The age of the Kushanas, which lasted for more than a century in India, stands at the crossroad of Indian History. It ushered in a new epoch marked by unprecedented expansion of trade and urbanization as well as religious catholicism. Beginning with a humble origin as a nomadic tribe Yueh-Chih in the Kan-Shu province of China, they were forced to escape to western regions in Central Asia. Before circa 130 B.C the Yueh Chih established their own kingdom in the Kuei valley, north of Oxus River. After circa 30 B.C, one of the five-tribal chiefs of Tahsia (eastern Bactria), the Kushanas became supreme and conquered the areas ruled by the other four chiefs. Under the leadership of Kujula Kadphises, they embarked upon a policy of conquest, extending their rule up to the south of Hindukush, in the Kabul valley. It was Wema Kadphises, who carried forward this empire building process by extending the Kushana hegemony over the Ganga-Yamuna doab which had hitherto escaped political domination by rulers of non-Indian origin. In the light of the Rabtak inscription, we can conclusively argue that the Kushanas had established their sway over north India upto Pataliputra, before or atleast by the year one of Kanishka era. Their vast empire extended up to Bihar in the east and the Oxus region in the west, thus, bringing together parts of the erstwhile Soviet Central Asia, Afghanistan, Pakistan and north India under a single political power. The Kushanas not only succeeded in bringing about imperial unity for more than a century but also established a peaceful synthesis among different ethnic elements, cultures and people of divergent faiths, who inhabited this vast mass of land.

The sheer vastness of the Kushana empire extending from Bactria to Bihar has attracted scholarly attention from various parts of the world towards Kushanas. As written records either by them or about them are exceedingly scarce the study of Kushana coins, inscriptions and material remains becomes indispensable for the reconstruction of their history. The history of the Kushanas would be incomplete, if the numismatic testimony to their power
and strength is removed. As a result, much has been written about the Kushanas in general and about their coins in particular. But as archaeology continues to unravel the material wealth of this great Kushana empire, adding new dimensions to the already existing knowledge, rewriting of their history also becomes an integral part of this ongoing process. Here, an attempt is made to provide a brief historiographical survey of the important works on Kushanas and Kushana numismatics, right from the inception of studies on Indian archaeology and numismatics.

HISTORIOGRAPHIC SURVEY

The establishment of the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1784 and the publication of its journal, Asiatic Researches in 1788, gave a fillip to the antiquarian studies in India. Attempts were made to unravel the ancient remains scattered all over the Indian subcontinent which were as yet hopelessly unintelligible. Some officers like Colin Mackenzie, Dr. Robert Tytler and James Tod had turned their attention to the collection of coins and other antiquities. During the early nineteenth century, Kushana coins were acquired by Claudius James Rich, a resident of the East India company in Baghdad and were reposed in the British Museum in 1825.¹ One of the earliest writings on ancient Indian coins was James Tod’s Memoir on Indian Coins which was published in the first volume of the Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society in 1827.² An avid coin collector, Tod had amassed as many as 20,000 coins from the region of Agra, Mathura, Ujjain and Ajmer. In this Memoir he brought into prominence for the first time, what we now know as the Graeco-Bactrian, Kushana, western Kshatrapa and Gupta series of coins. His paper can be said to have marked an era as Indian numismatics was born. James Prinsep has rightly described Tod as the father of Indian Numismatics.³ In the third

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series of his medals, i.e. No. 10, 11, 12 and 13, he had described Kushana coins as “all evidently of the same family”.

The extraordinary genius under whose magic wand, Indian Palaeography and Numismatics came into its own was James Prinsep (1790-1840). An architect by training, Prinsep came to India in 1819 as an assistant to H.H. Wilson, the Assay Master of the Calcutta mint. After serving as the Assay Master of the mint of Varanasi for several years, he became the Assay Master of the mint of Calcutta in 1833. Meanwhile political employees of the East India Company’s Government were making extensive collections of coins and other antiquities, from various parts of India and Central Asia. These coins were forwarded to the Calcutta mint for interpretation and decipherment. This labour led James Prinsep into the study of coinage and the abundance of material enabled him to publish a regular series on coins in the *Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal* (JASB). In 1830, General Ventura, an army officer in the service of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, excavated the Manikiala Tope (stupa) in Punjab (Pakistan) which yielded large number of coins belonging to Shaka-Kushana dynasties. During the course of Lieutenant Burneas’ explorations on his route to Bokhara, the successful field work of Swiney in Karnal and Captain Cautley in Behat, a number of Bactrian and Indo-Scythian coins were collected. All this aroused interest in the study of the Kushana coins and their history. Prinsep’s real involvement with Kushana history started in 1833, with the arrival Burneas’ collections. In his note on Lieutenant Burneas’ collection of ancient coins, Prinsep reported a coin of Kanishka, “…Tartar or Scythic conqueror of Bactria”, on which the legend could be read for the first time. In various articles regularly published in JASB, we find Prinsep describing some Kushana coins including the plastic coins casts forwarded by General Ventura, coins from Behat, coins of

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4 J. Prinsep, ‘Note on the coins found by Captain Cautley in Behat’ in Edward Thomas (ed.), *Essays on Indian Antiquities, etc. of the late James Prinsep*, London, 1858, p. 84. These coins were discovered from an ancient town situated 26 kilometre north of Behat in northern parts of Sahararpur district in Uttar Pradesh.
Swiney’s collection\(^1\), etc. In his essay ‘On the Connection of various ancient Hindu coins with the Grecian or Indo-Scythic Series’, he elaborately traced the descent of the “Kanauj” (Gupta) coins from their Indo-Scythic (Kushana) prototypes.\(^2\) These were the earliest attempts at identification and interpretation of Kushana coins with their legends, symbols and deities.

In 1833, Charles Masson, discovered the site of Begram in Afghanistan which proved to be a veritable mine of ancient coins. With the publication of Masson’s memoirs (Three volumes) describing the ancient coins found at Begram, the whole concept of Bactrian history was revolutionized.\(^3\) Besides the known Graeco-Bactrian coins, Masson discovered the coins of Kadphises group which he rightly placed before the Kanishka group and the coins of a ‘Soter Megas’ the ‘Great saviour’ who was to remain an enigma.

In Europe, scholars like M.R. Rochette and M.R. Jacquet were taking keen interest in Indian Numismatics. The work of compilation of the newly discovered material and an attempt to classify them became the main task of the pioneers in the field of numismatic studies. A descriptive list of one hundred and forty-three coins of Bactrian and Indo-Scythian rulers, compiled chiefly from the memoirs of Jacquet and Rochette, was included by Mionette in the eighteenth volume of the supplement to his great work on classical numismatics\(^4\) in 1837. This was followed by the publication of Christian Lassen’s German work, *Zur geschichte der Griechischen und Scythischen Konige in Baktrien, Kabul und India* from Bonn in 1838 which was later translated in English by Roer in *JASB* in 1840.\(^5\) In 1841, H.H. Wilson published *Ariana Antiqua* which provided a summary of researches on ancient Indian numismatics till that date. Giving a systematic description of the

\(^5\) Roer, ‘Points in the History of the Greek and Indo-Scythian Kings in Bactria, Kabul and India, as illustrated by deciphering the Ancient Legends on Their coins’, *JASB*, Calcutta, 1840, pp. 251, 339, 449, 627 and 733.
archaeological material and coins unearthed in Afghanistan and coins procured by Colonel Smith at Benares, he described coins of ‘Kadphises, Kanerki, Kenoranao, Ooerki, Varaora’, etc, in detail.¹ In 1858, Edward Thomas edited and published a collection of Prinsep’s essays which were originally published in the JASB in the form of two volumes entitled Essays on Indian Antiquities, etc. of the late James Prinsep.² These works can be regarded as real milestones in the progress of Indian numismatics and archaeology.

The unfinished task of James Prinsep was carried forward by Sir Alexander Cunningham under whom the next and a more systematic phase of Indian archaeology was initiated. Cunningham had aided Prinsep in making a thorough scrutiny of all the available collections of the Asiatic Society of Bengal and thus he was initiated into the craft of interpreting historical sources by the master himself. As the executive engineer of the king of Oudh, he discovered the actual site of Sankisa in Farrukhabad district of Uttar Pradesh, in 1843. In 1860, he discovered a monastery on the site called Huvishka-Vihara, inside the Katra Square in Mathura. The Archaeological Survey of India was established in 1861 and Cunningham began his career as the Archaeological Surveyor with a visit to Gaya and Bodh Gaya, in the same year.³ As the first Director General of the Archeological Survey of India, he provided a firm foundation to Indian Archaeology during his double tenure between 1862-1868 and again between 1872-1884. Following the footsteps of the Chinese pilgrims Hiuen Tsang and Fa-hien he visited and explored various archaeological sites in different parts of India. His Archaeological Survey Reports (1862-1884) in twenty three volumes provided a comprehensive survey of his tours and the archaeological material including

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¹ H.H. Wilson, Ariana Antiqua, London, 1841. Section IV of Chapter X deals with the finds and description of these Kushana coins.
coins with their provenance. During his extensive tours he came across Indo-Scythian coins from several sites like Mathura, Sankisa, Banaras, Bhita, Kasia, Allahabad, Gazipur, etc. From 1885 onwards, after retirement, Cunningham wrote a series of articles on the Indo-Scythian coins in *Numismatic Chronicle*, which were eventually published in the form of his book, *The Coins of the Indo Scythians*. This comprehensive book provides a description of all the known coins of the Indo-Scythians together with their historical notices. He arranged the Kushana coin types under the heads of seven planets and traced Roman borrowings in Kushana gold coins. He further published other works entitled *Coins of Ancient India* and *Coins of Later Indo Scythians* in 1891 and 1895 respectively. Though some of Cunningham’s theories may now prove to be out of date, his field surveys, the discovered material and observations in general seem to have permanent value for the study of Kushana coinage. The credit of a pioneering work giving a scholarly account of various Kushana coin types, legends and metrology indeed goes to Cunningham.

The names of many other scholars were also associated with this early phase of the development of Indian numismatics. In 1887 Sir Aurel Stein published his paper entitled ‘Zoroastrian Deities on Indo-Scythian Coins’ in which he expressed his views on the Iranian origin of the deities that appear on the reverse of Kushana coins. Meanwhile, an enthusiastic move was made towards the task of cataloguing coins housed in various museums of the Indian sub-continent and abroad. Percy Gardener published the *British Museum Catalogue of Coins of the Greek and Scythic kings of Bactria and

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1 A. Cunningham, *Archaeological Survey Reports* (henceforth ASR), Calcutta, 1862-84 (Twenty three volumes).
4 *Ibid.*., Part II entitled ‘Notes on the coins of the Indo Scythians’ deals with the interpretations of the coins.
7 *Indian Antiquary* (henceforth IA), Vol. XII, Bombay, 1887.
India in 1886. In this work he made an extensive study of each Kushana coin housed in the British Museum, London, giving an account of the type, legend, symbol, monogram, metal, size and weight of those coins. In 1894, C.J. Rodgers came up with his work, *Coin Collecting in Northern India* which was mainly a collection of his twelve articles that had appeared in the Pioneer. C.J. Rodgers had served in India for about thirty years and was the Honorary Numismatist to the Government of India, thus he had acquired great experience on the subject. In 1895, he brought out the *Catalogue of Indian Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta*. In 1897, E.J. Rapson published his remarkable monograph titled *Indian Coins*, containing a survey of Indian numismatics, more or less based on the lines of Cunningham’s researches. R.B. Whitehead brought out the *Catalogue of Coins in the Punjab Museum* in 1914. Vincent Smith published the *Catalogue of Coins in Indian Museum, Calcutta* in 1919 and B.B. Bidyavinod’s *Supplementary Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum, Non-Mohammedan Series*, came out in 1923. As expected, Kushana coins formed an integral part of the coins collections of these museums and thus found their way in these catalogues.

One of the most vexed question in Kushana history that eludes solution has been the fixation of the date of accession of Kanishka-I. In order to arrive at some consensus on the issue, an International Seminar was held in 1913 in London, under the auspices of the *Royal Asiatic Society*, which was attended by renowned scholars like E.J. Rapson, E.W. Thomas, J.F. Fleet, V.A. Smith, L.D. Barnett, Longworth Dames, J. Kennedy and R.B. Whitehead. These early

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scholars variously placed Kanishka-I between 57 B.C and A.D. 278. The seminar however could not solve the issue to the satisfaction of all but it did succeed in weakening the contention of Fleet, Barnett and Kennedy of an early date of 57 B.C for the Kanishka era. With the aid of the numismatic data it was convincingly shown that the Kadphises group of Kings preceded the Kanishka group, for the tradition of biscriptalism and bilinguism of the Yavana-Shaka-Pahlava predecessors could not have been discontinued by the Kanishka group only to be reintroduced by the Kadphises group.¹

The chronology of the Kushana was further settled by the stratified discoveries of their coins by Sir John Marshall at Taxila, during his excavations from 1913-1934. These discoveries conclusively determined the anteriority of the Kadphises group to the Kanishka group of kings which were followed by the Later Kushnas, the Kidarites and then the White Huns.² The stratified archeological material of Taxila³ is thus of immense historical value for Kushana chronology in particular and for Indian history in general.

The problem of the date of Kanishka-I, continued to attract the attention of scholars even in the second half of the twentieth century. As a result, another International Conference was held in London to discuss this issue in 1961 under the auspices of the London School of Oriental and African Studies. The conference was presided over by A.L. Basham and attended by numerous renowned scholars from various countries - India, Pakistan, Russia, Britain, Germany, Italy, etc. who submitted their papers on the problem with new interpretations based on fresh material. These papers were edited by A.L. Basham and published as Papers on the Date of Kanishka.⁴ It contains altogether thirty papers of twenty six scholars including F.R. Allchin, R.B. Whitehead, A. H. Dani, Ghirshman, R. Gobl, J.M. Rosenfield, Von Lohuizen-de Leeuw, D.D. Kosambi, R.C. Majumdar, A.K. Narain, D.C. Sircar, P.L. Gupta, etc. F.R. Allchin examined the results of Marshall’s discoveries in

² Ibid., pp. 785-91.
Taxila in relation to the coin finds at Sirkap, Sirsukh, Bhir mound and Dharmarajika stupa, in order to establish the correlation between the coin sequence and the building periods. As pointed out by A.L. Basham in his editorial introduction, the problem of the date of Kanishka, remained far from settled, but most scholars supported dates ranging from AD. 78 to 144. While Ghrishman, Dani, Gobl, P.L Gupta and Pulleyblank held that Kanishka ascended the throne in A.D. 144, Rosenfield advocated a date between A.D. 110 and 115. A.K. Narain proposed a new theory placing Kanishka in AD. 103. Except R.C. Majumdar who still advocated the theory of A.D. 248, most other participants of the London Conference supported the old view that Kanishka ascended the throne in A.D. 78 and the era initiated by him came to be known as the Shaka Era.

In the London Conference, B. Stavisky and S.P. Tolstov had initiated a debate on the study of Kushanas in Central Asia, which was taken up as the main theme of the *International Conference of the History, Archaeology and Culture of Central Asia* held at Dushanbe (Tajikistan) in 1968 and another conference at New Delhi in 1969. The abundant discoveries of Kushana coins and other antiquities from the southern parts of the former Soviet Union had aroused great interest in Kushana art and archaeology. A number of European Orientalists, together with outstanding scholars from India and other Asian countries participated in the Dushanbe Conference. Many of the papers submitted in this conference were on Kushana archaeology and coinage, which were all published in two volumes entitled *Central Asia in the Kushana Period,* in 1974-75. Among the papers MacDowall's 'Implication for Kushana Chronology of the Numismatic context of the Nameless king'; N. Gorfunova's

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1 A.L. Basham (ed.), *Papers on the Date of Kanishka,* Leiden, 1968, pp. 4-34
'Fergana in the Kushan Period'\textsuperscript{1}; G. Frumkin's, 'On Soviet Archaeological finds related to the Kushan period'\textsuperscript{2}; T. Higuchi's 'Kyoto University Mission's Work in the Kushan area'\textsuperscript{3}; A. Dani and F. Khan's 'Kushan Civilization in Pakistan'\textsuperscript{4}; G.R. Sharma's 'The Saka Kushans in the Central Ganga Valley'\textsuperscript{5}; D.C. Sircar's 'Eastern India and the Kushans'\textsuperscript{6}; A. Ghosh's 'The Kushana levels at some excavated sites in North India'\textsuperscript{7} etc. are of particular interest for our theme of research.

Further, in 1982 an \textit{Indo-Soviet Symposium on Archaeology and Ancient History of India and Central Asia} was held at Allahabad in which Indian scholars discussed their latest discoveries of Kausambi while the Soviet scholars read papers on their researches on Central Asia, specially on the Kushana age. These International Conferences provided a great platform for interaction among scholars which gave an impetus to Kushana studies in India and abroad.

From the beginning of the twentieth century, 1902-03 onwards, the archaeological material discovered during the explorations and excavations conducted by the personnels of the Archaeological Survey of India, were systematically published in the \textit{Annual Reports to the Archaeological Survey of India}.\textsuperscript{8} Accordingly the reports and references of the excavations of Kasia,\textsuperscript{9} Sahet-Mahet,\textsuperscript{10} Vaishali,\textsuperscript{11} Bhita,\textsuperscript{12} Lauriya-Nandangarh,\textsuperscript{13} Taxila,\textsuperscript{14} Sarnath,\textsuperscript{15}

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item \textit{Ibid.}, pp.95-104.
\item \textit{Ibid.}, Vol. II, pp.15-38.
\item \textit{Ibid.}, pp.7-14.
\item \textit{Ibid.}, pp.108-11.
\item \textit{Archaeological Survey of India : Annual Reports} (Henceforth ASIAR), Calcutta and Delhi, 1902-03 to 1936-37.
\item ASIAR, 1904-05, p.52.
\item ASIAR, 1907-08, p.83; 1908-09, p.33.
\item ASIAR, 1913-14, p.99.
\item ASIAR, 1911-12, pp.62-65.
\item ASIAR, 1935-36, pp.55-56; ASIAR, 1936-37, pp.49-50.
\item ASIAR, 1912-13, pp.51-52; 1915-16, pp.33-34.
\item ASIAR, 1927-28, p.15.
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
Raja-Karna-ka-Qila,¹ Ushkar,² Shahri Bahlo³ and many more sites were published in the Annual Reports of the Archaeological Survey. Apart from these exceptional reports, the ASIAR seldom published the description of the coins discovered at various sites all over the Indian subcontinent, but generally remained satisfied with their vague reference only. This policy of publishing its annual reports was followed by the ASI only till 1936-37. It was only in 1953-54 that the survey resumed the publication of an annual statement of the ventures undertaken in the form of Indian Archaeology – A Review.⁴ This annual series contains a brief review of the excavations, explorations, projects, numismatic and epigraphic finds and other achievements of the Archaeological Survey on an annual basis. The excavations and explorations conducted by the survey all over north India yielded a large number of coins, pottery and other antiquities from a large number of sites related to the Kushanas rule. These reports are very useful for the study of the material culture during the Kushana period. Unfortunately, coinage seems to have failed to capture the fascination of the archaeologists and thus only stray but useful references are found in these annual report of the ASI.

Further, archaeological details were also published in separate Excavation Reports, the Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India⁵ and other archaeological journals like Ancient India,⁶ Puratattva,⁷ Indian Antiquary,⁸ Man and Environment⁹, etc. Across the border, the archaeological developments of Pakistan were reported in their journals like Pakistan Archaeology,¹⁰ Ancient Pakistan,¹¹ Sindhological Studies¹², etc. A detailed

¹ ASIAR, 1921-22, p.46.
² ASIAR, 1916-17, p.13.
³ ASIAR, 1909-10, pp.49-50.
⁴ Indian Archaeology – A Review, ASI, New Delhi, 1954 onwards. Henceforth IAR.
⁵ Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, ASI, New Delhi, 1919 onwards. Henceforth MASI.
⁶ Ancient India, 22 Vols., ASI, New Delhi, 1946 onwards. Henceforth AI.
¹⁰ Pakistan Archaeology, Islamabad, 1964 onwards.
¹¹ Ancient Pakistan, Bulletin of the Department of Archaeology, University of Peshawar, Peshawar, 1964 onwards.
¹² Sindhological Studies, Jamshoro.
report of the excavation of Hastinapur\(^1\) was published in the *Ancient India* (Vol. 10-11) and the report of the *Excavation of Srigaverpur*,\(^2\) both conducted by B.B. Lal, was published in *Puratattva* (Vol. 10) as well as in *MASI* No. 88. Some of the important, published reports useful for the study of Kushana history are A.K. Narain’s *Excavation at Rajghat*\(^3\) (1978), Altekar and Mishra’s Report on *Kumrahar Excavation*\(^4\) (1959), Herbert Hartel’s *Excavation at Sonkh*\(^5\) (1993), J.P. Joshi’s *Excavations at Manda and Bhagawanpura*\(^6\) (1993), G.R. Sharma’s *Excavation at Kausambi*\(^7\) (1969), K.M. Srivastava’s *Excavation at Piprha and Ganwaria*\(^8\) (1996), R.C. Gaur’s *Excavation at Atranjikhera*\(^9\) (1983), B.P. Sinha and Sita Ram Roy’s *Vaishali Excavations*\(^10\) (1969), Suraj Bhan’s *Excavation of Sugh*\(^11\) and *Excavation of Agiabir*\(^12\) by Vibha Tripathi and Prabakar Upadhyay. Apart from these, some reports have been published in state archaeological journals such as *Pragdhara* (U.P.), *Journal of Haryana Studies* etc. Like wise the reports on the *Excavation at Ambaran*\(^13\) and *Excavations at Kanispur*\(^14\), both by B.R. Mani and *Excavations at Muhammadnagar and Harnol*\(^15\) were published in *Pragdhara – the Journal of Uttar Pradesh State Archaeological Organisation* (1990-91 onwards). Many other state journals like, *The Journal of Uttar Pradesh Historical Society*,\(^16\)

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Bulletin of Museum and Archaeology in Uttar Pradesh\textsuperscript{1}, Punjab University Research Bulletin, Proceedings of Punjab History Conference, Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Indian Museum Bulletin, Calcutta, Journal of Haryana Studies, etc., also carry important articles relevant for the study of Kushana history. Some international journals like South Asian Archaeology,\textsuperscript{2} Journal of Central Asia,\textsuperscript{3} Silk Road Art and Archaeology,\textsuperscript{4} Journal Asiaticque\textsuperscript{5}, etc. and some national journal like Proceedings of the Indian History Congress, Indian Historical Quarterly,\textsuperscript{6} Indian Historical Review, etc. also carry related articles, which have been useful for my theme of research. Kushana coins and artifacts recovered in various exploration and excavation projects and reported in these journals and reports, form the primary sources of my research.

The numismatic material discovered right from the beginning of Indian numismatics threw light on diverse aspects of Indian coinage, which were dealt with in a large number of research papers in various journals such as Numismatic Chronicle,\textsuperscript{7} Numismatic Digest,\textsuperscript{8} Numismatic Supplement,\textsuperscript{9} Journal of the Numismatic Society of India,\textsuperscript{10} etc. Similarly the discovery of epigraphic material all over the Indian subcontinent found its way into works like S. Konow's Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum,\textsuperscript{11} D.C. Sircar's Select Inscriptions\textsuperscript{12} and Epigraphia Indica.\textsuperscript{13} H. Luder's 'A list of Brahmi Inscriptions from the earliest times to about 400 A.D. with the exception of those of

\textsuperscript{1} Bulletin of Museum and Archaeology in Uttar Pradesh, State Museum Lucknow, Lucknow, 1968 onwards.
\textsuperscript{2} South Asian Archaeology, London.
\textsuperscript{3} Journal of Central Asia, Islamabad.
\textsuperscript{4} Silk Road Art and Archaeology, Institute of Silk Road Studies, Kamakura, Japan.
\textsuperscript{5} Journal Asiaticque, Paris.
\textsuperscript{6} Indian Historical Quarterly, Calcutta.
\textsuperscript{7} The Numismatic Chronicle Journal of the Royal Numismatic Society, London.
\textsuperscript{8} Numismatic Digest, The Journal of Indian Institute of Research in Numismatic Studies, Anjaneri, Nashik.
\textsuperscript{9} Numismatic Supplement (of the Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal), Calcutta.
\textsuperscript{10} The Journal of the Numismatic Society of India, Bombay and Varanasi.
\textsuperscript{12} D.C. Sirca, Select Inscriptions Bearing on Indian History and Civilization, Vol. I, - From the sixth century B.C. to the Sixth Century A.D., 1st edition, Calcutta, 1942.
\textsuperscript{13} Epigraphia Indica, Calcutta and Delhi. Henceforth EI.
Ashoka\textsuperscript{1} published in *Epigrphia Indica*, Vol. X and *Mathura inscriptions*,\textsuperscript{2} edited by K.L. Janert are specially relevant for the study of Kushana history. As the primary sources of my research are the Kushana coins, inscriptions and archaeological material retrieved in various explorations and excavations conducted all over north India, the above mentioned archaeological, numismatic and epigraphic works as well as journals are of prime importance for my study.

Meanwhile numerous scholars had been working of various aspects of Kushana history and coinage in their individual capacity. In 1921 D.R. Bhandarkar published his *Carmichael Lectures on Ancient Indian Numismatics*\textsuperscript{3} in which he expressed his views on some socio-religious and mytho-religious aspects of the Kushana coinage. In 1957, J.N. Banerjee described the general characteristics of Kushana coins in the chapter on 'Coinage' in his work, *A Comprehensive History of India*.\textsuperscript{4} According to him the depiction of a variety of deities from a diverse pantheon on the coins of Kanishka-I and Huvishka, underlines their liberal spirit which was in marked contrast to the aggressive sectarianism of Wema Kadphises. He traced the process of Indianisation of the Kushanas by focusing on the Brahmanical divinities and their emblems on their coins, in his *Development of Hindu Iconography*.\textsuperscript{5} In 1959, Allen H. Wood brought out his monograph titled *The Gold Coin-types of the Great Kushanas*,\textsuperscript{6} giving a general description of a variety of Imperial Kushana coins alongwith their photographs.

\textsuperscript{1} H. Luders, 'A List of Brahmi Inscriptions from the earliest times to about 400 A.D. with the exception of those of Ashoka' *EI*, Vol. X, appendix.
\textsuperscript{3} D.R. Bhandarkar, *Carmichael Lectures, Ancient Indian Numismatics*, Calcutta, 1921.
In 1967, J.M. Rosenfield published *The Dynastic Arts of the Kushans* which provides a comprehensive study of Kushana coinage along with sculptures and other aspects of Kushana art. After discussing the creation of the empire in its first chapter, he has studied the coins of each Kushana rulers – Kujula, Wema, Kanishka, Huvishka, Vasu and later Kushanas, with illustrations and a discussion on their chronology. He prepared a list of divinities on the coins of Kanishka and Huvishka by dividing them into three categories, viz. Hellenistic, Indian and Iranian. He has also reviewed the early arguments related to the date of Kanishka. On the basis of the dated Kushana inscriptions, most of which are inscribed on sculptures, he has suggested the existence of two Kanishka eras as the years on the inscriptions go from 1 to 99 and then seem to start over again, simply omitting the 100. This well written volume still remains a standard work on Kushana history, art and coinage.

Among the Indian scholars, who contributed immensely towards the study of Kushana history, A.S. Altekar, A.K. Narain, B.N. Puri, P.L. Gupta, G.R. Sharma, B.N. Mukherjee, B.R. Mani and Bhaskar Chattopadhyay deserve a special mention. B.N. Puri's monograph *India Under the Kushanas* (1965), generally covered almost all aspects of the history and culture of the Kushana period, including a discussion on the nationality of Kushana, their home land, Chinese and Greek sources, social and economic life, religion and even details like family, dress, education, etc. But B. N Puri’s contribution to Kushana numismatics is mainly confined to appendix A, ‘A Note on Kushana Numismatics’ where he has discussed various types of Kushana coins, their metallurgy, legends, divinities, weight standards, monograms, etc. In 1977, B.N. Puri came up with *Kushana Bibliography* which provides a list of almost all important works on Kushanas, published till then. He also contributed

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articles on Kushanas, apart from co-editing *The History of Civilizations of Central Asia*,¹ Vol II.

The name of B.N. Mukherjee is specially notable for his outstanding contribution to the history and numismatics of the Kushanas. His major works on the Kushanas include *The Kushana Genealogy*,² *The Kushanas and the Deccan*,³ *Nana on Lion-A Study of Kushana Numismatic Art*,⁴ *The Economic Factors in the Kushana History*,⁵ *The Disintegration of the Kushana Empire*,⁶ *Kushana coins of the Land of Five Rivers*,⁷ *Kushana Silver Coinage*,⁸ *The Rise and Fall of the Kushana Empire*⁹ and *Kushana Studies : New Perspectives*.¹⁰ Apart from these, *An Agrippan Source : A Study in Indo-Parthian History*¹¹ and *The Indian Gold : An Introduction to the Cabinet of the Gold coins in the Indian Museum*¹² are also relevant for Kushana history and coinage. While writing extensively over a long time period, B.N. Mukherjee also contributed numerous articles to various journals like *JNSI, Indian Museum Bulletin, The Indian Historical Review*, etc.

*The Kushana Genealogy*,¹³ *The Disintegration of the Kushana Empire*¹⁴ and *The Rise and Fall of the Kushana Empire*,¹⁵ as the titles suggest, are essentially works on the political history discussing the genealogy, chronology, process of empire building and its disintegration under

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⁶ B.N. Mukherjee, *The Disintegration of the Kushana Empire*, Department of Ancient Indian History, Culture and Archaeology, BHU, Varanasi, 1976.
¹³ B.N. Mukherjee, 1967, *op. cit.*
¹⁴ B.N. Mukherjee, 1976, *op. cit.*
¹⁵ B.N.Mukherjee, 1988, *op. cit.*
the Kushana rulers. Mukherjee has liberally utilized the numismatic evidence to reconstruct the history of the Kushanas. According to him, the first known independent Kushana ruler was Miao, who founded an independent Kushana kingdom in Tahsia (eastern Bactria) and struck silver tetradrachms and abols in about the second half of the first century B.C.¹ He maintains that the device of ‘the king sacrificing at an altar’ introduced by Wema Kadphises on Kushana coins was adopted from the coins of the Imperial Parthian ruler Gotarzes – II (AD. 38-51).² Chapter VIII of The Rise and Fall of the Kushana Empire, titled ‘Epilogue - The Rulers and Ruled’³ covering wide range of aspects related to Kushanas including the concept of kingship, seat of power, administration, sources of revenue, religious policy, language, scripts, art activities, etc., is specially noteworthy.

Nana on Lion-A Study of Kushana Numismatic Art was B.N. Mukherjee’s first monograph on Kushana numismatics. The work is essentially a study of the well-known reverse device of the Sumerian goddess Nana seated on Lion, depicted on some Kushana coins. It is a small monograph comprising of five chapters and six appendices. Bringing out the importance of the study of the device, Mukherjee has traced the origin and development of the coin type. He has focused on the intermingling of the concepts, functions and iconic forms of such diverse divinities as the Babylonian Nana, the Assyrian Ishtar, the Persian Anahita, Artemis, Tyche, Demeter and the Indian Amba.⁴ He has pointed out that these syncretistic tendencies played an important role in the development of the iconographic and religious concepts of Durga, as well as Mahishasurmardini in India, which probably reflects the concept of Ishtar (Nana) as a war goddess.⁵ He believes that the popularity of various forms of goddess Nana in the territories from

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² Ibid., p. 335.
³ Ibid., pp. 313-443.
⁵ Ibid., pp. 19-20.
where the Roman trade passed in the centuries before and after Christ, played an important role in the adoption of this device by Kushana.¹

*Kushana Coins of the Land of Five Rivers* is chiefly a work on the Kushana coins found in the Punjab region. This monograph contains three sections and seven appendices. Section I deals with the attribution and impact of the coins. He maintains that Kujula Kadphises followed the numismatic tradition of the Indo-Parthians, while the coinage of Soter Megas display the tendencies of reformation.² With the reformation of coinage under Wema Kadphises, Kushana coinage acquired imperial character, which became diffused in the reigns of Kanishka-I, Huvishka and Vasudeva. He notices that the gold coins of Kanishka-II and Vasudeva-II with Ardoksho on the reverse are mainly found in the Punjab region, while the coins with Shiva are reported principally from further west.³ Section II is devoted to the art in Kushana coins and it offers a very comprehensive discussion on the iconography, style and technique of the coins. Examining a large number of coins he noticed correlations with the contemporary glyptic art.⁴ In this work, Mukherjee has also tried to show that the term ‘Later Kushana’ is misleading. On the basis of the numismatic evidence, he has shown that several families succeeded the Imperial Kushana in the Punjab region but most had certainly no connection with the imperial Kushanas. So they should be treated as only the successors of the Kushana Empire.⁵

The *Kushana Silver Coinage* is a small monograph of ninety-two pages in which Mukherjee has systematically culled together information regarding the extremely rare silver coins attributed to Kushanas. He has convincingly argued that the Kushanas did issue silver coins, which are genuine pieces and not forgeries. He has attributed three silver coins found from Sirkap (Taxila) to Wema Kadphises. He believes that Kushana silver coinage formed

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² B.N. Mukherjee, 1978, *op. cit.*, pp. 9-10
³ Ibid., p. 11.
⁴ Ibid., pp. 16-26.
⁵ Ibid., pp. 47-8.
a restricted currency because, the operation of Gresham’s law did not allow them to strike silver coins profitably in the northwest.\(^1\) Thus, the Kushana silver currency in the post-reformation age (Wema Kadphises onwards) was a provincial coinage meant for circulation in the lower Indus region only as this area was not yet used to the debasement of silver coinage.\(^2\)

*The Economic Factors in Kushana History*, is a short work of seventy pages in which Mukherjee has investigated the possibility of existence of economic factors behind political activity and growth of Kushana power in two regions, viz. the Shen tu or the lower Indus region and the Akara or Eastern Malwa.\(^3\) *The Kushana and the Deccan* is again a short book of hundred and fifty five pages in which he has critically evaluated the data related to the problem of relationship between Imperial Kushana and the Deccan, which have been interpreted as indicating the rule of Kanishka-I over a large portion of the peninsular India.\(^4\)

B.N. Mukherjee’s article ‘Revenue, Trade and Society in the Kushana Empire’\(^5\) provides a comprehensive analysis of the economic and social conditions of the Kushana period. Apart from gold and copper coins minted by the Kushana state, the silver coins struck by private agencies were also allowed to circulate in the Kushana Empire. In another important work ‘The Great Kushana Testament’, he has translated and interpreted the Rabtak inscription which has thrown new light on the genealogy, chronology as well as the extent of the Kushana Empire. Mukherjee believes that the new name introduced by the Rabtak inscription as the son of Kujula Kadphises and the father of Wema Kadphises, is ‘Sadashkana’\(^6\) instead of ‘Vima Taktu’ as read by Joe Cribb and N. Sims-Williams. In his latest book *Kushana Studies: New*

\(^1\) B.N. Mukherjee, 1982, *op. cit*, pp. 53-54.
\(^2\) *Ibid*, p. 56.
\(^3\) B.N. Mukherjee, 1970, *op. cit*.
\(^4\) B.N. Mukherjee, 1969, *op. cit*.
Mukherjee has incorporated the new information revealed by the Rabtak inscription. Mukherjee points out that since no royal title is given to Sadashkana in the Rabtak inscription he may only have ruled as a junior co-ruler and seems to have predeceased his father Kujula Kadphises, probably by A.D. 17, making his son Wema Kadphises the ultimate successor to the Kushana throne.

Baldev Kumar in his doctoral thesis, *The Early Kushanas*, has used numismatic data to reconstruct the history of the rise and fall of the Imperial Kushana power from Kujula Kadphises to Vasudeva-I while discussing the coins of each rulers.

Bhaskar Chattopadhyay is another Indian Scholar who is notable for his work on the Kushanas. His two monographs, viz. *The Age of The Kushanas-A Numismatic Study* and *Kushana State and Indian Society*, are essentially works on Kushana numismatics and history, while his third work *Coins and Icons-A Study of Myths and Symbols in Indian Numismatic Art,* also touches upon some aspects of the iconography of the Kushana coins. His first work, *The Age of The Kushanas-A Numismatic Study* is substantially based on his Ph.D. thesis in which Bhaskar Chattopadhyay has systematically compiled the varied evidences regarding the types, scripts, symbols, metrology, mythology, etc of the Kushana coinage and has drawn certain valuable conclusions from the data thus collected. In chapter IX entitled, ‘Provenance of the Kushana coins’ he has discussed the importance of the findspots of the coins and coin hoards in determining the extent of Kushana empire and to solve the problem of Kushana chronology. Bhaskar Chattopadhyay, in this extensive work has successfully treated Kushana coins as an independent subject of study, laying exclusive emphasis on the

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numismatic material in reconstructing Kushana history. In *Kushana State and Indian Society*,¹ he has widely utilized numismatic and epigraphic evidence along with literature to reconstruct various aspects of Kushana state like – Population, Territory, Sovereignty, Government, Dharma, Society, etc, which are dealt with in separate chapters. He has also looked into the issues of origin and growth of Kushana state, theory of divine origin of kingship, social stratification, etc. In his *Coins and Icons-A Study of Myths and Symbols in Indian Numismatic Art*, Bhaskar Chattopadhyay has provided a comprehensive study of the symbols and devices represented on early Indian coinage, including the Kushana coins. He has sought to prove a striking resemblance between Graeco-Roman mythology and Vedic-Epic-Pauranic Mythology² on the one hand and Iranian and Hindu deities representing some ethical concepts and natural phenomena³ on the other. Among the several useful papers written by Bhaskar Chattopadhyay, his paper titled ‘Methodological Approaches to the Study of Kushana Coins’⁴ deserves special mention. After tracing the history of the study of Kushana coinage in the 19th and 20th centuries, he has provided a systematic exposition of the varying approaches adopted by various scholars, thus indicating the main trends in research on Kushana coinage.

In 1984, Robert Gobl’s voluminous but remarkable German work, *System und Chronologies Der Munzpragung des Kusanreches* was published from Vienna.⁵ This descriptive volume contains excellent illustrations of almost all available coins till date of the Kushana kings, from Wema Kadphises onwards along with a discussion of their denominations, fabric, representations, weight, etc. According to Gobl, Kushana coins can be attributed to four mints viz A in Peshawar, B in Taxila, C in Kabul and D which is perhaps identical with B and E, situated somewhere in northwest Punjab.

¹ B. Chattopadhyay, 1975, op. cit.
² B. Chattopadhyay, 1977, op. cit, pp. 87-140.
³ Ibid, pp. 171-175.
But the existence of these mints is not proved by stratigraphic excavation or by legends guessing the name of the mint or city on the coins.\(^1\) This work is indeed the fruit of hard labour and untiring research carried out for a quarter of a century and is considered a standard work on Kushana coins.

Gritli Von Mitterwallner, Professor of Indology in the Ludwig Maxmillan University, Munich, delivered Growse Memorial Lectures at the Government Museum, Mathura in 1984, which were later published in the form of a monograph titled *Kushana Coins and Sculptures from Mathura*. This work is divided into two parts. The first part titled ‘Coins and Chronology of the Kushana’ deals with the select coins of Kushana from the Government Museum, Mathura and the State Museum, Lucknow.\(^2\) Mitterwallner has described the coins of the early Kushana rulers from Kujula Kadphises to Vasudeva-I in section A of part one,\(^3\) section B deals with the problem of the date of Kanishka-I\(^4\) and Kushana chronology and section C discusses the coins and chronology of the ‘Later Kushanas’.\(^5\) She agrees with David W. Mac Dowall that Kujula Kadphises, in the absence of his own coin tradition, adopted the coin types and denominations already prevalent in the territories conquered by him.\(^6\) She also supports the view of B.N. Mukherjee that Wema Kadphises derived the motif of ‘Standing king sacrificing at an altar’ from the Parthian king Gotarzes. She has discussed a unique gold coin of Vasudeva-I with legend BAZO HO (Bazodeo) depicting four-handed god Vasudeva (Krishna) with mace, conch shell, wheel and probably a vajra (thunderbolt) in his hands.\(^7\) After a long discussion on the date of Kanishka-I, Mitterwallner comes to the conclusion that Kanishka-I ascended the throne in or shortly after A.D. 143 and this reckoning turned into an Era.\(^8\) In the second part of

\(^2\) Ibid., pp. 1-47.
\(^3\) Ibid. pp. 1-4.
\(^4\) Ibid., pp 11-27.
\(^5\) Ibid., pp. 27-49.
\(^6\) Ibid, p. 2.
\(^7\) Ibid, p. 11.
\(^8\) Ibid, pp. 24-25.
this book she has discussed Kushana sculptures housed in the museums of Lucknow and Mathura.\(^1\) Mitterwallner has also contributed a number of articles on Kushana numismatics in various journals and her main interest has been the coins of ‘Later Kushanas’. In her article, ‘Legends of the Later Kushana gold coins’\(^2\) she has provided a comprehensive study of the types, varieties and the legends of the gold coins of Kanishka- II who, according to Mitterwallner, represents the first king assuredly of the line of the later Kushanas. In another article, ‘Informative Bazdeo coin in the State Museum, Lucknow’\(^3\) she has discussed light gold coins of Burn’s collection and one gold coin from State Museum, Lucknow, along with their legends. In this article, she has tried to demolish some of the contentions of R. Gobl regarding the disputed Kushana numismatics and chronology through a comparative analysis of the above mentioned gold coins.

Satya Shrava, the former Director of State Museum, Lucknow and Deputy keeper of National Museum, Delhi published his work The Kushana Numismatics\(^4\) in 1985. He had joined the Archeological Survey of India in 1947 and owing to his positions, got the rare opportunity to study the coin cabinets of various museums of the country that equipped him to write on Kushana coinage. As the work is a result of Satya Shrava’s four decades of hard labour, it raises high expectations which are unfortunately belied. It is a bulky volume which draws a sketch of almost all the important aspects of Kushana coins but lacks depth in the treatment of the subject. The work contains fourteen chapters, several appendices, charts and also photographs of 333 coins. While, Satya Shrava has been successful in culling together information about various aspects of Kushana coins like legends, metrology, monograms, deities etc, he has failed to draw out logical conclusions in his work. In 1993, he published another work entitled The Dated Kushana

\(^{1}\) Ibid, pp. 53-162.
\(^{3}\) G.V. Mitterwallner, ‘Informative Bazdeo coin in the State Museum, Lucknow’, Bulletin of Museum and Archaeology, No 41-42, pp. 31-44.
Inscriptions\(^1\) which is a collection of 217 dated inscriptions of Kushanas in both Brahmi and Kharoshthi script. Apart from the introduction, which throws light on the importance of Kushana inscriptions, the entire work provides a translation of the 217 inscriptions along with their list and maps. Although this work too fails to make any new logical suggestion, the compilation of inscriptions help in facilitating further research in this field.

Another archaeologist, who has written extensively on Kushana archaeology and history is B. R. Mani. In his well written work, *The Kushana Civilization-Studies in urban Development and Material culture*,\(^2\) published in 1987, Mani has analyzed the available data to explain the material forces responsible for the development of socio-economic structure in the Kushana age. After tracing the history of Kushanas from Central Asia to the Oxus region and then India, he has conducted an in-depth study of aspects like art and architecture, organization of government, industrial growth, external trade, society and culture. He believes that the Kushanas were responsible for popularizing heavy diaper masonry which can be seen in stupas and monasteries at Taxila and also in the buildings at Charsada.\(^3\) He observes that cultural assimilation became a reality during the Kushana period which in turn accelerated an all round development of civilization. This work clearly highlights the stages of urban development and analyses the reasons behind it during the Kushana period. B.R. Mani has excavated several sites in north India including Kanispur\(^4\) and Ambaran\(^5\) in Kashmir. In his article ‘*Kushan Rock Art Along the Indus From Leh to Batalik*’\(^6\) he has studied the rock engravings along the banks of Indus, Suru, Doda and Zanskar rivers discovered by him during an archeological investigation in Ladakh. He believes that the numerous ibex figures found on boulders are connected with fertility rituals. In another article ‘*Concentric Circles: Kushana Structural*

\(^3\) Ibid, p. 59.
Riddle in Kashmir\(^1\) he has discussed the overall plan of Harwan in Kashmir. Mani has made a study of decorated floor tiles with concentric circles found at several sites like Harwan, Kutbul and Kanispur which seems to have started in Kashmir during the early Kushana period.

An Indian Scholar who has devoted himself mainly to the study of coinage in India is P.L. Gupta. His book *Coins*,\(^2\) published first in 1969, still remains a popular book on the fascinating subject of coinage in India. In his long career spanning several decades he has written a number of research papers on Kushana numismatics and history. In 1994, ten of his papers on the Kushanas, along with two papers of Sarojini Kulashreshtha were put together and published in the form of a book titled *Kushana coins and History*.\(^3\) In this work, Gupta has put forward certain hypothesis attempting to reconstruct Kushana history on the basis of coins and has interwoven fragmentary evidences to complete the picture. His perception of Kushana history is based on his belief that Kanishka-I ascended the throne in the fifth decade of the second century A.D., most likely in AD. 144 (paper 7).\(^4\) He maintains that the Kushana empire never extended beyond Kanyakubja (Kannauj) in the east and the Kushana coins found in the eastern areas reached there through trade during the Gupta times, not as currency but as ‘commodities of common need’.\(^5\) He postulates that the fragmentary inscription discovered at Reh (Fatehpur district, U.P) belongs to Wema Kadphises, testifying his presence in the region and even identifies the Yavanaraja of Kharavela’s Hathigumpha inscription with Wema Kadphises.\(^6\) He further postulates the existence of three Huvishkas, hitherto unknown Huvishka-I, the father of Kanishka; Huvishka-II, the successor of Kanishka and Huvishka-III who successively ruled after Huvishka-II. Accordingly he has isolated certain gold and copper

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\(^1\) *Puratattva*, No.38, 2007-08, pp. 2.  
\(^4\) Ibid., pp. 55-60.  
\(^5\) Ibid., pp. 34-38.  
\(^6\) Ibid., pp. 160-61.
coins attributed to these different Huvishkas.\(^1\) In this work, P.L. Gupta and Sarojini Kulashreshtha have made an attempt to show that the Kushanas existed for about a century more after Vasudeva and were never wiped out of the Yamuna-Gangetic region, at any time earlier than c. A.D 370.\(^2\) In another research article ‘Kushana Silver Coins’\(^3\) in *Numismatic Panorama*, Gupta has put together all the available information about the limited silver coins of Kushana with his comments. According to Gupta, in all 17 silver coins of the Kushanas are known and most of them were discovered in north Afghanistan and the Indus region. Like B.N. Mukherjee, P.L. Gupta also suggests that these were regional issues and were issued in very small number probably on some particular occasion as commemoratives. P.L. Gupta is undoubtedly one of the greatest numismatists of India but his work suffers owing to his style of research. In his eagerness to theorise and offer some new suggestions, he sometimes tends to overlook other evidences which go against his theory. Trying to prove a doubtful point by another doubtful observation is one of the weakness of his works.

Kameshwar Prasad published his work *Cities, Crafts and Commerce under the Kushanas*\(^4\) in 1984. Making good use of contemporary literary texts and archaeological material, he has studied the development of urban settlements during the early centuries of the Christian era and has analysed various factors influencing the growth of Kushana towns in India. The accelerated tempo of urban growth in the Kushana period has been attributed to political stability, the progress in trade and commerce and an increased knowledge of craft and industries, by him.\(^5\) The survey of the location of Kushana towns in India done in Chapter II\(^6\) is especially useful for research in this field.

\(^2\) Ibid., pp. 98, 177-78.
\(^5\) Ibid., pp. 22-23.
\(^6\) Ibid, pp. 29-65.
A scholar whose works have been of considerable value for the theme of my research is Savita Sharma, in-charge of the Numismatic Section of the Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras Hindu University, Varanasi. Her descriptive catalogue of the Kushana gold coins preserved in Bharat Kala Bhavan titled *Gold coins of Imperial Kushanas and Their Successors*\(^1\) offers meticulous details of the ninety one gold coins along with their colourful illustrations. The entire work is divided into seven sections in which she has discussed the background history, the coin types of the Kushanas, their technological and stylistic features, numismatic tradition and continuity, etc. She has also contributed a number of research papers in various journals and published two albums on Indian coins under the series *Treasures of Indian Art in Bharat Kala Bhavan*\(^2\) in 1991 and 1992. In her article 'Shiva on Kushana Coins'\(^3\) she has done a detailed study of the iconographic representations of Shiva and his attributes on the coins of Kushana rulers right from Wema Kadphises to later Kushanas. In her other articles, 'Kushana Mudraon Mein Devi Devata'\(^4\) and 'Kushana Sikkon Par Bhartiya Devankan'\(^5\) she has discussed the fascinatingly large gamut of gods and goddesses depicted on Kushana coins which furnishes information about contemporary religion and art. She has also brought to notice the conspicuous feature that the divinities depicted on Kushana coinage far outnumber those represented in contemporary plastic art.

Another scholars who has written extensively on Kushana numismatics in the form of a series of articles is A.K. Srivastava, former Director of the State Museum, Lucknow. In his various articles 'Findspots of Kushana Coins in Uttar Pradesh',\(^6\) 'Kushana Coins from Tehri Garhwal',\(^7\) 'A Hoard of Kushana

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Gold coins from Jaunpur, Kushana gold coins from Unnao, 'Kushana Gold Coins from Barabanki', 'Coins of Prayag Mandal', etc. he has provided a description of various gold and copper coins of Kushana rulers discovered at different sites in Uttar Pradesh. In 'Mathura as known through the coins', he has studied the history of the ancient city of Mathura through numismatic material including Kushana coins. In 1980 he published his *Coin Hoards of Uttar Pradesh* in which he compiled a list of coin hoards discovered in Uttar Pradesh between 1882-1979 including Kushana coin hoards. He also published few reports of the explorations conducted by the State archaeological department of Uttar Pradesh like ‘Explorations along the Ami river and its nearby areas in districts Siddharthnagar, Basti and Gorakhpur’. Although A.K. Srivastava seldom went beyond the task of listing and reporting, his contribution towards providing information about Kushana coins and sites, needs to be acknowledged.

Joe Cribb, the former Curator of South Asian Coins, Department of Coins and Medals, British Museum, London (2003-2010) has contributed immensely to the study of Kushana history. In 1981, he published ‘Gandhara Hoards of Kushana-Sassanian and Late Kushana Copper coins’, in which he threw light on two coin hoards which included the coins of Shilada found along with the coins of Sassanian ruler Shahpur-II. He noticed an abrupt decline in the gold content of Shilada’s later coins. In 1992 was published *Crossroads of Asia* in which Joe Cribb contributed essays and co-edited the volume along with E. Errington. He addressed the problem of chronology in Central Asia and keeping the numismatic evidence in the forefront, he proposed the date of

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Kanishka era to be between AD. 100 to 120. But his major contribution to Kushana history lies in the translation and interpretation of Rabtak inscription, which has revolutionized the chronology and genealogy of the Kushana. In 1996, Joe Cribb published a brief note titled ‘New Discoveries in Kushana Chronology’ in *News Letter*. In the same year he published ‘A New Bactrian inscription of Kanishka, the Great’ along with Nicholas Sims-Williams from the School of Oriental and African Studies in *Silk Road Art and Archaeology*. The subject of both these articles was the Rabtak inscription of year one of Kanishka’s reign which refers to a hitherto unknown Wema Takto as the son of Kujula Kadphises and the father of Wema Kadphises. According to Joe Cribb this inscription has provided a solution to the Soter Megas question as Wema Takto can be identified with the ‘Nameless king’. He asserts that the name Wema Takto is also mentioned in the *Dast-e-Nawur* inscription as well as on the Mat sculpture of a seated king which was previously ascribed to Wema Kadphises. He also claims to read the name Wema in the Kharoshthi legends of some ‘Bull and Camel’ type coins. Further in his article ‘The Early Kushana kings: New Evidence from Chronology’ published in *Coins Art and Chronology*, Joe Cribb has reviewed the earlier dating of Kanishka on the basis of Rabtak inscription. He has suggested that the year one of the Kanishka era should fall sometime between AD. 100-120. He has assigned the period of c. AD. 30-78 to Kujula Kadphises, c AD. 78-110 to Wema–I Takto, c. AD. 110-120 to Wema- II Kadphises, c. AD. 120-146 to Kanishka-I, c. AD. 146-184 to Huvishka and so on. His other important works are ‘Kanishka I’s Buddha image coins revisited’, *Ancient Indian coins from the Chand Collection* and *Indian Coinage Tradition: Origins, Continuity and...*

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2 N. S. Williams and J. Cribb, ‘A New Bactrian Inscription of Kanishka the Great’, *Silk Road Art and Archaeology*, Institute of Silk Road Studies, Kamakura, Japan, 1995/96, pp. 75-123.
4 *Ibid.*, p. 188.
Thus his contribution has helped in resolving many complexities of
the vigorously debated Kushana chronology and genealogy, providing a new
dimension to researches on Kushana.

The above discussion about the published material on Kushana history
and numismatics, clearly points out that much has been written about
Kushana history and coinage. But as the field of history is always open to
enquiry, Kushana history still offers scope for extensive as well as intensive
studies, especially in the light of new discoveries and new archaeological
finds. Due to absence of contemporary literary sources which can
convincingly be attributed to the Kushana period, archaeological material in
the form of coins, inscriptions, artifacts, sculptures, etc, has been used as
primary sources of my research entitled *Kushanas in North India: A
Numismatic and Archaeological Study*. All the above mentioned written
works by Indian and international scholars form the secondary sources of my
research. Apart from the published material, I have also utilized information
offered in some unpublished Ph.D. and M. Phil dissertations submitted by
research scholars in various universities. Some of the unpublished researches
consulted for this study are Shazia Shafiqjan’s *A Study of Kushan rule in
Kashmir*;\(^2\) Aruna Sharma’s ‘*Mathura from c. 200 BC-AD. 300: A Numismatic
Study*';\(^3\) Silak Ram’s *Archaeology of Rohtak and Hissar district*;\(^4\) Mohinder
Singh’s *Archaeological Settlement Pattern of Gurgaon district*;\(^5\) Amar Singh’s
*Archaeology of Karnal and Jind District*;\(^6\) Manmohan Kumar’s *Archaeology of

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\(^1\) J. Cribb, *Indian Coinage Tradition: Origins, Continuity and Change*, Indian Institute of
University of Kashmir, 2006.
\(^3\) A. Sharma, *Mathura from c. 200B.C.-AD.300: A Numismatic Study*, unpublished Ph. D
Thesis submitted to the University of Delhi, 1995.
\(^4\) S. Ram; *Archaeology of Rohtak and Hissar districts*, unpublished Ph. D thesis submitted to
Kurukshetra University, 1978.
\(^5\) M. Singh, *Archaeological Settlement Pattern of Gurgaon district (Haryana)*, unpublished Ph.
D thesis submitted to Kurukshetra University, 1990.
Kurukshetra University, 1981.
The photographs of coins and sculptures have been obtained from State Museum, Lucknow, Allahabad Museum and Government Museum, Mathura. The scheme of this Ph.D. thesis is shown in the chapters enumerated below:

Chapter I i.e. The present chapter provides a brief historiographic survey of the important works on Kushana history and coinage, right from the inception of Indian archaeology and numismatics. It spells out the primary and secondary sources used for my research and helps to place my thesis in relation to other works.

In Chapter II, titled *The Making of the Kushana Empire*, the historical background of the Kushanas has been discussed, right from their migration from the Kan-Shu province of China to Central Asia. It further traces the formation of the Kushana kingdom in Bactria around the Oxus river, their eastward expansion under Kujula Kadphises, empire building under Wema Kadphises, Kanishka and Huvishka, political limits of the empire under each ruler, downfall of the Imperial Kushana and the Later Kushana rulers. The chapter concludes with a diagram indicating Kushana genealogy and chronology. Chapter III, titled *Kushana coins and Inscriptions* is a detailed study of Kushana coins issued by each individual rulers, discussing the variety of coins, their metals, denomination, weight standards, legends, monograms, obverse representation of the rulers, reverse representation of deities, aspects of metrology, etc. It also includes a cursory study of Kushana inscriptions which throw valuable light on some aspects of Kushana rule in India and lists of dated Kushana inscription of each ruler. In this chapter I have also highlighted the importance of coins and inscriptions as historical sources, their scope and limitations. Description of coins are supported by illustrations of these coins included towards the end of this thesis.

The fourth chapter, titled *Kushana Settlements and their Material Culture* provides a detailed discussion on the distribution of Kushana

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settlements, coins and inscriptions in Central Asia, Afghanistan, Pakistan and India. The archaeological study of Kushana settlements discovered during excavations and explorations, along with their cultural assemblage helps us in the reconstruction of the material culture under the Kushana rule. This detailed archaeological investigation over a large territory included in the Kushana empire enables the study of possible boundaries of the Kushana empire, material progress and urban growth under their rule. The findings of Kushana sites are also tabulated in the form of lists of excavated sites along with their maps and list of explored sites in different states of north India, for providing ready birds eye view.

Chapter V titled Some Facets of Kushana Ethos is an assessment of varied aspects of polity, economy and society under the Kushana rule. It discusses the idea of kingship, administrative setup, trade and commerce, craft production, process of urbanization, monetization, religion, art and architecture, etc. under the Kushanas. The discussion on art and sculptures is supported by the illustrations of some important pieces of art housed in the Government Museum, Mathura.

This work also utilizes maps, tables and plates of Kushana coins and sculptures to enhance understanding and amplify my research with clarity. I hope that my Ph.D. thesis Kushana in North India: A Numismatic and Archaeological Study would open Kushana history to a wider debate and prove to be a reference work for future researcher in this field.