, to the geographical divisions already noted and for many centuries most regions continued to be known by the same names. They are shown in Table I the last column of which, taken from Arrian's account of the campaign of Alexander the Great, shows modifications that occurred during the Achaemenid period.

Along the north-east Iranian-Afghan plateau the Parthian satrapy comprised the regions of Parthia and Hyrcania. Herodotus recognised these two regions and nearly two centuries later, at the time of Darius III, Phrataphernes was called satrap of the Parthians and the Hyrcanians.⁶ Hyrcania, situated east of Parthia, was traversed by Alexander on his way from Parthia to Aria.⁷ To the east of Hyrcania the satrapy of Aria was centred on the Hari Rud (Tedzhen) river whose valley it included from the Herat region northwards to where this river, the Arius of Arrian and Strabo,⁸ ran dry in the Kara Kum desert. To the east of Aria the remainder of the north Afghan plateau comprised the Bactrian satrapy. During the Seleucid period this territory that had comprised the Bactrian satrapy was sub-divided into Bactria, the plain south of the Oxus, and Margiana,⁹ the valley of the Murghab river. The regions of the north-east Iranian-Afghan plateau, Parthia, Hyrcania, Aria, Margiana and Bactria, continued to be known by similar names until the early Sassanian period.¹⁰

The central Afghan massif comprised the satrapies of Drangiana in the west and Sattagydia in the east. Their inhabitants, the Sarangians and the Thamanaeans, were noted by Herodotus to have lived on the borders of Bactria. Drangiana was under the control of Baerentes,¹¹ satrap of Arachosia, at the time of Darius III but paid a joint tribute with Aria during the Seleucid period.¹²

The remainder of Afghanistan, the western plateau south of Herat continuing south of the central massif (through Kandahar) and up the eastern side of the massif to the Kabul valley, comprised the remainder of the Arian satrapy and the satrapy of Arachosia. Aria extended southwards from the Herat region of the Hari Rud valley to include the rest of the west Afghan plateau¹³ and was separated from Arachosia by the desert that lies between the Farah region of Aria, (watered by the Farah Rud system) and the Kandahar region of Arachosia (watered by the Helmund-Arghehdab system). The latter satrapy extended up the east Afghan plateau to include the Kabul valley and had a frontier with the satrapy of Gandhara east of Jalalabad. During the post-Achaemenid period the territories of Aria and Arachosia became more restricted. Alexander

elevated the Kabul valley to a distinct satrapy, the Parapamisidas¹⁴, but the rest of Arachosia remained intact until the early Sassanian period when it was known as Turan¹⁵. Aria continued to denote the whole of the west Afghan plateau until after the nomad migration of the second century BC. Subsequently¹⁶ the southern part of Aria acquired the name Sakastan so that in later inscriptions, such as that of Shapur I at Naqs-i-rustam, the west Afghan plateau is divided into Aria, the valley of the Hari Rud, and Sakaastan, south-west Afghanistan.

To the east of Afghanistan Darius I ruled the satrapies of Gandhara and India. Gandhara, the plain to the west of the Indus, was mentioned in both his inscriptions and remained a satrapy until the time of Darius III, to whose army it furnished elephants¹⁷. The rich Indian satrapy furnished about one third of the total tribute paid to Darius I¹⁸ and was probably a conquest of his later reign¹⁹. Situated in the Taxila region, to the east of the Indus, this satrapy also appears to have remained part of the Persian empire until the time of Darius III.²⁰

The remaining eastern satrapies of Darius I were Choresmia, Sogdiana and Saka. Choresmia, on the east Caspian coast to the north of Hyrcania, was separated from Aria, Margiana and Bactria²¹ by the Kara Kum desert. It was a satrapy of Darius I and of his successor, Xerxes, to whose army it furnished a contingent of troops²² but by the time of Darius III Choresmia was an independent territory inhabited by a Saka tribe known as the Dahae. Choresmia was not mentioned as a satrapy of Darius III but, instead, there was report of a Saka contingent in his army who were his dependent allies. Under their leader Muakes they were placed alongside the Bactrian troops as part of the command of Bessus, satrap of Bactria and Sogdiana²³. The evidence for Alexander the Great is more specific. Arrian identifies Saka allies in Alexander's army as belonging to the Dahae tribe and places this tribe in the region that was previously the Choresmian satrapy²⁴. Although the Dahae supported Alexander they also supported his enemy Spitamenes whose army, in addition to his own Sogdian troops, included a substantial force of Massagetaean and Dahaeen Sakas²⁵. Strabo, some of whose evidence on the Dahae belongs to the third century²⁶, amplifies the report in Arrian. The Dahaeen Sakas who inhabited Choresmia belonged to the southern group of Dahae known as the Aparnian Dahae and were related to other groups of Dahae who lived further north along the east Caspian coast.²⁷

The satrapy of Sogdiana was conquered by Cyrus²⁸ who founded Cyropolis²⁹ on the middle Jaxartes and was named as a satrapy in both inscriptions of Darius I. It sent troops in Xerxes' army³⁰ and was governed by Bessus³¹, the satrap of Bactria and Sogdiana, at the time of Darius III. Sogdiana lay between the Jaxartes and the Oxus but did not include all the territory between these two rivers. Its limits were defined by Arrian³². Maracanda, the 'Royal City' of western Sogdiana, was situated on the river Polytimetus (Zeravshan) along which now lie both Samarkand and Bokhara. However, the main urban centre of the satrapy consisted of the seven cities situated along the bend of the Jaxartes and the greatest of these was Cyropolis. Sogdiana extended from the middle Jaxartes in the east to the middle Oxus in the west and from the foothills of the Pamirs in the south to the Kizyl Kum desert in the north where the river Zeravshan runs dry. To the north-east of Sogdiana the territory lying between the lower Jaxartes and lower Oxus, which consisted for the most part of the Kizyl Kum desert, was now the domain of the Massagetaean Scythians³³ who had previously been the powerful tribe living beyond the Jaxartes that defeated Cyrus³⁴. But in the fourth century when they lived in and around the Kizyl Kum desert and, across the Oxus, around the north-eastern part of the Kara Kum desert they were no longer powerful; 'these Scythians are

TABLE I. Eastern Satrapies of the Persian Empire.

Satrapy	Darius I ^a inscription	Darius I ^b Naq-e-rustam inscription	Herodotus ^c Regions paying tribute to Darius I	Herodotus ^d Contingents in Xerxes' army	Herodotus ^e Peoples around Bactria	Arrian ^f
Parthia (incl. Hyrcania)	13. Parthava	2. Parthava	16. Parthians	Artabazus (Bactrian)	Hyrcanians & Parthians	Phrataphernes ^h
Aria	15. Haraiva	3. Haraiva	16. Arians	Sieamnes (Median-Bactrian)	-	Satibarzanes ⁱ
Choresmia	16. Uvarazmiya	6. Uvarazmir	16. Choresmians	Artabazus (Bactrian)	Choresmians	Nil (Independent) ^g
Bactria (incl. Margiana)	17. Bactris	4. Bakhtris	12. Bactrians	Hystaspes (Bactrian)	-	Bessus ⁿ
Sogdiana	18. Suguda	5. Suguda	16. Sogdians	Azanes (Bactrian)	-	Bessus
Gandhara	19. Gandhara (Paraparesana)	10. Gandhara	7. Gandarians	Artiphilus (Bactrian)	-	not named
Saka	20. Saka (Gimiri)	12. Saka-humaravarka Saka-tigra-khauda	- ^d	Hystaspes (local)	-	not named ^l
India	-	11. Hindus	20. Indians	Pharnazathes (cotton)	-	Taxiles ^o
Sattagydia	21. Thatagus (Sattagu)	9. Thatagus	7. Sattagydiens	-	Thasaneans	-
Arachosia	22. Haruvatis (Aruhatti)	8. Haruvatis	- ^e	- ^h	-	Barsantes ^h
Drangiana	14. Zarenka	7. Zarenka	- ^f	Phrendates (local-Median)	Sarangians	Barsantes

Notes to Table I

- a) c.520-486 BC. India (i.e. Taxila) was not yet conquered. Persian names given with Babylonian in brackets were relevant.
- b) Inscription on his tomb.
- c) Herodotus, III, 88 ff. His 20 provinces are tribute districts not satrapies. Province 7 adds the Dadicae (cfr. note h) and Aparytae who were apparently tribes of Arachosia and Drangiana. Province 12 comprises 'Bactrians & their neighbours as far as the Aegli,' it probably includes the Saka satrapy (vide text).
- d) Apparently included in province 12.
- e) and f) Apparently both included in province 7.
- g) Herodotus, VII, 64 ff. Listed by commander with the uniform of troops given in brackets. Hystaspes' command comprised troops of both Bactria and the Saka satrapy (from Amyrgium-Gimiri with pointed hats-tigra khauda).
- h) Artyphius commanded the troops of Gandhara and of the Dadicae (cfr. notes c & e) who were probably Arachosians.
- i) Herodotus, III, 117 ff.
- j) Arrian, III, 8 to 23 and elsewhere. Darius III died 330 BC.
- k) Arrian, III, 8, 3 ff; III, 23, 4. Satrap of Hyrcania & Parthia.
- l) Arrian, III, 8, 3 ff.
- m) The independent Dahaeans Sakas lived in Choresmia (vide text, Arrian, Strabo) but apparently sent troops in Darius' army as his independent ally (Arrian, III, 8, 3 ff), and sent troops with Alexander (Arrian, V, 12, 2) as well as against Alexander in Spitamenes' army (Arrian, III, 28, 8 ff).
- n) Arrian, III, 8, 3 ff. et seq. Satrap of Bactria-Sogdiana; commander of Indian troops from an adjacent region.
- o) Arrian, III, 8, 6. The Indians 'on this side of the Indus' provided elephants in Darius' army but their satrap is not named.
- p) Alexander defeated Choriene and conquered the Pareatakes of the western Pamirs (Arrian, IV, 21, 1 ff) where the Saka satrapy was probably situated (vide text) and from whence the Indian troops from territory adjacent to Bactria that were commended by Bessus in Darius' army (Arrian, III, 8, 3 ff) probably came.
- q) Taxiles, governor not king of the Taxila region (Arrian, IV, 22, 6; V, 3, 5 f; V, 8, 2 f) was treated as such by Alexander. For further discussion of Taxila during the late Achaemenid period see Mitchiner, *Origins of Indian Coinage*, 1972. That his overlord was Persian may be considered likely but not proven.
- r) Arrian, III, 8, 3 ff; III, 21, 1. Satrap of the Arachotians and Drangians.

in great poverty, and also, since they have no cities and no settled habitations, so that they have no food for their horses, they are easy to persuade to take part in any war which may offer³⁵. At a later date Strabo's somewhat eclectic summary of the nomad migration in the second century BC suggests that the division of the land lying between the Jaxartes and Oxus into Sogdiana and the territory of the Massagetaean Sakas was retained³⁶. To the south Sogdiana included the foothills of the Pamirs, the region where Alexander captured the 'Rook of Sogdiana' but beyond this the Pamirs were inhabited by tribes known as the Paraetakes³⁷.

The remaining eastern satrapy of the Achæmenid Empire was that of the Sakas. This satrapy was termed Saka (Persian) - Gimiri (Babylonian) in the Bisoutun inscription of Darius I and Saka-humaravarka, Saka-tigra-khauda (Sakas with pointed bonnets) in his Naqs-i-rustam inscription. Herodotus referred to troops from this satrapy in Xerxes' army as being under the same command as the Bactrian troops and noted that:- 'The Sacae, a Scythian people, wore trousers and tall pointed hats (ie. Saka-tigra-khauda) set upright on their heads and were armed with the bows of their country, daggers and the sagaris or battle axe. Sacae is the name the Persians give to all Scythian tribes: these were actually the Scythians of Amyrgium (ie. Gimiri).'

This satrapy, whose soldiers wore local dress and were combined with the Bactrian troops, appears to have been situated in the Pamirs to the east of Bactria; the land inhabited by the Paraetakes at the time of Alexander and bordered by Sogdiana in the north, by Bactria in the west and by Gandhara in the south³⁹. The satrapy is not mentioned elsewhere by name but additional evidence supports this location. Thus Herodotus suggests that Darius received tribute from beyond Bactria - a tribute of 360 talents paid by the 'Bactrians and their neighbours as far as the Aegli'⁴⁰ - while Darius himself supports this location in his two rock inscriptions where satrapies are not listed in geographical order but do show geographical grouping. In both cases the Saka satrapy is grouped with Gandhara. The Bisoutun inscription lists in order:- Parthia; Drangiana-Aria-Chorasnia; Bactria-Sogdiana; Gandhara-Saka; Sattagydia-Arachosia while the Naqs-i-rustam inscription lists:- Parthia; Aria-Bactria-Sogdiana-Chorasnia; Drangiana-Arachosia-Sattagydia; Gandhara-India-Saka.

METROLOGY

In Choresmia, Bactria and Sogdiana silver coinage was struck according to three main weight standards; the Persic standard introduced to all three regions during the Achaemenid period, the Attic standard introduced by Alexander the Great and the Sassanian derivative of the Attic standard introduced to Bactria in the third century AD, to Sogdiana in the late fifth century and to Choresmia at about the same time.

Prior to the establishment of the Persian empire by Cyrus and Darius I silver was tariffed on the Iranian-Afghan plateau according to the Heavy Babylonian silver standard. Although there are no Iranian-Afghan coins of this period silver ingots have been found⁴¹ and use of the Heavy Babylonian silver standard was transmitted from Mesopotamia to India before the foundation of the Achaemenid Empire. Two Babylonian weight standards reached India earlier than c.575 BC when various states began striking coins according to the Indian derivatives of these weight standards. Both Babylonian silver standards were based on the gold shekel of 8.18 grammes; on the Heavy standard this gold shekel was equivalent to 10 silver shekels of 10.91 grammes while on the Light silver standard the same gold shekel was equivalent to 15 silver shekels of 7.26 grammes. The Heavy silver standard used on the Iranian-Afghan plateau was transmitted to Pakistan and the region north of the Ganges where coins were struck on its Indian derivative, the Satamana silver weight standard, from about 575 BC. The main difference between the Mesopotamian and the Indian standards was their underlying rationale; whereas the Heavy Babylonian shekel had an absolute weight of 10.91 grammes the Indian Satamana was, according to their custom, a standard multiple of the average weight of a specified seed. The Satamana had an absolute value of 100 rattis but as one ratti was the average weight of a Gunja creeper seed (*Abrus precatorius*) and average seed weight varied according to the environment in which plants were grown through the range 0.104 to 0.117 grammes so the weight of the 100 Ratti Satamana ranged from 10.4 to 11.7 grammes. In Kosala silver was coined in denominations from half to 1/20th (5 rattis) Satamana during the period c.575-470 BC. By way of contrast the Light Babylonian silver shekel of 7.26 grammes was transmitted through seaborne trade to the west coast of India where it was adopted in Avanti and spread eastwards up the Narbada river to Magadha on the middle Ganges, to Anga in Bengal and to Kalinga on the east coast. In these regions the Light shekel became the Double Karshapana of 64 Rattis (6.6 to 7.5 grammes) and coins were struck from c.575 BC in denominations from the Double to the 1/32nd (1 ratti) Karshapana. Among the evidence used to date these series one may note that the coinage of Kosala and that of Anga ceased, respectively, around two decades after and before Buddha's nirvana (c.486 BC) when they were conquered by Magadha.⁴²

During the Achaemenid period the Heavy Babylonian weight standard that had been current on the Iranian-Afghan plateau became the Persic weight standard adopted throughout the Empire. The weights of the gold and silver shekels were each raised by 3% so that the Babylonian gold shekel of 8.18 grammes became the Persic shekel of 8.41 grammes which was coined as the Achaemenid gold Daric (shekel) of this weight and the Heavy Babylonian silver shekel of 10.91 grammes became the Persic silver shekel of 11.22 grammes.⁴³ In the south-eastern satrapies Satamanas (flat and bent bars) and their fractions of the Taxila-Gandhara series continued to be struck and were equivalent to the Persic silver shekel as they had been to the Babylonian shekel (10.4 - 11.7 against 10.91 or 11.22 grammes), but in the western satrapies the range of denominations was restricted almost entirely to the Siglos of half shekel weight.⁴⁴

Use of the Persic weight standard in the north-eastern satrapies is not vouched for by coinage because there apparently was none⁴⁵ though trade in precious metal was active.

A new weight standard was introduced to the Iranian-Afghan plateau by Alexander the Great. After conquering the Persian Empire during the years around 330 BC. Alexander established the Attic weight standard throughout his Empire and introduced a coinage based on gold staters of 8.6 grammes, silver tetradrachms of 16.8 grammes⁴⁷ and associated subsidiary denominations. On the Iranian-Afghan plateau this Attic weight standard was retained by the Parthian kings who ruled from the 3rd century BC. to the 3rd century AD. though their tetradrachms and drachms tended to become slightly lighter. The Sassanian weight standard used by their successors was the same reduced attic weight standard but based on a lighter drachm whose normal weight was a little over 3 grammes. Expansion of the Sassanian Empire introduced the Sassanian weight standard to Afghanistan where it was later adopted by the Hephthalites whose coinage commenced in Bactria at the end of the fourth century. With the Hephthalite conquest of Sogdiana towards the end of the 5th century the Sassanian weight standard, coin types and coin fabric were adopted by the Hephthalite kings of Sogdiana whose drachms normally weigh around 3 grammes. When the Arabs conquered the Sassanian Empire in the middle 7th century they adopted the Sassanian weight standard and coin fabric, initially for their Iranian-Afghan territory and subsequently, from AH.80 (AD.701), throughout the Omayyad caliphate. The early Omayyad dirhems struck before AH.80 weigh 3 to 4 grammes while subsequent post-reform dirhems of this caliphate weigh close to 2.9 grammes.

In peripheral regions, Bactria, the Kabul valley, Sogdiana and Choresmia evolution of weight standards was more complex. The Bactrian kings who ruled in northern Afghanistan from the middle 3rd to the late 1st century BC. continued to coin on the Attic silver standard and struck tetradrachms weighing close to 16.7 grammes until the reign of their last king Hermaeus⁴⁸. Following the second century nomad migration the Graeco-Saka states of western Bactria continued to coin on this Attic standard but their coinage became debased and the weight of the tetradrachm fell from around 16 to 12 grammes. In eastern Bactria the Yueh Chi successors to the Greeks retained the Attic silver standard for their coins and the Kushans who, about two decades later (c.0 BC), succeeded to both regions of Bactria initiated their Bactrian coinage on the standard appropriate to each region.⁴⁹ After conquering north Pakistan Soter Megas introduced a uniform currency throughout the Kushan kingdom based on the reduced Indo-Greek weight tetradrachm of 8.3 grammes then current south of the Hindu Kush.

Outside Bactria use of the Attic weight standard ceased in Afghanistan about 312 BC when Seleucos ceded southern and eastern Afghanistan to Chandragupta Maurya⁵⁰. Until about 185 BC Mauryan punchmarked coins struck on the Karshapana weight standard were current. The Karshapana of 32 rattis (3.33 to 3.74 grammes) was originally struck to this weight and by the Mauryan period the average coin weight for the Karshapana was still 3.2 to 3.6 grammes⁵¹. When the Mauryan Empire declined and the Bactrian Greeks expanded onto the eastern and southern Afghan plateau and into the plains of northern Pakistan they created a new weight standard. Their Indo-Greek weight standard⁵² was based on a tetradrachm of 9.7 grammes⁵³ and appears to have been a compromise between the Attic weight standard they used in Bactria and the Karshapana weight standard used in the regions they conquered. The Indo-Greek tetradrachm weighed slightly more than half an Attic tetradrachm and almost exactly the same as three Karshapanas of the Mauryan period. With the debasement of the silver coinage that occurred during the reigns of Azes II and Hermaeus the weight of tetradrachms struck on the Indo-Greek standard fell to around 9.2 grammes for the debased issues of their later reigns.

Kujula's earlier Kabul valley issues of copper tetradrachms, didrachms and drachms approximate to this weight as do the billon and copper tetradrachms of the Indo-Parthians. Succeeding bilingual tetradrachms of Soter Megas weigh around 8.3 grammes⁵⁴ and this is the weight he adopted for the general coinage he introduced throughout the Kushan kingdom.

To the north of Afghanistan the coinage of Sogdiana reverted to the Persic weight standard when this kingdom acquired independence from Bactria about 200 BC. The Persic and reduced Persic weight standard continued to be used in Sogdiana until the Hephthalite conquest. During this period the weight of the Persic tetradrachm fell from 11.2 grammes, through 10 grammes to around 9 grammes at the time of the nomad migration c.130 BC and stabilised at this weight throughout the Yueh Chi period until c.AD.80. From that time until the Hephthalite conquest c.AD.480 the kingdom of Sogdiana struck only drachms and hemi drachms; these give a theoretical weight of 8 grammes for the tetradrachm.

Choresmia, in contrast to Sogdiana, retained the Attic weight standard until the Kushan conquest but during these last three centuries BC the weight of the drachm fell progressively from around 4.2 to 3 grammes. Comments on the weight standards used in the post-Kushan Kingdom of Choresmia are tentative due to the dearth of known coin weights though it would appear that tetradrachms struck during the first five centuries AD adhered to an Attic standard further reduced from that of Heraios while later coins were drachms struck on the Sassanian standard.

These various weight standards and the coin weights for individual series are shown in Table II.

TABLE II. PRINCIPAL WEIGHT STANDARDS OF SILVER COINS.

A) BABYLONIAN weight standards and early Indian derivatives.

	Theoretical weight Shekel (Satamana) (Double Karshapana)	Observed coin weights ¹		
		Shekel (Satamana) (2 Karshapana)	1/2	1/4 1/8
Heavy Babylonian Shekel ²	10.91			
Indian Satamana (100 Rattia) ³	10.4 to 11.7			
Kosala ⁴ c.575-470		-	5.1	2.7 (1.7)
Taxila-Gandhara c.575-330		11.5	5.4	2.6 1.3
Afghan plateau c.400-330		11.1	5.6	2.6 -
Light Babylonian Shekel ⁵	7.27			
Indian Double Karshapana (64 Rattis)	6.66 to 7.48			
Avanti c.575-310		6.8	3.5	1.65 1.0
Magadha c.575-450		6.9	3.4	1.6 -
after c.450		-	3.2	- -
Anga c.575-520		-	3.1	- 0.7
Kalinga c.475-260		-	-	1.5 1.0

B) PERSIC weight standard.

		Observed coin weights			
		Shekel (2 sigloi) (tetradrachm)	1/2 (siglos) (didrachm)	1/4 (1/2 siglos) (drachm)	1/8 (1/4 siglos) (hemidrachm)
Western Satrapies ⁶ c.500-330		-	5.6	-	-
South-east Satrapies c.575-330	vide Satamana				
Sogdian Kingdom ⁷ c.200-180		11.2	-	-	-
c.180-150		10	-	-	-
c.150-130		9	-	-	-
Sogdian Yueh Chi ⁸ c.130 BC-AD.80		9	-	-	-
Sogdian Kingdom ⁹ c. 80-480		-	-	2	0.7

C) INDO-GREEK weight standard.

		Tetradrachm	Didrachm	Drachm
Silver Kabul & N.Pakistan ¹⁰	c.185-10	9.7	-	2.45
Debased Azes II ¹¹	c.20 BC - AD 20	9.2	-	2.3
" Hermaeus ¹²	c.20 BC - AD 10	9.0	-	2.2
" Kujula ¹³	c.10 - 35 Early	8.5 - 9	4.5	2.5
	late	5 - 9	-	2.4
" Indo-Parthian ¹⁴	c.35 - 65/70	9.2	-	2.2
" Soter Megasthenes ¹⁵	c.45/50 - 85/90 Local	8.3	-	2.1
	General	8.3	-	2.1

TABLE II - cont'd.

D) ATTIC and reduced Attic weight standards.

		Observed coin weights				
		Tetradrachm	Drachm	Hemidrachm	Diobol	Obol
Bactrian Greek ¹⁶	c.250-130	16.7	4.1	-	-	0.65
Parthia ¹⁷	c.250-0	14.3-15.6	3.9	-	-	0.65
	c.0-220	11.0-13.5	3.6	-	-	-
Choresmian Dahae ¹⁸	c.330-250	-	4.2	2.0	-	0.6
	c.250-200	-	3.1	1.5	-	0.5
	c.200-130	-	-	1.5	-	0.4
	c.130-0	-	3.0	1.6	0.8	-
Graeco-Saka ¹⁹ : Margiana (Merv)	c.130-80	14	-	-	-	0.5
:West Bactria(Balkh)	c.130-80	16.4	-	-	-	-
	c. 80-0	12-15	3.3	-	-	-
East Bactrian Greek ²⁰	c.130-20	16.7	4.1	-	-	-
Yueh Chi of Tu-mi (Qunduz) ²¹	c. 20-0	-	-	2.0	-	-
Yueh Chi of Hi-thum(Bamiyan) ²²	c. 20=0	-	-	2.3	-	-
Kushan:Heraios(Qunduz+Bamiyan) ²³	c. 0-45/50	12-15.5	-	-	-	0.6
:Soter Megas ²⁴ : Qunduz	c.45/50-85/90	12.5	-	-	-	-
: Balkh	c.45/50-85/90	-	4.1	-	-	-
Choresmia:Post-Kushan Kingdom ²⁵	c.50-500	9	-	-	-	-

E) SASSANIAN weight standard²⁶

		Tetradrachm	Drachm
Sassanian ²⁷	c.226-300	8-12	3
	c.500-630	-	3
Omayyad ²⁸ : pre-Reform	651-700	-	3-4
:post-Reform	699-750	-	2.9
Sogdiana :Hephthalite kingdom ²⁹	c.480-810	-	3.2
Choresmia ³⁰	c.500-800	-	2.2-4.8

F) Changes in weight standard by region³¹

Region Date	Parthia	Choresmia	West Bactria	East Bactria	Sogdiana	Kabul valley	North Pakistan
330 BC			A T T I C 16.7				
250 BC		16.7 (Dahae)				KARSHAPANA 3.2 (Mauryan)	
200 BC	16				PERSIC 11.2 (Kingdom)		INDO - GREEK 9.7
130 BC			16.4 (Graeco-Saka)		9 (Yueh Chi)		
80 BC		12	12-15	16.7 (Greeks) (Yueh Chi)			
0		12 to 15 (Kushans)					
50 AD		9 (Kingdom)	INDO-GREEK 8.3 (Soter Megas)				8.3 (Soter Megas)
100 AD			then Kushan AE		(Kingdom)		then Kushan AE
	SASSANIAN						
14			12				
500 AD	12	12	(Sassanian Hephthalite)		12	12	

TABLE II - cont'd.

1. Average weight of well preserved coins. Cited as the average for the 25% of heaviest coins in the group. This minimises two errors; bias introduced by unusually heavy coins and bias introduced by worn or unusually light coins. All weights are in grammes.
2. Ten silver shekels equivalent to one gold shekel of 8.18 grammes.
3. One ratti weighed 0.104 to 0.117 grammes, the range in average seed weight for *Abrus precatorius* as influenced by such factors as climate. Cfr. Codrington, *Ceylon Coins and Currency* and Mitchiner, *Origins of Indian Coinage*.
4. Kosala, Taxila-Gandhara, Afghan plateau, Avanti, Magadha, Anga, and Kalinga: see Mitchiner, *ibid.* Note that Kosala denominations were 50, 25, 15, 10 and 5 rattis ($\frac{1}{2}$, $\frac{1}{4}$, $\frac{3}{20}$, $\frac{2}{20}$ and $\frac{1}{20}$ satamana) while for Taxila-Gandhara they were 100, 50, 25, 12.5, 1 and 0.5 rattis (1, $\frac{1}{2}$, $\frac{1}{4}$, $\frac{1}{8}$, $\frac{1}{100}$ and $\frac{1}{200}$ satamanas). Low denomination coins of 1 and 0.5 rattis were also struck in Avanti, Kalinga and the Magadha-Mauryan realm ($\frac{1}{32}$ nd. Karshapana = 1 Ratti = Double Kakani).
5. Fifteen silver shekels equivalent to one gold shekel of 8.18 grammes.
6. see BMC. Persia.
7. *infra* Types 40-43; 44-48 and 49-56.
8. *infra* Types 57-59.
9. *infra* Types 60-64.
10. see BMC. Greek & Scythic kings; Menander and contemporaries to Azilises, also the un-debased issues of Hermaeus and Azes II.
11. See types referred to in Mitchiner, *Indo-Parthian and related coins*.
12. Weights from PMC. and Author; refer to debased (post 10 BC : *vide infra*) issues.
13. *Infra* types 115-129.
14. See types referred to in Mitchiner, *Indo-Parthian and related coins*.
15. *Infra* Types 102-113, 133-161.
16. *Vide Qunduz hoard; Memoires de la Délégation Archéologique Française en Afghanistan XX, 1965.*
17. See BMC. Parthia.
18. *Infra* Types 1-3, 4-7 + 17-19, 8-13 + 20-28 and late period 30-39.
19. *Infra* Types 74-77 (Margiana), 78-93 (Balkh).
20. *Vide Qunduz hoard.*
21. *Infra* Types 95-96.
22. *Infra* Type 94.
23. *Infra* Types 97-99.
24. *Infra* Types 100 (Qunduz), 101 (Balkh).
25. *Infra* Types 66-69.
26. Really a slightly more reduced Attic standard.
27. Weights from BM. and Author.
28. See BMC. Arab-Sassanian, BMC. Arab-Byzantine and post-Reform Umayyad.
29. *Infra* Type 65 and BMC. Arab-Sassanian for subsequent issues.
30. *Infra* Type 71.
31. Weights are given in terms of the tetradrachm so that where the drachm was the principal denomination its weight has been quadrupled (eg. Dahae; Sassanians); the exception to this rule is the Karshapana. Weight standards are named; some dynasts and dynasties are noted in parenthesis. All issues are silver except West Bactria c.80-0 BC, Sogdiana c.80-480 AD and Kushans from Soter Megasthenes onwards.

ARAMAIC SCRIPT AND LEGENDS

The forms of aramaic script used on Choresmian and Sogdian coins are divisible into earlier and later groups that are separated by the rise of the Kushan dynasty. The early period, which extends from the fourth century before Christ until the first century AD is characterised by Aramaic character forms that are only slightly evolved from the Achaemenid aramaic script used on coins⁵⁵ struck in the Persian Empire. The aramaic scripts of Sogdiana and Choresmia were the two derivatives of Achaemenid script in the region to the north-east of the Iranian-Afghan plateau and evolved along different lines from Perside and Elamite scripts which were the derivatives of Achaemenid script to the south-west of this plateau. These two south-western regions, subsequently districts of the Parthian and Sassanian kingdoms, were substantially implicated in the evolution of the Parthian and Sassanian forms of Pehlvi aramaic script. The aramaic scripts of Choresmia and Sogdiana evolved along a different path from those of Iran and whereas the aramaic scripts of Iran culminated in the creation of Sassanian Pehlvi those of Choresmia and Sogdiana continued to evolve along individual lines until the time of the Mohammedan conquest.

The aramaic characters used on the Sogdian and Choresmian coinage are shown in Table III where they may be compared with those used on Achaemenid coins. The following table lists the various names and titles that occur in the aramaic legends and it will be noted that their repertoire is limited. A major step in deciphering these legends was Fuye's⁵⁶ analysis. He concentrated primarily on deciphering the legends of Euthydemus type tetradrachms that were struck by the kings of Sogdiana between c.200 and 130 BC and continued by the Yueh Ch⁵⁷. Legends inscribed on Sogdian tetradrachms of c.200-130 BC provided suitable material for analysis because, besides being reasonably long, they are all variations on a standard theme. Comparison of a large number of coins led Fuye to recognise this basic theme and the combinations of characters that composed it. He was able to provide transliterations A, H, K, M and T for the most frequently recurring characters and to show the close links between these characters and their Achaemenid precursors. He showed that the two words 'Mahat Malka' formed a basic component of the legends and that the 'L' in Malka was sometimes isolated and sometimes joined to the 'M'. Although Fuye's analysis provided a transliteration for the essential theme of these legends he failed to transliterate the actual legends that appear on the coins since he did not recognise the deviations from the basic theme of the coin legend. Comparison of tetradrachms struck during this period shows that their legends comprise a number of distinct groups and evolve in regular progression from simple legends positioned on the left or the right side of the reverse that are composed of the title Malka and a name to complex circumferential legends containing three words of which two are elaborations of Mahat and Malka and the third is a name. The legends are also separable into two further groups, as Fuye recognised, a major group comprising short or circumferential legends that commence at 7 o'clock and have the characters base outwards and a minor group comprising short or circumferential legends that commence at 5 o'clock and have the characters base inwards.

Apart from 'Mahat Malka' and more elaborate renderings of these terms the remainder of the legend comprises the name of the kingdom (Sug = Sogdiana) or of the king (Hasa, Kagaha, Kamasa or Malta) and is formed of nine different aramaic characters. The characters for A, H, K, L, M and T all form part of the title Mahat Malka and are closely related to the same characters in Achaemenid aramaic while G and Ts are also basically Achaemenid characters. The character for S occurs on both Choresmian and Sogdian coins

from the 4th century BC to the 1st century AD and its transliteration appears clear from the various contexts in which it is used; the character is simplified from its Achaemenid form and may be compared with the form of S later used by the Sassanians.

Early Sogdian aramaic script has been discussed in some detail as it provides the key for deciphering other aramaic legends from Choresmia and Sogdiana. During the pre-Christian era Choresmian and Sogdian scripts were nearly the same. Two new characters were introduced by Choresmian coin legends, A and R. Although both characters have their Achaemenid form it should be noted that in some renderings the characters for K and R are very similar so that transliteration of the aramaic character must depend, in part, on its context.

During the period from the 1st to the 8th centuries AD the Sogdian and Choresmian scripts diverged from one another and evolved away from the character forms used during the pre-Kushan period. Choresmian and Sogdian scripts of the early post-Kushan period are close to their pre-Kushan prototypes though some character forms, for instance the Sogdian A and K evolved. Subsequently, character forms diverged further in both scripts but the evolution from their prototypes is generally easy to follow. These later character forms are discussed in the relevant sections.

Table III. Aramaic characters on coins of Sogdiana and Choresmia.

Roman Transliteration	Achaemenid coins ^a	Sogdiana				Choresmia				
		c.200-130 BC	c.130 BC - AD 80	c.80-480 AD	c.480 ^b - 800	c.330 - 250	c.250 - 130	c.130 - 0	c.50 - 500	c.500 - 800
A	Δ x	𐎠 𐎡	𐎠	𐎠 𐎡	𐎠 𐎡	𐎠 𐎡 𐎢 𐎣	𐎠 𐎡 𐎢 𐎣	𐎠 𐎡 𐎢 𐎣	𐎠 𐎡 𐎢 𐎣	𐎠 𐎡 𐎢 𐎣
B	β β β	--	--	𐎠 𐎡 𐎢	𐎠 𐎡 𐎢	--	--	--	--	--
G	Γ γ	𐎠 𐎡	𐎠	--	--	𐎠 𐎡 𐎢	𐎠 𐎡	𐎠	--	--
D	δ δ δ	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
H	Ϟ ϟ Ϡ	𐎠 𐎡 𐎢	𐎠 𐎡	𐎠 𐎡	𐎠 𐎡	--	𐎠	--	--	𐎠
U (Y, W)	ϙ Ϛ ϛ	𐎠	𐎠	𐎠	𐎠 𐎡	𐎠 𐎡 𐎢	𐎠	--	--	--
Z	ζ ζ	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	𐎠
H	Ϟ	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
T	Ϡ	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
I	ι	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
K	κ κ ϙ	𐎠 𐎡 𐎢	--	𐎠 𐎡 𐎢	𐎠	--	𐎠 𐎡	--	𐎠 𐎡	𐎠 𐎡
L	λ λ	𐎠	--	𐎠	--	--	𐎠 𐎡	--	𐎠 𐎡	𐎠 𐎡
LK	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	𐎠
M	μ	𐎠	--	𐎠 𐎡	--	--	𐎠	--	𐎠 𐎡	𐎠 𐎡
MaL	--	𐎠	𐎠	--	--	--	--	--	𐎠	--
N	ν ν	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
S	ς ϛ Ϟ	𐎠 𐎡 𐎢	𐎠 𐎡 𐎢	𐎠 𐎡 𐎢	--	𐎠 𐎡 𐎢	𐎠 𐎡 𐎢	𐎠 𐎡 𐎢	--	--
'A ('E)	ϙ ϙ	--	--	--	𐎠	--	𐎠 𐎡	--	--	--
P	π π ϙ	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Ts	Ϡ	𐎠	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
G	ϙ	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
R	ρ ϙ	--	--	--	𐎠	--	𐎠	𐎠	--	𐎠
Sh	Ϡ	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
T	Ϡ	𐎠 𐎡	𐎠	--	--	--	𐎠 𐎡	𐎠	--	--

a. Satrapal coins and those from Phoenicia

b. Agrees with Frye's transliteration for the Bokhara drachms; vide infra.

TABLE IV. Aramaic words used on coins of Sogdiana and Choresmia.

Translation	Sogdiana				Choresmia				
	c.200 -130	c.130 -AD.80	c.80 -480	c.480 -800	c.330 -250	c.250 -130	c.130 - 0	c.50 -500	c.500 - 800
King ^a	MaLKA MaLKaT MaLKaT	b -	MaLKa MaLKaT	c -	-	Ma MA MaLKa MaLKaT	-	MaLKA MaLKA	
	MaLKATA MaLKATHA MaLHaKaTHa								
of Kings ^d	MaLKaTsaT	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Lord ^e	-	-	-	K'AY ^f	-	MaLAKa	-	MaAKa MaRA	
Great ^g	MaHAT MaHaTA MaHATaH	MaLHAT	MaLHA	-	-	-	-	-	-
Sogdiana	SuG	SUG	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Samarkand ^h	-	-	SaMUAKa SaKAKa	-	-	-	-	-	-
Bokhara ⁱ	-	-	-	BUH'AR	-	-	-	-	-
Tchao-ou ^j	-	YaVUG	YaKuB	HUB	-	-	-	-	-
Choresmia	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	HaRaZM HaRaM HARa
Saka ^k	-	-	-	-	SSaGA	SAGa SAKA	-	-	-
Dahae ^l	-	-	-	-	GAUA	Ga GA	GaUASa GaUaSa	-	-
Personal names of kings	1.HaSa 2.KaGAHa 3.KaMASa KAMaSa KaMa 4.MaLTA	-	-	-	-	1.ATa 2.ATaGaRT 3.ATaLa 4.TaVR'AKa TaVR'A	1.ARTARA ^m	-	-

- a. Common from Achaemenid (eg. Phoenicia) to Sassanian coins.
- b. Yueh Chi apparently not entitled king until marriage with Sogdian royal family.
- c. Malka replaced by Hub as royal title.
- d. Fuye's translation.
- e. Malaka (var.) always used to qualify Malka; apparently synonymous with Mara (Lord; cfr. Frye).
- f. Title adopted from Sassanians.
- g. Fuye's translation. Used to qualify Malka or Yavug (Yakub).
- h. cfr. Chinese equivalent Sa-mo-kien.
- i. Frye's transliteration.
- j. Ethnic title explained in the Wei chou; used by Yueh Chi to describe their ancestry. Later changing to Sogdian dynastic and then reg^{al} title, continued as such (ie. King) by Hephthalites of Bokhara.
- k. Only relevant to pre-Kushan Choresmia. No Sogdian rulers were Sakas.
- l. Tribal name of the Sakas inhabiting Choresmia. In Greek coin legends ΚΩΔΟΥ.
- m. On Greek coin legends ΑΡΑΡΗΤΗΡΟΥ.

TABLE V. Transcriptions of the more important aramaic coin legends.

Type					Legend
3		+ 7	+ >		> C C C
4				7 +	7 7 7
7	x y +	)) 7	y 7	7 7	7 7 7
11			7	7 y	7 7 y
12				y 7	7 7 y
13			< 7	y 0	y 7 7
17				7 x	7 7 7
34		)) > 7 >		< 7 x	7 7 7
45			>	7 7	7 7 7
46			7 y	> 7	7 7 7
47			7 7	7 7	7 7 7
48			7 7	7 7	7 7 7
50			7 7	7 7 7	7 7 7
51			7 x y	7 7 7	7 7 7
52		7 y	7 7 7	7 7	7 7 7
53	> 7 7	7 7 7	7 7 7	7 7 7	7 7 7
55	)) > 7 7	7 7 7	7 7 7	7 7 7	7 7 7
57			> 7 7	7 7 7	7 7 7
60			7 7 7	7 7 7	7 7 7
61			7 7 7	7 7 7	7 7 7
63			7 7 7	7 7 7	7 7 7
65	7 < y	y 7 7	y <	7 <	7 7 7
67			7 7 7	7 7 7	7 7 7
71	7 7 7	7 7 7	7 7 7	7 7 7	7 7 7

Individual words are separated by a single space; the obverse and reverse of a coin by three spaces. For variation in character forms see Table III and references cited in catalogue.

COINAGE OF THE DAHAE IN CHORESMIA

The coinage of the Dahae belongs to three distinct groups that succeeded one another during the time (c.330-0 BC) between the campaigns of Alexander the Great and of Heraisos the Kushan. During each period of this coinage issues were struck in the name of the 'Dahaeen Sakas'⁵⁹ and throughout the whole series the coins share much in common regarding such features as their style, types and metrology. They are, for instance, distinguished from coins of the Sogdian series by their adherence to the Attic weight standard while they are also distinguished from Bactrian and Sogdian coins by using the drachm as their basic denomination, a feature that links them with coins of their southern neighbour, Parthia.⁶⁰ Style further separates the Choresmian series from those of Parthia, Bactria and Sogdiana; the manner in which the bearded busts of Dahaeen kings are depicted is particularly characteristic.

The three chronological divisions of this coinage correspond to the major historical periods of the north Afghan plateau and are defined with reference to the acquisition of Parthian and Bactrian independence c.250 BC and with reference to the nomad migration c.130 BC. The early Dahaeen coinage comprises an uncommon series of drachms, hemidrachms and obols based on prototypes of Alexander the Great. These coins have a flat fabric⁶¹ and characteristic degraded style. The coins tend to be found locally⁶² but only the obols provide a legend naming them as issues of the Dahaeen Sakas. The series was issued after 330 BC, the year that Alexander⁶³ reached north-eastern Iran, and before c.250 BC when the next Dahaeen series commenced.

The middle series of Dahaeen coins was issued between c.250 and c.130 BC.⁶⁴ These coins derive their types from Seleucid issues and in particular from those of Antiochos II (261-246 BC).⁶⁵ As Seleucid influence in eastern Iran and Afghanistan ceased when Bactria and Parthia acquired independence about 250 BC one can infer that the early Dahaeen coin series was superseded by their middle period coinage within about two decades of 250 BC. From this point until the end of the Dahaeen coinage about the time of Christ, Dahaeen coins were struck in two parallel series issued from two separate mints. For one series the reverse type is a horse head during this period and the forepart of a horse during the next period, while for the second series the reverse shows an archer on coins of this period and a soldier on the late issues. The essential unity of both series is shown by the observations that both series were issued in the name of the Dahaeen Sakas and that individual rulers, Ata during this period and Artara during the next period, struck their coins in both series. However, these two series also differ in significant features which indicate that each emanated from a different mint. During the present period early issues in each series are comparable but later on, as the coins of both series become scyphate, it is only the issues in the horse series that lose both their inscriptions and their obverse type. Similarly, during the next period, early issues of Artara bear aramaic inscriptions in the horse series but Greek legends in the archer-soldier series. One can infer that the mint for the horse series was located in northern Choresmia where some middle period coins lost their obverse type while that for the archer-soldier series was situated in southern Choresmia, or at their capital, where Greek was introduced by Artara.⁶⁶

Within this middle period, c.250-130 BC, the Dahaeen coinage of both the horse and the archer series can be subdivided into an earlier and a later group. Coins of the earlier group have flat flans and a better style; this group also includes all horse coins with an aramaic legend and all archer coins with rudiments of the Greek Antiochos legend. By contrast coins of the later group have broad scyphate flans and a typical, though

somewhat degraded style. Those in the archer series nearly all have aramaic legends naming the king but the horse coins are anepigraphic though most of them have symbols of uncertain significance below the horse head. During the earlier part of this period King Ata (MaLKa ATa Ga; Ma ATa GA; MaLKaT ATa) struck the earliest coins in both horse and archer series. The other issues do not name the king but two were, instead, struck in the name of the Sakas; 'King of the Sakas' (MA SAGA) for the horse head issue and 'Lord King of the Dahaeen Sakas' (MaLKa MaLAKa Ga SAKA) for the archer issue.

The later group of coins struck during this middle period is somewhat commoner and contains a greater number of issues in each series. Archer coins were issued successively by two rulers of uncertain, though different, name followed by 'Atagart the Dahaeen' (ATaGaRT Ga), 'Atala' (ATaLA) and 'Tavr'aka the Dahaeen' (TaVR'AKa Ga; TaVR'A); this series ends with a group of rude coins. The horse head issues, which are all anonymous, evolve from scyphate coins that show an obverse type (bust) to similar coins with a plain convex obverse surface and, throughout both groups, comprise a number of issues when their reverse symbols are considered.

Before leaving the Dahaeen coinage of c.250-130 BC one should note another series of Seleucid imitations that are found much further south, in Carmania, and must be excluded from the Dahaeen series. The Carmanian imitations in the British Museum⁶⁷ are as follows:-

- a) Obv. Helmeted head right
Rev. Winged Nike walking r. crowning trophy of arms
Corrupt Antiochos legend commencing on left, eg. PAFIAE ANTIOA
AR attic drachms and hemidrachms 4.24, 4.02, 2.94, 2.18, 2.10, 2.10
- b) sim. but no legend
AR attic obols 0.74, 0.74
- c) Obv. Laur. bust right
Rev. mirror image of b)
AR attic hemidrachm 1.84
- d) Obv. Seleucid style laur. bust right
Rev. Apollo std. left on omphalos holding bow
Corrupt Antiochos legend commencing on left eg. BAΣIAI APITIA
AR attic hemidrachm and obol 1.92, 0.70, 0.58, 0.55
- e) sim. but legend commencing on right
AR attic obols 0.70, 0.48, also type d or e 0.84, 0.58, 0.55

These Carmanian coins, unlike Dahaeen coins, retain Seleucid reverse types as well as Seleucid legends and obverse types. In addition they never bear aramaic legends. Although coins only bear Antiochos legends their reverse types link them with prototypes of both Seleucos I (312-280 BC, a-c) and Antiochos I or II (293-246 BC, d-e).⁶⁸ In terms of the political changes that affected the Seleucid Empire it appears likely that these Carmanian coins were struck around 250 BC when the Seleucids lost eastern territories to Parthia and Bactria. The south-east Iranian frontier region⁶⁹ may well have assumed independence about the time Parthia and Bactria broke away from the Seleucids. Tarn⁷⁰ also reached this conclusion but from different evidence.

To return to the Dahae; the last period of their coinage extended from the nomad migration c.130 BC to their conquest by Heracles⁷¹ about the time of Christ. At the beginning of this period the Dahaeen coinage shows a number of significant changes that can be linked with the nomad migration, or, in stricter terms, changes that suggest a migration of Greek engravers into the Dahaeen kingdom and an increasing circulation of Dahaeen coinage south of the Kara Kum desert.⁷² Immigration of Greek engravers and mint officials is suggested by sudden marked improvement in the Dahaeen coinage. Coins again acquire

flat flans and the style of their types is much improved; it is realistic and Greek. The reverse types in each series are slightly modified; the horse head becomes the forepart of a horse and the archer becomes a soldier. Greek legends are introduced for all issues in the soldier series but only appear at the end of the horse sequence. Coins of both series continue to be struck in the name of the Dahae and their king Artara struck the early issues in each series.

Artara's early issues in the horse series name him in aramaic as 'Artara the Dahae' (ARTARA GaUASa) whereas in the soldier series his early coins name him in Greek as 'Artara the Dahae Saka' (ΑΡΤΑΡΑ ΗΘΑΡΑ ΥΡ ΚΩΔΟΥ ΣΑΚΑΡΟΥ).⁷³ As these two series progress they assume anonymity. Subsequent issues in the horse series name the Dahae in both aramaic and Greek (GaUaSa; ΚΩΔ) and finally only name them in Greek (ΚΩΔ) on both sides of the coin. In parallel with these changes in the horse series the issues in the soldier series retain the name of the Dahae on the obverse (ΥΡ ΚΩΔΟΥ, later ΚΩΔ) but the reverse legend becomes degenerate and on the latest coins all Greek legends are degenerate and the coins are rude and underweight for their denomination. The correlation between the Greek and aramaic legends was first recognised by Fyfe who correlated his aramaic reading Kawat with Kodoy⁷⁴ and also noted that 'Yr' was a prefix to 'Kodoy' that could be either included or omitted from the legend. The correlations Artara - Ardthroy and Gauasa - Kodoy - Dahae do not appear to require further comment, particularly when they are considered in the context of the other Dahae coinage.

Between the nomad migration c.130 BC when the Dahae expanded and their conquest by Heraios c.0 BC when the Dahae lost their independence the fortunes of this kingdom declined with the rise of Parthia. Despite numerous campaigns from c.126 BC⁷⁵ onwards against the Sakas who had migrated across northern Afghanistan to the west Afghan plateau the definitive Parthian occupation of Margiana and Aria does not appear to have occurred until the reign of Orodes I (87-77 BC).⁷⁶ So far as the Dahae were concerned their brief period of prosperity under Artara when they were able to extend their influence south of the Kara Kum desert came to an end when Parthian control of these districts to the south of the desert was established c.80 BC. Subsequent restriction of Dahae influence can probably be correlated with decline in the style and weight of their terminal coinage.

The Dahaeen coinage may be catalogued as follows:-

A) EARLY PERIOD : c.330 - 250 BC.

1. Anonymous

Obv. Bust r. of Hercules in lion skin

Rev. Zeus enthroned holding sceptre and eagle; no characters or symbols

AR attic drachm BM. 4.20

2. sim.

AR attic hemidrachms BM. 2.56, 1.96, 1.79, 1.55, 1.38, 1.35, 0.88

3. The Dahaeen Sakas

Obv. Hercules stg. facing with club on l., lion skin on r., left SSAGA

Rev. Zeus enthroned holding sceptre and eagle; left GAUA

AR attic obol BM. 0.70, 0.69, 0.61, 0.57, 0.57, 0.56, 0.54, 0.54, 0.50, 0.48, 0.46, 0.45 Author 0.56 Fuye⁷⁷ 0.85 (III, 10), not weighed (III, 11)

B -1a) MIDDLE PERIOD : c.250 - 130 BC. Archer series early group

4. King Ata of the Dahae⁷⁸

Obv. Saka style laur. bust l; right MaLKa ATA Ga

Rev. Archer Stg. facing with bow on right, spear on left; right Greek K
corrupt Antiochos legend eg. AΣΙΑΟΣ CMTIOXV

AR drachm BM. 3.88, 3.27

5. sim. but obv. legend Ma ATA GA

AR drachm BM. 3.08, 3.07, 2.96, 2.91, 2.89

6. Anonymous

Obv. sim. but bust left in simpler style. To left large crescent

Rev. sim. but archer in simpler style; Greek K to r; traces of Greek legend on
some coins where others retain only an X in the left field

AR hemidrachm BM. 1.88, 1.50, 1.48, 1.33, 0.88, 0.59 Author 0.89

Fuye 1.55 (X, 1), 1.70 (X, 2)

7. Lord King of the Dahaeen Sakas

Obv. Head left in beaded circle; around MaLKa MaLAKa Ga SAKA

Rev. sim. archer in simple style without traces of Greek letter or legend

AR obol BM. 0.46, 0.42

B - 1b) MIDDLE PERIOD : c.250 - 130 BC. Archer series late group

8. Uncertain king
Obv. Bust left with pointed beard
Rev. Archer stg. facing with bow on r., spear on l; uncertain legend containing
A and S
AR flat hemidrachm BM. 2.11, 1.89
9. Anonymous
sim. but no legend
AR flat hemidrachm BM. 1.64 Author 1.65
10. Uncertain
Obv. sim. with uncertain legend different from succeeding
Rev. Archer as before, no legend
AR scyphate obol BM. 0.41
11. Atagart the Dahaeen
Obv. sim; legend ATAGART Ga
Rev. sim.
AR scyphate hemidrachm BM. 1.33 Fuye 1.30 (X, 6)
12. Atala
sim. but legend ATALA
AR scyphate obol BM. 0.37, 0.37, 0.37, 0.35, 0.33, 0.31 Author 0.35
13. Tavr'aka the Dahaeen
sim. but legend TA VR'AKA GA
AR scyphate hemidrachm BM. 1.84, 1.71, 1.23, 1.21, 1.19, 0.84 Author 1.33
Fuye 1.55 (X, 9), 1.80 (X,10), 1.12, 1.10, not weighed
14. sim. but legend TA VR'A
AR scyphate hemidrachm BM. 1.17, 0.97
15. sim. with legend TA VR'A
AR scyphate obol BM. 0.48
16. Anonymous
sim. but rude style and no legend
AR mildly scyphate or flat obol BM. 0.42, 0.40, 0.39, 0.37, 0.36, 0.35, 0.33, 0.33,
0.30, 0.30, 0.29, 0.24, 0.22 Author 0.31

B - 2a) MIDDLE PERIOD : c.250 - 130 BC. Horse series early group

17. King Ata
Obv. Saka style laur. bust left; to left MALKA T ATa
Rev. Horse head left; to right Greek K
AR hemidrachm BM. 1.86, 1.29 Fuye 1.25 (X, 5)
18. King of the Sakas
Obv. sim. but legend MA SAGA
Rev. sim. but horse head right and no letter
AR hemidrachm BM. 1.45, 1.05
19. Uncertain
Obv. sim. but legend.....MA
Rev. sim.
AR hemidrachm BM. 1.45

B -2b) MIDDLE PERIOD : c.250 - 130 BC. Horse Series later group

20 Anonymous

Obv. Seleucid style laur. bust right

Rev. Horse head right; right inferior field \sphericalangle TII \sphericalangle

AR scyphate hemidrachm BM. 2.43

21. sim. but symbol VI \sphericalangle

AR scyphate hemidrachm BM. 2.83, 2.81, 2.43, 2.42, 1.57 Author 1.79

22. sim. but symbols \sphericalangle \sphericalangle

AR scyphate hemidrachm BM. 1.82

23. sim. but simple symbol \sphericalangle

AR scyphate hemidrachm BM. 2.28, 1.76 Fuye (types 20-23) 2.45 (X,22), 2.45 (X,23)

24. sim. but no symbol

AR scyphate hemidrachm BM. 2.54, 2.02, 1.86, 1.68, 1.62, 1.29, 0.86,
Fuye 1.45 (X, 21)

25. Obv. Seleucid style bust left

Rev. sim. with symbol \sphericalangle \sphericalangle

AR scyphate hemidrachm BM. 1.97

26. Obv. plain convex field

Rev. sim. with simple symbol \sphericalangle

AR scyphate hemidrachm BM. 1.10 Author 2.54, 1.84

27. sim. but symbol \sphericalangle

AR scyphate hemidrachm BM. 1.45

28. sim. but symbol \sphericalangle \sphericalangle

AR scyphate hemidrachm BM. 1.30

29. sim. but no symbol

AR scyphate hemidrachm BM. 1.16 Author 1.62

C -1) LATE PERIOD : c.130 - 0 BC. Soldier series

30. Artara (Ardhthroy) the Dahaeen Saka

Obv. Bearded laur, bust right; to left YP (or Yt) KΩΔOY

Rev. Soldier atg. facing with spear left and other hand on hip

Left APΔHΘPOY Right \sphericalangle AKAPOY

AR drachm BM. 3.17, 2.98, 2.89, 2.89, 2.85, 2.85, 2.84, .282, 2.80, 2.47,
Fuye 3.80 (X,13)

31. Anonymous king of the Dahae

Obv. sim.

Rev. sim. but legend left OΔHOΔ right OAKAPO

AR drachm BM. 3.32, 3.10, 2.91, 2.83, 2.76, 2.70, 2.68, 2.59, 2.56, 1.75,
Fuye 2.00 (X,14)

32. Obv. sim. but legend KΩΔ

Rev. sim. but legend left HOΔ right OVKVO

AR reduced weight drachm BM. 1.94, 1.89, 1.76, 1.72, 1.68, 1.57, 1.57, 1.57, 1.49,
1.35, 1.34, 1.31, 1.29, 1.16, 1.14, 1.11, Author 1.26, 1.21

33. Anonymous

sim. but rude style and legends degraded or absent

AR reduced weight drachm BM. 1.23, 1.18, 1.17, 1.14, 1.01, 0.95, 0.89, 0.65, 0.64,
0.60 Author 1.04, 0.82, 0.80

C -2) LATE PERIOD : c.130 - 0 BC. horse series

34. Artara the Dahean
Obv. Bearded laur. bust right; to left ARTARA
Rev. Forepart of horse right; above GaVASa
AR diobol ⁷⁹BM. 0.87, 0.85, 0.85, 0.79, 0.76, 0.76, 0.70, 0.69⁸⁰
35. Uncertain king of the Dahae
AR diobol BM. 0.92
36. Anonymous king of the Dahae
Obv. sim. but Greek legend KΩΔ
Rev. sim. but aramaic legend GaUaSa
AR diobol BM. 0.70 Author 0.60
37. Obv. sim. but Greek legend YP KΩΔO
Rev. sim. but Greek legend YK KΩ
AR hemidrachm BM. 1.75⁸¹ Fuye not weighed⁸²
38. Obv. sim. but Greek legend KΩΔ
Rev. sim. but Greek legend YP KΩΔ
AR hemidrachm BM. 2.61, 2.07, 1.76, 1.67, 1.67, 1.55, 1.55, 1.55, 1.53, 1.53, 1.50,
1.45, 1.39, 1.38
39. Obv. sim. with Greek legend KΩΔ
Rev. sim. but Greek legend KΩΔ
AR diobol BM. 1.09, 1.09, 0.92, 0.88, 0.69 Author 0.66

COINAGE OF THE SOGDIAN KINGDOM. c.200 - 130 BC.

The kings of Sogdiana issued a series of tetradrachms struck on the Persic weight standard between the time of Euthydemos I and the nomad migration. Sogdiana acquired an urban culture and economy as a satrapy of the Persian Empire from c.540 to 328 BC and for the next century formed part of the Macedonian-Seleucid realm^{82a} and part of the Greek kingdom⁸³ of Bactria-Sogdiana until the time of Euthydemos I who was ruling in 210-206 BC.⁸⁴ The coinage of the Sogdian kingdom is a continuation of the Bactro-Sogdian currency that circulated in and was, in part, probably struck in Sogdiana and initially only differs from previous Bactro-Sogdian coins by reverting from the Attic to the Persic weight standard. The coin types are the same and the same Greek monogram, R - K, occurs on Attic tetradrachms of Euthydemos I and on Persic tetradrachms which name him and initiate the coinage of the Sogdian kingdom.⁸⁵ Thereafter the Bactrian and Sogdian coin series diverge. Sogdian coins no longer have a greek monogram and their style deteriorates. They become an imitative series with corrupt Greek legends. Use of the R-K monogram is transferred to the Bactrian series where it is subsequently used by Demetrios, Antimachos, Agathokles, Euthydemos II and Eucratides.⁸⁶ The Attic coins of Euthydemos I with the R-K monogram appear to have been struck in a different mint from his other coins because their reverse type also differs from that on his other coins in a number of details;⁸⁷ succeeding Sogdian tetradrachms all derive their reverse type from the R-K attic issues of Euthydemos. One may infer that Greek moneyers in the mint of Maracanda, capital of Sogdiana, struck R-K coins for Euthydemos on the Attic standard and continued to strike the first issues of the Sogdian kingdom on the Persic standard. Emigration of these Greek moneyers to Bactria accounts both for the transfer of the R-K monogram to the Bactrian series and for loss of literate Greek from the Sogdian coinage and its associated stylistic decline. These Persic tetradrachms with intact or corrupt legends in Greek alone comprise the early coinage of the Sogdian kingdom.

During the period c.200 to 130 BC the coinage of the Sogdian kingdom was issued in three distinct chronological groups. Coins without an aramaic legend form the early group while those with circumferential aramaic legends form the late group. During the middle part of this period the coins have an aramaic legend on either the left or the right side of the reverse and a corrupt Greek legend on the other side. Coins of this middle group introduce aramaic and initially bear the anonymous legend 'King of Sogdiana' (MaLKA SuG; MaLKAT SuG) or 'King of Kings' (MaLKaTsaT MaLKA) but subsequently name two kings, Kagaha (MaLKaT KaGaha) and Hasa (MaLKAT HaSa). Coins of the late group amplify the king's titulature in their circumferential legends. They commence during the reign of Hasa (MaLKATA HaSa; MaLKATHA HaSa) and continue through the reigns of his two successors, Kamasa (MaLKATAKAMeSa; MaHATAH MaLKA KaMa; MaHAT MaLKa KaMaSa) and Malta (MaLHaKaTHa MaHaTa MaLTA).

Both groups of coins with aramaic legends were struck in two parallel series that apparently emanated from separate mints. In the main series aramaic legends, whether on one side only or circumferential, commence at 7 o'clock and show the characters base outwards. Issues of the minor series read the opposite direction; their legends commence at 5 o'clock and show the characters base inwards. Both series were issued in parallel by the same rulers. Thus the main series was issued by an anonymous king of Sogdiana followed by the named kings Kagaha, Hasa, Kamasa and Malta while the minor series was struck by an anonymous Sogdian king followed by Kamasa and probably Malta. One may suggest that the main series was emitted from the Sogdian capital at Maracanda while the minor series was struck, perhaps intermittently, in one of the Sogdian towns along the Jaxartes.

The last issue of Malta, struck in the main series, comprises the only coins with corrupt aramaic legends. These coins also differ from Malta's earlier coins in another respect, namely that they omit the crescent above the king's head; they appear to be the terminal Sogdian issue struck about the time of the nomad migration.

Coins struck in the kingdom of Sogdiana⁸⁸ may be catalogued as follows:-

A) EARLY PERIOD : c.200 - 180 BC.

40. Anonymous⁸⁹

Obv. Laur. Bust right of Euthydemos

Rev. Hercules std. left on rectangular stool with rocks between its legs; his left hand rests on his left knee and right hand holds a club whose lower end rests on his right knee. Behind stool monogram (R-K) **R**

Left ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ Right ΕΥΟΔΗΜΟΥ

AR Persic tetradrachm Author 10.80 Fy⁹⁰e 12.40, 12.20, 11.90 (I,12F)
BMC. 12.05 (Euthydemos No.12)

41. sim. but title ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ

AR Persic tetradrachm Fy⁹⁰e 11.70 (I,13)

42. sim. but monogram omitted, style rude and legend -

Left ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ (sic et var.) Right ΕΥΟΔΗΜΟΥ (sic et var.)

AR Persic tetradrachm BM. 11.62, 11.04, 10.52 Fy⁹⁰e 11.10 (I,14)

43. sim. but ruder and legend very blundered

AR Persic tetradrachm BM. 11.86, 10.82, 9.35 Fy⁹⁰e 7.70

B -1) MIDDLE PERIOD : c.180 - 150 BC. Aramaic legend on left

44. King of Sogdiana

Obv. laur. bust right

Rev. Hercules seated as before; stool rectangular, no monogram

Left MaLKA SuG Right corruption of ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ eg. **↵** **ϵ** **Ι** **Α**

AR Persic tetradrachm Author 10.44

45. sim. but aramaic reads MaLKAT SuG

AR Persic tetradrachm BM. 9.61, 9.48 Fy⁹⁰e 10.55 (III,1), 9.60 (II,12F)

46. King Kagaha

sim. but aramaic legend on left MaLKAT KaGAHa

AR Persic tetradrachm BM. 9.21 (plated), 9.16 Author 9.21

47. King Hasa

sim. but aramaic legend on left MaLKAT HaSa

AR Persic tetradrachm BM. 10.49, 10.40 (Fy⁹⁰e II, 2B), 10.25, 10.09

Fy⁹⁰e 10.30 (I,6), 10.20 (II,3F), 9.90 (I,10), 9.80 (II,7)

9.50 (II,4), 8.70 (II,5), 7.70 (II,11)

Author 8.61, 7.70

Type 46 or 47. BM. 9.41, 8.25 Author 8.15, 7.53 Fy⁹⁰e 8.70 (II,8)

B -2) MIDDLE PERIOD : c.180 - 150 BC. aramaic legend on right

48. King of kings

Obv. laur. bust right

Rev. Hercules seated as in group B-1

Left ΕΥΟΔΗΜΟΥ Right (MaL) KaTsaT MaLKA

AR Persic tetradrachm BM. 11.30 (Fy⁹⁰e II,18)

- C -1) LATE PERIOD : c.150 - 130 BC. aramaic legend commences on left
49. King Hasa
Obv. laur. bust right
Rev. Hercules seated as before but stool hemispherical
Legend from VII to V, characters base outwards; MALKATA HaSa
AR Persic tetradrachm BM. 8.45 Author 6.0 (broken) 5.50
50. sim. but legend MALKATHA HaSa
AR Persic tetradrachm Fuye 10.60 (III,2), 8.90 (II,9)
51. King Kamasa; Great king Kamasa
sim. but legend MALKATA KAMaSa
AR Persic tetradrachm Author 8.32
52. sim. but legend MAHaTah MaLKA KaMa
AR Persic tetradrachm Fuye 9.60 (III,3)
53. Great King Malta
Obv. sim. but crescent above head
Rev. sim. but crescent beneath Hercules' arm
Legend MaLHaKaTha MaHaTa MaLTA
AR Persic tetradrachm BM. 8.71 Fuye 10.0 (III,7B), 9.20 (III,5), 8.90 (III,4)
54. Obv. sim. but no crescent
Rev. sim. but script more angular and legend corrupt
AR Persic tetradrachm BM. 8.78 Fuye 8.90 (III,6B), not weighed (IX,12)
-
- C -2) LATE PERIOD : c.150 - 130 BC. aramaic legend commences on right
55. Great King Kamasa
Obv. laur. bust right
Rev. Hercules seated as in group C-1
Legend from V to VII, characters base inwards; MaHaT MaLKa KaMASa
AR Persic tetradrachm Author 9.81
56. Great King Malta?
sim. but legend MaKa MaL.....Ta
AR Persic tetradrachm Fuye 8.70 (III,8)

THE NOMAD MIGRATION AND ITS AFTERMATH

The nomad migration of the 2nd century BC is recorded both in the coinage of this period and in the writings of Chinese and Western historians. Relevant historical passages have recently been quoted and discussed by Narain⁹¹ whose analysis of the early events need only be questioned in respect of certain details.

The nomad migration commenced when the Yueh Chi tribe of nomads was induced to migrate by pressure from the Hiong-nu. They left their territory in the Kan-su region about 174 BC and reached the Upper Ili about 160 BC then continued westwards from this region around Lake Issyk Kul along the north of the Pamirs to cross the Jaxartes and settle in Sogdiana which they reached shortly before the Chinese ambassador Ch'ang Kien visited them there in 128 BC. In the course of this migration the Yueh Chi induced a number of Saka tribes living in their path to migrate elsewhere.

Although Chinese and Western historians implicate both the Saka and the Yueh Chi nomads in this migration it should be emphasised that both sources refer to different tribes of Sakas. Chinese historians refer only to Sakas who always lived east of the Jaxartes while Western historians refer only to Sakas who were living or migrated west of the Jaxartes. So far as the Chinese historians were concerned the Yueh Chi migration induced some Sakas⁹² to migrate from the trans-Jaxartes region southwards to the Swat valley and beyond⁹³ and others to migrate from the same area to the Kashgar region. For the effects of the Yueh Chi migration on western regions one has to rely mainly on the Western authors and particularly on Strabo's eclectic statements that frequently synthesise reports from different sources.

Concerning the nomad migration Strabo⁹⁴ says:-

'The best known of the nomads are those who took away Bactriana from the Greeks, I mean the Asii, Asiani, Tochari and Sacarauli (alternative version: Asii, Pasiani, Tochari and Sacarauli⁹⁵) who originally came from the country on the other side of the Jaxartes river that adjoins that of the Sacae and the Sogdiani and was occupied by the Sacae'

Strabo was not familiar with the use of proper names he recorded in particular with the use of the terms Asian and Saka. Herodotus⁹⁶ gave a concise definition of the term Saka when he said 'Saka is the name the Persians give to all the Scythian nomads' and, in practice, Saka and Scythian were synonymous terms. On the one hand the Persians used the term Saka⁹⁷, the Dahae called themselves Saka⁹⁸ as did the Scythians (Sacaraucae⁹⁹) who migrated south from the Jaxartes to Afghanistan in the present period and the Scythians who migrated south from the Jaxartes¹⁰⁰. The Scythians who migrated into Armenia in the 7th century BC also called themselves Sakas¹⁰¹. On the other hand Greek authors, from Herodotus onwards, normally referred to these and other nomads as Scythians¹⁰². For Herodotus and Arrian the Scythians were divided into various tribes of European Scythians who lived around the Black Sea and other tribes of Asian Scythians who lived around and beyond the Caspian.

Strabo's lack of familiarity with these terms is displayed in the sentence before his statement on the nomad migration¹⁰³ where he says 'those who are situated more to the east are named Massagetae and Sacae whereas all the rest are given the general name of Scythians.' The Massagetae were, however, a Scythian (ie. Saka) tribe.¹⁰⁴ Strabo's ignorance of certain overlapping and synonymous terms is shown here while his habit of synthesising reports from different periods is demonstrated a few paragraphs later where he says 'belonging to the tribe of the Massagetae¹⁰⁵ and the Sacae are also the Attasii and the Chorasmii, to whom Spitamenes fled from the country of the Bactriani and the Sogdiani.' Spitamenes fled from Alexander to take refuge among the Massagetae¹⁰⁶ but this had nothing to do with the Choresmians, alias the Dahae. Herodotus had referred to the inhabitants

of the Choresmian satrapy by their territorial name, the Chorassmians, but at the time of Alexander and subsequently the inhabitants of this region were given their tribal name, the Dahae, and the term Choresmian was not used. Despite the many terms he uses, Strabo's actual evidence concerning the trans-Caspian region prior to the nomad migration adds virtually nothing to the descriptions found in Herodotus and Arrian but jumbles the reports of Herodotus and of Arrian's sources into an eclectic rationalisation which, as a summary, is frequently untrue.¹⁰⁷

Strabo's statement on the nomad migration suffers from the same defects as his other statements concerning this region and only the single sentence quoted above appears to relate to this period. In this sentence Strabo names four peoples, the Asii, the Asiani (or Pasiani), the Tochari and the Sacarauai. If one takes the version with Asiani, as seems more likely, then Strabo does in fact use four terms to name only two peoples because the first two terms include the last two terms. Asii and Asiani are only general terms, the Asiāns,¹⁰⁸ applied by the Greeks to trans-Caspian nomads. Strabo's other two terms are tribal names that specify two groups of Asians. His Tochari were the Yueh Chi of Chinese historians¹⁰⁹ while the Sacarauai were Asian Sakas who migrated across Sogdiana and northern Afghanistan to Aria where they were implicated in assisting Sinatruces to the Parthian throne some half a century later.¹¹⁰ The rest of Strabo's sentence says that these peoples came from Saka territory beyond the Jaxartes, territory adjacent to Sogdiana and to the Saka (Massagetaean) territory lying between the lower Oxus and Lower Jaxartes.¹¹¹ One may compare Strabo's sentence with another corrupt version of the migration given by Trogus. He referred the nomad migration to two Scythian tribes, the Sacaraucae and the Asiani, and subsequently implicated the Tochari.¹¹² Trogus' chronology is wrong and he also differentiated two synonymous terms, Scythian and Asian, so that, like Strabo¹¹³ his text involved only the Sacaraucae (Asian Scythians) and the Tochari (Yueh Chi).

Combining the Chinese and the Greek evidence one sees that the Yueh Chi reached and settled in Sogdiana about 130 BC and, in so doing, induced certain groups of Sakas to migrate south and south-east from beyond the Jaxartes and induced the Sacaraucae tribe of Sakas to migrate west from the east bank of the Jaxartes across Sogdiana, western Bactria and Margiana to Aria.

The subsequent history of the Sacaraucae¹¹⁴ on the western and southern Afghan plateau has been discussed elsewhere and one need only note that the Sakas on the west Afghan plateau were in conflict with the Parthians until effectively constituted into a vassal province of Parthia c.80 BC while the Sakas on the south-east Afghan plateau remained independent and organised themselves into a kingdom ruled by the Ases - Vonones dynasty.

Ch'ang Kien described the situation that existed in Bactria and Sogdiana when he visited the Yueh Chi in 128 BC: the situation when the Yueh Chi were established in Sogdiana and the migrant Sacaraucae had traversed parts of north Afghanistan.¹¹⁵ 'Ta Yueh Chi is situated two or three thousand li westwards of Ta-yuan.¹¹⁶ It is to the north of the Wei-shui.¹¹⁷ To the south is situated Ta-hsia;¹¹⁸ to the west An-hai;¹¹⁹ to the north K'ang-chu Originally the Yueh Chi lived between Tun-huang and Ch'i-lien.¹²⁰ When they were defeated by the Hsiung-nu, they moved far away. They passed (Ta) yuan and went westward as far as Ta-hsia, which they attacked and subjugated. Finally they settled their imperial court north of the Oxus river Ta-hsia, situated to the south of the Oxus river, is more than two thousand li to the south-west of Ta-yuan. They are sedentary and have walled cities and houses, and the same customs as the Ta-yuan. They have¹²¹ no great kings or chiefs, but some cities and towns have installed small chiefs. Their soldiers were weak and feared fighting. They were skilful in trade. When the Ta-yueh Chi migrated westward, they attacked and defeated them and subjugated all the Ta-hsia.¹²² The

population is approximately more than one million. Their capital is named Lan-shi Cheng.¹²⁴

The Shih-chih was completed in 99 BC and the present passage was based principally on the report of Ch'ang Kien. The description of Ta-hsia is consistent with the aftermath of the Sacaraucae migration but requires some comment. In the first place the situation of Ta-hsia, as described in the Shih-chih, was neither restricted to Bactria nor did it apply to all of Bactria. The Shih-chih described a land of small city states devoid of military power. This was a description of the territory through which the Sacaraucae had recently migrated and applied equally to Western Bactria, to Margiana and to Aria¹²⁵. Conversely there is strong numismatic evidence that Greek kings continued to rule a substantial portion of Eastern Bactria for about another century until the general period of Heraios the Kushan and Hermaeus the Indo-Greek. These Indo-Greek kings continued to strike Attic standard tetradrachms and other denominations and a large hoard of these Attic issues found at Khist Tepe between Qunduz and Balkh in the absence of any Saka or Yueh Chi coins¹²⁶ makes it virtually certain that the Greeks continued to control this region. A Greek kingdom restricted to Badakhshan would not have been viable and certainly would not have justified an individual currency on its own weight standard; it is unlikely that a viable Greek kingdom of Eastern Bactria which survived for a century would have had a frontier anywhere east of a line drawn through Qunduz and Bamiyan. The Qunduz hoard, just mentioned, contained¹²⁷ 627 Attic standard silver coins extending from the Seleucid period to Hermaeus. Among them the rulers best represented were Eucratides I (144 tetradrachms), Heliocles I (204 tet. & 17 drachms) and Eucratides II (130 tet.).

Another point in Ch'ang Kien's report that may be questioned is his attribution of the sorry plight of Ta-hsia to the Yueh Chi. It has already been noted that the Chinese were not familiar with the Saka devastation of part of northern Afghanistan and it is, therefore, logical that Ch'ang Kien should have attributed the plight of Ta-hsia to the Yueh Chi. It is possible that the Yueh Chi made raids in Bactria from Sogdiana and that they exacted some form of tribute from parts of Bactria situated close to the Oxus but there is no reason to believe that the Yueh Chi conquered any territory south of the Oxus during the period of their migration.

When one turns to Sogdiana it is apparent that the Shih-chih mentions both the Yueh Chi and the kingdom of Sogdiana (K'ang-chu). The Yueh Chi were established north of the Oxus and thus lived in the territory known as Sogdiana but according to the Shih-chih the kingdom of the Sogdians was situated to the north of the Yueh Chi. The Shih-chih describes a situation in the aftermath of the migration when the Yueh Chi inhabited the previous Sogdian kingdom and the erstwhile king of Sogdiana and his court were obliged to move and established themselves in the inhospitable territory previously controlled by the Massagetae between the lower Jaxartes and the lower Oxus. In this respect the kingdom of the Sogdians was not abolished by settlement of the Yueh Chi but survived in previous Massagetaean territory¹²⁸. Survival of the Sogdian kingdom ruled by this dynasty is also attested by the Hou Han Shou which records that the royal dynasty who ruled the later kingdom of Sogdiana (ie. the post-Yueh Chi kingdom) was formed about AD 80 by inter-marriage of the ruling families of the Yueh Chi and of the Sogdians¹²⁹.

ORGANISATION OF THE YUEH CHI

The organisation of the Yueh Chi is recalled in the Ch'ien Han Shou which takes the history of the Han dynasty to AD 24¹³⁰:-

"The kingdom of the Ta Yueh Chi has its capital at Kien-chi (walled city of Ch'ien-shi¹³¹) situated 11,600 li from Tch'ang-ngan (Ch'ang-an); it is not dependant on the governor general, it numbers 100,000 families, 400,000 inhabitants, an army of 100,000 men; to the east it is 4,740 li from the residence of the governor general, to the west it is 49 days march from A-si¹³², it is bordered to the south by Ki-pin (Chi-pin¹³³)....The Yueh Chi moved far, passed beyond Ta-yuan¹³⁴, beat the Ta-hsia¹³⁵ in the west and overcame them; their chief then established his capital to the north of the river Ouei (Kuei¹³⁶)....One part of them who were not able to move far with the rest placed themselves under the protection of the Kiang (Ch'iang) of the southern mountains¹³⁷ and took the name of the Little Yueh Chi. Formerly the Ta-hsia had no king¹³⁸....when the Yueh Chi arrived they overcame them. Together they support the envoys of the Han¹³⁹. There are five principalities (Hsi-hou¹⁴⁰): the first the principality of Hieou-mi (Hsiu-mi) having for capital the town of Ho-mo (Ho-mo), at 2,841 li from the residence of the governor general and at 7802 li from Yang-kouan¹⁴¹. The second: the principality of Chouang-mo (Shuang-mi), capital: the town of the same name at 3,741 li from the residence of the governor general and at 7782 li from Yang-kouan. The third: the principality of Kouei-chouang (Kuei-shuang), capital: the town of Hou-tsao (Hu-tsao) at 5,940 li from the residence of the governor general and at 7982 li from Yang-kouan. The fourth: the principality of Hi-thum (Hsi-tun), capital: the town of Po-mao (Po-mao¹⁴²) at 5,962 li from the residence of the governor general and at 8202 li from Yang-kouan. The fifth: the principality of Kao-fu¹⁴³, capital: the town of the same name, at 6,041 li from the residence of the governor general and at 9283 li from Yang-kouan. These five principalities are all dependant on the Yueh Chi".

This report in the Ch'ien Han Shou should be considered in conjunction with that in the later Hou Han Shou¹⁴⁴:-

"The country of Ta Yueh Chi is situated at Lan-shih Ch'eng¹⁴⁵ which is at a distance of 49 days travel from An-hsi in the west, 6357 li from the residence of the governor general¹⁴⁶ in the east¹⁴⁷....When the Yueh Chi were defeated by the Hiong-nu (Hsiung-nu), they passed among the Ta-hsia, divided their kingdom¹⁴⁸ into five principalities (Hsi-hou) which were Hieou-mi (Hsiu-mi¹⁴⁹), Chouang-mo (Shuang-mi), Kouei-chouang (Kuei-shuang), Hi-thum (Hsi-tun) and Tou-mi (Tu-mi). About one hundred years later¹⁵⁰ the prince (Hsi-hou) of Kouei-chouang (Kuei-shuang), Kieou-tsieou-khio (Ch'iu-chiu-ch'ueh¹⁵¹) attacked and subjugated the other four principalities (Hsi-hou) and created himself king of a kingdom that was named Kouei-chouang (Keui-shuang). This prince invaded the country of A-si, took their country of Kao-fu¹⁵², destroyed also Po-ta (P'u-ta¹⁵³) and Ki-pin (Chi-pin¹⁵⁴) and became completely master of these countries. Kieou-tsieou-khio (Ch'iu-chiu-ch'ueh) died at about 80 years¹⁵⁵, his son¹⁵⁶ Yan-kao-tchin-toi (Yen-kao-chen) mounted the throne and conquered Thien-tchou (T'ien-chu¹⁵⁷) and there established generals¹⁵⁸ who governed in the name of the Kushans. Since that period this nation has been rich and powerful; all countries in speaking of the king call him king of the Kouei-chouang, the Han¹⁵⁹ following their established practice always call them the Ta Yueh Chi. The kingdom of Kao-fu¹⁶⁰ is to the south-west of the Ta Yueh Chi, this country is very large, the customs of its inhabitants are the same as those of Thien-tchou (India), of Ki-pin (Gandhara) and of the A-si (Parthians¹⁶¹). These three kingdoms, at the period of their greatness, conquered this country and they lost it at the period of their decadence; it is thus by mistake¹⁶² that the Book of the Han counted Kao-fu among the five principalities of the Yueh Chi, this had never belonged to these last since it was already under the domination of the A-si¹⁶³, but when the Yueh Chi attacked the A-si they became possessors of Kao-fu in this manner."

The organisation of the Yueh Chi realm into five principalities took place at some date between 128 BC when Ch'ang Kien was among them and AD 24 when the record of the Ch'ien Han Shou ends. These five principalities are recorded as follows:-

	Ch'ien Han Shou (Principality & capital)	Hou Han Shou (Principality)	Distance from governor general (Ch'ien Han Shou)	Location
1.	Hieou-mi (Ho-me)	Hieou-mi	2,841 li ¹⁶⁴	East Sogdiana
2.	Chouang-mo (Chouang-mo)	Chouang-mo	3,741 li	Central Sogdiana
3.	Kouei-chouang (Hou-tsao)	Kouei-chouang	5,940 li	N.W. Sogdiana
4.	Hi-thum (Po-mao)	Hi-thum	5,962 li	S.E. Bactria
5. a)	Kao-fu (Kao-fu)	-	6,041 li	Kabul valley
b)	-	Tou-mi	-	N.E. Bactria
Yueh Chi capital	Ch'ien-shi	-	4,740 li	Central Sogdiana
	-	Lan-shi	6,357 li	Bactria (Balkh)

The distances separating the various Yueh Chi principalities from the residence of the governor general¹⁶⁵ in the Turfan basin provide a basis for locating them. Although the distances are not absolute and depend, in part, on the route used by Chinese travellers, two main features are outstanding. None of the principalities was more distant than Balkh; some of the principalities were closer than any part of Bactria. In other words all the principalities (except Kao-fu) should be sought in Eastern Bactria and Sogdiana. Insofar as these regions would have been reached by one of the three routes recorded in the Wei¹⁶⁶ it is apparent that an East Bactrian principality attained by the central route and a West or North-west Sogdian principality attained by the northern route could have been equidistant from the residence of the governor general. The Ch'ien Han Shou described the Yueh Chi at a time when they had conquered some East Bactrian territory but had not yet moved their capital from Sogdiana to Bactria¹⁶⁷. At this time the Yueh Chi domain was divided into the major districts named Hieou-mi, Chouang-mo, Kouei-chouang, Hi-thum and Kao-fu (Ch'ien Han Shou) or Tou-mi (Hou Han Shou). Although it has been averred that these districts, Kao-fu excepted, were all situated in Bactria, it is apparent that they were the districts of the Yueh Chi domain which included parts of both Bactria and Sogdiana at the period to which the Ch'ien Han Shou referred. Many Yueh Chi never left Sogdiana where intermarriage of the Sogdian and Yueh Chi ruling families created a new dynasty whose kingdom endured from about AD 80 to 480.

Of the five districts in Bactria and Sogdiana both Hieou-mi (2,841 li) and Chouang-mo (3,741 li) were situated on a longitude well to the east of Bactria while Kouei-chouang (5,940 li), Hi-thum (5,962 li) and Kao-fu (6,041 li) were situated in the general longitude of the Kabul valley, east Bactria and western Sogdiana¹⁶⁸. From these distances it is apparent that the district of Hieou-mi (Hsiu-mi) could only have been situated in eastern Sogdiana close to the Jaxartes where it was presumably organised around the focus of urbanisation that first arose in this region during the Achaemenid period. The district of Chouang-mo and the Yueh Chi capital at Ch'ien-shi; although more distant than Hieou-mi, were still closer than eastern Bactria and presumably lay in the central part of Sogdiana. Fuyé¹⁶⁹ correlated the Yueh Chi principalities of Chouang-mo and Kouei-chouang with the two major principalities of western Sogdiana during the Han period. Chouang-mo, the earlier district of Su-hiai, had a capital at the town of Chouang-mo which appears to have been the major Sogdian town of Kie-Chouang-na, a town whose name was later abbreviated to Che and whose location was to the south of Samarkand. During the Mohammedan period it was

known as Kiss. On the other hand Kouei-chouang, the earlier district of Fu-mo, had a capital at Hou-tSao which was the major Sogdian town of Ho and possessed the alternative name Koei-chouang-ni. This was the second major town of Sogdiana before Samarkand again rose to dominance and was situated on the Zeravshan to the north of Samarkand. It became Koshania during the Mohammedan period.

These appear to be the three Yueh Chi principalities of Sogdiana; Hieou-mi on the Jaxartes, Kouei-chouang in north-west Sogdiana and Chouang-mo in south-west Sogdiana. Their locations are consistent with their distances from the seat of the Chinese governor general and with independent Chinese evidence concerning Sogdiana.

The other two Yueh Chi principalities refer to Bactria. The district of Hi-thum with its capital of Po-mao is noted in both the Ch'ien Han Shou and the Hou Han Shou. Po-mao is normally equated with Bamiyan¹⁷⁰ and this is consistent with its distance from the seat of the governor general. The distance of Tu-mi, a district noted in the later record, is not quoted and neither is its capital. There are, however, reasons for believing that it was situated in north-east Bactria, probably the Qunduz region¹⁷¹. Kao-fu was the Chinese term for the Kabul valley; in numismatic terms this region was conquered about the time of the Kushan ruler Kujula Kadphises¹⁷², lost to the Indo-Parthians and definitively conquered by the Kushan king Soter Megas.

In respect of these districts that composed the Yueh Chi dominion one should differentiate between the three districts in Sogdiana that were constituted soon after the establishment of the Yueh Chi c.130 BC and the two regions of eastern Bactria that were not formed until after the Yueh Chi had conquered the Greek kingdom of eastern Bactria. As regards Bactria this situation is clear for the district of Hi-thum since its correlation with Bamiyan places it in the territory of the late east Bactrian Greek kingdom and its distance from the seat of the Chinese governor general shows that Hi-thum was not situated west of this kingdom.

RE-ESTABLISHMENT OF THE KINGDOM OF SOGDIANA

The urbanised kingdom of Sogdiana that acquired independence from Bactria about 200 BC was destroyed by the Yueh Chi when they settled in Sogdiana about 130 BC. This Sogdian kingdom did not, however, disappear but persisted to the north of the Yueh Chi in the region between the lower Jaxartes and the lower Oxus that was previously the domain of the Massagetae; there the later Sogdians were noted by Ch'ang Kien. Meanwhile the Yueh Chi consolidated their occupation of Sogdiana, placed their capital of this kingdom at Ch'ien-shi and divided the kingdom into three principalities that were situated at Hieou-mi in the east, at Kouei-chouang in the north-west and at Chouang-mo in the south-west. Later, the Yueh Chi expanded across the Oxus, established two more principalities in eastern Bactria and finally moved their capital southwards to Balkh in Bactria.

After the Yueh Chi capital had been moved south of the Oxus the two Yueh Chi regions, Bactria and Sogdiana, evolved along separate paths and became two separate kingdoms. The southern Yueh Chi established their Kushan kingdom about the time of Christ from which the northern Yueh Chi separated about AD 80 and founded their independent kingdom of Sogdiana.

Pan Chao refers in the Hou Han Shou to the Yueh Chi and the K'ang-kiu (Sogdians) as separate states in AD 78 where he notes¹⁷³ 'the countries of ... the Yueh Chi, the Wu-sun¹⁷⁴ and the K'ang-kiu.' This does not indicate re-establishment of the Sogdian kingdom since Ch'ang Kien has already shown that remnants of the earlier Sogdian kingdom persisted to the north of the Yueh Chi and in the context of Pan Chao's report the particular Yueh Chi referred to were living in Sogdiana.¹⁷⁵ These K'ang-kiu and Yueh Chi both lived between the Jaxartes and the Oxus and were the two constituents of the new Sogdian kingdom that arose shortly afterwards.

Chinese authors place the foundation of the new Sogdian kingdom during the next six years (ie. c.80 AD). The establishment of this new kingdom had as its fundamental event the creation of a new Sogdian-Yueh Chi royal family who continued to rule the kingdom of Sogdiana¹⁷⁶ until the Hephthalite conquest about AD 480.

The Hou Han Shou records for the year AD 84 that¹⁷⁷ 'at this period there had recently taken place a marriage between the sovereign families of the Yueh Chi and the K'ang-kiu and thus these countries¹⁷⁸ found themselves allied.' The continued prosperity of this new ruling family is recorded for the fifth century in the Wei-chou¹⁷⁹ which says that 'since the time of the Han an uninterrupted succession of the Princes of this family have succeeded one another in this region (ie. K'ang; Samarkand); the family name of the Princes is Wen, they are of the Yueh Chi who formerly inhabited the town of Tchao-ou, to the north of K'i-lien¹⁸⁰; in memory of their ancient homeland they name themselves as belonging to the race of the Tchao-ou.'

At this period the kingdom of Sogdiana comprised nine principalities ruled by the 'principality' of Samarkand and all individually governed by Princes of the Tchao-ou race. The organisation of this Sogdian kingdom is again recorded in the history of the T'ang dynasty which describes the principal state, K'ang (Sa-mo-kien; Samarkand) and adds a list¹⁸¹ of 'the principalities that detached themselves from this (ie. Samarkand) like branches ... one names them commonly the nine families; all are of the Tchao-ou family.'

This Sogdian kingdom met its end at the hands of the Hephthalites about AD 480. Enoki¹⁸² suggested that date from his observation that the kingdom of Sogdiana continued to send embassies to the Chinese court until AD 479. Their capital city, Samarkand, did not cease sending embassies until 509; a difference which suggests that Hephthalite expansion northwards from Bactria, where they were established in the middle of the previous century,¹⁸³ was a progressive erosion of Sogdian frontiers rather than a sudden conquest.

BACTRIA UNTIL THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE KUSHAN YUEH CHI

Around 128 BC, in the aftermath of the nomad migration, northern Afghanistan was divided into two distinct regions. Eastern Bactria was a Greek kingdom while Western Bactria and Margiana comprised a number of rather impotent city states that remained after the Sacaraucae Sakas had migrated through the region to settle in Aria and beyond.

During the next century and a third all these regions were progressively incorporated within the kingdoms of Parthia and of the Yueh Chi. Parthia incorporated Aria and Margiana about 80 BC and later the Yueh Chi conquered Eastern Bactria from the Greek king Hermaeus following which Herais established Kushan hegemony over all Bactria, Choresmia & Sogdiana.

The chronology of the Yueh Chi expansion across the Oxus into Bactria can be assessed both from the numismatic and from the literary evidence. ¹⁸⁴ Narain conceived a single Yueh Chi migration that took place c.100 BC and based this conclusion on the Chinese reports. However, Chinese historians tend to report short summaries that become further summarised in subsequent reports and since Chinese verbs have no tense ¹⁸⁵ it is often unclear whether recorded events occurred simultaneously or were separated in time. The Chinese reports do, however, show that the Yueh Chi expanded, rather than migrated, into Bactria and that this expansion occurred in two phases. At the time when the Yueh Chi were described in the Ch'ien Han Shou they possessed three Sogdian principalities and a Sogdian capital; by this time they had also occupied part of Eastern Bactria and established one of their principalities at Hi-Thum in territory occupied from the Greeks (ie. from Hermaeus). By the time that the report in the Hou Han Shou had been recorded the Yueh Chi prince of Kouei-chouang in Sogdiana had established his hegemony over the other principalities in Sogdiana and Bactria and had founded the Kushan kingdom which was now based on a Bactrian capital situated at Balkh. The Chinese do not provide any chronology for the events, other than noting the century or so that elapsed before the establishment of Kushan hegemony, and from them one can only infer that the report in the Ch'ien Han Shou refers to the period before AD 24 when its recorded history ended.

The question of Kao-fu is interesting because the reports of the Ch'ien Han Shou and the Hou Han Shou differ in respect of this district and each report is consistent with the numismatic evidence. The earlier report describes Kao-fu as a Yueh Chi principality but the Hou Han Shou criticises this on the ground that the Kushans conquered Kao-fu from the Parthians (ie. Indo-Parthians). The numismatic evidence shows that the Kushans conquered both the Kabul valley (Kao-fu) and Northern Pakistan (Ki-pin) on two separate occasions. Kujula Kadphises acquired the Kabul valley from Hermaeus and Northern Pakistan from Azes II but subsequently lost these regions to the Indo-Parthian Gondophares. The definitive Kushan occupation was left to Soter Megas ¹⁸⁶ who reconquered the Kabul valley and Northern Pakistan from Abdagases, the nephew and successor of Gondophares. In this respect it is quite reasonable for the Ch'ien Han Shou to say that Kao-fu was a Yueh Chi province at the time of Kujula Kadphises and for the Hou Han Shou to retort that the (definitive) Kushan occupation was a labour of Soter Megas who conquered this region from the Indo-Parthians. This chronology implies that the report on the Yueh Chi written in the Ch'ien Han Shou refers to the period up to and including a decade or two before AD 24 and that it is not restricted to the early first century BC.

Numismatic evidence concerning the Yueh Chi occupation of Bactria concurs with the Chinese history provided one bears in mind that the tense of Chinese verbs is frequently not expressed. In numismatic terms the Greek kingdom of Eastern Bactria persisted until the reign of Hermaeus. Monolingual attic silver coins were issued by Eucratides II, Lysias Antialcidas, Theophilus, Philoxenus, Amyntas, Archebios and Hermaeus and such coins of all these kings were found, in the absence of any Yueh Chi coins, in the Qunduz hoard from

North-east Bactria. All these kings also ruled in the Kabul valley and issued bi-lingual silver coins on the Indo-Greek weight standard for that province¹⁸⁷. Greek control of Eastern Bactria ended when the Yueh Chi established one of their principalities in the South-east Bactrian district of Bamiyan¹⁸⁸; at this time they also appear to have established another principality at Tou-mi.

In numismatic terms the Yueh Chi succeeded the Greeks in Eastern Bactria when the Attic silver issues of Hermaeus the Greek were replaced by the Attic silver issues from two separate mints struck by Sapadbizes and Pseigacharis, two Yueh Chi princes. Shortly after this Heraios, the Yueh Chi ruler of Kouei-chouang in Sogdiana, extended Kushan (Kouei-chouang) hegemony over the Yueh Chi Princes of Eastern Bactria and continued to strike Attic silver coins in the two regional series initiated by Sapadbizes and Pseigacharis.

A second numismatic aspect of Yueh Chi expansion into Bactria concerns the change in metrology of the silver coinage at this period. Yueh Chi occupation of South-east Afghanistan interrupted the flow of silver from mines concentrated around the Panshir valley and was followed by debasement of the silver coinage in Bactria, the Kabul valley and Northern Pakistan. In Northern Pakistan and the Kabul valley this debasement occurred a short while before these regions were occupied by the Kushan Kujula Kadphises and was a major feature in the coinage of Azes¹⁸⁹ II and Hermaeus¹⁹⁰ from both of whom Kujula acquired these territories. Although the ultimate cause of this debasement was Hermaeus' loss of the Bamiyan region to Pseigacharis¹⁹¹ both Pseigacharis and his successor Heraios were able to maintain a restricted silver currency, though they were the last rulers to strike silver coins north of the Hindu Kush.

These two sources of evidence, the coin types and the debasement of the silver issues, place both the Yueh Chi expansion into Bactria¹⁹² and the succeeding establishment of Kushan Hegemony during the period when Hermaeus and Azes II were reigning further south. This conclusion is consistent with the Chinese evidence and may be examined in more detail.

Kujula Kadphises was a Kushan of Tchao-ou race, as he says on his coins¹⁹³. He was a Kushan ruler of the Kabul valley and of Northern Pakistan and issued all his coins in the sequences of these regions¹⁹⁴. In the Kabul valley he continued the sequence of Hermaeus and issued copper tetradrachms, didrachms and drachms; each denomination with individual coin types¹⁹⁵, on the Indo-Greek weight standard and in succession to the copper tetradrachms and drachms that Hermaeus issued towards the end of his reign. In Northern Pakistan Kujula issued a number of other series in succession to the coinage of Azes II and his satraps. These series have been discussed elsewhere¹⁹⁶ and need only be summarised here:-

Locality	Azes II	Satraps of Azes II	Kujula	Indo-Parthians
Taxila	Tet. Zeus Nikephorus AE cross legged king/Hermes	Rajuvala Dr. Zeus Nikephorus	AE cross legged king/Zeus	a) Gondophares Abdagases Tet. Zeus sceptred b) Sasan Abdagases Tet. Zeus Nikephorus
Mint A ?Swat valley	-	Zeionises AE bull/lion	AE bull/camel	-
Mint B N.Pakistan	Tet. City AE horseman/lion	Kharahostes AE horseman/lion	AE Roman type	-
Gandhara	Tet. Pallas AE bull/lion	Indravarma Aspavarma Tet. Pallas	AE soldier type	Aspavarma Sasan Abdagases Tet. Zeus sceptred
Mathura	-	Rajuvala Dr. Pallas	Dr. Pallas	Gondophares Dr. Pallas

In northern Pakistan the coinage of Kujula Kadphises is sandwiched between that of Azes II and that of Gondophares. Kujula struck copper coins in most and probably all the four mints of Northern Pakistan used by Azes II and his satraps. On the other hand when the Indo-Parthians conquered this region from Kujula they only struck coins in its major mints and based their currency on debased tetradrachms instead of on copper denominations. The Indo-Parthian coins continue the typological and control mark sequences of Azes II with minor modifications and in so doing suggest that the incursion of Kujula was an ephemeral occupation.

Kujula's coinage postdates by a short period the debasement of the silver currency that occurred under Hermaeus and Azes¹⁹⁷ II. His conquest over Azes II can be dated to within about a decade of AD 20 and his occupation of the Kabul valley from Hermaeus can be placed close to AD 10. These dates are suggested by a number of sources of evidence. In particular one may note that Kujula's Roman type coinage cannot have commenced earlier than about AD 20 while the reference to his occupation of the Kabul valley in the Ch'ien Han Shou cannot be placed much later than AD 10. Similarly the occupation of Northern Pakistan by Gondophares at the end of Kujula's reign cannot be placed later than about AD 35 when one considers either the chronology of Gondophares' succession in Aria viz-a-viz the dating of the Parthian and Arian Saka coinage or the links between his coinage and that of Azes II and Rajuvāḥa.¹⁹⁸

Despite Kujula's impressive record south of the Hindu Kush all this region was, at this period, only a peripheral and temporary conquest of the Kushans. Kujula was not the Kushan ruler Ch'iu-chiu-ch'üeh¹⁹⁹ who united the various Yueh Chi principalities and there is no evidence that he ever ruled any territory north of the Hindu Kush. He did not even give himself an official position until he was ruling part of Northern Pakistan.²⁰⁰

Meanwhile the Bactrian Kushan coinage was issued successively by Heraios and Soter Megas. Heraios commenced coining in Bactria before Kujula coined in the Kabul valley²⁰¹ and his successor Soter Megas continued striking coins long after the period of Kujula. The early Yueh Chi coins of Bactria all postdate the early reign of Hermaeus and were struck in silver by Sapadbizes and Pseigacharis. Each ruler struck monolingual Attic silver hemidrachms in one of the two East Bactrian Yueh Chi principalities where their issues were succeeded by those struck by Heraios in each principality. Pseigacharis' coins can be attributed to the southern principality, Hi-thum in the Bamiyan region, for two reasons. In the first place, Pseigacharis used a standing Hercules reverse type that was subsequently copied by Kujula for much of his coinage in the neighbouring Kabul valley while, in the second place, Pseigacharis acquired the use of square Greek letter forms from the Kabul valley coinage of Hermaeus. Square Greek letter forms²⁰² were not used north of the Hindu Kush until the time of Pseigacharis and only reach the Kabul valley for the late silver issues of Hermaeus. Heraios struck tetradrachms and obols in succession to Pseigacharis and retained the square letter forms used in the Bamiyan mint. Meanwhile Sapadbizes and another Yueh Chi ruler of uncertain name issued hemidrachms with round Greek letter forms from the other East Bactrian Yueh Chi principality where they too were followed by Heraios who retained round letter forms for his obols struck at this mint, probably situated at or near Qunduz. Sapadbizes' coins retain not only round letter forms used by the Greek kings of Eastern Bactria but also retain their obverse type. A profile helmeted bust was the commonest obverse type used by these Greek kings and, among the coins of the Qunduz hoard, was last used by Amyntas and Archebios. This helmeted bust type was used by Sapadbizes and the other Yueh Chi ruler whose coins are very similar to those of Sapadbizes.

The reigns of Kujula, Azes II and Hermaeus provide the chronology for the Bactrian

issues of Sapadbizes, Pseigacharis and Heraios. On the basis that Kujula succeeded Azes II c. AD 20 it has been inferred that he succeeded Hermaeus c. AD 10. One can further infer that the debasement of the Azes-Hermaeus silver coinage which occurred during the middle portion of their reigns commenced around 10 BC. Since the creation of the Hi-thum principality by the Yueh Chi, at the expense of Hermaeus, was the cause of this debasement one can place the occupation of Eastern Bactria by the Yueh Chi between the accession of Hermaeus c. 25 BC and the debasement of the Hermaeus-Azes coinage around 10 BC. Taking these factors into account one can suggest that the Yueh Chi principality of Hi-thum (Bamiyan) was ruled by Pseigacharis and endured from c.20 to 0 BC while the Yueh Chi principality of Tu-mi (Qunduz region), ruled by Sapadbizes and another prince, also lasted from c.20 to 0 BC. Both Yueh Chi principalities lost their independence when Kushan hegemony was established at a date, c.0 BC, shortly before Kujula commenced his Kabul valley coinage in succession to Hermaeus (c. AD 10). The inter-relationships of these rulers may be summarised as follows:-

	Eastern Bactria		Kabul Valley	North Pakistan
	Qunduz region (Tou-mi)	Bamiyan region (Hi-thum)		
Before 20 BC.	Greek kings	Greek kings	Greek kings	Greek kings & Azes dynasty
c. 25 BC.	Hermaeus	Hermaeus	Hermaeus	Azes II
c. 20 BC.	Sapadbizes	Pseigacharis	Hermaeus	Azes II
c. 10 BC.	Sapadbizes	Pseigacharis	Hermaeus (debased)	Azes II (debased)
c. 0 BC.	Heraios	Heraios	Hermaeus	Azes II
c. 10 AD.	Heraios	Heraios	Kujula ²⁰⁴	Azes II
c. 20 AD.	Heraios	Heraios	Kujula	Kujula

Heraios was the Kushan ruler, as he informs us on his coins, of the Yueh Chi principality of Kuoei-chouang in Sogdiana. He conquered the two Yueh Chi principalities of Eastern Bactria, issued two series of coins there and was also implicated in the Kushan conquest of the Kabul valley²⁰⁵ where Kujula issued the bulk of the early Kushan coinage. However, these regions did not comprise the entire kingdom of Heraios because he was also ruler of Western Bactria and Choresmia.

In the aftermath of the nomad migration Western Bactria and adjacent Margiana were composed of the petty city states described by Ch'ang Kien. These Graeco-Saka states appear to have owed some form of allegiance to more powerful neighbouring states but were not incorporated by them²⁰⁶ and later acquired somewhat better military organisation than they had at the time of Ch'ang Kien. There is numismatic evidence that the Dahae of Choresmia acquired a transient increased prosperity at the expense of adjacent Graeco-Saka states²⁰⁷ and Ch'ang Kien implies that others situated nearer to the Oxus owed some form of allegiance of the Yueh Chi²⁰⁸. Increasing military power of these Graeco-Saka states is shown by their repeated conflicts with the Parthians and the inability of Parthia to occupy Margiana until about 80 BC. So far as Western Bactria is concerned the numismatic evidence shows that the Graeco-Saka states in this region remained independent until the time of Heraios.

The Graeco-Saka coinage comprises two major series that were probably emitted from the mints of two major states situated at Merv (Margiana) and Balkh (Bactria). Both series are imitative and rude. The western series, probably struck at Merv, comprises tetradrachms and obols which imitate those of Eucratides and bear corrupt Greek legends. These rare

coins are all made of silver and when compared with the other Graeco-Saka series their lack of debasement and rarity suggests that the series was both early and short. This is consistent with the Eucratides imitations having been issued from Merv between the period of the Saka migration, c.130 BC, and 80 BC when this region was incorporated by Parthia. The second Graeco-Saka series comprises a pair of integrated coin sequences whose types imitate those of Heliocles. These coins are tetradrachms and drachms which commence as a silver series but whose later issues, comprising the major part of the series, are debased. The sequence is analysed in the catalogue below and one need only note here that tetradrachms and drachms with both the Zeus and the horse reverse types all pass through a substantial number of the same successive stages in the degradation of their fossilised coin types. The series ends about the time when Heraios conquered this region and established the Kushan capital at Balkh. As the coins are, in effect, anonymous the end point of the series cannot be defined absolutely though one can say that these coins were current when Soter Megas, the Bactrian successor of Heraios, used them as prototypes for his early Balkh coinage.

Soter Megas issued a number of local coin series before introducing a general coinage throughout his empire. To the east his coinage in Northern Pakistan, probably struck at the Taxila mint, continued the Horseman/Zeus types of Abdagases and was issued as bilingual debased tetradrachms and drachms on the Indo-Greek weight standard of that region. In Eastern Bactria Soter Megas struck another series of debased tetradrachms but in this case with Attic types and struck on the reduced Attic weight standard. These coins use the helmeted bust type of Sapadbizes and preceding Greek rulers of that territory and have monolingual legends like those other Attic issues. Their Attic type and round letter forms place Soter Megas' helmeted bust coins in succession to the issues of Sapadbizes and Heraios struck in the mint of the Tou-mi Principality (Qunduz²⁰⁹) while their denomination places them as successors to Heraios' tetradrachms. Heraios' silver tetradrachms decline in weight from 15.5 to 12 grammes and terminate Bactrian silver coinage; Soter Megas' debased tetradrachms retain this reduced Attic weight and average 12.5 grammes.²¹⁰

A third local coin series issued by Soter Megas comprises debased Heliocles type Attic drachms which continue the Graeco-Saka series that was probably minted at Balkh. Soter Megas' coins all have the Standing Zeus reverse type and copy such details as the reverse control ²¹¹mark and the hook in front of the obverse bust from their Graeco-Saka prototypes. The Graeco-Saka drachms tend to weigh around 3 to 3.5 grammes while those of Soter Megas are closer to 4 grammes. These debased Attic drachms of Soter Megas succeed the Graeco-Saka Balkh series and thus appear to be the regional series struck at his capital, Balkh. Cunningham²¹², however, reported that these coins of Soter Megas were commonly found in Mathura and although Cunningham's coins may well have come from a single hoard his attribution has been followed by Vincent Smith, Whitehead and MacDowall.²¹³ These coins belong to the Bactrian series^{213a} and their occurrence on the Mathura frontier region of Soter Megas' kingdom is not unexpected. Soter Megas commenced striking his local Bactrian coin series when he ruled a kingdom centred on Balkh whose southern frontier was the Hindu Kush. He expanded this kingdom, at the expense of the Indo-Parthians, to a south-east frontier in the Mathura region and many of the troops stationed on this frontier would have come from Bactria and would have brought with them Bactrian artefacts, including money.²¹⁴

The emphasis that Soter Megas placed on expanding his conquests south of the Hindu Kush gained prosperity for the Kushans as the Hou Han Shou testifies, but was associated with loss of Kushan control over Choresmia and Sogdiana, both of which became independent during his reign. It has already been noted that Sogdiana became an independent kingdom about AD 80. Insofar as Soter Megas is concerned the evidence that Heraios conquered this district

is both numismatic and literary. In numismatic terms the coinage of Choresmia²¹⁶ changes at this period from soldier and horse type Attic drachms and lower denominations struck by the Dahae to tetradrachms whose types derive from those of Heraios. The Choresmian silver tetradrachms have a reel and pellet border around the obverse bust and their reverse type is a horseman surmounted by a corrupt Greek legend and surmounting an intact aramaic legend naming the issuer as the 'Lord King'²¹⁷. Nearly all these tetradrachms have been found in Choresmian excavations²¹⁸ and they form the early part of a series whose later issues bear a similar circumferential aramaic reverse legend that includes the name Choresmia²¹⁹ (Harazm). The numismatic evidence suggests both that Heraios conquered Choresmia and that the Kushans lost control of this region shortly after the end of his reign. The Chinese annals appear to record Heraios' conquest in two passages. The Hou Han Shou records that Ch'iu-chiu-ch'ueh (Heraioy) established Kushan hegemony and included P'u-ta among his many conquests. This name appears to indicate the Dahae kingdom of Choresmia that is termed Gawasa or Kodoy on their coins²²⁰. At a later date the history of Sogdiana recorded in the annals of the T'ang dynasty includes Ho-si-ma among the districts ruled by Princes of Tchao-ou descent. If Ho-si-ma was the T'ang version of Harazm (Choresmia), as Fuyé suggested, then this passage can only refer to the conquest of Choresmia by Heraios because no other Yueh Chi ruler with a Sogdian capital could have conquered Choresmia.

When one considers the relationship between Heraios, Soter Megas and Kujula Kadphises it is apparent that, in numismatic terms, Heraios established the Kushan kingdom, centred it on Bactria and was succeeded by Soter Megas. Kujula, on the other hand, never ruled Bactria but was the Kushan deputed to rule Heraios' possessions south of the Hindu Kush. Although Kujula conquered Northern Pakistan on his own account it is probable that he was only placed in control of the Kabul valley after it had first been conquered by Heraios and after Heraios had issued its first Kushan coins.

Conclusions regarding the establishment of the Kushan may be summarised:-

Establishment of the Kushan realm and associated changes in coin metrology and weight standards²²²

Date	Sogdiana	Choresmia	Margiana	West Bactria	East Bactria	Kabul valley North Pakistan
c. 130 BC	Yueh Chi (AR Persic)	Dahae (AR Attic)	Graeco-Saka (AR Attic)	Graeco-Saka (AR Attic)	Greeks (AR Attic)	Greeks and Azes dynasty (AR Indo Greek)
c. 80 BC	"	"	Parthians	Graeco-Saka (Bl. reduced Attic)	"	"
c. 20 BC	"	"	"	"	Yueh Chi a. Sapadbizes b. Pseigacharis (AR Attic)	" (Bl. Indo-Greek)
c. 0 BC	KUSHAN Heraios (AR Persic)	KUSHAN Heraios	"	KUSHAN Heraios	KUSHAN Heraios (AR reduced Attic)	KUSHAN Heraios (Kujula) (Bl., AE Indo-Greek)
c. 40 AD	Soter Megas (AR Persic)	Autonomous (AR reduced Attic)	"	Soter Megas (AE Attic)	Soter Megas (AE Attic)	Indo-Parthians (Bl. Indo-Greek)
c. 80 AD	Autonomous (AR, AE Persic)	"	"	(AE Indo-Greek)	(AE Indo-Greek)	KUSHAN Soter Megas (Bl., AE Indo-Greek)
				"	"	"

COINAGE OF SOGDIANA c.130 BC to AD 500

These coins of Sogdiana comprise three distinct consecutive series that were struck by three different dynasties. During the Yueh Chi period which extended from c.130 BC until AD 80 Sogdiana was part of the Yueh Chi and subsequently of the Kushan dominion and until the time of Christ the Yueh Chi capital, Ch'ien-shi, was situated in Sogdiana which itself comprised the three principalities of Kouei-chouang in the north-west, Chouang-chouang in the south-west and Hieou-mi in the east. Then Heraios, Prince of Kouei-chouang, united the Yueh Chi principalities, extended Kushan (Kouei-chouang) dominion further afield and moved his capital south to Balkh. From this time Sogdiana was a northern province of the Kushan kingdom ruled by Heraios and his successor Soter Megas, a kingdom whose political centre now lay south of Sogdiana. This situation ended c. AD 80 when Sogdiana separated from the Kushan kingdom and became an independent kingdom of Sogdiana.

The coinage of Sogdiana during the Yueh Chi period comprised a uniform series of silver tetradrachms struck to the reduced Persic weight standard that was previously used in this region²²³. These coins retain the Bust/seated Hercules types used previously but differ from earlier coins in many respects including their fabric, style, metrology and legends. Coins now have broader and thinner flans with a design that is deeply engraved using thick strokes whereas previous coins tended to show much more detail engraved in shallower relief and with substantially thinner strokes. The quality of the metal improves and most coins are now made of good quality silver. Their style is both different and ruder ; the bust acquires an elaborately engraved head of hair that hangs in locks; it is now radiate. In contrast to the realistic proportions of the face on the obverse, the seated Hercules on the reverse is rudely engraved and usually has a match-stick form. Style and the manner of engraving give these coins a characteristic appearance.

The alteration in the coin legend is significant. It no longer gives the name and titles of a king but is shortened to two words that do not include a personal name. The first word is 'MaLHAT' (Great) and the second word can be transliterated as either 'SUG' (Sogdiana) or 'YaVUG' (Tchao-ou race) with equal validity. Fuye read the legend 'Mahat YaVug²²⁴' and proposed that Yavug be equated with the Yueh Chi ethnic title Tchao-ou that was also used on coins of Kujula Kadphises and of the post-Kushan kings of Sogdiana²²⁵. In the name YaVUG/SUG the last two characters are clearly an arcuate 'U' and an angular 'G'. The first character is an 'S' with its normal form, double arcuate strokes, on some coins but the two strokes are separated on other coins and Fuye's attribution to them of a 'U-Y-V' value is appropriate. Each transliteration, 'MaLHAT SUG' and 'MaLHAT YaVUG,' is appropriate for particular specimens of this coinage but these are not different legends because the variation is random and one can observe all gradations in character form from 'S' for 'SUG' to 'YaV' for 'YaVUG.' Each reading is equally logical since the Yueh Chi were of the Tchao-ou race (YaVUG) and they were the rulers of Sogdiana (SUG). One may suggest that this particular coin legend was selected because it could be read in either of two equally appropriate ways.

The coins in this series are distributed among three well defined groups that can be characterised by the form of Hercules' stool. The range of variation within each group suggests that they were not issued consecutively but rather that the three groups were the products of three mints located in the three Sogdian principalities of Kouei-chouang, Chouang-chouang and Hieou-mi²²⁶.

The second period in the history of Sogdiana extended from c.AD 80 to 480 and covered the time when Sogdiana was an independent kingdom ruled by kings of the Tchao-ou

race, a dynasty created by intermarriage of the ruling Sogdian and Yueh Chi families about AD 80.

Coins struck by successive kings of Sogdiana still conform to the reduced Persic weight standard but differ in many respects from earlier issues. The denominations are now drachms and hemidrachms instead of tetradrachms and coins are nearly always debased. Silver coins are restricted to some early hemidrachms; other issues are debased drachms that normally weigh around 2 grammes²²⁷. These debased drachms are nearly always frank copper coins but Fyfe noted that a number of his specimens retained silver plating and the same applies to one of the British Museum coins.

The coins all bear a bust on the obverse that is engraved in realistic and characteristic style. Details of the bust vary for different issues and it is occasionally shown three-quarter facing. The reverse types are new and show a tendency to revert to the classical Achaemenid culture of this region. This tendency is particularly marked in the King - fighting - lion type that was earlier a common motif for Achaemenid sculptures and was also used on Achaemenid period coins struck at Sidon in Phoenicia. The other two reverse types show a fire altar or an altar surmounted by a sunface. Both are Iranian in conception. The winged sunface was a common detail on Assyrian and Achaemenid sculptures where it symbolised the Mazdaean religion according to which the Deity was worshipped in the form of the sun or of fire. The fire altar had a similar significance and was depicted, in the form of either a fire temple or a fire altar on coins of Persis and as a fire altar by their Sassanian successors both when the Sassanian religion was Mazdaeism and when it was Manichaeism²²⁸. So far as Sogdiana is concerned the coin types suggest that Mazdaeism persisted from the Achaemenid period and now became the State religion.

The legends on these coins demonstrate a distinct stage in the evolution of Sogdian aramaic script and the forms of 'A' and 'K', for instance, are particularly characteristic of this period. The context of the legends also changes. One group of coins was struck by the 'Great ruler of Tchao-ou Race' (MaLHA YaKuB) but the others were issued by the 'King of Samarkand' (MaLKA SaMUAKa; MaLKA SaKAKa). The calligraphy differs on coins of the Tchao-ou king from that on other coins by adopting a more cursive form in which 'H' and 'A' are conjoined. The title 'Yakub'²²⁹ appears to be intermediate in both form and meaning between 'Yavug' and 'Hub.' Originally the term 'Tchao-ou : Yavug : Yavugasa' was an ethnic title denoting the Yueh Chi lineage of the king. This term Tchao-ou continued to be the title of the Sogdian king but appears to have been contracted from 'Yavug' to 'Yakub' on the coins. During the course of time the title acquired a meaning synonymous with king (Malka) and was retained by the Hephthalites whose Sogdian coins were struck by the 'Lord Hub of Bokhara'²³⁰. The other two legends, 'MaLKA SaMUAKa' and MaLKA SaKAKa' are written with isolated characters of fairly constant form. The legend always reads circumferentially on the reverse²³¹ and the characters 'L' and 'U' retain their simple form while 'M' and 'S' are little altered from previous periods. The character 'A' shows a range of variation from a form similar to that used on earlier coins. Samarkand was the capital of the Sogdian kingdom according to Chinese authors and is named in both legends²³². The practice of naming a Regal coinage by the capital of the Kingdom is an innovation that was continued during the next period by the Hephthalites who issued their coins in the name of the Lord King of Bokhara.

Prolonged circulation of coins with the fire altar reverse type is attested not only by their relative abundance and range of variation²³³ but also by the observation that they were still current when their reverse type was used as a countermark on early Bokhara drachms of the Hephthalite period (type 65a).

The third period of the Sogdian coinage is represented by issues of the Hephthalite kingdom that held sway from about 480 until the Arab conquest. Their coins are all flat silver drachms that weigh around 3.1 grammes and were struck on the Sassanian derivative of the Attic weight standard. The coin types are similar for all issues and are derived from those of the Sassanian king Bahram V (420-438). Until the Arab conquest coins were all struck in the name of the 'Lord King of Bokhara'.²³⁴ This legend, which is written in a slightly later form of Sogdian aramaic, was elucidated by Henning and reads 'BUH'AR HUB K'AY'.²³⁵ Henning and Frye justified the transliteration with reference to character forms on contemporary Sogdian documents and with regard to the slightly erroneous transliteration of this legend proposed by the tenth century Arab historian Narshakhi. It only remains to discuss this legend with regard to the character forms used on earlier Sogdian coins. The character forms are shown in Table III where it will be seen that they are consistent with Henning's transliteration. The 'B' has a normal form when its position is medial but is modified by closure of its upper strokes when in initial position. Similarly the character 'U-V' has its standard arcuate form in medial position but is slightly modified in final position.²³⁶ The 'H' and 'K' require no comment but 'R' is new to the Sogdian coinage, has its Achaemenid form and can only be separated from 'K' by its context. The 'A' is also new to Sogdian coins but was earlier used on Choresmian coins and can be assimilated.²³⁷ As this series has recently been discussed by Walker and by Frye²³⁸ only the earliest coins are noted and this for the purpose of integrating the Bokhara drachm series with the preceding Sogdian coinage. The essential links between the Hephthalite and the pre-Hephthalite series have already been discussed; these are, firstly the use of comparable Sogdian script, secondly use of the Sogdian title 'Yavug - Yakub - Hub,' thirdly the practice of identifying a regal coinage by naming the capital city (Samarkand; Bokhara) and fourthly use of the Samarkand form of altar as a countermark on ensuing Bokhara drachms.

The Sogdian coinage of c.130 BC to AD 500 may be catalogued as follows:-

- A)
- YUEH CHI PERIOD : c.130 BC to AD 80
57. The Great Ruler of Sogdiana, of the Tchao-ou Race.
Obv. radiate bust right; elaborate hair style with long locks.
Rev. Hercules std. left on rectangular stool containing 3 dots. Usually depicted in matchstick form. Circumferential aramaic legend commencing at V with characters base inwards : MaLHAT YaVUG, alternatively MaLHAT SUG
AR reduced Persic tetradrachm BM. 9.25, 7.63 Author 8.81
Fuye 9.70 (IV,9), 9.60 (IV,10), 9.25 (IV,3), 9.20 (IV,12), 9.20 (IV,1),
9.20 (IX,9), 8.88 (IV,2), 8.50(IV,11), 8.15 (IX, 1), 7.90 (IX,2)
58. sim. but throne a truncated cone containing 3 dots
BM. 9.18, 8.99, 8.89, 8.51 Author 9.46
Fuye 9.30,(IV,6), 8.90 (IX,10), 8.90 (IV,4), 8.70 (IV,5), 8.10 (IV,7)
59. sim. but hemispherical throne containing 3 dots
BM. 9.50, 8.99, 8.73 (Fuye III,14B), 7.80 Author 9.32
Fuye 9.00 (IX,11), 8.70 (IV,3), 8.30 (IV,8), 8.20 (IX,7), 8.00 (IX,5),
8.00 (IX,8), 7.80 (IX,4), 7.80 (IX,6)
- B)
- KINGDOM OF SOGDIANA : c. AD 80 to 480
60. The Great Ruler of Tchao-ou Race.
Obv. beardless bust left with long hair. Aramaic legend on left with characters base outwards. : MaLHA YaKuB
Rev. man on left with sword at side fighting lion stg. on its hind legs
AR reduced Persic drachm BM. 2.63, 2.40, 2.18, 2.17. Fuye²⁴⁰ 9 coins not weighed.
61. King of Samarkand
Obv. bearded laur. bust right
Rev. Mazdaean fire altar with 4 or 5 curvilinear flames above. Circumferential aramaic legend commencing II, characters base outwards : MaLKA SaMUAKa
AR reduced Persic hemidrachm BM. 0.77, 0.64, 0.52, 0.51. Fuye²⁴⁰ two coins not weighed
62. sim. but rev. fire altar surmounted by surface instead of flames; no legend
AE reduced Persic drachm BM. 1.38, 1.34, 1.23, 0.74
63. Obv. beardless laur. bust right in similar style
Rev. fire altar of new style surmounted by 4 to 6 straight or curvilinear flames. Circumferential aramaic legend commencing II, characters base outwards: MaLKA SaKAKa
AE reduced Persic drachm BM. 2.18, 2.12, 2.09, 2.09, 2.08, 2.04, 2.03, 1.99, 1.93, 1.90, 1.87, 1.83, 1.80, 1.79, 1.78, 1.77, 1.73, 1.70, 1.70, 1.63, 1.58, 1.53, 1.50, 1.46, 1.40, 1.22, 1.10, 0.92.
Author 2.07, 1.88, 1.82, 1.81, 1.68, 1.65, 1.62, 1.62, 1.61, 1.56
Fuye²⁴¹ 37 coins not weighed
64. Obv. sim. but bust quarter right and uncertain legend around
Rev. sim.
AE reduced Persic drachm BM²⁴², 2.10, 2.04 Rhodes 1 coin not weighed
- C)
- HEPHTHALITE KINGDOM OF SOGDIANA : c. AD 480 onwards
65. The Lord King of Bokhara
Obv. Bust right imitated from Bahram V (420-438)
Right in Sogdian aramaic BUH'AR HUB K'AY
Rev. Fire altar and attendants imitated from Bahram V
AR Sassanian weight drachm BM.(BMC.XXVIII) 3.29, 3.17, 3.10, 2.36 Author 2.85
Type 65 comprises broad, thin fabric coins; for later thicker coins see BMC.
65a same type countermarked on obv. margin with altar of types 63 and 64
AR drachm BM.(BMC.XXVIII,b1) 3.17 Fuye (RN.1926 p.148) not weighed
IMC²⁴³ (XXIV, 10) 3.63

COINAGE OF THE CHORESMIAN KINGDOM : c.80 BC to AD 800

The general period of Heraios marked a major change in the political organisation of Choresmia: the old Choresmian kingdom of the Dahae, centred on the Caspian coast of western Choresmia, was replaced by the later Choresmian kingdom centred on the lower Oxus in eastern Choresmia. However, the change was not sudden; on the one hand origins of the later Choresmian kingdom can be traced back to the early first century BC while, on the other hand, decline of the Dahaeian kingdom, demonstrable in the inferior coinage of Artars's successors, commenced well before the time of Heraios.

Evidence concerning the later Choresmian kingdom is both archaeological and numismatic. Archaeological remains show the towns, the most important of which was Toprak-kala, to have been centred on the lower Oxus between the Kizyl Kum and the Kara Kum deserts and show them to date from the post-Christian era.²⁴⁴ Numismatic evidence shows the Choresmian coinage to have been inspired both by the Bactrian tetradrachms of Heraios and by the Graeco-Saka Eucratides imitations attributed to Margiana.

It will be recalled that during the Macedonian period the lower Oxus was part of the region inhabited by the Massagetae who were then a poor nomad people without settled habitation. Subsequent rise of an urbanised kingdom in this region appears to have been a sequel to three major events; the nomad migration, the Parthian conquest of Margiana and the Kushan expansion under Heraios. Settlement of the Yueh Chi in Sogdiana c.130 BC induced migration northwards of the Sogdians who re-established their kingdom and eventually formed a marriage alliance with the Yueh Chi c.AD 80. The Parthian conquest of Margiana c.80 BC terminated the Graeco-Saka kingdom whose coinage had been based on that of Eucratides and caused a new ingress of migrants to the lower Oxus region. These immigrants inaugurated the Choresmian coinage of the Oxus region as an offshoot from their own coin series. A specimen from the Hermitage Museum published by Tolstov²⁴⁵ is, as regards types and metrology, a Graeco-Saka tetradrachm of the Eucratides imitation series linked with Margiana and bears a corrupt legend virtually the same as that on Margiana coins. However, the Choresmian symbol on Tolstov's coin clearly places it at the beginning of the Choresmian coin series.²⁴⁶

Although Choresmian coinage can be traced back to the first century BC the bulk of the archaeological and numismatic remains date from the post-Christian era. The post-Kushan Choresmian coinage is divisible into two distinct consecutive periods comparable with those of the contemporary coinage struck in the adjacent Sogdian kingdom. In both regions the early coinage was struck on a reduction of the pre-existing local weight standard²⁴⁷ and bore an aramaic legend whose character forms were intermediate between those of previous and of subsequent series. Around the end of the fifth century the coinage of both regions changed to issues of Sassanian weight and fabric that persisted until the last issues were struck under the suzerainty of the Abbasid caliphs; these final issues bear arabic legends that either replace or add to those in the local aramaic script. The chronology of the Sogdian series is more clearly established than that of the Choresmian series since it can be shown that in Sogdiana the early and late periods commenced close to AD 80 and AD 480.

The beginning and end of the post-Kushan Choresmian series can be dated with reasonable accuracy. Its commencement in the middle first century AD is implied both by use of Heraios tetradrachms as prototype for the coin type and denomination and apparently also for the coin weight and fabric²⁴⁸ and also because it appears unreasonable to postulate a longer time lapse between the Choresmian Eucratides' imitation of the first century BC and the subsequent post-Heraios Choresmian²⁴⁹ coinage. In all these respects the slightly later Kushan coins of Soter Megas were not prototypes for the Choresmian series²⁵⁰. The end

of the series c.AD 800 can be inferred if one accepts Tolstov's²⁵¹ correlation that late silver issues with the Arabic name Al-Fadl were struck by Al-Fadl ibn Yahya al-Barmaki the Abbasid governor from 787 to 795. However, the date when the early series gave way to the late series is much less certain though one can suggest that this occurred about AD 500.²⁵²

The early period (c.AD 50 - 500) coinage of the post-Kushan Choresmian kingdom comprises silver tetradrachms and small copper coins whose types are a profile bust and a horseman, together with Kushan coins of Kanishka, Huvishka and Vasu Deva countermarked²⁵³ on the obverse and the reverse with the Choresmian symbol. On coins with local types the bust wears an elaborate headdress that varies on different issues and appears, in some cases, to be derived from forms of headdress used by Sassanian and Kushano-sassanian kings.²⁵⁴ The obverse type, which is anepigraphic, evolves insofar as the reel and pellet border used by Heraios and by early Choresmian rulers becomes a pellet border on later tetradrachms and succeeding Sassanian fabric drachms. On the reverse the horseman is surmounted by a corrupt Greek legend, bears the Choresmian symbol on its left and, on all but the first issue, has an aramaic legend beneath. This legend is the same on all coins and is written in early Choresmian aramaic whose character forms are nearly the same as those on late Dahaeen coins. Tolstov read the name Afrigh but there is little doubt that the correct transliteration is ~~MaKa~~²⁵⁵ MaKa. The term MaKa was previously used to qualify Malka in a Dahaeen coin legend and appears to have the same significance as MaRa in the legend MaRa MaKa HaRaZM used on later Choresmian coins. Both terms appear to mean Lord²⁵⁶ and provide the transliteration 'The Lord King' for the early Choresmian coin legend.

Coins of the later period (c.AD 500 to 800) comprise silver and copper issues with similar Bust/Horseman types together with copper coins whose reverse type is a trident-like symbol. The aramaic reverse legend is now circumferential and reads from above the Choresmian symbol (10 o'clock) to below this symbol (8 o'clock). The same legend appears on all silver coins with little variation and the script assumes a cursive form in which characters are conjoined to a variable extent. This legend appears to read 'MaRa MaKa HaRaZM' on coins published by Markoff²⁵⁷ with the alternative forms 'HaRaM' and 'HARA' and appears the same on the British Museum coins and on those illustrated by Tolstov.²⁵⁸ He read the legend 'MR'A MLK' KhWRZM' but Frye²⁵⁹ suggested that Malka was the only certain word. Tolstov's transliteration MaR'A also appears almost correct as does the transliteration R for the character in the middle of Harazm. In effect Tolstov's transliteration can only be criticised on the ground that the last part of the final word is variable and that the first part of this word, also variable, begins H and not Kh.²⁶⁰ In addition to the constant legend naming the Lord King of Choresmia most silver coins also bear an additional name written in aramaic or Arabic and placed either before the bust or behind the horseman. Tolstov's attribution of the Al-Fadl coins to the Abbasid governor of this name has already been noted. His transliteration of the aramaic names appears to rest sub iudice.

The major Choresmian coin types may be surveyed as follows:²⁶¹

A) PRE-KUSHAN PERIOD : c.80 to 0 BC.

66. Anonymous

Obv. Imitation of the helmeted bust type of Eucratides; reel and pellet border.

Rev. Imitation of the Dioscuri type of Eucratides; Choresmian symbol on left.

Π Δ Ε Ι Δ Ϟ Ϟ Μ Ε Γ Α Α Υ Ε Β Κ Ι Α Τ Ι Δ Υ


AR Attic tetradrachm Tolstov²⁶² 15.64



B) POST-KUSHAN KINGDOM : EARLY PERIOD : c.AD 50 to 500

66a. Anonymous

Obv. bust right wearing cap-like headdress with posterior flap; reel and pellet border

Rev. Horseman right; Choresmian symbol on left  Corrupt Greek legend.

AR reduced Attic tetradrachm Tolstov²⁶³ 2 coins

66b. The Lord King

Obv. bust right wearing rectangular headdress with a flap depending over back of neck; reel and pellet border

Rev. Horseman right; Choresmian symbol on left 

Above: corrupt Greek legend Below: MaAKa MaLKA

AR reduced Attic tetradrachm Tolstov²⁶⁴ I, 5

67. sim. but low headdress with lion head at front; reel and pellet border

AR reduced Attic tetradrachm BM. 8.63 Tolstov I, 1 and ? I, 4

68. sim. but headdress with dotted decoration bearing at front crescent containing three dots; border of pellets only

69. sim. but cap-like headdress with large ear flap; pellet border

AR reduced Attic tetradrachm Tolstov I, 6

70. Obv. bust right wearing headdress of uncertain form

Rev. horseman right

AE small Tolstov I, 7 to 10

C) POST-KUSHAN KINGDOM : LATE PERIOD : c.AD 500 to 800

71. The Lord King of Choresmia

Obv. bust right wearing ornate rectangular headdress

Rev. Horseman right; Choresmian symbol on left as before

Around MaRA MaLKA HARaZM (var. HaR for HAR; Ra or RaM for RaZM)

varieties: ruler named in aramaic or arabic before bust or behind horseman

a) no added name eg. BM. 4.73

b) ?? Shapur; ?? Shawash and ?? Abdullāh²⁶⁶ eg. BM. 2.18

c) Al-Fadl (?Abbasid governor of 787-795) eg. BM. 2.26

AR Sassanian weight drachms Tolstov II (all) BM. 4.73, 2.26, 2.18

Markoff²⁶⁷ 4.77, 4.35 Rapson²⁶⁸ 4.77, 4.47, 4.35

72. Obv. bust right with or without headdress

Rev. horseman right with or without legend

AE variable size Tolstov III, 1-8

73. Obv. sim.

Rev. symbol  with legend around

AE variable size Tolstov III, 9-11 and ? 12-13

COINAGE OF THE GRAECO-SAKA STATES : c.130 to 0 BC

The states that arose in the wake of the Saka migration across northern Afghanistan issued the two coin series discussed in this section. These Graeco-Saka states arose in Western Bactria and Margiana about 130 BC and, though independent, were subject to influence from their neighbours, the Greek kingdom of Eastern Bactria, the Yueh Chi of Sogdiana, the Dahae of Choresmia and the Parthians.

The early Graeco-Saka coins are silver tetradrachms and obols struck on a full or slightly reduced Attic weight standard. They are all effectively anonymous since their legends are merely corrupt versions of those used on their Bactrian prototypes. The Eucratides imitations all belong to this early period and appear to have been issued in Margiana prior to the Parthian conquest of this district c.80 BC. On the other hand the majority of Heliocles imitations belong to the later period when debased tetradrachms and drachms were struck on a substantially reduced Attic weight standard. They appear to have been issued by a single Graeco-Saka state during the period c.130 to 0 BC.

The Eucratides imitations form a coherent group insofar as they all copy his helmeted bust portrait and the obols all imitate the same reverse control mark, but beyond this the obols bear varied forms of corrupt legend and do not conform to a sequence of issues. Corrupt coin legends on the obols differ for each die but have been transcribed because Cunningham²⁶⁹ attempted to read sense into one of them. His coins, two struck and one probably cast, are all from the same pair of dies and only give one of many nonsense legends written in malformed letters.

The Heliocles imitations, on the other hand, form a much longer series whose issues do conform to a sequence through which the fossilised coin types slowly evolve. The series was issued as two parallel sequences with different reverse types and although the majority of coins are debased tetradrachms and drachms weighing 12 to 15 and 3 to 3.5 grammes the series commenced with tetradrachms struck in silver and to the full Attic weight. The sequence with the standing Zeus reverse type was continuous from the prototypes of Heliocles until a couple of issues before the end of the series but that with the horse reverse only commenced about the time when debasement occurred²⁷⁰ and was the only sequence represented in the last issues. The succession of issues in both the Zeus and the Horse sequences is most easily defined by considering the progressively more degraded representation of the King's hair. On silver issues the hair is shown as realistic curls arranged more or less randomly and the same treatment, in simplified form, is given on early debased coins. Thereafter the hair is portrayed in a progressively more stereotyped and then simplified manner so that on the latest coins it resembles a cap. Along with these changes the king's features become coarser and grosser and the bust develops a hook at its anterior end that is retained on succeeding coins of Soter Megasthenes²⁷¹. Throughout the debased period the corrupt coin legend never changes and the same fossilised reverse control mark is copied.

The early silver issues in this imitative series are much rarer than their debased successors. Wilson²⁷² recorded silver tetradrachms of Heliocles type with a corrupt legend and another specimen, from the author's collection, is catalogued below but these silver coins with corrupt legends appear to have been preceded by a group of imitations, mainly from the Qunduz hoard, which have an intact Greek legend. All these silver tetradrachms have a moderately degraded style and are of full or slightly reduced Attic weight. Initially they retain one of Heliocles standard control marks but subsequently introduce new corrupted control marks and then have no control mark.

The attribution of the Heliocles imitations to the Balkh mint rests on the intrinsic evidence that this Graeco-Saka series was emitted as a pair of sequences struck at a

single mint and on the extrinsic evidence that links the beginning of the series with the adjacent Greek kingdom of Eastern Bactria and its end with the Bactrian coinage of Soter Megas. In the historical discussion it was concluded that the contemporary Greek kingdom of Eastern Bactria had a western frontier in the Qunduz-Bamiyan region to the west of Balkh so that this Graeco-Saka series was struck in the western part of Bactria between Margiana (Parthian) and Qunduz (Greek). Balkh was the major town of this region, a town that retained its importance and was selected as the Kushan capital by Heraios.*

* Since this section was written the author has seen a group of about 12 Eucratides' imitation obols (type 75), the same number of Heraios obols (type 98), two hemidrachms of Sapadbizes (type 95) and an obol of ?Agesiles (type 96a). All these coins (in the hands of two London dealers) came from Afghanistan in January 1973.

The Graeco-Saka coinage may be catalogued as follows:-

A) EUCRATIDES IMITATIONS : MARGIANA : c.130 to 80 BC.


74. Obv. rude helmeted bust right; reel and pellet border
Rev. Dioscuri on horseback right; ΙΑΣΙΑΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΕΥΚΡΑΤΟΥ
AR reduced Attic tetradrachm BM²⁷³ 13.75 Wilson²⁷⁴ not weighed
Glendinning²⁷⁵ 15.03 Price^{275a} not weighed

75. Obv. sim. but dotted border

Rev. Plumes of Dioscuri; control mark 

AR thin fabric obol

Corrupt legend

a) ΙΑΕΩ	CIY/HTAV	BM. 0.57
b) resembles a		BM. 0.55
c)  ΙΔΕΩ	EYTOTIE	BM. 0.56
d) ΘΔΚΑΩ	KYEIΔTIOY	BM. 0.42
e) CΔIEΩ	EVIIΔΓΔ	BM. 0.57
f) OKO	ΟΞΟΥΛ*	BM. 0.55, 0.47 and cast 0.45; all from same die pair ²⁷⁶
g) IZA	VoTOIV	BM. 0.54

76. Obv. sim. but bust left

Rev. sim. ΞΙΑC VIEU

AR thin fabric obol BM²⁷⁷ 0.40

77. Obv. sim. but bust right

Rev. sim. but style ruder and legends illegible

AR thick fabric obol BM. 0.51, 0.51, 0.49

B -1a) HELIOCLES IMITATIONS : WESTERN BACTRIA : Zeus sequence silver c.130 to 80 BC

78. Obv. Laur. bust right; reel and pellet border. Style moderately degraded

Rev. Zeus stg. facing holding thunderbolt on left, sceptre on right


Control mark below thunderbolt 

Right ΒΑΣΙΑΕΩΣ Left ΗΛΙΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ Below ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ



AR Attic tetradrachm Qunduz²⁷⁸ 16.63 (472) PMC. 16.72 (134)

79. sim. but control mark M

AR Attic tetradrachm Qunduz 15.81, 15.25 (582 - 3; on latter ΔΙΜΑΙΟΥ)

80. sim. but control mark  or absent

AR Attic tetradrachm Qunduz 16.81 (592), 16.29 (593; no mark)

81. sim. but control mark  or  and reading ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ


AR Attic tetradrachm Author 16.24 (1st mark), 13.77 (reads ΗΛΙΟΥΚΛΕΟΥΣ)

82. sim. but control mark not apparent and legend ΒΑΣΙΑΕΩΣ ΗΛΙΟΥΚΛΕΟΥΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ

AR Attic tetradrachm Author 16.11 (same obv. die as type 81, 13.77 gm)

B -1b) HELIOCLES IMITATIONS : WESTERN BACTRIA : Zeus sequence debased c.80 to 0 BC.

83. Obv. sim. with hair style simple but still realistic

Rev. sim; control mark ; legend ΒΑΣΙΑΕΩΣ ΗΛΙΟΥΚΛΕΟΥΣ ΔΙΙΔΙΟΥ

Bl. Reduced Attic tetradrachm BM. 14.26, 10.36 Author 12.39

84. sim.

Bl. Reduced Attic drachm BM. 3.04

85. sim. but face gross; hair in lower row of 10 uprights plus upper double row of three horizontal curls

Bl. tetradrachm BM. 15.09, 13.95, 12.30

86. sim. but simpler hair (5 lopped uprights; 3 horizontal pairs)

Bl. tetradrachms BM. 14.16, 13.69 Author 12.96

- 87. sim.
Bl. drachm BM. 3.32, 2.23
- 88. sim. but hair simple (5 looped uprights; 3 single horizontals)
Bl. tetradrachms BM. 13.57 Author 11.79

B -2) HELIOCLES IMITATIONS : WESTERN BACTRIA : Horse sequence debased c.80 to 0 BC.

- 89. Obv. as type 85 (hair 10 uprights; 3 horizontal pairs)
Rev. Horse stg. left with foreleg raised; legend as type 83
Bl. reduced Attic tetradrachm Author 13.35
- 89a sim.
Bl. reduced Attic drachm BM. 3.06, 3.03
- 90. sim. but obv. as type 86 (5 looped uprights; 3 horizontal pairs)
Bl. tetradrachm BM. 15.56, 14.74, 14.72, 12.08 Author 13.19, 10.89
- 91. sim. but obv. as type 88 (5 looped uprights; 3 single horizontals)
Bl. tetradrachms BM. 14.62, 12.59, 13.57 (overstruck on type 87)
- 91a. sim.
Bl. drachm Author 3.80
- 92. sim. but hair comprises 5 looped uprights only
Bl. drachm BM. 3.69, 3.41 Author 3.17
- 93. sim. but hair comprises 4 looped uprights only
Bl. drachm BM. 6.21, 3.73, 3.35 Author 3.20, 3.18, 2.76, 2.67
- 93a. variant type 93 with square reverse die
Bl. drachm Author 2.10

Evolution of the hair style on Heliocles imitations

Type:	Zeus	83-4	85	86-7	88		
	Horse		89	90	91-91a	92	93



YUEH CHI AND EARLY KUSHAN COINAGE IN BACTRIA : c.20 BC to AD 80/90

This period commenced when the Yueh Chi, already established in Sogdiana, conquered the Greek kingdom of Eastern Bactria from Hermaeus c.20 BC and established their principalities of Tu-mi (Qunduz region) and Hi-Thum (Bamiyan region) in its territory. Their advent created a shortage of silver and induced debasement that affected the Kabul valley about the middle of Hermaeus' reign and Northern Pakistan soon after the commencement of Azes II's reign. The Yueh Chi principalities in Bactria and Sogdiana were united by Heraisos, Prince of Kouei-chouang in Sogdiana, who went on to conquer Bactria about 0 BC. He then conquered the Kabul valley from Hermaeus about AD 10 and placed his kinsman Kujula in control of that region; the latter defeated Azes II about ten years later. Around AD 45/50 Heraisos was succeeded as King of the Kushans by his son Soter Megas.

The Bactrian coinage of this period can be divided into the issues of three mints; Tu-mi (Qunduz), Hi-thum (Bamiyan) and Balkh. The Qunduz series was struck by Sapadbizes, a ruler of uncertain name, Heraisos and Soter Megas, the Bamiyan series by Pseigacharis and Heraisos and the Balkh series by Soter Megas in succession to the Graeco-Saka series of Heliocles imitations. As these series and their chronology have already been discussed in some detail only certain more strictly numismatic aspects will be discussed here.

The first aspect concerns the legends on Bactrian coins of Heraisos. His coins were issued in two distinct series; obols with un-corrupt legends in round letter forms that follow Sapadbizes' hemidrachms and precede Soter Megas' tetradrachms and both obols and tetradrachms with slightly corrupt legends in square letter forms that follow Pseigacharis' hemidrachms and apparently terminate the coinage of the Bamiyan mint. Heraisos' legends in square letters are corrupt to the extent that letters are frequently omitted or reversed. That on the tetradrachms reads 'Tyrannoyntos Hraoy Koshano²⁸¹' and is amplified by insertion between the horseman's legs of the word 'Saka²⁸²' in a thin script of different calligraphy. Insofar as all tetradrachms both show this addition and yet were all struck by different dies it is apparent that the term Saka was not re-engraved onto each die²⁸³. The most likely explanation both for the slightly corrupt legends and for the different calligraphy of Saka is that the original dies were engraved by a Greek artist at a time when Heraisos had conquered the two Yueh Chi principalities of Eastern Bactria and that the term Saka was added when he had conquered the Graeco-Saka kingdom of Western Bactria²⁸⁴. Later dies were apparently copies, by non-Greek engravers, of the original modified dies and such imitative dies with their minor faults appear to have struck all the known Attic tetradrachms.

The second feature that should be discussed concerns the general coinage of Soter Megas. Commencing his reign as the Kushan king of Bactria, Choresmia and Sogdiana, Soter Megas retained the pre-existing coinage of his Sogdian province²⁸⁵ and issued regional Bactrian coinage in succession to the Sapadbizes-Heraisos issues of the Qunduz (Tu-mi) mint and in succession to the Graeco-Saka series of the Balkh mint where his capital was situated. During his reign Soter Megas saw the emergence of Sogdiana and Choresmia as independent kingdoms and himself expanded the Kushan kingdom southwards by his conquest of the Kabul valley and Northern Pakistan from the Indo-Parthians. He issued other local coinages in these new provinces, struck at the Taxila and the Kabul valley (Kapisa) mints, and then abolished his various regional coin series and replaced them by a general coinage of uniform weight and type that comprised copper tetradrachms (8.3 grammes) and drachms conforming to the fabric and reduced Indo-Greek weight standard then current south of the Hindu Kush but with the Attic types used in Bactria²⁸⁶. His general coinage, whose types are an obverse bust and a horseman enclosed by Greek legend on the reverse, is divisible into three major series²⁸⁷:-

a) Round letter forms and three-pronged symbol

Number of rays around king's head : 15, 13, 12, 11, 10, 9, 8, 7, 6, or 5

b) Square letter forms and three-pronged symbol

Number of rays around king's head : 14, 11, 10, 9, 8 or 7

c) Square letter forms and four-pronged symbol

Number of rays around king's head : 14, 13, 12, 11, 10, 7 or 6

Changes in the number of rays around the king's head are associated with alterations in style which indicate that the number of rays was progressively reduced through a sequence of issues. These changes are most clearly seen in sequence 'a' where coins with 11 to 15 rays show a small neat bust with the hair depicted in detail while coins with 7 to 10 rays show a larger bust with a fat face and depict the hair in less detail. Coins with 5 or 6 rays bear a tall bust with a long thin neck and again depict less detail in the hair.²⁸⁸ These three sequences were presumably issued from mints²⁸⁹ in the three main regions of his later kingdom; Bactria with a mint at his capital Balkh, the Kabul valley with a mint at its chief town Kapisa and Northern Pakistan with a mint probably situated at Taxila. One is probably justified in inferring that the typologically intermediate sequence²⁹⁰ was struck in the geographically intermediate mint of Kapisa. Sequence 'c' is linked with Balkh both by its square letter forms that place it in succession to Soter Megas' local post-Graeco-Saka coins and by the lesser variety and greater scarcity of these coins. Sequence 'a' on the other hand is linked with Taxila both by its round letter forms and by the larger number of varieties and abundance of its coins. It may be noted that during the century or so preceding Soter Megas the output of the Taxila mint in terms of both the numbers of issues and of their abundance is many times greater than that of all the Bactrian mints combined.²⁹¹

The Yueh Chi and early Kushan coins struck in Bactria may be catalogued as follows:-

A -1) YUEH CHI PRINCIPALITY OF HI-THUM (BAMIYAN) : c.20 to 0 BC.

94. Pseigacharis

Obv. bearded bust right; reel and pellet border

Rev. Hercules stg. facing holding club on left and lion skin on right

Right ϞϚEIΓA Left XAPIC Square letter forms

AR Attic hemidrachms BM. 2.55, 2.41, 2.38, 2.36, 1.74, 1.53 PMC.(XVI, 129) 2.59

A -2) YUEH CHI PRINCIPALITY OF TU-MI (QUNDUZ) : c.20 to 0 BC.

95. Sapadbizes

Obv. helmeted bust right; helmet decorated with laurel

Left CΑΓΓΑΒΙΖΗC Round letter forms

Rev. Lion stg. right; above Λ left and right NANAIA

AR Attic hemidrachms BM. 2.28, 2.02, 1.88, 1.88, 1.86, 1.76, 1.74, 1.73, 1.71, 1.69,
1.57, 1.44, 1.30 Author 1.60, 1.58

96. Agesiles (probable reading)

sim. but name on obv. ΑΓΕCΙΛ ΗΛ

AT Attic hemidrachm BM. 1.62 Author 1.72

96a Uncertain name

sim. but name on obv. before face: reading uncertain

AR Attic obol AHB 0.50 (cfr. note on p.52)

B -1) KUSHAN KINGDOM OF HERAIOS : c. AD 0 to 45/50 : Square letter mint (Bamiyan)

97. Heraios, Tyrannyntos of the Kushans and the Sakas

Obv. bearded laur. bust right with coarse features; reel and pellet border

Rev. horseman right surmounted by flying Nike crowning him with wreath

Legend: IX to III o'clock TVPANNQYNTQC HPAQV

beneath horseman KQANQV

between horseman's legs (thin script) CAKA ϙ

AR Attic and reduced Attic tetradrachms ²⁹² PMC.(XVI, 115) 12.70

BM. 15.98, 15.59, 15.13, 13.24, 12.78, 12.21 (pierced), 11.84

98. Obv. sim. but dotted border

Rev. Soldier stg. right holding wreath. Right HPAQV Left KQANQV

AR obol BM. 0.67, 0.64, 0.63, 0.60, 0.57, 0.56, 0.54, 0.49, 0.43, 0.43, 0.40

PMC.(116) 0.71 Author 0.62, 0.41, 0.26

B -2) KUSHAN KINGDOM OF HERAIOS : c. AD 0 to 45/50 : Round letter mint (Qunduz)

99. Heraios the Kushan

Obv. bearded laur. bust right with thinner face and finer style; dotted border

Rev. soldier stg. right holding wreath. Right HPAIOY Left KQANQV


AR obol BM. 0.71, 0.49 Author 0.65 PMC.(XVI, 117) 0.71

C -1) KUSHAN KINGDOM OF SOTER MEGAS : c.AD 45/50 to 80/90 : Round letter mint (Qunduz)

100. King of Kings, the Great Saviour

Obv. ²⁹⁴helmeted bust left holding spear in left hand; to right 

to left Karosthi 'Vi'; reel and pellet border

Rev. horseman right holding whip; to right 

around BACIAEV BACIAEVWN CWTHP MEGAC

AR reduced Attic tetradrachm ²⁹⁵BM. 12.61, 12.57, 12.51, 11.87, 11.84, 11.09


Author 11.53

100a sim. but no obv. symbols


AE reduced Attic tetradrachm PMC. (XVI, 94) 12.38

C -2) KUSHAN KINGDOM OF SOTER MEGAS : c.AD 45/50 to 80/90 : Graeco-Saka mint (Balkh)

101. King of Kings, the Great Saviour

Obv. laur. bust right with hook at front of bust; to right 


Rev. Zeus stg. facing holding thunderbolt on left, sceptre on right


Below thunderbolt  Around BACIAEV BACIAEVWN CWTHP MEGAC

AR Attic drachm ²⁹⁶BM. 4.36, 4.34, 4.27, 4.25, 4.24, 4.20, 4.16, 4.05, 3.93,
3.86, 3.85, 3.71, 3.56, 3.53, 3.37

D) KUSHAN KINGDOM OF SOTER MEGAS : c.AD 45/50 to 80/90 : General coinage, Balkh series





General type: King of Kings, the Great Saviour

Obv. laur. bust right, radiate and holding sceptre in right hand
to left  Pellet border

Rev. horseman right holding whip; to right 

around BACIAEV BACIAEVWN CWTHP MEGAC

AE reduced Indo-Greek tetradrachms and drachms (4-pronged symbol, square letter forms)

102. Neat style: 14 rays		BM. 8.37
103. " 13 rays		BM. 8.35
104. " 12 rays		BM. 8.32, 8.21, 8.09 Author 7.52
105. " 11 rays		BM. 10.15 Author 7.47
105a " 9 rays		Author 7.15
105b " 11 to 14 rays (uncertain)		BM. 7.76, 7.89, 7.70
106. Rude style 7 rays		BM. 7.82
107. Neat style 12 rays	Obv.  Rev. 	Author 7.97
Drachms with legend: types 108-9	BACIAEVL BACIAEVWN CWTHEGAC	
: types 110-3	" "	CWTHPM
108. 14 rays		BM. 2.17
109. 13 rays		BM. 2.05
110. 12 rays		BM. 1.99, 1.87
111. 11 rays		Author 2.07
112. 10 rays		BM. 1.97
113. ²⁹⁷ 6 rays	Obv.  Rev. 	BM. 1.65

EARLY KUSHAN COINAGE IN THE KABUL VALLEY

The Kushan occupation of the Kabul valley was a sequel to Heraisos' conquest of Bactria. When the Yueh Chi conquered the Greek kingdom of Eastern Bactria from Hermaeus about 20 BC Pseigacharis established his principality of Hi-thum in the Bamian region. One result of this conquest was a scarcity of silver that caused Hermaeus and Azes II to debase their coinage in the Kabul valley and Northern Pakistan respectively. About the time of Christ Heraisos expanded his Sogdian principality of Kouei-chouang to include the other Yueh Chi principalities in Sogdiana and in Eastern Bactria. He then conquered the Kabul valley, so terminating the reign of Hermaeus about AD 10 and also conquered the Graeco-Saka state of Western Bactria in whose territory he established his new capital at Balkh. Heraisos' coinage and his direct rule were virtually restricted to his extensive conquests north of the Hindu Kush; Sogdiana, Bactria and Choresmia. In the Kabul valley Heraisos appears to have struck a scanty issue of his own coins but thereafter Kujula Kaphises was responsible for both the Kushan coinage and the future expansion of the Kushan realm in this region south of the Hindu Kush.

The Kabul valley coins of Heraisos are billon tetradrachms struck on the Indo-Greek weight standard that was not used north of the Hindu Kush. These coins have a reverse legend, type and letter form that were only used by Heraisos.²⁹⁸ They were struck by 'Tyra (nnoyntos Hraoy) Koshan (²⁹⁹oy):' both the title Tyrannoyntos and the form of 'Sh' in Koshanoy make it virtually certain that they were issued by Heraisos, as Cunningham originally suggested,³⁰⁰ although his name cannot be read on the two British Museum specimens. These coins, like all Kabul valley issues, have a legend on both sides of the coin but in the present case both legends are in Greek.³⁰¹

The remaining Kabul valley coins of this period were struck by Kujula, a kinsman of Heraisos, who described himself as 'a Kushan of Tchao-ou race.'³⁰² Kujula's Kabul valley coinage passed through two distinct periods and was followed by rude imitations. His early coins have intact Greek and Karosthi legends and were struck in three denominations. Tetradrachms of this period bear his own reverse type³⁰³ and Karosthi legend but retain on the obverse a modified bust of Hermaeus and a Greek legend that either names 'Kujula Kadphises the Kushan' or reads 'King [ETHPQYIV Hermaeus' instead of 'King Saviour (EETHPQY) Hermaeus' which appeared on the prototype tetradrachms of Hermaeus. All Kujula's didrachms belong to this first period and retain the Bust/Enthroned Zeus types used on tetradrachms and drachms of Hermaeus.³⁰⁴ Their obverse bears the same modified Hermaeus legend that appears on some of Kujula's tetradrachms and their reverse also bears a modified Hermaeus legend which reads 'Great king Hermaeus' instead of 'Saviour king Hermaeus.' Drachms of this period introduce the Walking Nike reverse type but bear similar Greek and Karosthi legends modified from those of Hermaeus. Didrachms and drachms share both Karosthi and rectangular control marks with one another but the Karosthi control marks on tetradrachms are different. These didrachms and drachms were first attributed to Kujula by Cunningham.³⁰⁵ The tetradrachms show that the modified Hermaeus legend was introduced by Kujula and the sequence of issues shows that the drachms passed through the same successive phases of degradation as the tetradrachms and places them as a minor denomination struck in parallel.

During the later period of Kujula's reign the coins cease to bear Karosthi control marks and their rectangular control mark remains as a fossilised part of the coin type.³⁰⁶ The Greek legend now becomes corrupt but the Karosthi legend remains intact. This feature, one intact and one corrupt legend, characterises Kujula's later coins which can be further characterised by progressive weight reduction of some 40%. Loss of literate Greek legends is not peculiar to coins of Kujula but is typical of this period and occurred not only on

coins of Heralos³⁰⁷ and Kujula but also on the various issues of Azes II and of his satraps³⁰⁸. It has been suggested that the original dies for Heralos' tetradrachms were engraved by a Greek artist and subsequent copies of these dies by local engravers introduced corruption to the Greek legend. The same process appears to have taken place in the Kabul valley. Early Kujula coins engraved by the Greek artists of Hermaeus have intact Greek legends but during the later part of Kujula's reign dies were apparently prepared by local artists conversant with Karosthi but not with Greek.

The late Kabul valley coinage of this series comprises degraded imitations of the Tetradrachms and drachms struck by Kujula. These coins belong to the period after Kujula had been expelled from Northern Pakistan by the Indo-Parthians and before Soter Megas regained these regions from Abdagases. During this period c.AD 35³⁰⁹ to 70 the Indo-Parthians Gondophares and Abdagases appear to have controlled the Kabul valley and the Chinese record that Soter Megas (re-) conquered the Kabul valley from the (Indo-) Parthians. However, the Indo-Parthians are unlikely to have struck their own coins in the Kabul valley since all their coinage appears to have been struck in the mint sequences of Mathura, Taxila, Gandhara, Middle Indus (?Multan), North Arachosia (Ghazni region), South Arachosia (Kandahar region), South Aria (Farah region) and North Aria (Herat)³¹⁰. Insofar as the Kujula imitations appear to have been struck both in the Kabul valley and during the Indo-Parthian period one may infer that they formed the local coinage of this region during the occupation of Gondophares and Abdagases.

When Soter Megas expanded his Northern kingdom by crossing the Hindu Kush and conquering the Kabul valley and Northern Pakistan he issued local coin series from mints in each of these regions. His Kabul valley coins are anepigraphic copper drachms struck on the Indo-Greek weight standard used south of the Hindu Kush. These coins have been attributed to Soter Megas³¹¹ because they bear his three-pronged symbol and also the Karosthi 'Vi' that appears on two of his other local series. These copper drachms, placed south of the Hindu Kush by their weight standard, are linked with the Kabul valley by their hybrid deity who bears the trident of Siva and the lion skin of Hercules. This deity links the anepigraphic Soter Megas drachms with Kujula's Kabul valley issues. Soter Megas' anepigraphic drachms are also excluded from the Taxila mint where he struck a different local series of tetradrachms and drachms³¹².

Early Kushan coinage in the Kabul valley may be catalogued as follows:-

A -1) EARLY PERIOD : tetradrachms with uncorrupt Greek and Karosthi legends: c.AD 10 to 25

114. Heraisos, tyrannoyntos of the Kushans

Obv. laur. bust right; Greek legend aroundΠΑΔΑΤΑ

Rev. horseman right crowned by flying Nike

Legend : IX to III o'clock ΤΥΡΑ(nnoyntos Hraoy)
: below horseman ΚΟΡΡΑΝ (oy)

Bl. Indo-Greek tetradrachms ³¹³ BM. 10.40, 9.76

115. Kujula Kadphises, the Kushan of Tchao-ou race.

Obv. laur. bust right of Hermaeus; around ΒΑCΙΑΕΝC ΣΤΗΡΟCΚCΥ ΕΡΜΑΙΟV

Rev. Hercules stg. facing with head left, holding club on left, lion skin on right.

Legend (Karosthi) starting XII: Kujula Kasasa Kushana Yavugasa Dhramathidasa.

AE Indo-Greek tetradrachm ³¹⁴ BM. 9.54, 8.78, 8.47, 8.36, 8.31, 7.61, 7.54, 7.36,
6.98, 6.65 Author 8.55, 7.45, 7.39, 6.93, 6.42.

116. Obv. sim. but legend: ΚΟΖΟVΑΟ ΚΑΦΙΖΟV ΚΟΡΡΟΝΟ

Rev. sim. but Hercules' head right; control marks left 3 Right 4

AE Indo-Greek tetradrachm BM. 9.06, 8.92, 8.86

117. sim. but control mark on left only 3

AE Indo-Greek tetradrachm BM. 9.00

118. sim. but Hercules' head left; control mark on left 3

AE Indo-Greek tetradrachm BM. 9.31, 9.26, 9.12, 9.11, 7.50 Author 8.88, 8.68

119. sim. but control marks Left 7 Right 4

AE Indo-Greek tetradrachms BM. 9.82

120. sim. but no control marks

AE Indo-Greek tetradrachm Author 8.94, 8.50

A -2) EARLY PERIOD : didrachms with uncorrupt Greek and Karosthi legends: c.AD 10 to 25

121. Kujula Kadphises using modified Hermaeus legends

Obv. laur. bust right of Hermaeus; around ΒΑCΙΑΕΝC ΣΤΗΡΟCΚCΥ ΕΡΜΑΙΟV

Rev. Zeus enthroned left; control marks Left ⊠ Right ⊠

Legend (Karosthi) Maharajasa mahatasa Heramayasa

Added control marks on right a) L (4.77) b) R (5.25) c) L (5.84)
d) others uncertain.

AE Indo-Greek didrachms ³¹⁵ BM. 5.84, 5.25, 4.77, 4.43, 4.38, 4.37, 4.29, 4.27, 4.11, 3.86

A -3) EARLY PERIOD : drachms with uncorrupt Greek and Karosthi legends : c.AD 10 to 25

122. Kujula Kadphises using modified Hermaeus legends

Obv. laur. bust right of Hermaeus; around ΒΑCΙΑΕΝC ΣΤΗΡΟCΚCΥ ΕΡΜΑΙΟV

Rev. winged Nike walking left; control mark Right ⊠

Legend (Karosthi) Maharajasa mahatasa Heramayasa

Added control marks on left a) L (1.97) b) L (2.92, 2.05)
c) others uncertain.

AE Indo-Greek drachms ³¹⁶ BM. 3.18, 3.13, 3.02, 2.92, 2.80, 2.78, 2.72, 2.48, 2.44, 2.38,
2.37, 2.37, 2.37, 2.30, 2.19, 2.18, 2.12, 2.06, 2.05, 2.01, 1.97, 1.94, 1.92, 1.84,
1.82, 1.33

B -1) LATE PERIOD : tetradrachms with only Karosthi legends uncorrupt : c.AD 25 to 35

123. Kujula Kadphises the Kushan of Tchao-ou Race

Obv. sim. bust right with corrupt Greek legend

Rev. Hercules as before; same legend, no control marks

AE Indo-Greek and reduced Indo-Greek tetradrachm BM. 9.22, 9.19, 8.97, 8.67, 8.50, 8.10, 8.09, 7.77, 7.75, 7.69, 7.68, 7.64, 7.45, 6.97, 6.94, 6.91, 6.87, 6.83, 6.73, 6.30, 5.96, 5.84, 5.18, 4.75

Author 9.66, 7.26, 7.00, 6.22, 4.92, 4.86

124. sim. but Karosthi legend commences at III o'clock

AE Indo-Greek tetradrachm BM. 9.31

125. sim. but Karosthi legend commences at VII o'clock

AE reduced Indo-Greek tetradrachm Author 6.09

126. Obv. sim.

Rev. sim. but with short Karosthi legend commencing XII o'clock

'Kujula Kasasasa Kushana Yavugasa'

AE reduced Indo-Greek tetradrachm ³¹⁷BM. 3.69

Author 4.87, 3.95, 3.76, 3.69, 3.39, 2.53

B -2) LATE PERIOD : Drachms with only Karosthi legends uncorrupt : c.AD 25 to 35

127. Kujula Kadphises using modified Hermaeus legends

Obv. sim. bust right with corrupt Greek legends

Rev. Winged Nike walking right holding wreath. Same square control mark right
no added control marks. Legend 'Maharajasa Mahatasa Heramayasa'

AE drachms BM. 1.54

128. sim. but bust left

AE drachm BM. 2.77, 2.46

129. sim. but both bust and Nike left

AE drachm BM. 1.97

C -1) INDO-PARTHIAN PERIOD : Tetradrachms with all legends corrupt : c.AD 35 to 65/70

130. Obv. rude bust right; remnants of Greek legend

Rev. Hercules as before; corrupt Karosthi legend

AE reduced Indo-Greek tetradrachm ³¹⁸BM. 3.06, 2.95, 1.75, 1.53

Author 4.19, 3.56, 3.04, 2.45, 1.80, 1.23

C -2) INDO-PARTHIAN PERIOD : Drachms with all legends corrupt : c.AD 35 to 65/70

131. Obv. rude bust right; traces of Greek legend

Rev. Nike walking left; corrupt Karosthi legend

AE Drachm BM. 0.97, 0.87, 0.65

132. sim. but both bust and Nike left

AE drachm BM. 0.99, 0.89

D) SOTER MEGAS : c.AD 45/50 to 85/90³¹⁸ : Local coinage (c.AD 70)

133. Anepigraphic

Obv. Siva-Hercules stg. facing with trident on left, lion skin on right

Left  Right Karosthi 'Vi'


Rev. stg. female deity right holding cornucopia. Left  Right flower vase

AE Indo-Greek drachm ³²⁰ BM. 1.83, 1.66, 1.65, 1.61, 1.56, 1.56, 1.55, 1.51, 1.50,
1.50, 1.40, 1.31, 1.31, 1.20, 1.06

E) SOTER MEGAS : c.AD 45/50 to 85/90 : General coinage (c.AD 75 to 85/90)³²¹

Type: Obv. laur. bust right, radiate and holding sceptre in right hand

Left  pellet border

Rev. Horseman right holding whip; Right 

Legend around a) BACIAEVC BACIAEWN CWTHP HEΓAC

b) " " " CWTHP

AE Indo-Greek tetradrachms (three-pronged symbol, square letter forms)

134. Legend 'a'	12 rays	BM. 7.00
134a	'b' 11 rays	BM. 8.37
135,	'a' 10 rays	BM. 9.09
136.	'b' 9 rays	BM. 7.96
137.	'a' 8 rays	BM. 7.95
138.	'b' 8 rays	BM. 8.17
139.	'b' 7 rays	Author 8.10, 8.03

Type sim. but legend BACIAEV BACIAEVWN CWTHP

AE Indo-Greek drachms


140.	14 rays	BM. 1.91
141.	11 rays	BM. 2.08, 1.92
141a	11 rays ; legend ends CWTHP M	BM. 1.92
142.	10 rays	Author 2.07, 1.75
142a	10 rays ; legend ends BACIAEVWN	Author 2.01
143.	9 rays	BM. 2.05, 1.78
144.	8 rays	BM. 2.04

SOME EARLY KUSHAN COINS OF NORTH PAKISTAN

The Kushans occupied North Pakistan on two different occasions that were separated by the Indo-Parthian occupation of this region. Kujula Kadphises conquered North Pakistan from Azes II about AD 20, struck copper coins in succession to the various mint sequences of Azes II and his satraps and then lost this region to the Indo-Parthian Gandophares about AD 35. Inter-relationships between the coin sequences struck by Azes II, Kujula and the Indo-Parthians have been summarised above and discussed elsewhere³²². The definitive Kushan conquest of North Pakistan was the work of Soter Megas who acquired this region from the Indo-Parthian Abadagases about AD 65/70. Soter Megas' local coinage for this region continued the Horseman/Zeus Sceptred series of the Indo-Parthians and was probably issued from the Taxila mint. It comprised bilingual billon or copper tetradrachms and drachms with round Greek letter forms struck on the Indo-Greek weight standard. The weight standard and obverse types were subsequently adopted for his general coinage issued from mints in each of the three main regions of his kingdom. The three sequences of Soter Megas' general coinage have been defined above³²³ and, of these, the Taxila sequence retains the round Greek letter forms of its precursor and comprises the major series of the general coinage. The purpose of this section is to catalogue the Taxila coinage of Soter Megas so that it may be compared with his other series:-

A) SOTER MEGAS : c.AD 45/50 to 80/90 : Local coinage (c.AD 70)

145. King of Kings, the Great Saviour

Obv. horseman right holding whip. Right 

Legend around BACIAEY BACIAEVWN CWTHP MEGAC

Rev. Zeus stg. right holding sceptre and with right hand outstretched

Left : Karosthi 'Vi' Right : flower vase

Legend (Karosthi) around : Maharajasa Rajatirajasa Mahatasa Tradatasa


B1. Indo-Greek tetradrachm ³²⁵BM. 9.82, 9.59, 9.36, 9.30, 8.88 Author 9.54

146. sim.

B1. Indo-Greek drachm BM. 2.07, 2.06, 1.85, 1.72 Author 1.64

B) SOTER MEGAS : c.AD 45/50 to 80/90 : General coinage (c.AD 75 to 85/90)

Type: Obv. laur. bust right, radiate and holding sceptre in right hand

Left  pellet border

Rev. horseman right holding whip; right

Legend around BACIAEY BACIAEVWN CWTHP MEGAC

AE Indo-Greek tetradrachms (three-pronged symbol, round letter forms)

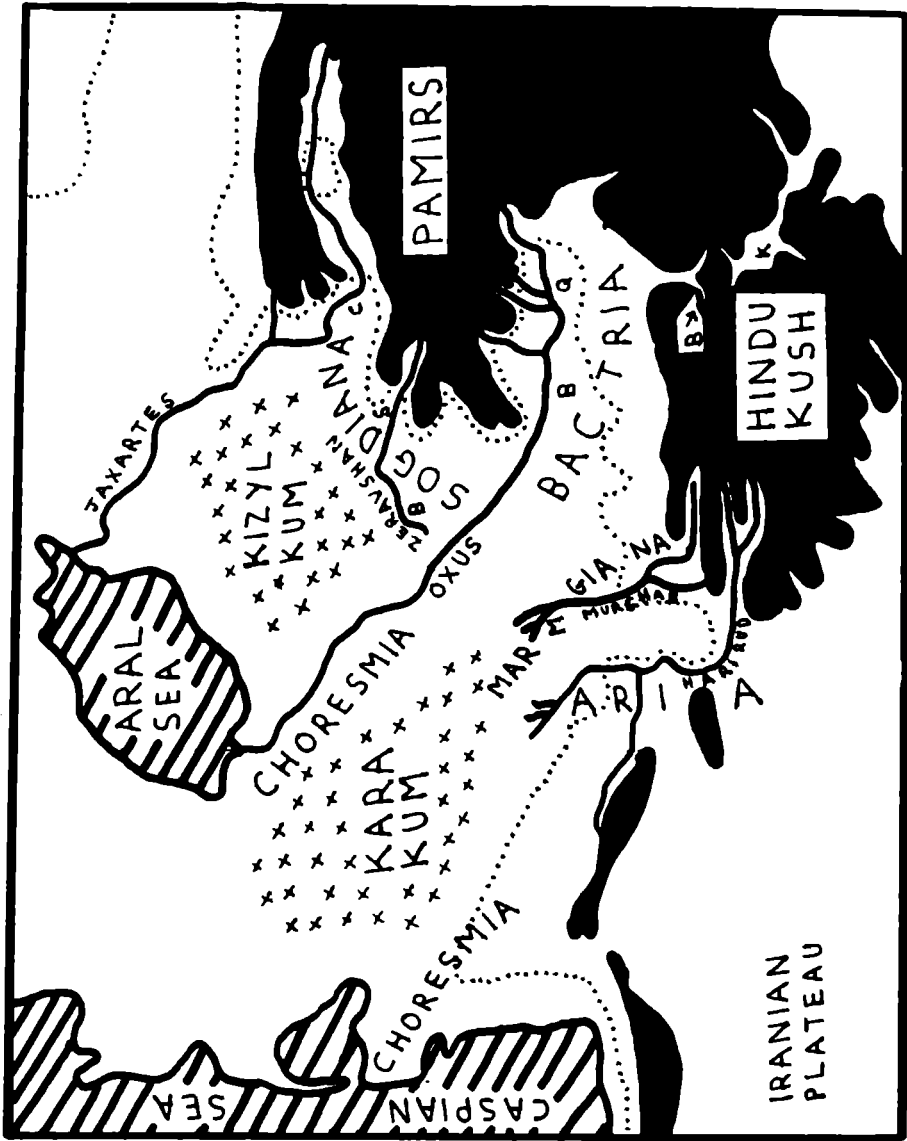
- | | | |
|---------------------------------------|---------|---|
| 147. Small neat bust | 15 rays | BM. 8.06 |
| 148. " | 13 rays | BM. 8.26, 8.11 |
| 149. " | 12 rays | BM. 8.49, 8.41, 6.98 Author 8.04 |
| 150. " | 11 rays | Author 8.18 |
| 151. Fat bust, coarse hair | 10 rays | BM. 8.68, 8.33, 8.16 |
| 152. " | 9 rays | Author 9.72 |
| 153. " | 8 rays | BM. 8.45, 8.25 |
| 154. " | 7 rays | BM. 8.06, 8.02, 7.71, Author 8.42, 8.29, 8.10 |
| 155. Tall necked bust,
coarse hair | 6 rays | BM. 8.59, 8.36, 8.33, 8.31, 8.27, 8.10, 7.74
Author 8.04 |
| 156. " | 5 rays | BM. 8.37, 8.33, 8.31, Author 8.29, 8.29, 8.16
8.15, 8.10, 8.04, 7.91 |

Type: sim. but legend BACIAEY BACIAEVN CWTHP M

AE Indo-Greek drachms

- | | | |
|------|---------|----------------------|
| 157. | 12 rays | Author 1.82 |
| 158. | 11 rays | BM. 2.00 Author 1.81 |
| 159. | 9 rays | BM. 2.23, 2.02, 1.83 |
| 160. | 7 rays | BM. 2.17 |
| 161. | 6 rays | BM. 2.19 |

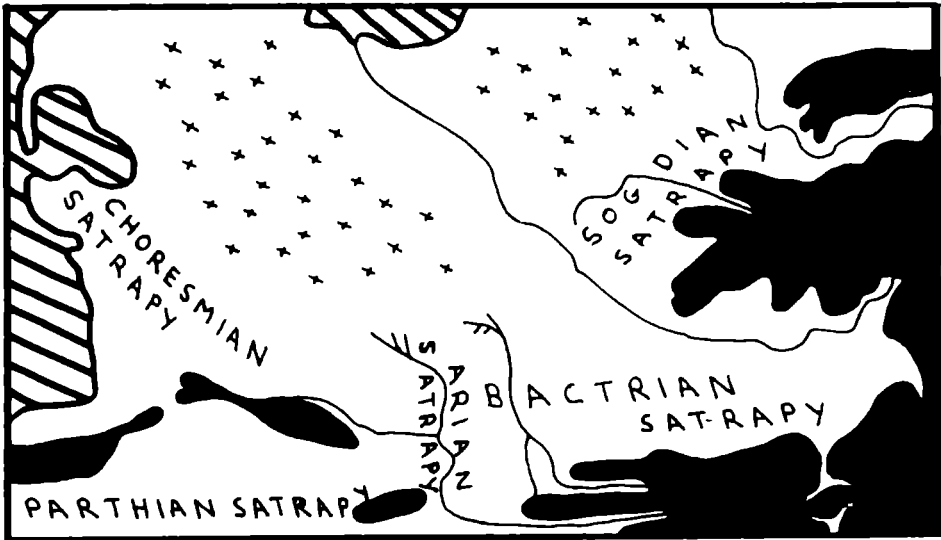
Map I. The major geographical features.



- | | | |
|-----------------------|-------|---------------------------|
| 1,600 foot contour | ..... | B - Balkh |
| land above 6,500 feet | ■ | Bamian |
| sea | ▨ | Bokhara |
| desert | xxx | C - Cyropolis |
| | | K - Kabul |
| | | M - Merv |
| | | S - Samarkand (Maracanda) |

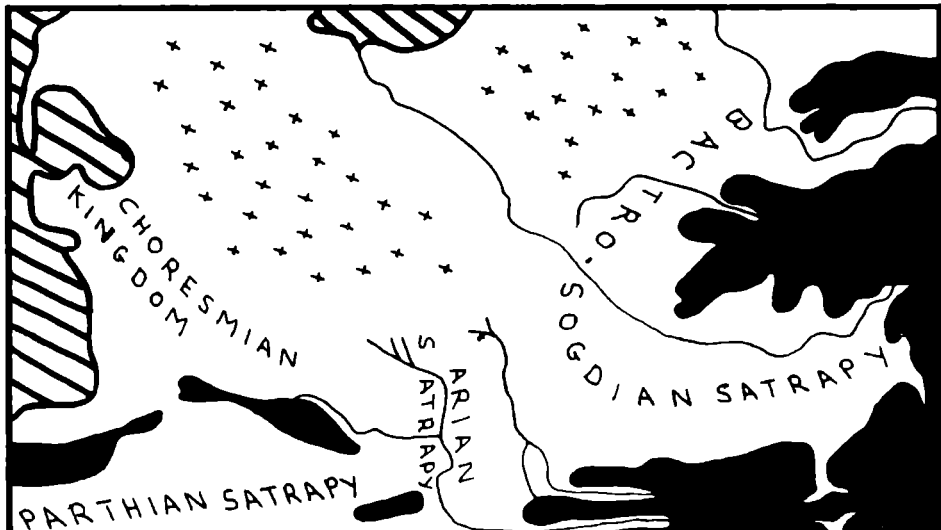
Map 2. c.490 BC. The early Achaemenid period.

These districts were north-eastern provinces in the empire of Darius I (c.520-486 BC)

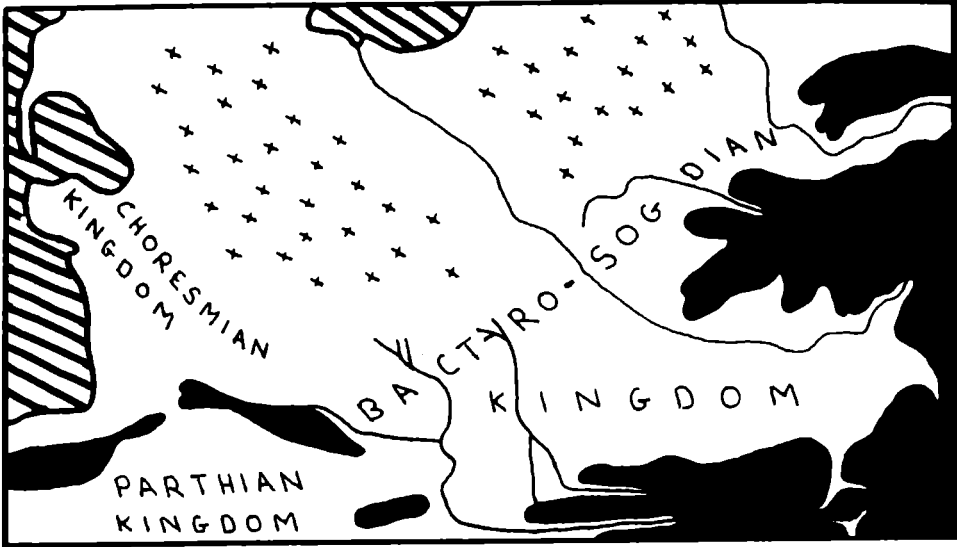


Map 3. c.325 BC. The Empire of Alexander the Great.

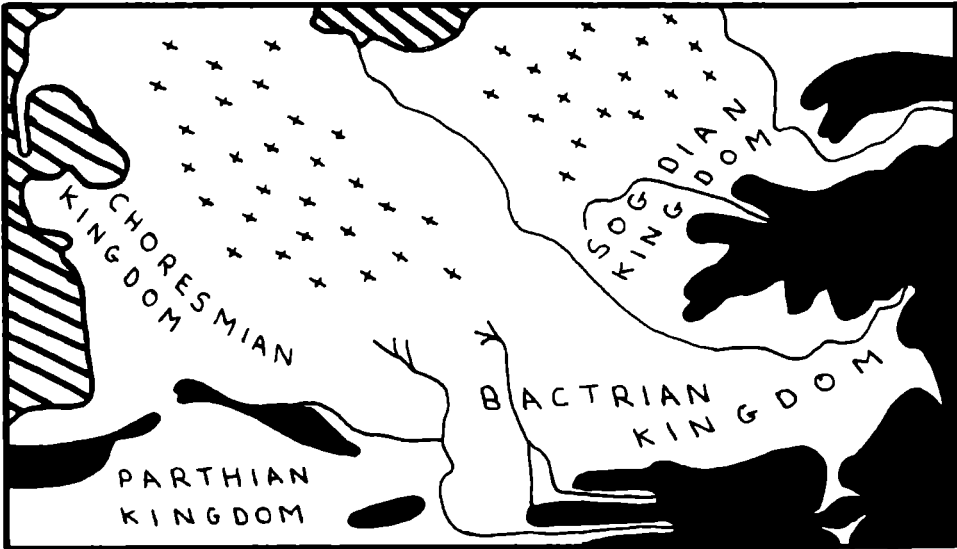
Choresmia was now an independent kingdom.



Map 4. c.240 BC. The situation a few years after the Kingdoms of Bactro-Sogdiana and of Parthia assumed independence from the Seleucids.



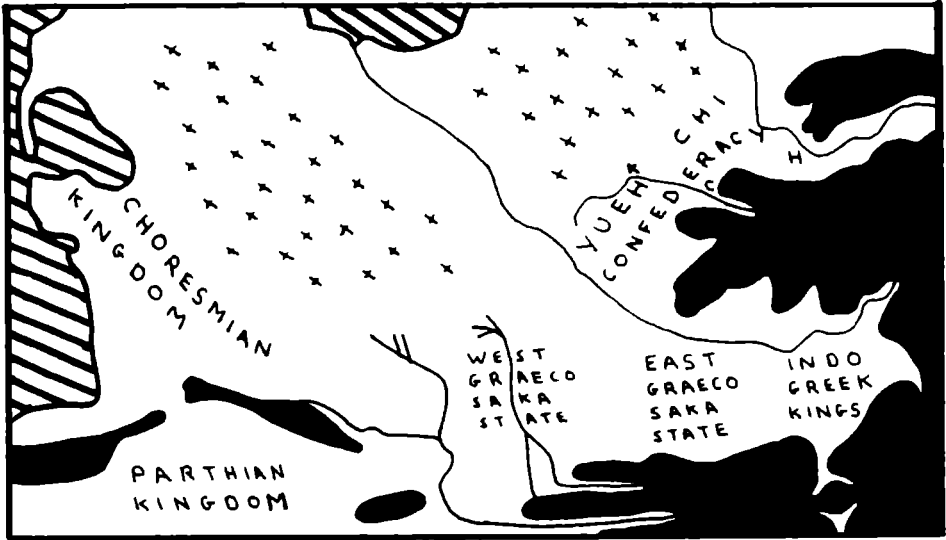
Map 5. c.180 BC. The Kingdom of Sogdiana was now independent of the Greek kings in Bactria.



Map 6. c.100 BC. Aftermath of the nomad migration.

The Yueh Chi reached and settled Sogdiana c.130 BC., Other nomads were pushed before them across N. Afghanistan (Scythian Sacaraucae).

Principalities: H - Hieou-mi, C - Chouang-mo, K - Kouei-chouang (Kushan).



Map 7. c.70 BC. The Parthian conquest of Margiana.

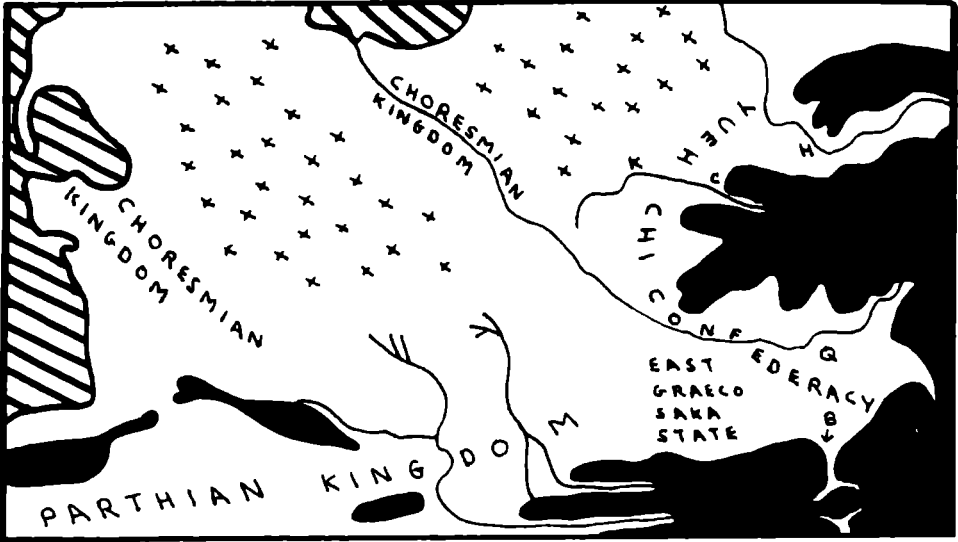
The old Choresmian kingdom of the Dahae persisted east of the Caspian and the later, unrelated, Kingdom of Choresmia along the lower Oxus took origin.

The Indo-Greek kings of E. Bactria also ruled the Kabul valley.



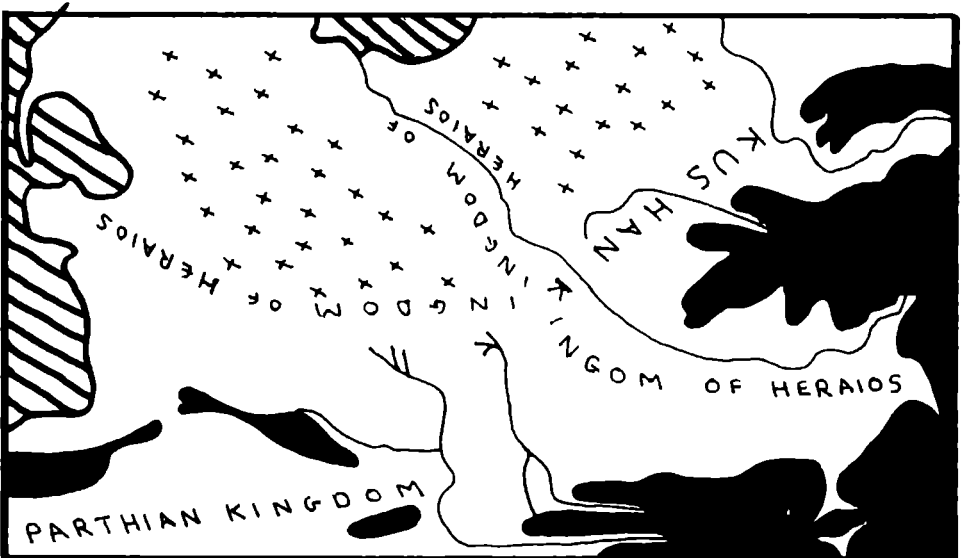
Map 8. c.10 BC. Yueh Chi expansion.

About 20 BC the Yueh Chi conquered E. Bactria and established two principalities; Tou-mi in the Qunduz region (Q) and Hi-thum in the Bamiyan region (B).



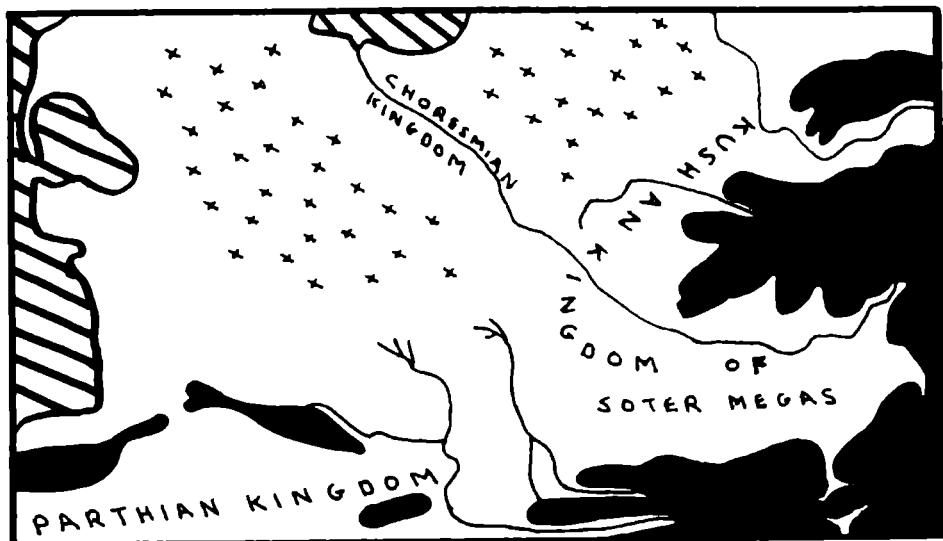
Map 9. c.10 AD. Rise of the Kushans.

Heraios (c.0-45/50 AD), Yueh Chi prince of Kouei-chouang, conquered the other four principalities and also Choresmia, Balkh and the Kabul valley (his kinsman Kujula).



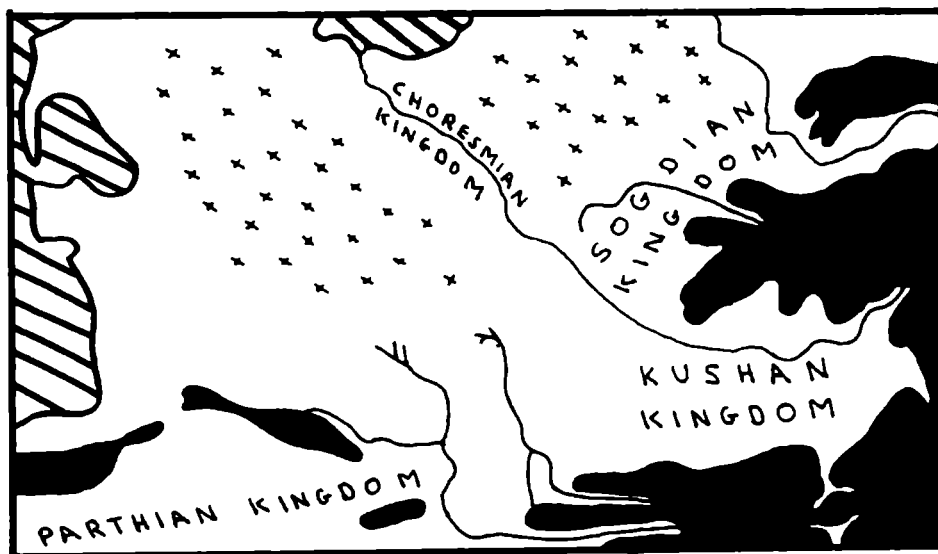
Map 10. c.60 AD. Re-orientation of the Kushan kingdom.

Choresmia had been lost to the Kushans but from his Bactro-Sogdian base Soter Megas conquered a vast area below the Hindu Kush.



Map 11. c.100 AD. Re-assertion of Sogdian independence.

The new Sogdian kingdom founded c.AD 80 was centred on Samarkand.



Map 12. c.250 AD. Early Sassanian expansion.

Founded by Ardeshir I (226-240) the Sassanians soon controlled all Afghanistan wherein Kushanshahr, formerly the Kushan districts of Bactria and the Kabul valley, retained some autonomy under a line of vassal kings - the Kushano-Sassanian dynasty.



Map 13. c.400 AD. Rise of the Hephthalites.

The Hephthalites rose to power in Bactria in the mid 4th century.



Map 14. c.500 AD. Hephthalite expansion.

During the 5th century the Hephthalites expanded north and south conquering Choresmia and Sogdiana in the last decades of the century, having already acquired the Kabul valley and northern Pakistan.



Chronological Table

	Choresmia	Margiana	W. Bactria	E. Bactria	Sogdiana
c.490 BC	Choresmian satrapy	Satrapy of Bactria	(Achaemenid Persian)		Sogdian satrapy
c.330 BC	Kingdom of the Dahaeen Sakas	Satrapy of Bactro-Sogdiana (Achaemenid)			
			id.	(Macedonian)	
			id.	(Seleucid)	
c.250 BC		Kingdom of Bactro-Sogdiana (Greek)			
c.200 BC		Kingdom of Bactria			
c.130 BC		Saka Migration			Kingdom of Sogdiana
c.100 BC		Graeco-Saka kingdoms (Merv)	(Balkh)	Indo-Greek kingdom (E.Bactria + Kabul valley)	Yueh Chi migration
c. 80 BC		Parthians			Yueh Chi confederacy
c. 20 BC				Yueh Chi Principalities at Qunduz & Bamiyan	Principalities of:- Hieou-mi; Chouang-mo; Kouei-chouang (Kushan)
c. 0	Kingdom		of	Heraios	the Kushan (Kouei-chouang)
c. 80 AD	Choresmian kingdom		Kushan kingdom (Bactria, Kabul valley, N.Pakistan and parts of N.India)		Sogdian kingdom (rulers of mixed Yueh Chi-Sogdian descent)
c.226 AD		Sassanians			
c.240 AD			Sassanians		
c.360 AD			Hephthalites		
c.480 AD	Hephthalites				Hephthalites

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APPENDIX

The course of the river Oxus.

Large rivers traversing flat terrain and subjected to substantial seasonal variations in flow often alter their courses. This phenomenon, well known in the Indus river system, is exemplified at Dera Isma'il Khan where recession of the annual monsoon spate usually sees the main course of the Indus some distance from its previous site. Thus the 1963 monsoon left the Indus flowing beside the town walls through land cultivated during the previous year; then the Indus was flowing half a mile to the east.

A comparable situation in the lower Oxus region has produced controversy as to whether the Oxus flowed into the Aral sea or the Caspian sea during the classical period. The course of the Oxus is stable above Urganj (Jurjaniyah) which lies a few miles south of the Aral sea. The river now flows past Urganj into the Aral sea and followed the same course in the 10th. century but from the 13th. to the 16th. century the Oxus turned at Urganj to flow south-west reaching the Caspian coast at Balkan. Contemporary reports describing the river's course before, during and after this period when it reached the Caspian have been discussed by Le Strange (455 ff). The Oxus also flowed into the Caspian at an earlier date for in the 10th. century Mukaddasi described the Oxus as flowing into the Aral sea and recorded that its former course to the Caspian could still be traced.

Evidence relating to the classical period has been discussed by Tarn but is less reliable. The course of the lower Oxus, whichever route it was following, lay outside the limits of the Greek world and the Greeks knew nothing of the Aral sea. For these two reasons the mere fact that the Greeks conceived the Oxus as draining into the Caspian cannot necessarily be accepted at face value. However, a passage in Strabo (11.9.2) merits further comment: 'and Arsaces, with some of the Dahae - I mean the Aparnians, as they are called, nomads who lived along the Oxus -, invaded Parthia'. In numerous passages already cited both Strabo and Arrian placed the Dahae as living along the eastern shore of the lower Caspian yet in this passage Strabo also places them as living along the Oxus. If the Oxus were following its course to the Caspian then the Dahae of the east Caspian coast would indeed have been living along the lower Oxus but if the Oxus had been flowing into the Aral sea at this period then the Dahae would have been separated from the Oxus by the Kara Kum desert. On balance there are reasons for believing that the Oxus did flow into the Caspian during the last few centuries before Christ.

When the Oxus was flowing to the Caspian it provided an extensive tract of fertile land in what was at other times desert (Le Strange). It may well be that the political re-organisation of Choresmia about the time of Christ (vide supra) was based, in large part, on economic changes wrought by the Oxus. If one accepts that Greek statements on the Oxus were correct then the Dahae kingdom may have foundered and been replaced by the New Choresmian kingdom when the Oxus began flowing into the Aral sea. A Dahae kingdom centred on the Caspian coast around Balkan and along the lower Oxus from the Urganj region to its Caspian mouth at Balkan foundered when much of its land was deprived of water. The eastern remnant of the Dahae state expanded from the Urganj region along higher reaches of the Oxus to become the new Choresmian kingdom. This view is attractive and fits the evidence discussed in previous sections but until more evidence is forthcoming it must remain only a hypothesis and as such it has been relegated to an appendix.

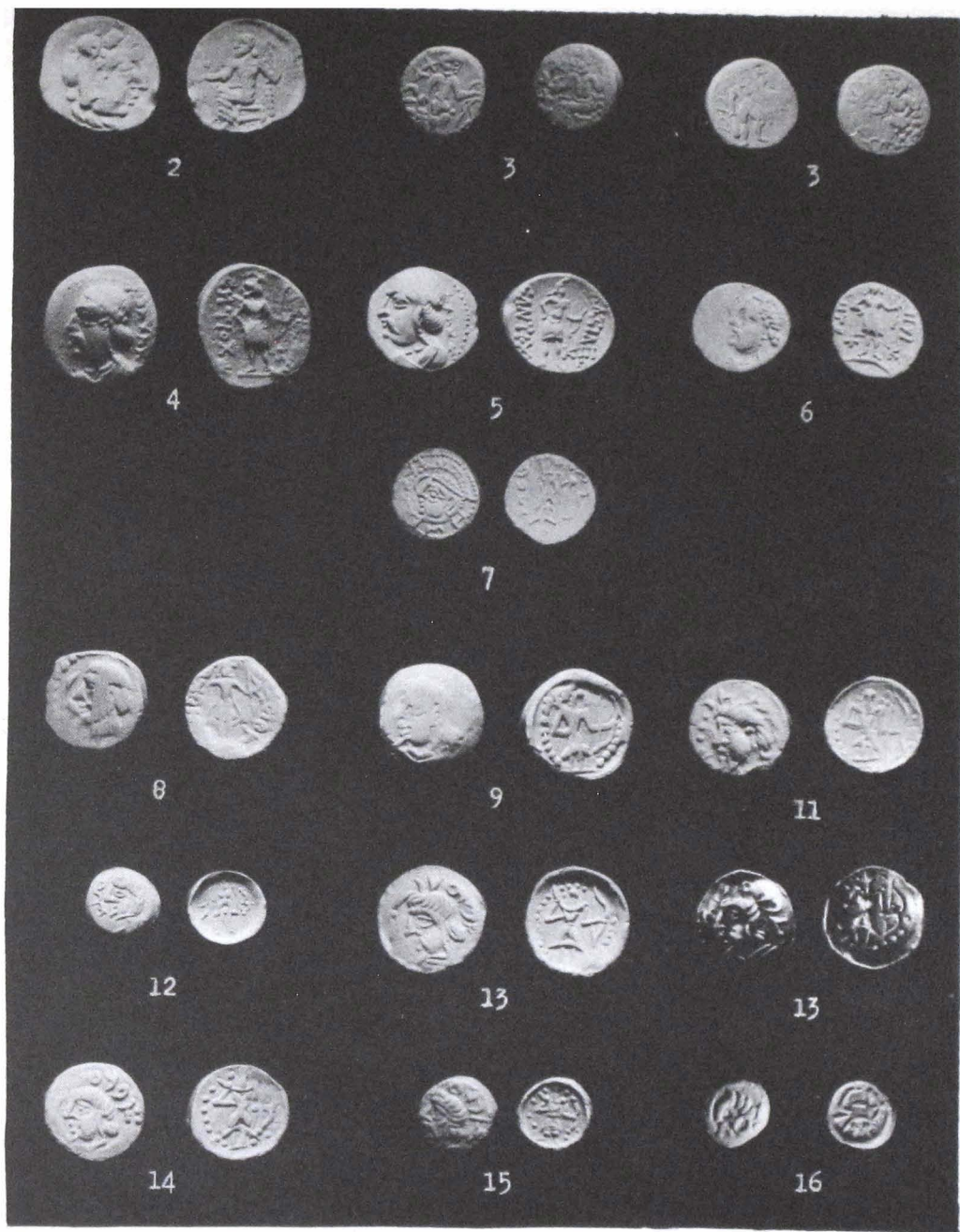


PLATE I. THE DAHAE IN CHORESMIA

Early period : c.330 - 250 BC.

1 to 3

Middle period : c.250 - 130 BC.: Archer series

4 to 16

4 - 5: Ata 7: Lord king of the Dahaeen Sakas

11: Atagart 12: Atala 13 - 15: Tavr'aka

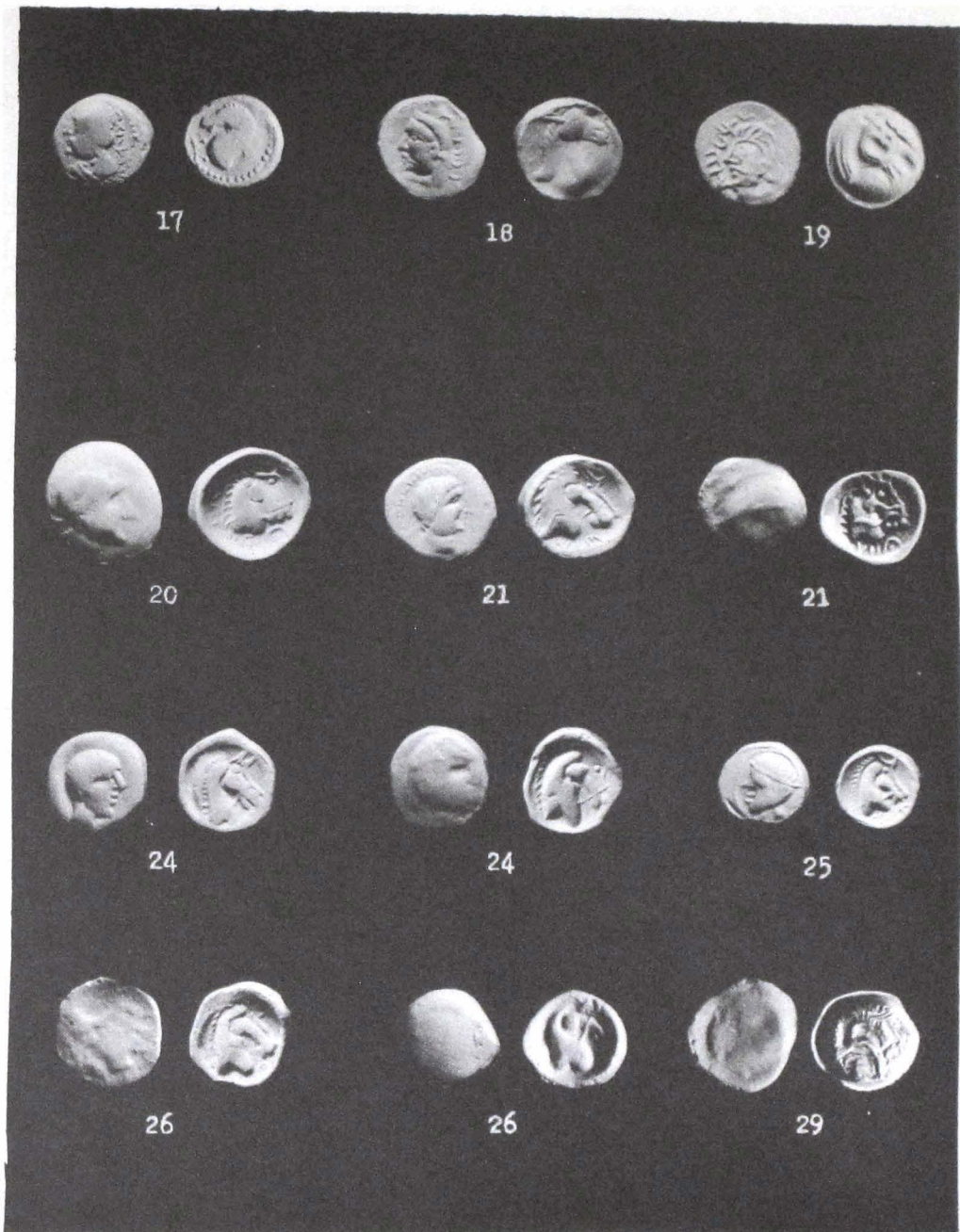


PLATE II. THE DAHAE IN CHORESMIA

Middle period : c.250 - 130 BC.: Horse series

17 to 29

17: Ata 18: King of the Sakas

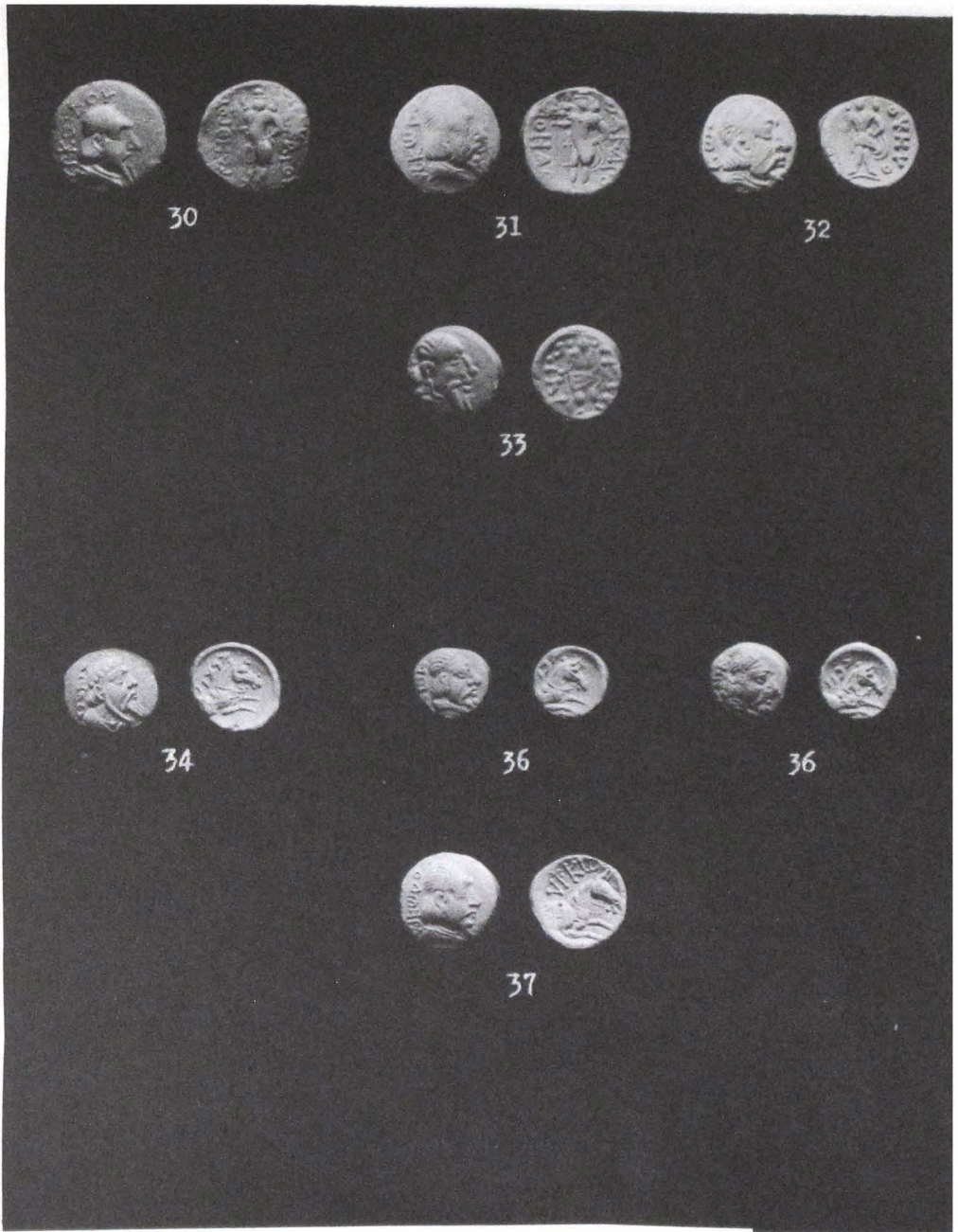


PLATE III. THE DAHAE IN CHORESMIA

Late period : c.130 - 0 BC.: Soldier series 30 to 33

30: Artara the Dahaeen Saka 31-32: the Dahaeen

Late period : c.130 - 0 BC.: Horse series 34 to 39

34: Artara the Dahaeen 36-37: the Dahaeen



PLATE IV. KINGDOM OF SOGDIANA

Early period : c.200 - 180 BC.

40 to 43

Middle period : c.180 - 150 BC.: Aramaic legend on left 44 to 47

44-45: King of Sogdiana 46: Kagaha 47: Hasa

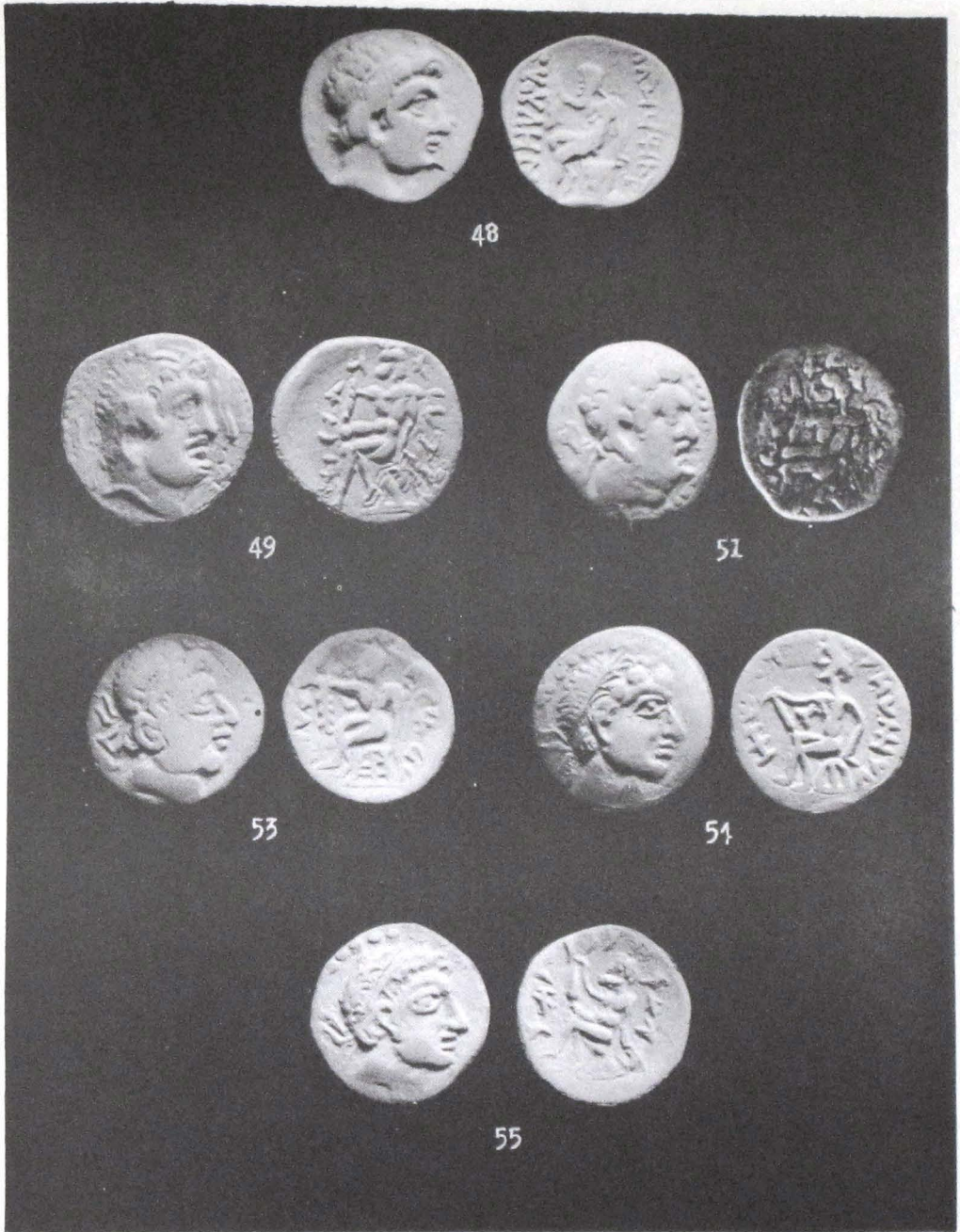


PLATE V. KINGDOM OF SOGDIANA

Middle period : c.180 - 150 BC.: Aramaic legend on right 48
 48: King of kings

Late period : c.150 - 130 BC.: Aramaic legend starts on left 49 to 54
 49: Hasa 51: Kamasa 53-54: Malta

Late period : c.150 - 130 BC.: Aramaic legend starts on right 55 to 56
 55: Kamasa



57

57



58



59

59

PLATE VI. YUEH CHI PRINCIPALITIES OF SOGDIANA

c.130 BC. to AD. 80

57-59: Great ruler of Sogdiana, of the Tchao-ou race



PLATE VII. KINGDOM OF SOGDIANA c.AD. 80 to 480 60 to 64
 60: Great ruler of Tchao-ou race 61,63: King of Samarkand
 HEPHTHALITE KINGDOM OF SOGDIANA c.480 Onwards 65
 65a: Lord king of Bokhara



67



71a



71c

PLATE VIII. KINGDOM OF CHORESMIA

Early period : c.AD. 50 - 500

67 to 70

67: the Lord king

Late period : c.500 - 800

71 to 73

71: Lord king of Choresmia

71a: ibid. + Al Fadl

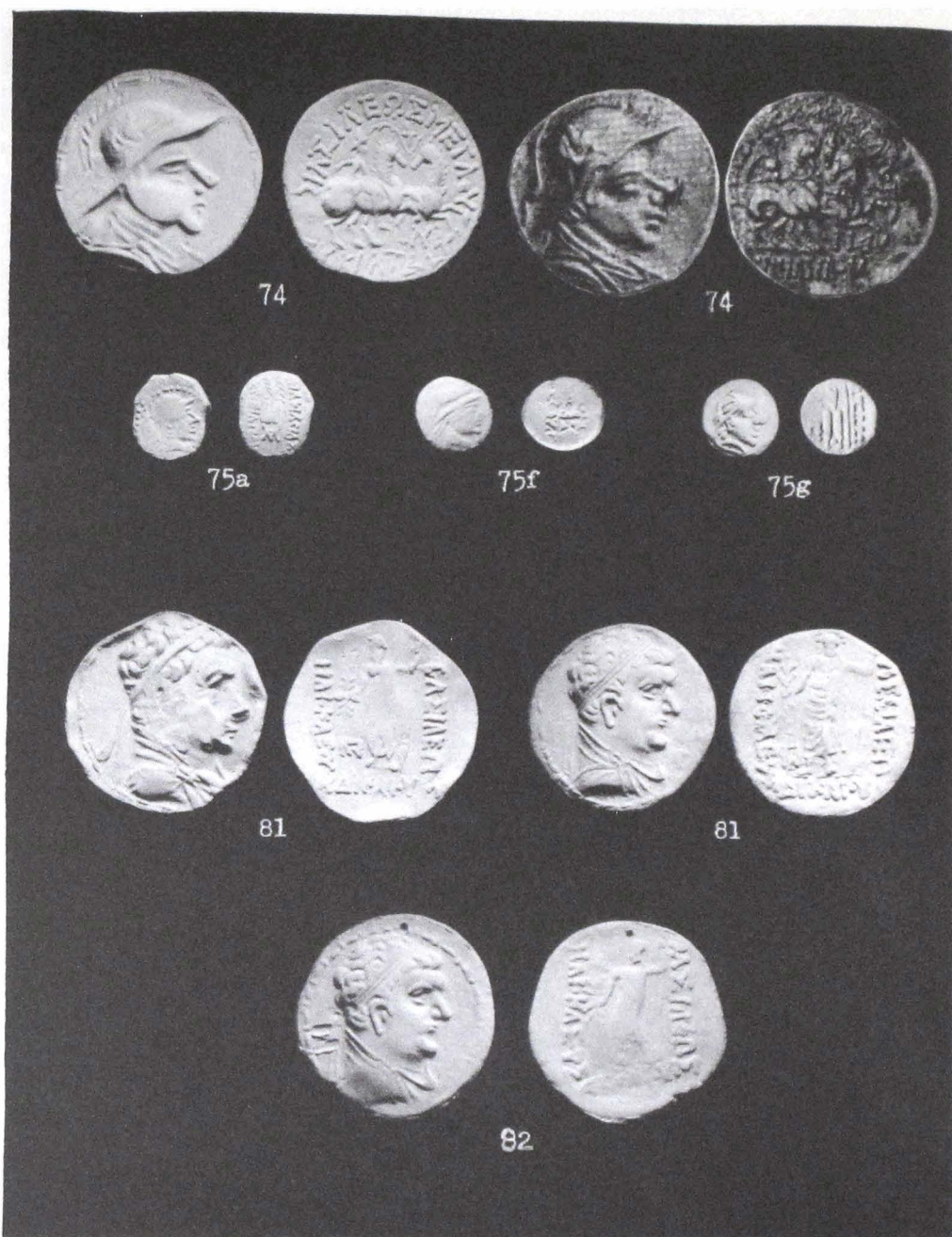


PLATE IX. GRAECO - SAKA KINGDOMS

(Silver) Margiana : c.130 - 80 BC.: Eucratides imitations

74 to 77

Western Bactria : c.130 - 80 BC.: Early Heliocles

imitations 78 to 82

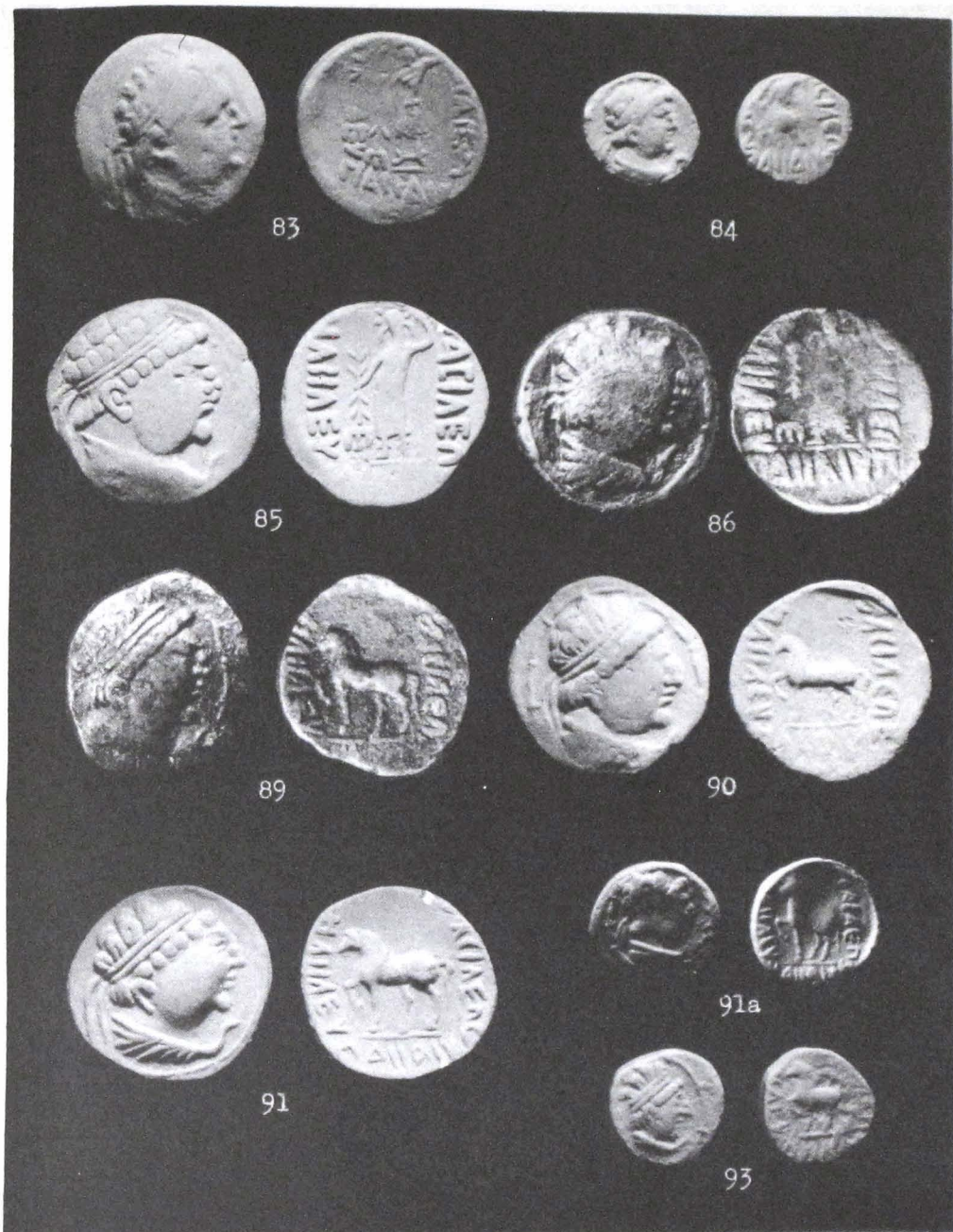


PLATE X. GRAECO - SAKA KINGDOMS

(Debased) Western Bactria : c.80 - 0 BC.: Late Heliocles

imitations 83 to 93

84-88: Zeus sequence 89-93: Horse sequence

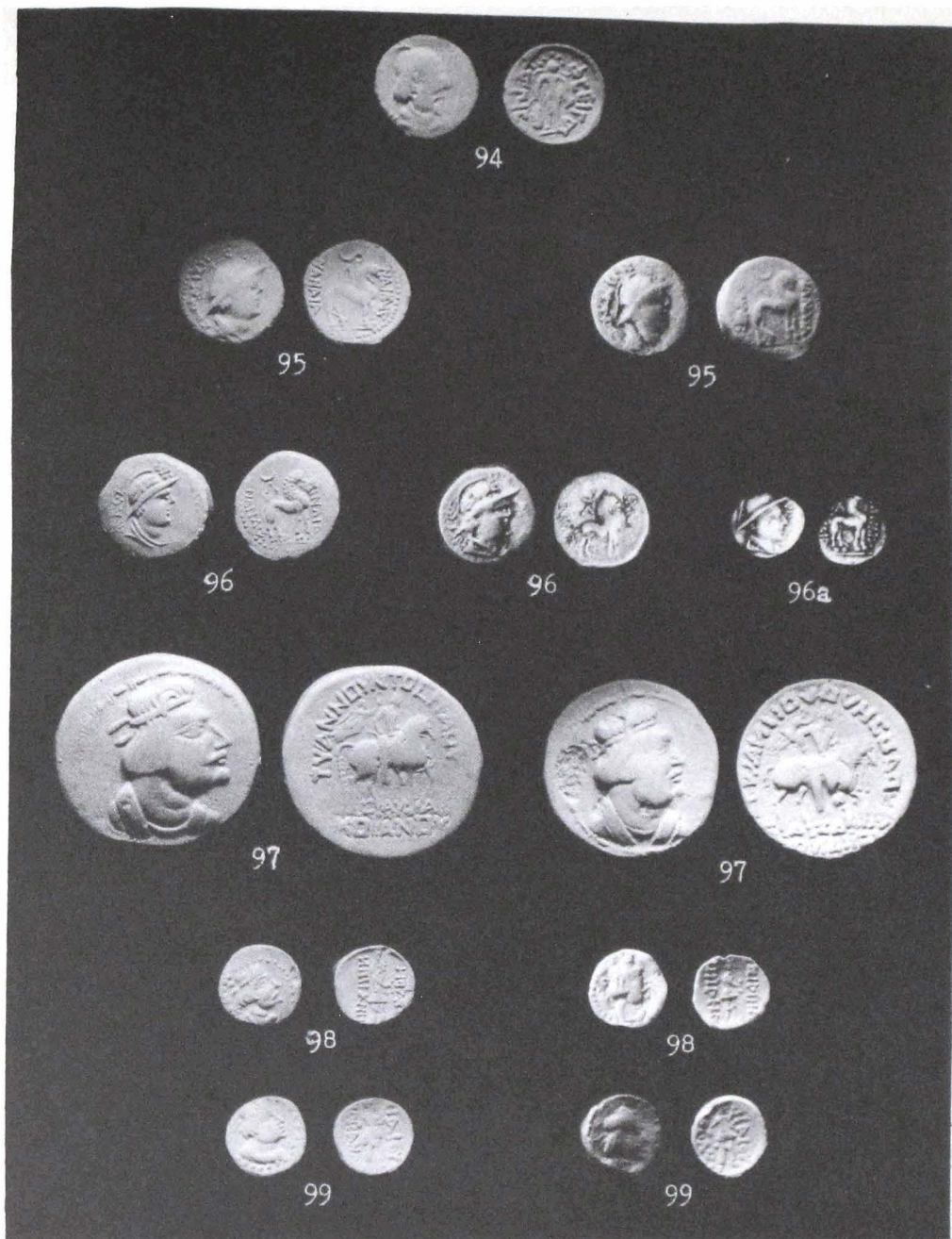


PLATE XI. YUEH CHI PRINCIPALITY OF HI-THUM (BAMIYAN) c.20 - 0 BC

94: Pseigacharis

94

YUEH CHI PRINCIPALITY OF TU-MI (QUNDUZ) c.20 - 0 BC

95: Sapadbizes 96: Agesiles 96a: uncertain

95 to 96a

KUSHAN KINGDOM OF HERAIOS

c.AD. 0 - 45/50

97-98: Bamiyan mint 99: Qunduz mint

97 to 99

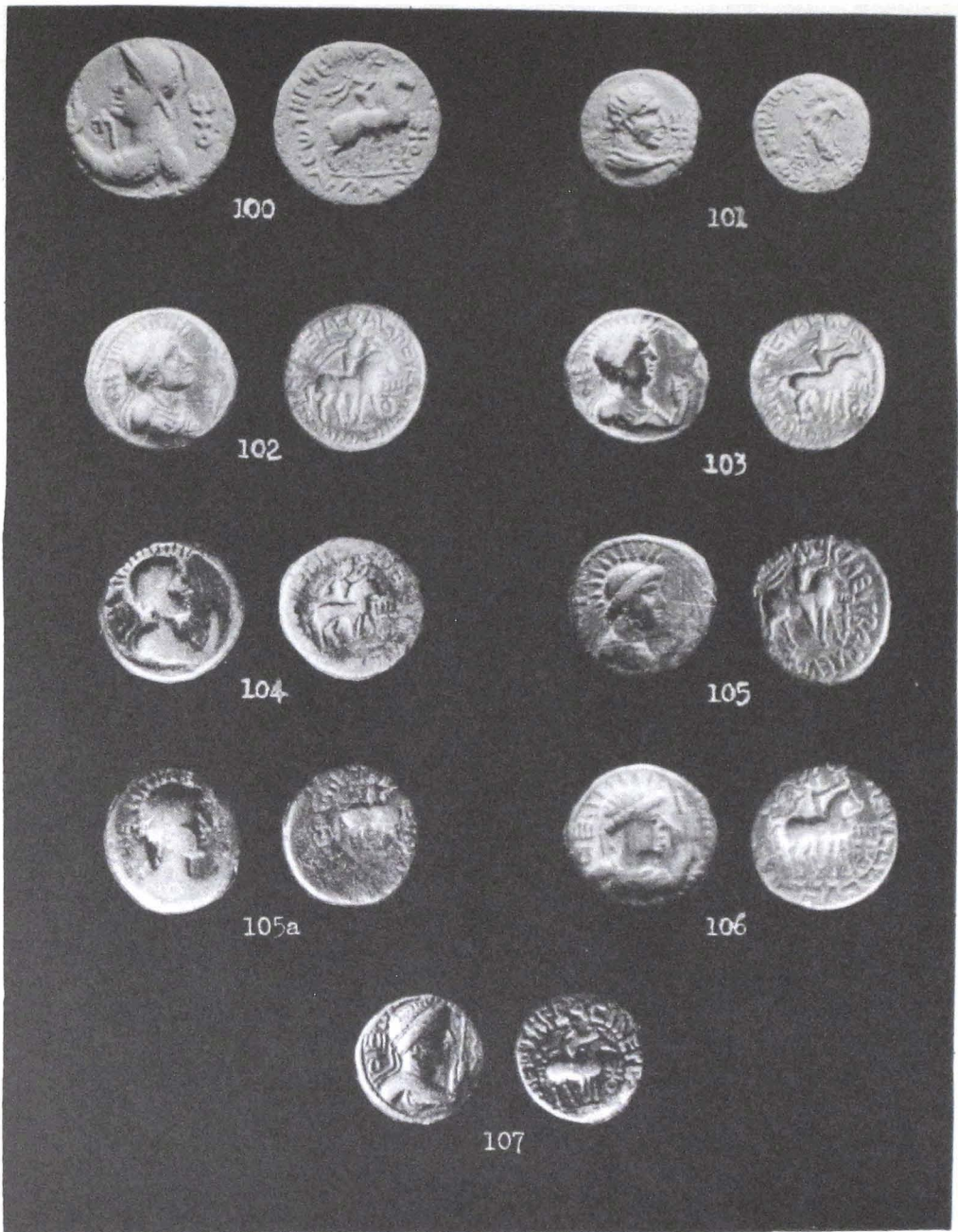


PLATE XII. KUSHAN COINAGE OF SOTER MEGAS IN BACTRIA

c.AD.45/50 - 80/90

100 to 113

Local coinage 100: Qunduz mint 101: Balkh mint

General coinage 102-113: Balkh mint

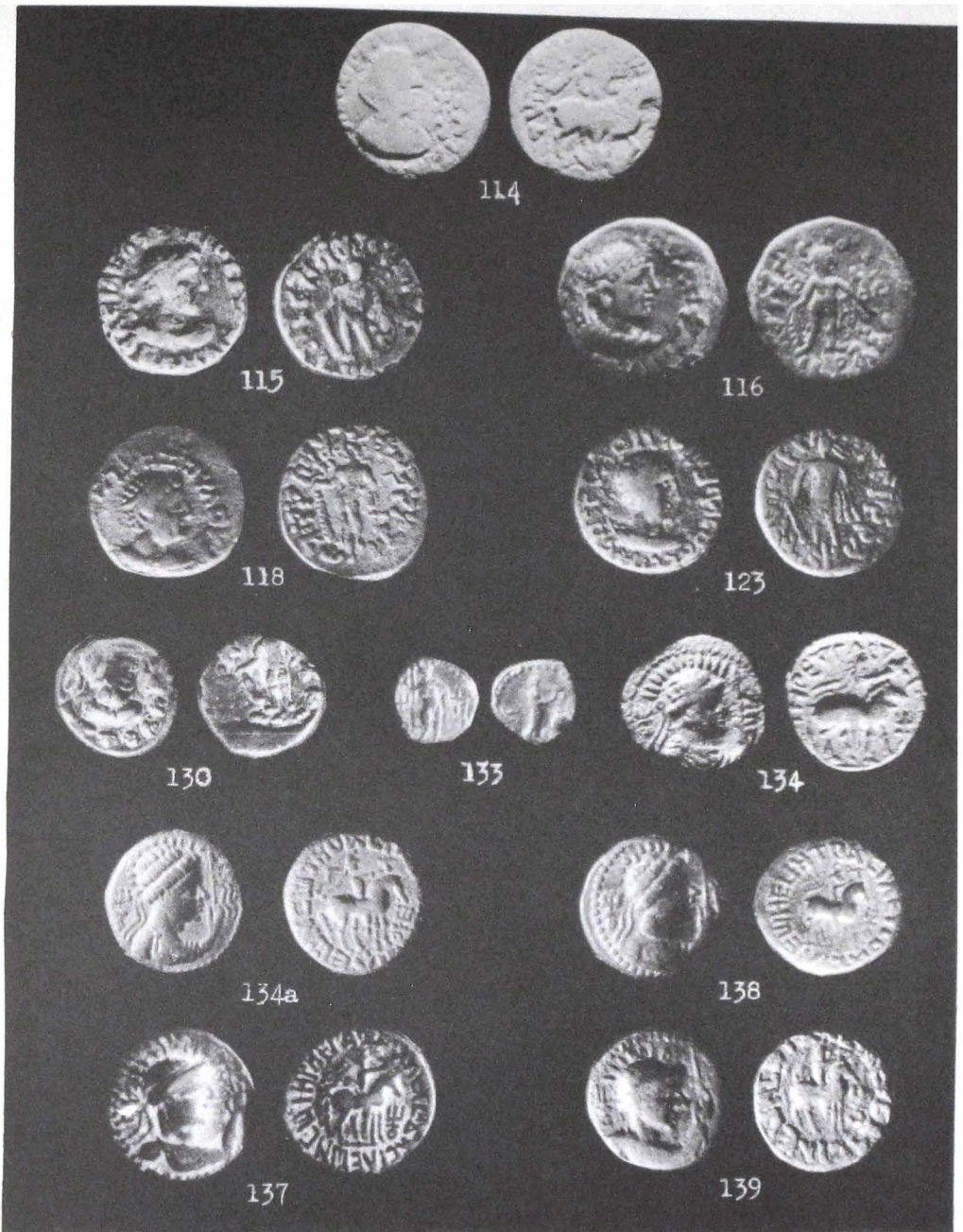


PLATE XIII. EARLY KUSHAN COINAGE IN THE KABUL VALLEY

c.AD.10 - 35 and 65/70 - 80/90

Heraios (c.AD.10)		114
Kujula Kadphises under Heraios (c.10-35)	115 to 129	
Kujula imitations (c.35-65/70)	130 to 132	
Soter Megasthenes (c.65/70-80/90): local	133	
general	134 to 144	

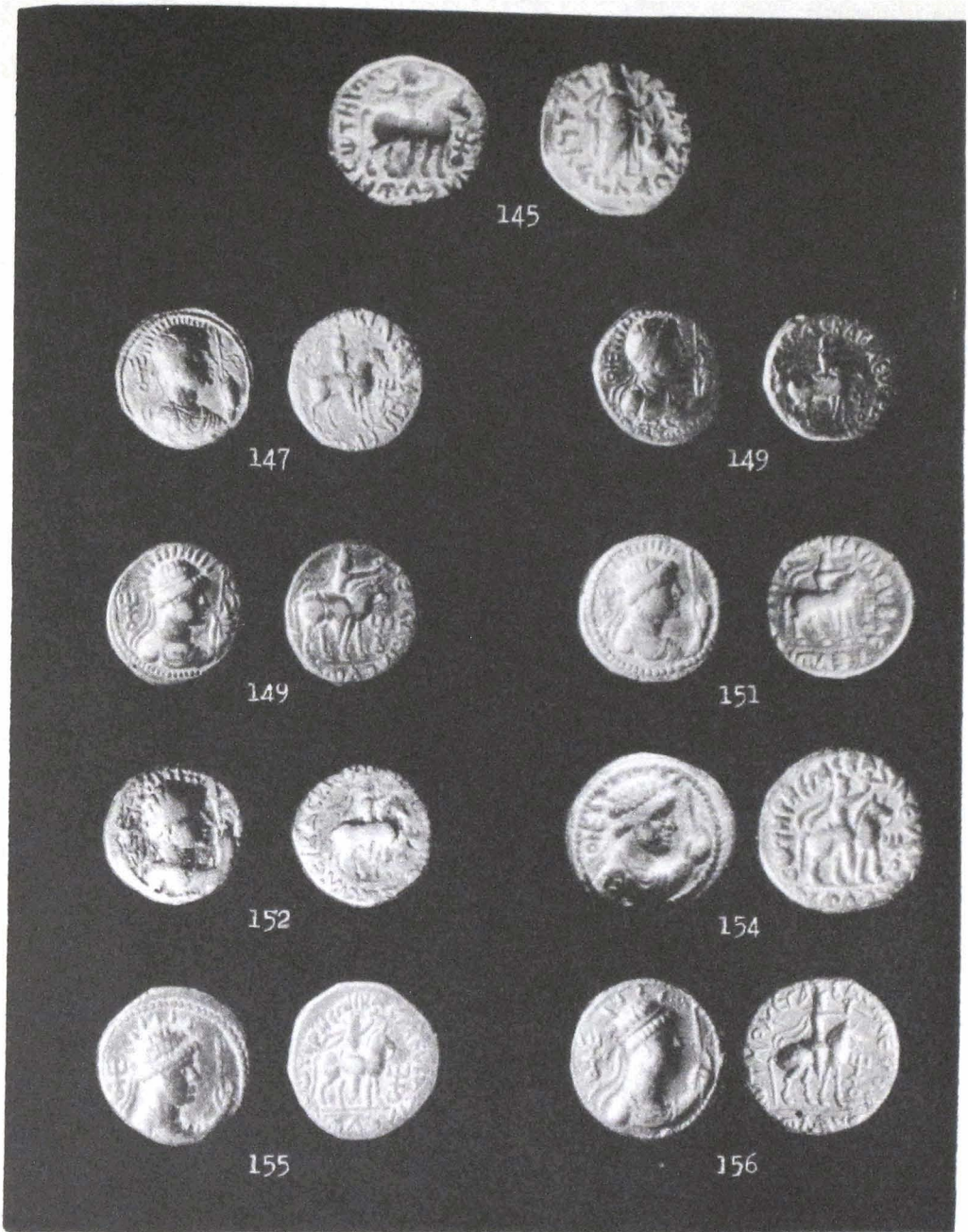


PLATE XIV. EARLY KUSHAN COINAGE IN N. PAKISTAN

c.AD.70 - 80/90

Soter Megas : local coinage	145 to 146
general coinage	147 to 161

1. The Seleucids separated the Murghab valley from Bactria to create Margiana.
2. III, 117 ff. and I, 200 ff.
3. Achaemenid Parthia included Hyrcania; Drangiana was termed Zaranka (Sarangiāns) and Satagydia was termed alternatively Sattagu or Thatagus (Thamāseāns).
4. Sogdiana became a Persian satrapy where later Alexander conquered Cyropolis.
5. Herodotus I, 200 ff. Compare with Arrian's description (infra) of their later state and with Strabo's confused account largely synthesised from Herodotus and from Arrian's fourth century sources.
6. Arrian, III, 8, 3 and III, 23, 4.
7. Arrian, III, 20, 4 to III, 25, 5.
8. Arrian IV, 6, 6 (cfr. III, 25, 1 ff); Strabo XI, 10, 1 ff.
9. First mentioned by Strabo (XI, 10, 1 ff) in the context of the Seleucid period. See also W.W. Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India*, 1938, 88. Antiochos Soter (280-261) founded a city, Antiocheia, in Margiana. This was probably Merv, a city later visited by Ardeshir I (226-240), see T. Noldeke, Tabari, 19 f.
10. Eastern provinces of Shapur I (240-270) were recorded in his Naqs-i-rustam inscription as 'Margiana, Aria and all of Abarshahr, Carmania, Sakastan, Turan, Makuran, Paradene, Sind and Kushansahr from before Pshkbwr as far as the frontiers of Kashgar, Sogdiana and Tashkent' E. Honigsmann and A. Maricq, *Res Gestae Divi Saporis*, 1953. Kushansahr included Bactria.
11. Arrian III, 8, 3 ff. and III, 21, 1. For the limits of Drangiana see Mitchiner, *Indo-Parthian and related coins*. (In preparation).
12. Strabo IX, 10, 1.
13. Discussed in Mitchiner, *ibid*.
14. Alexander created Proexes satrap (Arrian III, 28, 2) and later replaced him by Turiaspes, satrap in 'the country of the Parapamisidae and the rest as far as the River Cophen' (Arrian IV, 22, 5).
15. The evolution from Arachosia to Turan is discussed in Mitchiner, *ibid*. See also T. Noldeke, Tabari, 19 f. and Shapur's Naqs-i-rustam inscription.
16. The change apparently occurred between the writing of Strabo's passage (II, 5, 31-2) referring to the period after the nomad migration onto the South Afghan plateau when SW. Afghanistan was still part of Aria and the time of the Parthian survey reproduced by Isidore of Charax at the end of the 1st century BC. Tarn (*ibid*. 344) dated this survey, which names Sakastan, to the early 1st century BC. The view that any part of Afghanistan was named Sakastan before the 2nd century BC nomad migration is not consistent with the evidence. Vide *infra* and Mitchiner, *ibid*.
17. Arrian II, 8, 6.
18. Herodotus III, 88 ff. The name India does not define a particular region and in a later context it was used by Shapur I to denote the Quetta region. In geographical terms the Indian Satrapy of Darius I could have been the Quetta or the Taxila region but in economic terms its prosperity indicates the Taxila region.
19. It is only mentioned in the Naqs-i-rustam inscription on his tomb.
20. Discussed in Mitchiner, *Origins of Indian Coinage*, London, 1972.
21. Achaemenid Bactria included Margiana. Sogdiana lay east across the Kara Kum and Oxus from Choresmia.
22. Herodotus VII, 64 ff. Table I.
23. Arrian III, 8, 3 ff. and for Bessus also III, 25, 3; III, 28, 8 ff.
24. Arrian V, 12, 2 and III, 28, 8 ff. Note that the post-Kushan Choresmian kingdom was not geographically synonymous with this territory.
25. Arrian III, 28, 8 ff; IV, 15, 7 ff; IV, 17, 1 ff.
26. Strabo IX, 9, 2 links the Choresmian Dahae with the foundation of the Parthian kingdom c.250 BC.
27. Strabo's Xanthi and Parii (XI, 9, 3) alternatively Xanthi and Pissuri (XI, 8, 3); see also XI, 7, 1 ff. His eclectic rationalisations from earlier authors sometimes confuse and for this region Strabo's frequent reliance on Herodotus introduced a new tribe, the Choresmians. But Herodotus used Choresmian to denote the inhabitants of the Persian satrapy called Choresmia whereas later authors referred to the inhabitants of this region by their tribal name; the Dahae, the Aparnian Dahae or the Aparni.
28. Herodotus I, 200 ff.

29. Arrian IV, 3, 1 ff; Strabo XI, 11, 4
30. Herodotus VII, 64 ff.
31. Arrian III, 8, 3 ff and III, 28, 8 ff.
32. Arrian III, 28 to IV, 22.
33. Arrian especially IV, 5 ff; IV, 15, 7; IV, 17, 1 ff.
34. Herodotus I, 200 ff.
35. Arrian IV, 17, 5.
36. Strabo IX, 8, 2. The migrating Sakas came from the territory beyond the Jaxartes that was inhabited by Sakas (ie. Sacaraucae) and was adjacent to the territory of the Sogdians and Sakas (ie. Massagetae); vide infra.
37. Arrian IV, 18, 2 and IV, 21, 1 ff.
38. Herodotus VII, 64 ff.
39. F.W. Thomas, JRAS., 1906, 181 ff placed the Saka satrapy in S. Aria (ie. Sakastan after the 2nd century BC nomad migration) averring that the 'Drayah' crossed by Darius to reduce the Saka rebel Iskunka was located in Aria. Fuye, RN., 1910, 6 ff showed that this drayah could have been any 'Darya' (large river). It is more likely that Darius crossed the Oxus Darya to combat Iskunka within the Saka satrapy of the Pamirs. J. de Morgan, Manuel de Numismatique Orientale, 1936, 30, also placed the Saka satrapy in the Pamirs.
40. Herodotus III, 88 ff.
41. Nush-i-Jan Hoard. A.D.H. Bivar, Iran, 1971, 97-111.
42. See Mitchiner, Origins of Indian Coinage, London, 1972.
43. Head, BN², xxxvii.
44. See Mitchiner, *ibid.* for eastern and BMC. Persia for western coinage.
45. Certain imitations of Athenian tetradrachms and lower denominations found in this region and NW. India have been attributed to these satrapies (eg. A.K. Narain, The Indo-Greeks, 4). The coins in question (BM. 1685, 16.71, 16.70, 16.52, 16.42, 16.07, 15.93, 7.87, 6.98, 6.12, 3.56, 3.50, 3.48, 3.47, 3.38, 3.34, 3.30, 1.97 grammes) were struck on the Attic, not the Persic, weight standard and do not belong to the Persian Empire. They have no local typological affinities and are more likely to have been struck in some such region as Thrace and transported to the Eastern satrapies during the Macedonian period. Another drachm of this group was found in Seistan (Rapeon, JRAS., 1904, 673 ff). The tetradrachm of this series found in the Chaman-Hazouri hoard (D. Schlumberger, Memoires de la Délégation Archéologique Française en Afghanistan, XIV, 1953, 36 coin 64, 16.8 gm) does not suggest a pre-Macedonian date because Schlumberger dated this hoard too early (Mitchiner *ibid.*). He showed its Greek coins to indicate a burial date after 390 BC but this part of the hoard was bullion effectively removed from circulation and in its Afghan context one can only say that the hoard was buried before c.312 BC.
46. Referred to by Herodotus (I, 200 ff). The Oxus treasure contained both sigloi and jewellery of Achaemenid and Greek periods.
47. Earliest Attic tetradrachms weigh about 17.5 grammes (Head, *ibid.* and BMC).
48. Data from the 627 Attic silver coins in the Qunduz hoard; R. Curiel and G. Fussman, Memoires de la Délégation Archéologique Française en Afghanistan, XX, 1965.
49. Tetradrachms of Herais weigh 12 to 15 grammes and those of Soter Megas around 12.5 grammes, both belong to the East Bactrian series. Drachms of Soter Megas belonging to the West Bactrian series weigh around 4 grammes.
50. Muryan control as far west as Kandahar is shown by Ashoka's rock edicts in the Jalalabad and Kandahar regions; R. Thaper, Ashoka, 1961, 228 ff; 250 ff.
51. BMC. Ancient India class 2. Average 3.2 gm., range c.2.6 to 3.5 gm. See Mitchiner, *ibid.* P.L. Gupta, Andhra Pradesh Govt. Museum mgr 6, 1963 quotes 3.2-3.6 gm. as the weight of most Mauryan karshapanas in the 7,668 coin Amaravati hoard.
52. Often termed Indian weight standard. As it is neither Greek nor Indian but was created by the Indo-Greeks it is best termed the Indo-Greek weight standard.
53. BMC. Constant from its introduction by or before Menander until the time of Ases I and Azilises.
54. Vide infra and Mitchiner, Indo-Parthian and related coins.
55. In particular the city states of Phoenicia and Persian satraps in Asia Minor.
56. Allotte de la Fuye, RN., 1910, 281-333; RN., 1925, 26-50.
57. Types 40-56; 57-59.

58. 'B' is also similar to 'K' and 'R' though its tail tends to be more curved. Note also that the character for 'U' which also transliterates 'V', 'Y' and 'W' resembles 'G'.
59. 'SSaGA' and 'GAUA' on coins of the first period; 'SAKA' and 'GA' or variant on coins of the middle period; 'Sakaroy' and GaUASa' or 'Kodoy' on late coins.
60. Sogdian coins were of Persic weight. Bactrian and Sogdian coins were tetradrachms with lower denominations struck in Bactria only. Parthian coins were drachms with associated tetradrachms that were often underweight and debased.
61. This contrasts with the thick and usually scyphate fabric of Danubian copies of Alexander's coinage. Choresmian and Danubian copies also differ in other respects. Danubian copies have a much ruder obverse type, frequently bear an imitation Greek legend and may show symbols in the field; their style is also very different.
62. EG. Fuye's and Cunningham's coins acquired in Russian Turkestan and N. Afghanistan.
63. Arrian III, 22, 2.
64. Date of the nomad migration across N. Afghanistan. Vide infra for its influence on the Dahae.
65. Coins have a corrupt Greek legend for ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ and could, in this respect, derive from prototypes of Antiochos I after he became sole ruler in 280 or of Antiochos II. As reverse types on Dahaeen coins are local, though in Seleucid style, they provide no chronological information. The obverse busts on the earliest Dahaeen coins are Saka and do not assist dating. One may conclude that Seleucid prototypes for Dahaeen coins of this period were struck between 280 and 246 BC.
66. See discussion of late period Dahaeen coins and of the nomad migration.
67. Rapson's coins from Koh-i-Taftan, NC., 1904, 311 ff; Type a) XVII, 1-5, b) XVII, 6-7, c) XVII, 8 d-e) XVII, 11-18. See also Tarn, *ibid.*, 481 ff. For a Macedonian imitation from this region, see E. Rapson, *JRAS.*, 1904, 673-80, coin 2.
68. BMC. Seleucos I coins 36-40, Antiochos I coins 3-22 and Antiochos II coins 1-7.
69. Eastern and Southern Afghanistan were already part of the Mauryan Empire; vide supra.
70. W.W. Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India*, 1938, 481-5.
71. vide infra.
72. Dahaeen coins of this period are much more commonly found in Northern Afghanistan than those of previous periods. This could indicate that a greater proportion of the Dahaeen currency circulated south of the Kara Kum or conversely that the striking of late Dahaeen coins was much more prolific than that of earlier coins. In either case there was an expansion of the Dahaeen currency. A.R. Hoernle, *JASB.*, 1899, 23, also recorded late Dahaeen coins from the Samarkand - Tashkent region.
73. Saka has been read 'Sakaroy' (eg. R. Ghirshman, *Memoires de la Délégation Archéologique Française en Afghanistan*, XII, 1946) or 'Makaroy' (eg. BMC and A de la Fuye, *RN.*, 1925, 143 ff). In epigraphic terms the first letter is 'M' but in the Saka state where these coins were struck the corruption whereby 'S' was turned on its side to become 'M' is not unlikely. On the same coins the 'R' in Yr-Kodoy is often corrupt. Sakaroy is meaningful and consistent with other Dahaeen legends whereas Makaroy is meaningless.
74. *RN.*, 1925, 143 ff. Comparison with aramaic character forms on other Choresmian and Sogdian coins shows that the tribal name is 'Gauasa' rather than Fuye's Kawat. As the same aramaic character stands for U, V and W the middle character can be expressed as any of these alternatives. Similar comparison shows the ruler's name to be 'Artara' rather than Fuye's Artawi; reversal of an A in terminal position is not confined to this period but also occurred during the previous period and modification of a character when in terminal or initial position also occurred with the initial B and terminal Y of Hephthalite Bokhara drachms. Fuye suggested the 'YR' in Yr-Kodoy indicated sons of but this cannot be substantiated and its meaning remains doubtful. He failed to correlate his Artawi (for Artara) with Ardthroy.
75. Phraates II and Artabanus II (128/7-123 BC) both died campaigning against Sakas (Narain, *ibid.*, 140 f; Simonetta, *East and West*, 1958, 164).
76. The last major Parthian campaign appears to have been that of Orodes I, attested by his issues of coins bearing the names Aria, Margiana, Traxiana and Katastrateia (military campaign). For these coins see BMC. Parthia, 40; de Morgan, *ibid.*, 155. Their attribution (BMC. Artabanus II, 87-77) to Orodes I (87-77 BC) is that of Simonetta (*East and West*, 1958, 165). Sinatruces (80-70 BC) gained the Parthian throne with the assistance of the Sacaraucae (Saka tribe) settled in Aria and, from this time, the Sakas of Aria issued coins as a Parthian province (discussed in Mitchiner, *ibid.*).
77. ie. Fuye, *RN.*, 1910. Coins on plates discussed in *RN.*, 1910, 1925 and 1926.

78. See also Type 17 struck by Ata.
79. Attic weight standard fell progressively through the course of Dahae coinage, Table II.
80. Includes Fuye X, 18B, 19B and 20B.
81. Fuye, X, 17B.
82. Quoted by Fuye but not weighed or illustrated.
- 82a Conquered by Cyrus and still a Persian satrapy at the time of Darius III from whom it was conquered by Alexander: vide supra.
83. Tarn and Narain agree but Narain, *ibid.*, 28, incorrectly suggests that the Bactrians conquered Sogdiana. There is no evidence that they needed to conquer what was traditionally part of their territory. Strabo, XI, 11, 2 includes Sogdiana in the Bactrian kingdom.
84. At this period he was in conflict with the Seleucid Antiochos III; Narain, *ibid.*, 18-21.
85. See BMC.II, 4-6 for Euthydemus' coins and Types 40-1 *infra* for early Sogdian issues.
86. All in BMC.
87. Fully analysed by Fuye in RN., 1910 and 1925. In general terms Hercules has a different posture and rests his club on his knee instead of on a pile of rocks.
88. Regarding provenance Wilson (*Ariana Antiqua*, 1841, 224-5) records both Euthydemus tetradrachms and their Sogdian derivatives from Bokhara. Hoernle (*JASB.*, 1899, 23) records Sogdian coins of this period from the Samarkand-Tashkent region. Prinsep (*Essays*, 1888, vol.2, 30) records Sogdian tetradrachms of this period and of the Yueh Chi period from the ruins of Khoja-uban north-west of Bakhara.
89. These coins are distinguished from previous issues of Euthydemus bearing the R-K monogram by their weight.
90. Fuye, RN., 1910. These plates are discussed in RN., 1910 and 1925.
91. A.K. Narain, *The Indo-Greeks*, 128 ff.
92. Saka was rendered in Chinese as 'Sok;' a character now pronounced as 'Sai.' Communicated by K. Enoki to Narain who quotes; *ibid.*, 135.
93. Narain, *ibid.*, 134 ff. These Sakas probably gave rise to the kingdom of Maues in Northern Pakistan. Their migration is recalled in the Ch'ien Han Shou from which Narain, *ibid.*, 130 quotes Enoki's translation of sections in books 96a and 94b.
94. Strabo XI, 8, 2.
95. Some scholars read Asiani and others Pasiani. Discussed by Narain, *ibid.*, 132.
96. Herodotus VII, 64 ff.
97. Vide supra. eg. the Saka satrapy; Sakas with the army of Darius III.
98. *cfr.* the Dahae coins.
99. They gave their name, Sakastan, to Southern Aria. Vide supra and Mitchiner, Indo-Parthian and related coins.
100. The Sakas named Sok by the Chinese historians.
101. They gave their name to the province of Sacasene in Armenia; Strabo XI, 8, 4.
102. For instance the Dahae were Scythians (Arrian V, 12, 2; Strabo XI, 8, 2-3), the Massagetae were Scythians (Arrian IV, 17) and the nomads across the Jaxartes were Scythians (Arrian IV, 3).
103. Strabo XI, 8, 2.
104. eg. Arrian IV, 5 to IV, 17. The Massagetaean Scythians.
105. Strabo XI, 8, 8. Note that in XI, 8, 6 ff. Strabo locates the Massagetae in the general region they inhabited at the time of Alexander but gives them the prosperity and culture they no longer enjoyed. The latter is quoted from Herodotus and refers to the time of Cyrus.
106. Arrian IV, 5 and IV, 15.
107. Arrian wrote during the Roman Imperial period but his record relates only to the time of Alexander's campaign and is written from sources of that period. In addition to the references just cited Strabo does quote (XI, 7, 1; XI, 8, 2; XI, 9, 2) the tribal divisions of the Dahae and implicates this tribe in the establishment of the Parthian kingdom. These details are not found in Arrian; the latter event postdates Arrian's sources. Strabo also attributes a muddled passage (XI, 8, 8) to Eratosthenes in which the Arachosians are placed on the Oxus. He further refers to the Apasiacae in the

- context of the Seleucid period. These 'water Sakas' were probably a group of Massagetae living on the coast of the Aral Sea (cfr. Tarn, *ibid.*, 91).
108. ie. the Asian nomads (Asian Scythians; Asian Sakas) as distinct from the European Scythians. Although Strabo presumably intended to denote four tribes this appears to be a mis-quotation of his sources comparable to his separation of the Massagetaean Sakas into three peoples.
 109. Tarn, *ibid.*, 284 ff; Narain, *ibid.*, 132 ff.
 110. Discussed in Mitchiner, Indo-Parthian and related coins. Some Sacaraucae reached Southern Afghanistan.
 111. Strabo's complex construction suggests that he did not fully comprehend what he was quoting. His statement is, however, true and merely states the situation upon which the migration was imposed, a situation that had not changed radically since the Macedonian period and whose persistence was indicated by the coinage of the Sogdian kingdom.
 112. 'Reges Thocarorum Asiani interitusque Sacaracaurum.' cfr. Narain, *ibid.*, 129 ff; Tarn, *ibid.*, 306. Tarn suggested that the Tochari (Yueh Chi) destroyed the Sacaraucae later than the nomad migration. Insofar as the Yueh Chi occupied the trans-Jaxartes territory of the Sacaraucae and, in so doing, induced the Sacaraucae to migrate it is apparent that the Tochari (Asian nomads by definition) ipso facto brought devastation to the Sacaraucae during the course of the nomad migration and prior to the time of Ch'ang Kien.
 113. The alternative version of Strabo's text - Asiani, Pasiani, Tochari, Sacarauli - names the Tochari and the Sacarauli (Asian Scythians) together with the Pasiani who could have been another trans-Jaxartes tribe or, modifying Tarn's view (*ibid.*, 284, 292), could have been the Aparni, the southern branch of the Dahae in Choresmia who, as discussed above, profited from the nomad migration to extend their influence across the Kara Kum desert.
 114. And any other groups of Sakas and Greeks who moved with them; vide Mitchiner, *ibid.*
 115. Shih Chih, Book 123 quoted in Enoki's translation; cfr. Narain, *ibid.*, 129; 139. E. Zurcher's (Papers on the date of Kanishka submitted to the 1960 conference, 1968, 346-90) translation only differs significantly in the tense of one verb.
 116. Ferghana. cfr. Tarn, *ibid.*, 307 ff and 474 ff.
 117. River Oxus.
 118. Bactria or the Bactrian people. The Chinese noun can be read as either a geographical name (the ta-hsia place) or an ethnic name (the Ta-hsia people; the country inhabited by the Ta-hsia people). Enoki usually translates such terms as place names, Specht usually translates them as referring to people. In some cases the difference is significant (see text). For Ta-hsia see Tarn, *ibid.*, 295 ff. and Narain, *ibid.*, 131. In this context Ch'ang Kien is describing the situation of Western Bactria and Margiana after the Sakas had traversed the region; he is not describing the situation in the Greek kingdom of Eastern Bactria.
 119. Parthia (Enoki); the Parthians (Specht).
 120. Sogdiana; the Sogdians; cfr. Tarn, *ibid.*, 278 ff., 291 ff. In this case the two translations are not synonymous. The Yueh Chi settled in Sogdiana and the Kingdom of the Sogdians was, for a while, centred north of the Yueh Chi until c.AD 80 when inter-marriage of Sogdian and Yueh Chi royal families once again centred a new Sogdian kingdom on the Zeravshan (capital Samarkand) region. See text.
 121. Western Kansu.
 122. Zurcher used the present tense (as quoted); Enoki used the past tense.
 123. Vide *infra*. Ch'ang Kien was apparently unfamiliar with the Sacaraucae.
 124. Walled city of Lan-shi (Balkh). Tarn, *ibid.*, 115. Now Graeco-Saka capital, later Kushan capital.
 125. All traversed by the Sacaraucae who finally settled in Aria and Arachosia, see Mitchiner, *ibid.*
 126. It did contain five early Graeco-Saka silver coins from the Balkh series; types 78-81.
 127. R. Curiel and G. Fussman, *Memoires de la Délégation Archéologique Française en Afghanistan*, XX, 1965. Found in an earthenware jar at Khist Tepe between Qunduz and Balkh while digging foundations for a military garrison. Among other coins may be noted Lysias (4), Antialcides (3), Theophilus (1), Philoxenus (1), Amyntas (5), Archebios (2), Hermaeus (1): all Attic tetradrachms except the five Attic double dekadrachms of Amyntas. All kings also struck Indo-Greek standard silver in the Kabul valley series (cfr. BMC; PMC).

128. In this new location the Sogdians lived after the nomadic manner of the Massagetae rather than transferring their previous urban culture to the new location: 'Kang-chu is situated about 2,000 li north-west of Ta-Yuan (Ferghana). It is a nomadic state with much the same customs as Ta-Yueh Chi. It had 80,000 to 90,000 archers and borders upon Ta-yuan. The country is small. Towards the south it is subservient to the Yueh-Chi, towards the east it is subservient to the Hiung-ni' (Shi Chih, 123, 3b in Zurcher's translation). It apparently included Tashkent region.
129. Quoted below. This Sogdian royal family was that which had co-existed alongside the Yueh Chi and descended from the royalty of the pre-Yueh Chi Sogdian kingdom.
130. Ch'ien Han Shou book 96a, Specht's translation rendered in English. Narain, *ibid.*, 130 gives Enoki's translation and Zurcher, *ibid.*, has provided another. Differences between these three translations are minor but those of Specht and Zurcher conform more closely to Chinese syntax while Enoki's version, being more fluent prose, tends to introduce elements of interpretation where stricter translation is ambiguous. This is exemplified by the passage in the Hou Han Shou which Specht translates 'when the Yueh Chi...passed among the Ta-hsia, divided their kingdom'. The kingdom divided could be either Yueh Chi or Ta-hsia. Enoki selects a specific kingdom and says '.. Ta-hsia which they divided.' This specificity appears invalid and the passage in question is summarised from the Ch'ien Han Shou where the subjugation of the Ta-hsia and the division of the kingdom occur in separate contexts and show that the division applies to Yueh Chi and not to Ta-hsia. Moreover the rest of the original passage locates these divisions in both Bactria and Sogdiana and therein again specifies them as divisions of all the Yueh Chi domain. One should note that Chinese verbs are not conjugated (unless qualified they do not indicate time) and from neither passage can it be inferred that Yueh Chi subjugation of Ta-hsia refers to the same period as the division of the Yueh Chi dominion. Both are independent statements and in the Ch'ien Han Shou the statement on Ta-hsia describes recent history while the divisions of the Yueh Chi describe an existing situation.
131. Here and subsequently place names in parentheses are those of Zurcher and are usually the same as those given by Narain from Enoki's translation.
132. Parthia.
133. In this context the kingdom of Northern Pakistan. Location is discussed in detail by Narain (*ibid.*, 135 ff) and Tarn (*ibid.*, 277; 472 ff). The latter placed Ki-pin in the Kabul valley, a location that is denied by this passage in the Ch'ien Han Shou which places the Kabul valley (Kao-fu) within the Yueh Chi realm and the kingdom of Northern Pakistan (Ki-pin) as an independent state on the southern border of Yueh Chi (cfr. also Hou Han Shou). This text appears to describe the situation when Heraios and his associate Kujula had incorporated the Kabul valley but had not yet acquired North Pakistan from Azes II (ie. the period c.AD 10 to 20); vide *infra*.
134. Ferghana
135. Summarised from the Shih Chih; West Bactria and Margiana; vide *infra*.
136. River Oxus.
137. Tibet. Described again in the 3rd century Wei Lio (E. Chavannas, T'oung Pao, 1905, 519 ff) Proto-Tibetan tribes of the Kara-nor region (Zurcher).
138. Summary from Shih Chih.
139. The sentence occurs in Zurcher.
140. Hsi-hou apparently meant both a grade of ruler and also the territory governed by that grade of ruler. Specht and Enoki gave the following list a territorial value (as quoted), Zurcher gave it a personal value (viz. the Yabgu of Hsiu-mi etc).
141. The Yang Gate (Zurcher).
142. Bamiyan. cfr. Fuye, RN., 1910, 6-73.
143. Kabul valley, vide *supra* et *infra*.
144. Specht's translation rendered in English. Part of this was quoted by Narain (*ibid.*, 131) in Enoki's translation and all was re-translated by Zurcher.
145. Balkh. Previously the capital of Ta-hsia.
146. The Governor general in the Turfan basin.
147. Then follows a summary from the Ch'ien Han Shou.
148. Specht sic., this clause is discussed in a previous footnote. Divided the whole Yueh Chi territory.
149. Zurcher's place names in parentheses (Enoki's are the same).
150. Zurcher and Narain say 'More than 100 years'
151. Heraios; vide *infra*.

152. Kabul valley. The Chinese were not familiar with both Kushan conquests of this region. Heraios conquered it from Hermaeus and placed Kujula in charge; Soter Megasthenes later conquered it from the Indo-Parthians (A-si).
153. Kingdom of the Dahae (Gawasa; Kodoy); ie. Choresmia; vide infra.
154. Northern Pakistan; cfr. footnote on Kao-fu. Heraios (Ch'iu-chiu-ch'ueh) conquered the kingdom of Azes II through the efforts of Kujula but it was Soter Megasthenes who conquered the region from the Indo-Parthians.
155. Zurcher and Narain say 'more than 80 years.'
156. Narain does not say that Yen-kao-chen was the son of Ch'iu-chiu-ch'ueh. Zurcher, like Specht, says that he was.
157. India; presumably referring to the Jumma-Mathura region. 'The country of T'ien-chuis low, humid and hot. This country lies on the bank of a large river. The inhabitants ride on elephants in warfare....they practice the ways of Buddha.' (Hou Han Shou, 118, 9b; Zurcher, *ibid*).
158. Zurcher and Narain use the singular.
159. Narain translates this 'in China.'
160. Kabul valley.
161. Zurcher only quotes their customs as being the same as those of India and adds a sentence about their commerce.
162. The Ch'ien Han Shou and the Hou Han Shou describe different events. The earlier record describes the period when Kujula, the Kushan, held the Kabul valley. The later record describes the Kushan re-conquest of the Kabul valley from the Indo-Parthians by Soter Megasthenes.
163. ie. Indo-Parthian : Gondophares and Abdagases.
164. One li was about 0.4 Km.
165. Chinese quotations of short distances tend to be reasonably precise while long distances are less so.
166. E. Chavannes, T'oung Pao, 1905, 519 ff., written in the 3rd century AD. The central route traversed Ferghana and the northern route passed north of the Pamirs.
167. Their capital, Ch'ien-shi, was in Sogdiana; it was situated too close to the residence of the Chinese governor general to have been in Bactria.
168. Bactria reached by the central route; Sogdiana reached by the northern route.
169. RN., 1910, 6-73.
170. Fuye, *ibid*.
171. Vide infra. The early Bactrian Yueh Chi coinage provides evidence of having been emitted from two East Bactrian mints in each of which it succeeded to coinage of the Greek kingdom and in each of which it was succeeded by the coinage of Heraios.
172. Vide supra et infra; conquered by Heraios who probably also struck its first Kushan coins. He established Kujula as associate in territories south of the Hindu Kush.
173. Quoted by Ghirshman, *Memoires de la Délégation Archéologique Française en Afghanistan*, XII, 1946, 130.
174. Situated across the Jaxartes, east of Yueh Chi., cfr. Narain, *ibid*., 130 ff.
175. Pan Chao refers to both K'ang-kiu and Yueh Chi as neighbours of Wu-sun; all three living in the general region of the Jaxartes. The later Sogdian kingdom comprised the K'ang-kiu and that group of Yueh Chi referred to by Pan Chao.
176. For discussion of the archaeological evidence see B. Staviskiy, *Papers on the date of Kanishka* submitted to the 1960 conference, 1968, 293-303. For a western reference to this new Sogdian kingdom see the Naqs-i-rustam inscription of Shapur I (240-70) in which he distinguishes between conquered Kushan territory, Kushanshahr, and the kingdom of Sogdiana that lay immediately north of Kushanshahr. E. Honigsmann and A. Maricq *Res Gestae Divi Saporis*, 1953.
177. Specht's translation rendered in English. Zurcher's (*ibid*) translation agrees.
178. ie. Some Yueh Chi and the Sogdians who both lived between the Jaxartes and the Oxus. The Yueh Chi and the K'ang-kiu referred to by Pan Chao (*vide supra*). Their location is further defined by the sites of their constituent principalities, dependencies of Samarkand (*vide infra*). Tashkent was included by the T'ang history but not by the earlier Wei-chou.
179. Hirth's translation of CII, 21 quoted from Fuye, RN., 1910, 54.

180. cfr. Shih Chih. The region from which the Hiong-nu originally induced the Yueh Chi to migrate.
181. The eight principalities subservient to Samarkand were Mi, Che (Kiss, one of the original Yueh Chi principalities), Ho (Kochania; another original Yueh Chi principality), Ngan (Bokhara), Siao-ngan (ie. Little Bokhara), Nasopa, Wu-mao and Mu. Chavannes' translation; identifications according to Fuye, RN., 1910, 6-73. Some of these eight principalities differ from those listed in the Wei-chou. Both reports list Ngan (Bokhara), Ho (Kochania), Che (Kish) and Mi.
182. K.K. Enoki, East and West, VI, 231-7.
183. Enoki, *ibid.*, presented a succinct analysis of the literary evidence and noted that according to the T'ung-tien of Tu-yu the Hephthalite kingdom was established 80 to 90 years before they sent an embassy to Wen-ch'eng (452-65) in 456. Establishment of the Hephthalite kingdom in Bactria was also noted by Ammianus Marcellinus, a soldier in the Roman army, who recalled that the Chionites (Hephthalites) lived on the most distant frontier of the Sassanian empire where they founded their own state when they freed themselves of Persian overlordship and went on to say that Shapur II spent the winter of 356-7 in the furthest limits of his kingdom on the borders of the Chionites and the Eusini (Kushans); vide M.F.C. Martin, JRASB., Num. Suppl. XLVII, 1937, 23-50. In fact Shapur spent this winter in Kabul as is attested by the Persepolis inscription of Slok, his High Judge of Kabul (Martin, *ibid.*). Subsequently the Hephthalites appear to have made peace with Shapur and to have helped him attack Amida in 359 (Martin, *ibid.*; Ghirshman, Les Chionites-Hephthalites, 1948).
184. Narain, *ibid.*
185. Time is indicated by such words as 'formerly.'
186. Vide *infra* for the coinage of Kujula and Soter Megas. See also Mitchiner, *ibid.*
187. Curiel and Fussman, *ibid.* for the Qunduz hoard. BMC. and Narain, *ibid.* for bilingual coins of the same kings.
188. Principality of Hi-thum with its capital Po-mao (Bamiyan).
189. Northern Pakistan. For his Gandhara, Taxila and other coin sequences and their links with those of Kujula see Mitchiner, Indo-Parthian and related coins.
190. After his kingdom became restricted to the Kabul valley; vide *infra*.
191. The Yueh Chi prince of Hi-thum; vide *infra*.
192. Conquest of Tu-mi and Hi-thum from Hermaeus by Sapadbizes and Pseigacharis.
193. His title 'Zaoy' in Greek, 'Yavugasa' in Karosthi is equivalent to the Chinese version 'Tchao-ou,' the title by which Yueh Chi rulers, particularly those of Sogdiana (also 'Yavug' and 'Yakub' on their coins), honoured their ancestry.
194. Certain obols in the Eucratides imitations series were attributed by Cunningham (NC., 1889, 268-311) to Liaka Kusulaka and have since been linked with Kujula. They belong to an earlier period than either and to a degraded series in which they are one (all three coins are from the same dies) of many issues with corrupt legends in malformed characters; vide *infra*.
195. Types 112-126.
196. Mitchiner, *ibid.*: TAXILA: beginning of Azes I - Azilises - Azes II sequence attributed by provenance and coin types (cfr. G. Jenkins, JNSI., 1955, 1 ff), for Rajuvala see J. Marshall (Taxila, Pl.241, 182); Kujula linked with Azes II by coin types; Gondophares-Abdagases and Sasan-Abdagases sequences linked with Azes II by coin types and control marks. MINT A: Zelonises linked with Azes II Gandhara issues by coin types but separated by control marks. MINT B: Azes II issues separated from his Taxila-Gandhara-Arachosia-Mint A issues by coin types, style and control marks; Kharahostes linked with Azes II by control marks. GANDHARA: beginning of Azes I - Azilises - Azes II sequence attributed by provenance and coin types (cfr. Jenkins, *ibid.*); Indravarma-Aspavarma linked with Azes II by coin types and control marks; Kujula not specifically linked with Azes II but excluded from other mints; later Aspavarma-Sasan-Abdagases issues linked with Azes II and with early Aspavarma issues by control marks. MATHURA: Rajuvala, satrap of Azes II (cfr. Taxila) attributed to this mint by links with satraps of Mathura and with a late Indo-Greek drachm sequence: Kujula similar coin type, style and denomination and Gondophares also.
197. In terms of the numbers of different control mark combinations this debasement, which was progressive rather than sudden, commenced about the middle of Hermaeus' reign and about one third of the way through Azes II's reign.
198. Vide Mitchiner, *ibid.*
199. Hou Han Shou, quoted above.
200. He is simply the Kushan of Tchao-ou Race on his Kabul valley coins but takes the title Maharajasa on his Northern Pakistan coinage.

201. Kujula, the Kushan, was only able to coin in the Kabul valley because Heraios had already expanded his Sogdian principality to include Eastern Bactria. It is also probable that Kujula's Kabul valley coinage was preceded by a Kabul valley issue of Heraios.
202. The two East Bactrian Yueh Chi principalities were conquered from Hermaeus who was the last Greek king to strike Attic silver coins; these were represented in the hoard found west of Qunduz. The Yueh Chi principality of Hi-thum (Bamiyan region) was founded within the southern territory of this Greek kingdom.
203. Various letters are affected; see particularly 'O' versus '□.'
204. The Kushan conqueror of the Kabul valley was Heraios rather than Kujula. It is inferred that Heraios conquered the Kabul valley c.AD 10, struck a small issue of billon tetradrachms (Indo-Greek weight standard and form) in its mint and then placed his kinsman Kujula in control of Kushan territories south of the Hindu Kush.
205. The Kabul valley was occupied when Heraios was issuing his Bactrian coinage and the earliest Kushan Kabul valley coins were probably issued by Heraios (vide infra). The Hou Han Shou also refers the Kushan conquest of the Kabul valley to the ruler who extended Kushan hegemony over the other Yueh Chi principalities (ie. Heraios).
206. Not until c.80 BC when Parthia incorporated Margiana.
207. At the time of Artara; vide supra.
208. Ch'ang Kien's appraisal, though true in part, should be treated with caution because he was apparently unaware of the Sacaraucae migration; vide supra.
209. Use of the Karosthi 'Vi' on these coins, as on most other local series of Soter Megas, is no help in attributing them. When the Indo-Parthians conquered the Kabul valley from Kujula a number of his mint officials are likely to have retired to Bactria and some may have moved south again with Soter Megas.
210. D.W. MacDowell, JNSI., 1968, 1 ff attributed these coins as a copper denomination (Attic hemiobol) to the Kabul valley. They are tetradrachms struck on the reduced Attic weight standard of Heraios. Their Attic weights and Attic coin types place them in Bactria, north of the Hindu Kush, not in the Kabul valley.
211. This was originally a control mark but by now only an imitated detail of the design.
212. Cunningham, NC., 1890, 157. See also MacDowall, *ibid*.
213. IMC., I, 61; PMC, I, 162; JNSI., 1968, 1 ff.
- 213a Attic types, Attic weight, typological links with preceding Balkh coinage.
214. The current money in Bactria comprised debased tetradrachms and drachms among which these coins of Soter Megas were a significant part.
215. Kujula could not have succeeded Azes II much earlier than c.AD 20 (Roman type coins) nor could Kujula have succeeded Hermaeus much later than c.AD 10 (Ch'ien Han Shou). Similarly Gondophares could not have acceded in Aria at a date far removed from c.AD 20 (Arian Saka and Parthian coinage) and he reigned at least 26 years (Takt-i-Bahi inscr. of his 26th year). In these respects Soter Megas occupied Northern Pakistan from Abdagases close to AD 70 and not before AD 60. Conversely Kanishka, who followed Soter Megas' successor Wima Kadphises and established an era about a century before Vasu Deva (ruling in years 74 to 98 of Kanishka's era) lost Bactria to the Sasanian Ardeshir I (AD 226-240) must have acceded at a date not far removed from AD 130. His accession date has been the subject of much discussion about which it will only be noted here that AD 78, a date still supported by Sircar and others, is numismatically unacceptable while c.AD 128, a date gaining increasing acceptance, is consistent with all the numismatic evidence. This means that, based on the numismatic evidence and accepting an accession date for Kanishka a few years prior to (or contemporary with) the creation of his era c.128, the reigns of Soter Megas and Wima Kadphises in Northern Pakistan extended from c.70 to c.125. Together with the independent evidence dating Heraios one can infer that Soter Megas succeeded Heraios in Bactria around AD 45/50.
216. The Dahae and the post-Kushan Choresmian kingdoms were not co-territorial but were centred on the Caspian coast and lower Oxus respectively.
217. Attic obverse type whose reel and bellet border places the prototype earlier than Soter Megas. Reverse type of Heraios and Soter Megas. These Choresmian tetradrachms are heavier and have broader flans than those of Soter Megas; they are also made of silver like those of Heraios, whereas Soter Megas' are copper.
218. S.P. Tolstov, Vestnik Drevnei Istorii, 1938, 120-45. See also R.N. Frye, NNM., 113, 1949, 16-23 and types catalogued below.
219. It is only in the context of Heraios that the term Choresmia is used to embrace all the territory between the Caspian and the lower Oxus. For the definition of Dahae and

Choresmia, the western part of this region, vide supra and for that of post-Kushan Choresmia, the eastern part of this region, vide infra. In numismatic terms the general period of Heraios marks the end of the Dahae kingdom and the rise of the later kingdom. Contemporary Chinese sources refer to Heraios' conquest of the Dahae kingdom (P'u-ta).

220. P'u-ta; Ga-ua (sa); Kodoy in Chinese, Aramaic and Greek. Chinese text quoted above.
222. Fundamentally the conclusions derived in this section differ from those of previous authors only by placing Yueh Chi expansion into Bactria late, rather than early, in the 1st century BC. Any other differences follow from this. Coins:- SOGDIANA: persic standard and legends in Sogdian aramaic, anonymous BC.130-AD 80 (types 60-4). CHORESMLIA: Attic and reduced Attic standard and legends in Choresmian aramaic, Artara et al. (Dahae types 30-9) till c.BC 10 conquest by Heraios (no local issues attributable to Heraios), after c.AD 40 anonymous (types 66-9). MARGIANA (Merv): Attic standard and corrupt Greek legends; Eucratides imitations till Parthian conquest (types 74-7). WEST BACTRIA (Balkh): Attic and reduced Attic standard and corrupt Greek legends; Heliclos imitations (types 78-93) in silver till c.80 BC. then copper till time of Heraios; modified types by Soter Megas c.AD 50 (type 101). EAST BACTRIA: Attic standard and intact Greek legends, Greek kings (Qunduz hoard) till Yueh Chi occupation from Hermaeus by Sapadbizes (Tu-mi = Qunduz. Round letters, types 94-5) and Pseigacharis (Hi-thum = Bamiyan. Square letters, type 96) c.20 BC. Kushan occupation by Heraios c.10 BC with issues from both mints (types 97-9) till c.AD 45/50 and by Soter Megas from Qunduz (type 100). KABUL VALLEY and N.PAKISTAN: Indo-Greek standard and usually bi-lingual (Greek-Karosthi), Azes dynasty in silver then billon till Kushan conquest with issues by Heraios (type 114) and his subordinate Kujula (types 115-29), conquered by Indo-Parthians (types 130-2; BMC., PMC) and re-conquered by Soter Megas (types 133, 145-6) who subsequently established a general coinage on this weight standard throughout Bactria, the Kabul valley and North Pakistan (types 102-13; 134-44; 147-61).
223. Types 57-9 for this period; types 40-56 for previous issues.
224. The first character is conjoined 'MaL' not 'Ma.' See Table III and Fuye's plates.
225. Tchao-ou denoting Yueh Chi descent from the original migrants expelled by the Hiong-nu (cfr. Wei Chou quoted above). Yavugasa (Karosthi)-ZaaoY (Greek) on coins of Kujula. Yakub on later Sogdian coins and subsequently Hub (by the Hephthalite period when these latest coins were struck the, originally ethnic, title had become synonymous with king).
226. These three districts were seats of principalities until the time of Heraios. As the three groups of coins are equally common and show comparable ranges of type variation it is likely that all three districts retained mints until the foundation of the Sogdian kingdom c.AD 80.
227. Tetradrachms of the Yueh Chi period weigh around 9 grammes. The debased drachms of this period would give a tetradrachm of 8 grammes. Coins of this group are linked by provenance with Bokhara, Oxus, Balkh region; Fuye, RN., 1926, 37 ff and 141 ff; also Prinsep's Essays, vol.2, 30.
228. Mani was first permitted to preach in Iran by Shapur I. See Honigman and Maricq, Res Gestae Divi Saporis, 1953, 21-38.
229. 'MaLHA Yakub' appears the correct reading of the 13 available legends. The initial 'M' resembles 'K' (or 'B') in Fuye's transcriptions and on some coins but other coins suggest this is because the first part of the character is sometimes off the flan. Transliteration of the conjoined 'HA' appears certain when compared with character forms on preceding series. 'K' is normal but the terminal 'B' is modified and its transliteration probable. 'L' and 'U' have their standard form and each can be read 'L, Z, U, V, Y or W.' Fuye's reading 'BUHMaZDAI' differs from 'MaLHA Yakub' in respect of 'M' (for 'B'; part of character usually off flan), 'L' (for U; both valid), 'HA' (for 'HM'; almost certainly 'HA'), 'Y' (for Z; both valid), 'K' (for 'D'; D not used in Sogdian cfr. Frye, *ibid*) and 'B' (for 'A'; probably 'B').
230. ie. Lord King of Bokhara. Frye, NNM., 113, 1949 discussed the translation.
231. Legend reads from 2 o'clock with characters base outwards. Fuye read 'L' as 'Z', both characters have the same form at this period. 'M' is conjoined with 'L' (MaL) on silver but separate on copper coins. In 'A' the cross-stroke now traverses the other two strokes to produce a triangular character. The two arcuate strokes of 'S' are now conjoined superiorly; Fuye read this as 'D' but as Frye (*ibid*) noted 'D' was not used in Sogdian aramaic. Hence Fuye read MaZDA KoDAD instead of MaLKA SaKAKA.
232. Samuaka, of which Sakaka appears to be a variant, is close to the Arabic Samarkand and to the contemporary Chinese version Sa-mo-kien.
233. Progressive evolution of the character 'K' has been noted. The form of the flames above the altar shows comparable progressive changes.

234. The series continued after the Arab conquest until about AD.810; the later issues bearing Arabic legends naming various caliphs and governors. See BMC for details.
235. Frye, NNM., 113, 1949. Henning's system of transliteration, adapted to transliterating Pehlvi, differs from that used here. The transliteration given here is Henning's (ie. the aramaic value of each character is his) but its mode of expression in Roman letters is adapted to conform with other aramaic legends transliterated in this paper.
236. For an analogy see the Dahaeen coinage where 'A' may be modified in final position, 'U, V and Y' are the same character.
237. This Sogdian 'A' can be linked with the Achaemenid-Dahaeen 'A' or with the Achaemenid-Dahaeen-Sogdian 'A' (it would then be a reversed A). It is unlike other characters.
238. Walker, BMC. Arab-Sassanian coins. Frye, *ibid.*
239. RN., 1926, 37 ff.
240. RN., 1926, 141 ff. One coin from the Hermitage and one from his own collection.
241. RN., 1926, 144 ff. Most coins from the Khodja-Oban find north-west of Bokhara. One of his coins was overstruck on type 60 (cfr. p.149). For provenance see also E. Drouin, RN., 1896, 154-174.
242. Fuye's coin whose obverse is drawn in RN., 1926, 150 probably belongs to this type.
243. Also illustrated by R. Gobl, Documents zur Geschichte der Iranischen Hunnen, type 282, coin 3. This coin has the details of other early Bokhara drachms but its legend is not in Sogdian script and appears to be corrupt pehlvi.
244. S.P. Tolstov, Papers on the date of Kanishka submitted to the 1960 conference, 1968, 304-26. The main chronological evidence is derived from analysis of coin bearing strata. Tolstov also quotes radio-carbon dating but interprets assays too precisely since their intrinsic error is about a century. His earliest radio-carbon date, from a foundation deposit that preceded the flourishing of Choresmian culture was 140 BC (error 100 years) and apparently antedated the time of Heraios.
245. Tolstov, *ibid.*, Pl. VI, coin 2. Choresmia type 66 *infra* (compare with Margiana type 74).
246. For this symbol see type 66. This issue was apparently struck between c.80 BC when the Parthians conquered Margiana and c.0 BC when Heraios conquered Choresmia.
247. Reduced Attic standard (cfr. Eucratides imitations of Margiana and Choresmia; Bactrian issues of Heraios) for Choresmia; reduced Persic standard (cfr. pre-Yueh Chi and Yueh Chi Sogdian coinage) for Sogdiana.
248. Data on coin weights and fabric are too scanty for a definitive statement.
249. Tolstov conceives that Choresmian silver coinage was interrupted from the first century BC until after the reign of Vasu Deva, the Kushan; so that during this period countermarked Kushan copper coins formed the sole indigenous currency of Choresmia. Continuity of coin types and metrology render this unlikely and imply that countermarked Kushan copper coins circulated alongside early Choresmian silver coins. Choresmia was profoundly influenced by the Kushans as regards both culture and importation of coins but there is no reason to believe that it ever formed part of the Kushan kingdom after the period of Heraios.
250. Different obverse border, different distribution of reverse legend, smaller coin flans, debased metal and lighter coin weight.
251. S.P. Tolstov, Vestnik Drevnei Istorii, 1938, 120-45. See also Frye, *ibid.*
252. By analogy with the Sogdian series. Tolstov suggests a later date but the preponderance of later period coins from his excavations favours the early date.
253. S.P. Tolstov, Papers on the date of Kanishka submitted to the 1960 conference, 1968, 304 ff, recorded 60 Kushan copper coins recovered from Choresmia (Wima Kadphises 6, Kanishka 8, Huvishka 9, Vasu Deva 18, rest unclassified) of which 22 were from Toprak-kala (incl. 4,3,3,6 or each reign). Most coins, excluding those of Wima, bore the Choresmian symbol countermarked on both obverse and reverse.
254. Discussed by Tolstov (both papers cited). Type 67 appears to be 4th century insofar as the lion headdress derives from that of Hormizd Kushanshah (cfr. Gobl, *ibid.*, II).
255. 'Ma' of normal Dahaeen form and either isolate or conjoined as 'MaL.' 'K' and 'A' of Dahaeen form. Terminal 'A' placed on a line with the rest of the legend or above the 'K' of Malka.
256. For 'Mara' see Frye, *ibid.*
257. A. Markoff, J. Russian Oriental Society, 1891, IV. The characters show less ligation than on most coins.

258. Tolstov, Vestnik Drevnei Istorii, 1938, II.
259. Frye, NNM., 113, 1949, 21.
260. 'MaRA' not 'MaR'A': the final character is only slightly modified from earlier forms of 'A' and bears no relation to earlier forms of 'A.' Final word ends 'RaZM,' 'Ra' or 'RaM' rather than always 'RaZM' and commences 'HaR' or 'HAR;' see Table III.
261. Not catalogued in detail since one can add little to Tolstov's articles other than a re-appraisal of the legends.
262. Papers on the date of Kanishka submitted to the 1960 conference, 1968, VI, coin 2. Compare with type 74.
263. *ibid.*, VI, coin 1 and another cited.
264. *ie.* Tolstov, Vestnik Drevnei Istorii, 1938.
265. *Vide supra.* Countermarked Kushan coins also current.
266. Uncertain names; *vide supra* and Frye, *ibid.*
267. J. Russian Oriental Society, 1891, IV.
268. NC., 1896, 246-53; perhaps the coins originally published by Markoff.
269. NC., 1889, 268 ff.
270. H.H. Wilson, Ariana Antiqua, 1841, 311 noted a silver coin of the Horse series collected by Masson.
271. *cfr.* Type 101. The affinities were noted by MacDowall (JNSI., 1968, 1 ff).
272. *ibid.*, 311.
273. Cunningham, NC., 1889, 268 ff. Compare with type 66 from Choresmia.
274. Ariana Antiqua, 1841, 239. From General Ventura's collection; different corrupt inscription.
275. Glendining sale 18, 1970 (Nov) lot 45, Pl.II; weighed by author.
- 275a Prinsep's Essays on Indian Antiquities, ed. E. Thomas, London, 1888, vol.2, XIII, 5; legend PVEIA ENE MEBAAOY FVKPAT AOY.
276. Cunningham, *ibid.*, read this corrupt association of letters into a meaningful legend and his interpretation has persisted (eg. Narain, *ibid.*, 69; 108).
277. From Carmania (Koh-i-Taftan). Rapson, NC., 1904, XVII, 26.
278. Curiel and Fussman, *ibid.*
279. All coins in this series have round letter forms (Sapadbizes, Heraios, Soter Megas).
280. All coins have square letter forms in this series (Pseigacharis, Heraios).
281. Legends on BM. coins have standard forms of all letters together with such corruptions as reduction of 'R' at both sites to a thin oblique stroke or its omission, reduction of 'Sh' (written // on coins of Heraios only) to one or two thin oblique strokes, reversal of 'N' (all sites), reduction of 'Y' to 'V', alteration of 'K' to a reversed 'N' (both sites).
282. 'K' may be reversed; the name is followed by a letter that resembles 'B' on some coins. For discussion of the legend see among others Cunningham, NC., 1890, III ff and more recently R. Ghirshman, Begram, 1946, 109 f.
283. As Ghirshman, *ibid.*, averred.
284. His tetradrachms in the Kabul valley series have the same reverse but without addition of Saka. They appear to have been struck at this period, before Heraios had conquered the Graeco-Saka state of Western Bactria.
285. *Vide types* 57 to 59.
286. *Viz.* and anepigraphic obverse type showing a bust and a reverse marginal legend in Greek.
287. See also MacDowall, *ibid.*
288. Other changes occur. For instance, drachms in sequence 'a' bear a longer legend on coins with 14 or 12 rays than on other coins with 12 or fewer rays.
289. Balkh, the Kushan capital. One of the three Yueh Chi-Kushan mints situated north of the Hindu Kush and one of the two mints in the region that had previously struck a local series for Soter Megas. Kapisa; a mint for Hermaeus (the only mint for his later coins) and the main mint for Kujula; also mint for a local series of Soter Megas coins. Indo-Parthian coins were struck at two major mints in North Pakistan; Taxila and a town in Gandhara. Of these Taxila was the major mint (*cfr.* Mitchiner, Indo-Parthian and related coins) and apparently also struck the local N. Pakistan series of Soter Megas which provided the prototype (*cfr.* metrology; horseman) for his general coinage.

290. Shares square letters with sequence 'c' and three-pronged symbol with sequence 'a'.
291. The difference is so marked as to outweigh bias due to Taxilan coins being more likely than Bactrian coins to enter western coin collections.
292. For variable omission and reversal of letters see text.
293. Cunningham, NC., 1890, XII, 1, 2a, and 2 illustrate types 97 to 99.
294. Karosthi 'Vi' occurs on 3 local series of Soter Megas struck both where types and metrology were Attic and where they were Indo-Greek. Although presumably a moneyer's symbol it was not mint specific. This appears to be the earliest use of a Karosthi character on coins struck north of the Hindu Kush and may have been a sequel to exodus of Karosthi speaking subjects (including mint officials) from the Kabul valley to Bactria when Kujula lost that region to the Indo-Parthians. At this period Karosthi legends on Kabul valley coins became illiterate (Types 130-2).
295. BMC., XXIV, 6; Cunningham, NC., 1890, XII, 4.
296. BMC., XXIV, 5; Cunningham, NC., 1890, XII, 7.
297. In respect of square letter forms and both types of symbol this issue and type 107 could alternatively end this or the Kabul valley sequence or might conceivably have been struck in a minor Afghan mint.
298. Flying Nike crowning horseman: this type was used by Gondophares (eg. PMC., XV, 43) but not by any Kushan other than Heraisos. Only Heraisos was termed Tyrannoyates (of the Kushans). Transcription of 'Sh' as 'ff' was also restricted to Heraisos.
299. Note absence of Saka between horseman's legs. Discussed above.
300. NC., 1890, XII, 3.
301. The obverse legend around the bust is largely obliterated and its remnant 'Padata' is too incomplete for interpretation.
302. cfr. Sogdian coinage and Chinese annals discussed above. Rendered Yavug, Yakub and Hub in Sogdian Aramaic, Yavugasa in Karosthi and Zaaoy in Greek.
303. Hercules type copied from Pseigacharis.
304. The didrachm was a denomination introduced by Kujula.
305. NC., 1892, IV, 1-2 (didr. and drachms) and 45 ff; 63 ff. Whitehead in PMC links them with Kujula but catalogues them under Hermaeus.
306. Drachms only.
307. Minor degrees of corruption on square letter coins.
308. The predecessors of Kujula in N.Pakistan; Azes II and his satraps Indravarma, Aspavarma, Kharaostes, Zeionises and Rajuvala (cfr. Mitchiner, *ibid.*). Kujula's Bull/Camel coins struck in succession to Zeionises' Bull/Lion coins (with which they also share control marks) all have corrupt Greek and intact Karosthi legends.
309. Vide supra.
310. Mitchiner, *ibid.*
311. Attributed to Soter Megas by Cunningham (NC., 1890, XII, 8), Whitehead (PMC., 163) and MacDowall (JNSI., 1968, 1 ff).
312. MacDowall, *ibid.* also attributed the anepigraphic drachms to the Kabul valley whose mint he identified as Kapisa. For the local Taxila coinage see Types 145 f.
313. Cunningham, NC., 1890, XII, 3.
314. Cunningham, NC., 1892, IV, 3-4; BMC., XXV, 1-4. Discussed by numerous authors; recently by Narain, *ibid.*, 159 ff.
315. Cunningham, NC., 1892, IV, 1.
316. Cunningham, NC., 1892, IV, 2; BMC., XXXII, 8; PMC., IX, 682.
317. From their style and fabric these are late tetradrachms of reduced weight rather than early didrachms of nearly full weight.
318. A.S. Altekar, JNSI., 1947, 6-10.
319. Struck after his conquest of the Kabul valley from Abdagases c.AD 65/70.
320. PMC., XVI, 113; MacDowall, JNSI., 1968 1 ff.
321. For the other two sequences of his general coinage see Types 102-115 (Balkh) and 147-161 (Taxila).
322. Mitchiner, *ibid.*
323. Vide Balkh and Kabul valley.

324. Coins struck after his conquest from Abdagases c.AD 65/70.

325. Cunningham, NC., 1890, XII, 5 and 5a (tetr. and drachm); BMC., XXIV, 1; PMC., XVI, 96. For links with Taxila see MacDowall, *ibid.* and Mitchiner, *ibid.*

