CHAPTER V

THE HŪNA COINAGE

The coins of the Hūnas constitute as a major source for the reconstruction of the history of the Hūnas in India. The importance of the Hūna coinage becomes more useful when we deal with the developments of the Hūnas power before coming into India. Similarly the reconstruction of the history of later Hūnas in India solely depends upon their coinage.

As discussed earlier that the Hūnas in general appeared on the political map after they occupied Bactria towards the beginning of the second half of the fourth century A.D. Earlier this area was ruled over by the Sassanian governors who bore the title 'Kushāṇashāh' on their coins. The coins of these 'Kushāṇashāhs' comes to an end after A.D. 360 and, at this juncture, are found to be replaced by the coins of the Kidāra. It appears from the numismatic evidences that the Hūnas marked their presence even before Kidāra. The Hūnas before Kidāra were possibly the Chionites, called as such by Ammianus Marcellinus1 who assisted the Sassanians while the later besieged amida in A.D. 360. The king of the Chionites at this time was Grumbates. It appears that the Chionites during this period issued coins, struck from the altered dies of the Sassanian emperor Shāpur-II (A.D. 309-79). The obverse
of the coins have 'pehlvi' legend of Shapur II "mzdysn (bg shpur) mlkn mlk yrn w nyrn mnwctr mnyzdn" and the chionites tribal name in cursive Greek script inserted from 1 to 3 of clock to replace obliterated portion of the pehlvi legend i.e. ALCHONO (= AAXNO). The subsequent use of the title 'ALCHONO' (ALXON) by Kidara perhaps indicate his relation with the Chionites. Regarding this, Mitchiner observes, 'It is generally recognized that ALCHONO is a tribal name written in a cursive Greek script synonymous with the latinized version 'Chionite' given by the Roman soldier ammianus Marcellinus when describing these people"3. It is believed that the Chionite king Grumbate was succeeded by Kidara. It appears from the sources that the Hōnas (Chionite = ALXON = Kidara) acted as an ally of the Sassanians, through a treaty, but later declared independence under Kidara.

Kidara is found to be issuing coins shortly after A.D. 360, when the rule of the Sassanian governor Varahrān II Kushāpashāh came to an end. Kidara contained to strike coin on the same pattern as Varahrān II in both gold and copper. These had his own portrait, closely modelled on that of Varahrān I but with a different crown. The first gold issues of Kidara were still in the name of Varahrān (Bivar, 14) but subsequently his own name and titles were added "bago Kidaro (ozorko) Koshono (shaho)"3. Gobl's emmision 94 presents this legend but the coin concerned has been attributed by Gobl to Khingila. It may be possible here
that Khingila, who belonged to the second wave of Hunas, after occupying this area restruck or modelled his coins on the pattern of Kidara (coin no.2). In this series of coins, Kidara is described as 'Kidara Kushana Shah' on the pattern of Kushanashah governors. It seems likely that the legend concerned mean King over Kushanas' and not as 'king of Kushana' as was believed earlier by Cunningham and others. It was the continuation of the practice earlier maintained by the Kushanashah governors. The same title of Kidara also appeared on his coins, possibly found from Hidda which bear the legend in Brahmi script Kidara Kushanashah. Emission II no. 7 of Gobi* (1967,1:43) and Cunningham's plate VI, no. 1 belongs to this series of coins. On the obverse of the coin is legend in Brahmi 'Kidara Kushana sa' whereas on the reverse is the legend in Brahmi 'Sulakha'. Humbach also read the legend on the reverse as 'Sulakha*', (coin no. 3). On the basis of the similar coin in the Heberden Coin Room of the University of Oxford in the Ashmolean Museum, Mitterwallner read the legend as 'alakhana'* (coin no.4). The title 'alakana' has been identified as the Sanskrit version of the Bactrian legend 'Alxonno' or 'ALChONO'. Some traces or impressions of Shapur III (A.D. 384-88) has been noticed on these coins. During this period, the Kidaraites controlled the Kabul valley, which was, to that time, governed by the Kushanashah governors. The Kidaraites were pushed into the Kabul valley region by the Hephthalites, the Hunas of the second wave, from the Bactria region.
After being pushed into the Kabul valley and its adjoining areas, the Kidarites came into contact with the kingdoms in the west of India. India, at that time, as discussed in Chapter Second, was divided into many kingdoms or principalities. Important among them were the Shakas and the Gađahras. It is still not clear whether the Gađahras represented the Kushānas or was an independent kingdom or tribe. The circumstantial evidences suggest the identification of the Gađahras as the Kushānas as we have discussed in the second chapter. Here, we shall be mentioning the Gađahras only as the Gađahras. The numismatic evidences suggest a possible conquest of the Kidarites over the Gađahras and testifies the occupation of the latter's territory by the former. The earlier specimen of the Gađahra are characterised with the vertically engraved name of the king 'Gađahra' in the right field of the obverse (coin no. 5) along with vertically engraved legend 'Kirāda' (for Kidāra) under the king's raised left arm. Mitterwallner opines that "the late Kushāna king Gađahra/Gađakhra, when striking these coins, nominally recognized the authority of the Hūna king Kirāda (= Kidāra)". It is important to mention here that Gađahra before acknowledging the overlordship of Kidāra, was under the lordship of the Gupta ruler Samudragupta (c.A.D.330-370). This fact is testified by the coins of the Gađahra which, besides Gađahra, bears the name 'Samudra' on the obverse of the coin (coin no. 6) and the Allahabad inscription of Samudragupta. After conquering
the Gaḍahra territories, Kidāra issued coins which is imitation of the coins of Gaḍahra. On the gold coins of the Kidāra, the name of the king is vertically written in Brāhmī (coin no. 7) as on the later Kushāṇa coins from 'Vāsu' (Vāsudeva III) onwards (coin no. 8) but instead of appearing in the right obverse field, it is now placed under the king's left arm, which seems to be influenced by the coins of Samudragupta, the Gupta ruler. A similar coin has been discovered from Sanghol (dist. Ludhiana, Punjab). On the obverse of the coin, legend Kidāra in Brāhmī appears but the name variant Gaḍahra/Gaḍakhra (?) seems to have gone out of flan (coin no.9). Cunningham has published a series of coins which bear the names of certain kings on the reverse, completely Indianised, along with name 'Kidāra' on the obverse. This series bear the names of Śrī Shahi (coin. No. 10) Śrī Viśva (coin no. 11), Kīrtivīrya (coin no. 12), Śīlāditaya (coin no. 13), Śrī Kusala (coin no. 14) and Śrī Prakūś (coin no. 15). Some more coins, which appear to be belonging to this series, are published that contain the completely Indianised names of the kings along with the name 'Kidāra'. The names of the rulers of this series are Yasovarman (coin no. 16), Śrī Pravarsena (coin no. 17) and Śrī Narender (coin no. 18). On these coins (from 10 to 18), the name 'Kirāda' (for Kidāra) is vertically written under the king's left raised arm on the pattern of the 'Kidāra' coins discussed earlier in relation to the Gaḍahra. The reverse of all these coins is having seated goddess (which is identified
sometimes with Ardoksho and sometimes with Lakshmi) which is again a follow up of the earlier pattern. A few of these rulers are found to be mentioned in the Rājatarāṅgīṇī of Kalahana as the kings of Kashmir. It appears here possible that the Kidarites were pushed again by the Hephthalites, perhaps this time into Kashmir. We find that the coinage introduced by the Kidarite rulers in Kashmir was imitated by the successive Hephthalite rulers Toramāṇa and Mihirakula in Kashmir.

The second wave of the Hūnas appeared in the form of the Hephthalites to whom belonged the rulers - Khingila, Toramāṇa and Mihirakula. The Hephthalites drove away the Kidaraites from the Bactria region sometime after middle of the fourth century. From the study of the coins of the Hephthalites, it seems likely that the Hephthalites used the title 'Shāhī' for themselves as the Kidarites used 'Alxon' for them. After capturing Bactria from the Kidarites, the Hephthalites issued coins which bear the legend 'Shāhī' and Alxon. On the obverse of this type of coin there is the legend in cursive Greek 'Shāho' on the left and 'ALCHONO' on the right side. The reverse is having fire alter and attendents (coin no. 19). The appearance of the title 'Shāhī' (for Hephthalites) along with the 'Alxon' (of Kidāra) seems likely due to the imitation of the Kidāra coinage by the Hephthalites. When the Hephthalites, in their subsequent move, captured the region of the Kabul valley and made Zabulistan as their
headquarter, they issued coins which carry the legend 'Shahi Zobol' in Greek. The coins of Shahi Zobol, published by Cunningham, perhaps belong to this category. Next in the succession were the coins which bear the name of the king 'Khingila' in Brâhmi and the tribal name 'Alxon' in Greek script (coin no. 20). The appearance of the tribal name 'Alxon' with the name of Khingila enabled Gobl to attribute the title 'Alxona' to the Hephthalites. On the contrary, Mitterwallner suggests that for reason of prestige, Khingila took over the Bactrian designation 'Alxon' and its Brâhmi equivalent 'Alakhâna' from the Huna king Kirâda/Kidâra on some of his coins. In light of the analytical study of the Hûna coins discussed so far, Mitterwallner's view seems to be more logical and convincing. The appearance of designation 'Alxon' along with Khingila can be termed as another imitation of the Kiddrite coins by the Hephthalites. This coin has been found from Kabul (Kabul valley) and it is in this area we find Kidâra issuing coins with the title 'Alxon'. The use of Brâhmi script, (for the first time on the coins of the Hephthalites) on the coins of Khingila indicates their further advance towards the Indian territories. Interestingly, Gobl has published a coin which bears the legend 'Alxon' in Greek and Râjâ Lakhâna in Brâhmi on the obverse (coin no. 21). Gobl has attributed this coin to Khingila. But it is difficult to accept Gobl's attribution. The view that the said coin belongs to Khingila cannot be accepted in light of the coin published by Cunningham which bear the
I ecj end 'Raja Lakhana Udyādityya' (coin no. 22) Moreover, Khingila bore the title 'Narendradeśiya' is testified by numismatic evidences and Rajatarangini of Kalahana. The coin in question possibly may be belonging to king Lakhana Udyādityya who while imitating the Kidarite coins used the title 'Alxon' on the coins as we find in case of Khingila (coin no 20). Stein also prefers to refer Lakhana Udyādityya and Khingila Narendradeśiya as two different rulers.

On the successive or subsequent coins of Khingila we find the use of only Brāhmī script. On some of the coins only name of Khingila in Brāhmī is noticed (coin no. 23). One of the important event of Khingila's reign was the invasion of India that took place sometime around A.D.460. It appears probable that Khingila was successful in conquering some parts of the Indian territory. It seems likely that to celebrate the occasion, Khingila issued coins with legend 'Shāhī Jabul' in Brāhmī. On the obverse of these coins the king is shown on the horse back moving to right. The reverse contains the fire alter (coin nos. 24,25,26,27).

Another type of his coins, perhaps issued after conquering certain part of the Indian territories, Khingila bear the title 'Jayatu Shāhī Javula' meaning 'Victorious, the Shāhī Javula' (coin no. 28,29). Apart from it, Khingila issued another type of coins on which he bore the title 'Deva Shāhī instead of simply 'Shāhī' as appeared on the early coins. This shows perhaps the raised
political status of the king after the conquest of the Indian territories. The coins of this type contain 'bust of king facing right on the obverse with the legend 'Deva Shāhī Khiṅgila' in Brāhmī (coin no. 30). In the similar typology we find the coins of king Pūrvāditya (coin nos. 31,32,33). The king, on this type of coins, is shown bearing the title 'Deva Shāhī' on the obverse (coin no. 34). It is known that the title 'Deva Shāhī' earlier was used by Khiṅgila. On the basis of the typology and legend of the coin, it can be held that Pūrvāditya belonged to the family of khiṅgila. And it is also a known fact that no king named Pūrvāditya succeeded Khiṅgila. Moreover, on the coins of both Khiṅgila and Pūrvāditya, the face of the king gives the impression of the growing age and it appears that by that time the king had grown considerably old (coin no. 33). So, in light of this, it seems likely that Pūrvāditya was another name variant of Khiṅgila who turned to be called as Purvāditya after his conquest in the east i.e. Pūrva.

Khiṅgila was succeeded by Toramāṇa who issued coins in silver and copper. His silver coinage comprises of the Sassanian type and the Central Indian type whereas his copper coinage, which can be considered more popular type, is confined mainly to solar wheel type and seated goddess type. The silver coins bearing the name 'Bayasara' and follows the Sassanian features have been attributed by Gobé to Toramāṇa. Since these coins cannot be
attributed to Khingila the predecessor of Toramana neither to Mihipikula, the successor of Toramana and it can also be considered that these coins belonged to the Hunas. In light of it, and on the basis of typology, Tormana appears as the natural choice to whom these coins can be attributed. The coin of this series has the beardless head of the king to right, with crescent in front of helmet, to right alter bearing the legend 'Jayatu Bayasara Khotalan' in Brahmi (coin no. 35). This series is found to be continued up to the time of Mihipikula who issued similar type of coins. These coins perhaps indicates towards Toramana's conquest of the area of Khatyn. The coins with the similar features but having legend 'Traloka' has been attributed Gobl to Toramana. On these coins the king's face appears to be older in comparison to the preceding one which indicates towards the fact that these were issued next to the preceding coins (coin no 36).

The copper coins of Toramana can be classified into two categories. The first category comprises of the coins which have solar wheel above the horizontal line and below the name 'Tora'. These coins have been discovered mainly from the Punjab area of India and Pakistan. The coins of this series appear partially free from the Sassanian influence and perhaps were issued when Tormana took the charge of the Indian affairs as an independent king. The coins of the first category can be further divided into two types. The first type has the bust of king on the obverse
with the legend 'brā' and solar wheel above the line and below 'Tora' on the reverse (coin no. 37). On some coins of this type the legend 'brā' on the obverse is dropped (coin no. 38). The second type of first category has the king standing with bow in left hand, on the pattern of archer type of Chandargupta II, on the obverse and solar wheel above the line and below 'Tora' on the reverse (coin no. 39). On certain coins of this type the name 'shuta' appear on the reverse instead of 'Tara' (coin no. 40). It is difficult to say whether the name 'shuta' is synonym with Toramāṇa or was a different ruler or having some kind of relations with the family of Toramāṇa. But on the basis of coinage, the possibility of some relation between the two can not be ruled out. Another type of coins of Toramāṇa, having similar obverse i.e. king standing with bow in left hand, have a distinct reverse. The reverse of this type has seated goddess which are generally found from Punjab and Kashmir area. (Coin no. 41).

Toramāṇa issued silver coins in Central India which bears a close resemblance to the Central Indian silver coinage of the Gupta rulers. The obverse of these coins depicts king's bust facing left and reverse has the fan-tailed peacock with legend 'Vijitavaniravanipati Śrī Toramāṇa Deva Jayati' (coin no. 42). The numerals on the coins that hints towards a possible era has invited different opinions of the scholars. B.N. Mukherji has determined the date of these coins as belonging to the period

Some coins discovered from Hoshiarpur dist. in Punjab, with name 'Prakāshāditya' and Udyāditya are attributed sometimes to Toramāṇa. The obverse of these coins portrays bust of king facing right with legend in Brāhmī 'Śrī Prakāshāditya' (coin no. 43). Similar type with the name 'Udyāditya' on the reverse of some coins is also referred to as belonging to Toramāṇa (coin no. 44).

Mihirakula, next to Toramāṇa, followed the numismatic practices set by his predecessors. The striking feature of his coinage was the depiction of bull and the legend 'Vrishadhvaja' on his coins which is indicative of his firm faith in Saivism. On the pattern of his predecessors, he issued different type of coins, in silver and copper, for different regions. We can classify the coin, of Mihirakula, on the basis of the features on the reverse of the coins, into three main types: fire altar type, Humped bull type, and seated goddess type.

The fire altar type, which is in silver, follows the Sassanian features which includes bust of king to right with crescent in front of head dress; bull standard in front of face, trident behind head with legend 'Jayatu Mihirakula' in Brāhmī (coin no. 45). On some coins the legend on the obverse is 'Jayatu Vrishdhvaja' (coin no. 46) which also carries the figure of bull. It appears
that the appearance of bull on the coins of Mihirakula became a permanent feature after that. The second type i.e. humped bull type, which is in copper is fairly the popular type where the depiction of the bull acquired greater prominence which is perhaps indicative of official recognition of Saivism by Mihirakula. The coins cover a wide area of Punjab and Kashmir. The obverse of these coins present bust of king with the legend 'Śrī Mhirakula' and 'Jayatu Vrisha' on the reverse (coin nos. 47,48,49,50). On some coins, the Hephthalite symbol is prominently portrayed in front of the face following the pattern of Khingila.

The third type, which is also in copper, consists of seated goddess type. These coins can be further divided into two categories. The first category is having the standing king (Archer type) on the obverse and which seems to be the continuation of Toramāṇa's coins found prevalent primarily in the areas of Punjab and Kashmir. The legend on these coins is 'Śaḥī Mihirakula' (coin no. 51,52). To the second category belong the coins on which the king is portrayed on horse back on the obverse with legend 'Mhirakula' (coin no.53). These coins of Mihirakula are the continuation of similar type issued by Khingila, perhaps, at the time of the latter's invasion of India. On some coins of the first category, the name 'Hiraṇyakula' appears on the obverse (coin no. 54,55). In Rājatarāṅgini, Hiraṇyakula is described as the grand father of Mihirakula who ruled for sixty years17. But
it is difficult to accept Hiraṇayakula as the father of Mihirakula. And it is equally difficult to say conclusively either Hiraṇyakula was the other name of Mihirakula or he was his brother who is referred in the account of Huien-tsang.

Mihirakula is also noticed to have restruck the coins of Toramāṇa. It is not yet clear what inspired Mihirakula to restruck Toramāṇa's coins. (Coin no. 56,57). Were there economic constraints or political considerations behind this move is difficult to say.

After the end of Mihirakula's reign, the coins discovered in the Hūṇa area of Punjab, does not provide the absolute chronology of the later Hūṇa rulers but they provide the clues to establish a tentative chronology. Sanghol, in Ludhiana dist. of Punjab, has yielded a good number of coins which includes that of Toramāṇa, Mihirakula, Śrī Bala, Bhīmasena, Śrī Vayarasa and Chandragupta. The coins bearing the name Vidismagupta, discovered from Ropar, are attributed to the Hūṇas. The features on the obverse and reverse of the coins of these rulers appear to be in continuation of the features earlier observed by Toramāṇa and Mihirakula on their coins. The coins of the above said rulers cover a period, on palaeographic grounds, roughly between A.D. 540 to 590. Sanghol has yielded the coins of Śrī Vayarasa which has been published by G.B. Sharma. The author has described 'Śrī Vayarasa' as another Hūṇa king. The obverse of these contain bust of king to
right and the reverse has solar wheel above and below legend in Brāhmi 'Sri Vayarasa' (coin no. 50,59). Gobi who has discussed these coins under the name of Toramāṇa read these coins as 'Sri Vala' but sh. G.B. Sharma takes the letters 'ya', 'ra' and 'sa' very clear. Cunningham has published a coin which has bare head of king to right on the obverse and solar wheel above and Indian legend below 'Srī Vala' on the reverse. Gobi has included this coin in the coins of Toramāṇa. If Srī Vayarasa is not identical with Toramāṇa then he can be placed sometime after Mihirakula as his coins closely resembles to that of Toramāṇa. In other words it can be said that either Srī Vayarasa is identical with Toramāṇa or he was the Huna ruler who ruled after Mihirakula. Toramāṇa’s coin with the name ‘Bayasara’ probably belongs to the same category which has been identified by Sh. G.B. Sharma as belonging to another Hūṇa ruler, Srī Vayarasa. This problem appears to be partly solved by the coin which is published by Sh. G.B. Sharma, bearing the name of ‘Srī Bala’. The coin has the bust of the king to right on the obverse with traces of legend ‘Bala’ and solar wheel above and below ‘Tora’ on the reverse (coin no 60). The author has not hinted towards the possibility of this coin being restruck by Bala on the coins of Toramāṇa. The one possibility that emerges is equation or identification of Srī Bala with Toramāṇa. On this basis Srī Bala can be equated with Srī Vala and Srī Vayarasa and Sri Bayrasa and leading to the possibility that all these coins belongs to the same category or person and
who can be identified with Toramāṇa.

The name 'Bala' also appear on certain coins along with the name 'Kota on the obverse whereas the reverse contain Śiva standing with bull to left (coin no. 61). Ashvini Agrawal, supporting the argument of Rapson, concludes that on palaeographical grounds these coins (Kota) definitely belong to the third or early fourth centuries A.D. and cannot be removed beyond that. Keeping in view the above assertion the 'bala' of Kota type cannot be identical with the 'bala' whose features on the coin resembles to Toramāṇa's coins. If 'Bala' is not identical with Toramāṇa then the possibility of 'Bala' being a Hūṇa ruler cannot be ruled out who ruled probably in post-Mihirakula period.

From Sanghol, a coin with bust of king to right on the obverse has been discovered which contains humped bull above the line below legend in Brāhma 'Chandragupta' on the reverse (coin no. 62). The discovery of this coin along with other Huna coins and resemblance of its features with those of Hūṇa coins gives weight to the supposition that king 'Chandragupta' may have some sort of relations, may it be the family relations, with the Hūṇas. The discovery of the coins of Vidiṣagupta from Ropar can be discussed in light of the coin of Chandragupta discovered from Sanghol. On the obverse of the coin is the name Vidiṣagupta in Brāhma and on the reverse is humped bull to left with human figure (coin no.63,64) In the post-Mihirakula period, we have only two
kings with the '---gupta' ending name ruling in Punjab and its adjoining areas. S.C. Ray who considers Vīdisagupta as a Gupta monarch, assign these issues on the palaeographic grounds to the period of the Guptas. It is difficult to put a yes to Ray's assertion because we do not find any reference of Vīdisagupta in any record of the imperial Gupta dynasty. Moreover, it is known that after Skandagupta, the Gupta rule was confined around Pāṭiliputra only and therefore there is not possibility that a Gupta ruler in the post Skandagupta ruled in the area of Punjab. D. Handa suggests Vīdisagupta being a Hūna ruler and places the coins of Vīdisagupta between A.D. 530 and 580. The close resemblance of the features of the coins of Chandragupta and Vīdisagupta enables us to place them in the same category and in the light of the above discussion the possibility of these two rulers being the Hūna rulers cannot be denied.

Sanghol has also yielded the coins of Bhīmasena who is considered a Hūna ruler by Sh. G.B. Sharma. On the obverse of these coins there is barbarous bust of king to right with a trident in front and the reverse contains lanky bull to left with legend below 'Bhīmasena' (coin no. 65). We have no convincing ground to designate the coins of Bhīmasena to a Hūna ruler except that the coin has been discovered along with the Hūna coins resembles in features or devices to the coins but still the possibility of Bhīmasena being a Hūna ruler can not be denied.
There is another interesting variety of coins popularly known as 'kpa' coins, which follows the Hūṇa coins in succession. The obverse of these coins is occupied by solar wheel and vertically written legend 'kpa' or 'kṣa' whereas the reverse depicts the humped bull walking to left (coin nos.66,67,68). Scholars have divergent views about the issues of these coins. Lallanji Gopal has classified these coins with Indo-Sassanian coins, possibly on the identification of symbol with crude fire altar. Smith also considers the possibility of these marks as an echo of the Sassanian devices. Sh. Manmohan kumar has suggested that these coins were probably issued by the Kapisthalas probably on the basis that 'kpa' is short form of Kapisthalas. Regarding these coins sh. G.B. Sharma observes, "These coins bear the devices on obverse and reverse which are very close copy of the Hūṇa coins. The Hūṇas had a principality at Sanghol and its neighborhood and ruled for a considerable period even upto the rise of the Pushpabhūtis of Thanesar and we find so many varieties of the Hūṇa coins giving names of some unknown kings such as Bhīmasena, Śrī Bala, Śrī Balarama, apart from the coins of Toramāṇa and Mihirakula. As the names suggest the Hūṇas were thoroughly Indianised by this time like the Kushāṇas as we find the name Vāsudeva. These coins, which were issued after the Hūṇas, seem to be a variety of the later Hūṇa coins which were issued by some king or feudatory, giving his short name as 'kpa' or 'kṣa'. These coins remained in circulation upto the advent of the early
medieval currency.

To conclude, it can be held that the coins of Hūṇa provide a long list of the Hūṇa rulers belonging to different groups of the same ethnic stock. These Hūṇa rulers issued coins in gold, silver and copper. They borrowed the features for their coinage from the Sassanian and Indian coinage and sometimes are found to be maintaining an independent style in coinage, which continued to be followed by the successive rulers particularly in the area of Punjab. The direct relation of these rulers with the Hūṇas though cannot be established conclusively but the numismatic linkages place these rulers more near to the Hūṇas.
NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. Ammianus Marcellinus, XVI.X.4.


10. Cunningham, A., *op.cit.*, plate VII, nos. 2, 3, 4 and plate VIII, nos. 8, 16.


CATALOGUE OF COINS

1. Metal: Silver size: 24 mm. wt.: 2.93gms.

Ref.: Mitchiner, 1975(a), no.6.

Obv.: Bust r. of ShapurII wearing his turreted head-dress. leg.

(a) pehlevi leg. of ShapurII with his name (BG ShPWR) obliterated, viz. 'мздын (bg shpwr) алкн алк yrн w nyrn нмнctр мньзdn'.

(b) Hephthalite tribal name in cursive Greek script inserted from 1 to 3 o'clock to replace obliterated portion of the pehlevi leg.: ALChONQ. 2

Rev.: Fire altar and attendents.


Ref.: Gobli, 1967, 1, em.84, no.1.

Obv.: King Standing and fire altar. leg. BO 0 K10000 OOZOPKO KO PONO POYO.
Rev.: Male deity, Gobi identifies it with Śiva.

Remarks: Gobi attributes this coin to Khiṅgila; a prototype of Kushāṇashāhas.

3. Metal: Silver size: 1.10" wt.: 56 grains

Ref.: Cunningham, 1893, PI VI, no.1.

Obv.: Bust of king to the front, with bushy hair on both sides of the face. Inscription in Brahmi, 'Kidāra Kushāṇa Shāhi,' 'hi' being close to the face on right.

Rev.: Fire altar with two attendents.

Remarks: Cunningham considers the three letters below the altar as numerals and read as 339 and calculating with Saka era counts it as A.D. 417.

4. Metal: Silver size: 27.5 mm. wt.: 4.62 gms.

Ref.: Mitterwallner, 1986, fig. 43 a, b.

Obv.: Bust of king turned to right, crown and hair balls on shoulders. Brahmi leg. 'Kidāra Ku-' to right of king's head. From 1 to 2 O'clock remaining part of the Brāhmī leg. '-sana sa (whole leg. Kidāra Kushāṇa sa).
Rev.: Fire altar flanked by two standing attendents.

In exergue Brahmi leg. 'alakhāna'.

5. Metal: Gold size: 18 mm. wt.: not recorded

Ref.: Mitterwallner, 1986, fig. 37 a, b.

Obv.: Nimbate and diademed, frontally standing king with head turned to left, sacrificing with right hand on small altar, trishula in left upper field. Vertically inscribed Brahmi leg. 'Gaḍahra' in right field. Vertically placed Brahmi leg. 'Kirāda' under left arm of the king.

Rev.: Facing enthroned goddess holding in right hand royal fillet. Next to the body of the goddess, within remnants of post of lean-back of throne, two vertically inscribed Brahmi words 'yasa'.

6. Metal: Gold size: 18 mm. wt.: 7.54 gms.

Ref.: Mitterwallner, 1986, fig. 40 a, b.

Obv.: Standing bearded king with nimbate head turned to left. Sassanian hair balls in neck. King is sacrificing on small altar which is partly off flan. In the right field
vertical Brahmi leg. 'Gadakhra'; under the left arm of king 
vertical Brahmi leg. 'Samudra'. In the lower left field 
isolated Brahmi word 'Pu'.

Rev.: Enthroned facing goddess.

7. Metal: Gold size: 20.5 mm. wt.: 7.80 gms.

Ref.: MitterwalIner, 1986, fig. 39 a, b.

Obv.: Frontally standing king with diademmed nimbat head turned to left, sacrificing with right hand incense on small altar. 'Trishula' in left upper field, in right field vertically inscribed Brahmi leg. 'Kushāna'. Under left arm of the king vertically inscribed Brahmi leg. 'Kidāra'.

Rev.: Enthroned facing goddess, Kushāna emblem in left upper field. Two vertically inscribed Brahmi characters 'Alia'.

8. Metal: Gold size: 21.5 mm. wt.: not recorded

Ref.: MitterwalIner, 1986, fig. 24 a, b.
Obv.: Standing and sacrificing king in royal coat. Bactrian leg, starts at 1 O'clock and reads: AOHANO AO BAZO KO OHO Brahmi characters 'Vasu' (for Vasudeva) are inscribed vertically in the right field.

Rev.: Enthroned goddess Ardoksho.


Ref.: G.B. Sharma, 1986, p.23, pl.XV-B.

Obv.: Standing king facing to left, pouring incense over an altar with right hand. Below the left arm leg. in Brahmi 'Kidāra'.

Rev.: Seated goddess.

Remarks: The coin appear to be belonging to Gādahra, the Kushana king.

10. Metal: Gold size: 0.85" wt.: 121 grains

Ref.: Cunningham, 1893, pl.VI, no.4.

Obv.: King standing to left. Vertically inscribed Brahmi leg. 'Śrī Shāhī' to the left. To right, under the king's arm 'Kidāra'.
Rev.: Seated goddess holding trident in left hand. Brahmi leg. to right 'Kidāra'.

11. Metal: Gold size: 0.75" wt.: 120 grains

Ref.: Cunningham, 1893, pl.VI, no.10.

Obv.: Standing king to left. Under the king's arm is leg. 'Kidara' in Brāhmī to the left, below the king's hand 'Isa' in Brāhmī.

Rev.: Seated goddess. To right 'Śrī Viswa in Brahmi.

12. Metal: Gold size: 0.75" wt.: 120 grains

Ref.: Cunningham, 1893, pl.VI, no.11.

Obv.: King standing to left. Under king's arm, leg. in Brāhmī 'Kidāra'. To left, under king's hand, 'Dharva' in Brāhmī.

Rev.: Seated goddess. To right 'Śrī Kritavīrya' in Brāhmī.

13. Metal: Gold size: 0.75" wt.: 119 grains

Ref.: Cunningham, 1893, pl.VI, no.12.
Obv.: King standing to left. 'Kidāra' in Brāhmī under King's arm.

Rev.: Seated goddess. To right 'Śrī Śilāditya' in Brāhmī.

14. Metal: Gold size: 0.80" wt.: 133 grains

Ref.: Cunningham, 1893, pl.VI, no.13.

Obv.: Standing king to left. 'Kidāra' in Brāhmī letters under the arm. To the left, below, 'dhavam'(?)

Rev.: Seated goddess. To right, 'Śrī Kuṣala' in Brahmi.

15. Metal: Gold size: 0.95" wt.: 118 grains

Ref.: Cunningham, 1893, pl.VI, no.15.

Obv.: King standing to left. Under his arm 'Kidāra' and to right 'Śrī Prakāsha, both in Brāhmī letters.

Rev.: Seated goddess.

16. Metal: Gold 7.25 gms.size: wt.: 

Ref.: Rapson, Indian Coins, IV, 22.
Obv.: Standing king. Under left arm 'Kidāra' in Brāhmi.

Rev.: Seated goddess. Leg. in Brahmi 'Yaśovarman'.

17. Metal: Gold size: wt.: 

Ref.: Cunningham, MIC, pl.III, no.3.

Obv.: King standing facing left. Left hand on hip, right hand raised; two figures seated below on right and left. Leg. on left field 'Śrī Pravarsena'.

Rev.: Seated goddess on lion. Lotus in left hand. Vertically inscribed leg. in Brāhmi on left 'Kidāra'.

18. Metal: Gold size: wt.: 0.115 gm.

Ref.: Cunningham, MIC, pl.III, no.5.

Obv.: Rude figure of king standing. Under left arm 'Kidāra' in Brāhmi.

Rev.: Rude seated goddess to right. Leg. 'Śrī Narendra'.


Ref.: Mitchiner, 1975-b, coin no.1.
Obv.: Bust of king facing right. Cursive Greek legend left ShAKO and right ALChONño.

Rev.: Fire altar and attendents.

20. Metal: Silver size: wt.: 

Ref.: Gobi, 1967, I, em.44, no.3.

Obv.: Bust of king facing right. Bactrian leg. OAXONNO on left. Brāhmī leg. 'Rājā Lakhana' on right.

Rev.: Rude figure of fire altar.

21. Metal: Silver size: wt.: 

Ref.: Gobi, 1967, I, em.80, no.3.

Obv.: Bust of king facing right. Bactrian leg. OAXONNO on left. Brāhmī leg. 'Rājā Lakhana' on right.

Rev.: Rude figure of fire altar.

22. Metal: Silver size: 1.10" wt.: 57 grains 

Ref.: Cunningham, 1894, pl.VII, no.12.
Obv.: Beardless head of king to right, crescent on helmet, Brahmi leg, Rāja Lakhana(?) Udyāditya.

Rev.: Indistinct

23. Metal: Silver size: wt.: 52 grains

Ref.: Cunningham, 1894, pl.IX, no.1; Gobl, 1967, I, em.57, no.2.

Obv.: Beardless head of king to right. Hephthalite symbol to left, Brāhmī leg. to right 'KHIAL' (for Khingila).

Rev.: Fire altar with two attendents.

24. Metal: Silver size: 0.85" wt.: 55 grains

Ref.: Cunningham, 1894, pl.VII, no.6.

Obv.: Horseman to right, with crescent on helmet; large shell to right. Remains of Greek legend.


25. Metal: Silver size: 0.85" wt.: 55 grains

Ref.: Cunningham, 1894, pl.VII, no.7.
Obv.: Horseman to right, with crescent on helmet, Hephthalite symbol to right. Greek leg. ZOBOA to left.

Rev.: Large ornamental wheel; traces of ‘Jayatu’ in Brāhmī.

26. Metal: Silver size: 0.90" wt.: 53 grains

Ref.: Cunningham, 1894, pl.VII, no.8.

Obv.: King on horseback to right; shell over horse’s head, with star above. Behind the king is the Hephthalite symbol. Brāhmī leg. ‘Shāhī Jābula’.

Rev.: Fire altar with attendant on each side.

27. Metal: Silver size: 0.80" wt.: 50.0 grains

Ref.: Cunningham, 1894, pl.VII, no.9.

Obv.: King on horseback to right, with crescent on helmet; club over head of horse; Hephthalite symbol behind king. Brāhmī leg. ‘Shāhī Jābula’

Rev.: Fire altar with two attendents.


Obv.: Bust of king facing right, Hephthalite symbol behind king's head. Legend in Brāhmī - 'JAYA' at 11 O'clock and 'SHĀHĪ' at 1 O'clock.

Rev.: Indistinct.

29. Metal: Silver size: 1.0" wt.: 50.5 grains

Ref.: Cunningham, 1894, pl.VII, no.10; Gobli, 1967, I, em.82, no.1.

Obv.: Beardless head of king to right, with crescent on front of helmet; large earring. Brāhmī leg. 'Shāhī Jabula'

Rev.: Indistinct.

30. Metal: Silver size: 1.05" wt.: 48 grains

Ref.: Cunningham, 1894, pl.VII, no.11; Gobli, 1967, I, em.81, no.1.

Obv.: Beardless head of king to right, crescent on helmet; large crescent behind shoulders, ornamental wheel behind head. Brahmi leg. - 'Deva Shāhī' at 9 O'clock and 'Khiṅgila' at 1 O'clock.
Rev.: Indistinct.


Obv.: Beardless head of king to right. Small human figure with folded hands or arms before face. Brāhmi leg. 'Shāhi' at 1 O'clock, 'Pūrva' at 7 O'clock and 'Dīya' at the 10 O'clock.

Rev.: Indistinct.


Obv.: Beardless head of king to right; crescent on the helmet or lower before the face. Brāhmi leg. 'PŪRVĀDITYA' at 1 O'clock.

Rev.: Traces of fire altar.

33. Metal: Silver size: wt.: 58 grains

Ref.: Cunningham, 1894, pl.IX, no.10; Gobi, 1967, I, em.94, no.1.
Obv.: Beardless head of king to right, with crescent in front of helmet, flower on undulated stem before face. Brāhmī leg. 'Shāhī Pūrvāditya'.

Rev.: Fire altar, nearly obliterated.

34. Metal: Silver size: wt.: 53 grains
Ref.: Cunningham, 1894, pl.IX, no.9.

Obv.: Beardless head of king, with crescent in front of helmet, trident in front of face. Hephthalite symbol behind. Brāhmī leg. 'Deva Shāhī'

Rev.: Fire altar, nearly obliterated.

35. Metal: Silver size: 27 mm. wt.: 3.60 gm.
Ref.: Cunningham, 1894, pl.IX, no.16; Gobl, 1967, I, em.108; Mitchiner, 1975-b, no.3.

Obv.: Beardless head of king to right, small fire altar before face, earrings in ear and necklace. Brāhmī leg. to left 'Jayatu Ba' and on right 'Yasara Khotalaka'

Rev.: Fire altar and attendants.

36. Metal: Silver size: wt.: 44 grains
Ref.: Cunningham, 1894, pl.IX, no.6.

Obv.: Beardless head of king to right, with crescent on helmet. Hephthalite symbol to right and Brāhmī leg. 'Triloka'.

Rev.: Fire altar, nearly obliterated.

37. Metal: Copper size: wt.: 3.76 gms.

Ref.: Cunningham, 1894, pl.VII, no.16; Gobl, 1967, I, em.120; G.B. Sharma, 1986, pl.X, no.3.

Obv.: Bust of king facing right. In front of face Brahmi letter 'Bra' at 5 O'clock. Border of dots.

Rev.: Solar symbol above the wheel; below it 'Tora'.

38. Metal: Copper size: 19.8mm. wt.: 3.76 gms.


Obv.: Bust of king to right; elongated head, border of dots.

Rev.: Above the line solar wheel; below 'Tora' in Brāhmī


    Obv.: Archer standing with bow in his left hand.

    Rev.: Above the line solar wheel and below Brāhmi leg. 'Tora'

40. Metal: Copper  size:  wt.: 3.32 gms.

    Ref.: Gobi, 1967, I, em.124, no.2; Prinsep Essays, pl.XXXIV, no.17.

    Obv.: In front standing king in Kushana style.

    Rev.: Solar symbol above and Brāhmi leg. 'Shruta' or 'Shuta'

41. Metal: Copper  size: 0.87  wt.: 99.7

    Ref.: King standing offering incense at altar in Kushāna style, clad in peculiar skirt and frilled drawers. Brāhmi legend to left - 'Śrī Tora'
Rev.: Seated goddess in Gupta style, holding lotus flower over left shoulder; to right 'Ja(ya)' (victory), to left a vase.

42. Metal: Silver size: wt.: (a) 2.35 gm. (b) 2.13 gm.

Ref.: Rapson, Indian Coins, pl.IV, no.16; Gobl, 1967, I, em.119, no.3.

Obv.: Bust of king facing to left (Gupta style of Saurashtra and Malva variety). On coin 'b', on front field numeral 52.

Rev.: Fan-tailed peacock. Inscription around 'Vijitavaniravanipati Sri Toramaña'.

43. Metal: Copper size: wt.: 1.49 gms.

Ref.: Gobl, 1967, I, em.128, no.5.

Obv.: Bust of king facing to right. Brāhmi leg. 'Jara'.

Rev.: Above solar wheel and below Brahmī leg. 'Śrī Prakāshāditya'.

44. Metal: Copper size: wt.: 1.97 gms.

Obv.: Bust of king facing to right. Trident in front of the face?

Rev.: Solar wheel above the line and below 'Uditi'ditya' in Brāhmī.

45. Metal: Silver  size:  wt.: 36.5 grains

Ref.: Prinsep Essays, I, p.411; Cunningham, 1894, pl.VIII, no.3; Gobi, 1967, I, em.133, no.135.

Obv.: Beardless head of king to right, with crescent on front of head dress; bull standard in front of face, trident behind head. Brāhmī leg. 'Jayatu Mihirakula'.

Rev.: Remains of fire altar and attendants nearly obliterated.

46. Metal: Silver  size:  wt.: 56 grains

Ref.: Cunningham, 1894, pl.VIII, no.4; Gobi, 1967, I, em.134.
Obv.: Beardless head of king to right, bull standard before face and trident behind head. Brāhmaṇī leg. 'Jayatu Vrīsha-dhvaja'

Rev.: Fire altar with attendant on each side.

47. Metal: Copper size: wt.: 57 grains

Ref.: Prinsep’s Antiquities by E. Thomas, pl.XXXIV, figs.1, 2, 4, 5; Cunningham, 1894, pl.VIII, no.1; Gobh, 1967, I, em.152.

Obv.: Beardless head of king to right. Brāhmaṇī leg. ‘Śrī Mihirakula’

Rev.: Humped bull to left. Brahmi leg. ‘Jayatu Vrīsha’.

48. Metal: Copper size: wt.: 3.60 gms.

Ref.: Cunningham, 1894, pl.VIII, no.2; Gobh, 1967, I, em.153, no.2.

Obv.: Beardless head of king facing to right. Brāhmaṇī legend ‘Śrī Mihirakula’.

Rev.: Humped bull with legend above ‘Jayatu Vrīsha’.

49. Metal: Copper size: wt.: 3.03 gms.
Obv.: Beardless head of king facing to right, Hephthalite symbol in front of the face.

Rev.: Humped bull with legend above 'Jayau-' (?)

50. Metal: Copper size: wt.:

Ref.: Prinsep Essays, Pl.XXXXIV, no.4.

Obv.: Beardless Head of King facing right. leg. obliterated.

Rev.: Humped Bull to left, leg. 'Jayatu[vrish]'

51. Metal: Copper size: wt.: 121 grains

Ref.: Cunningham, 1894, pl.VIII, no.5.

Obv.: Standing figure of king to left. Brahmi leg. 'Shāhī Mihiragula'. (Cunningham finds 'gula' quite distinct on all the coins in his possession and he notes that this form of the name is used with the title 'Shāhī')

Rev.: Seated goddess with cornucopia, as on the Kushāna coins.
52. Metal: Copper  size:  wt.: 109 grains

Ref.: Cunningham, 1894, pl.VIII, no.6.

Obv.: King standing to front with spear in left hand (or Archer), Brāhmi leg. written reversed - 'Mihirakula'.

Rev.: Seated goddess with cornucopia. Flower above on right.

53. Metal: Copper  size: 0.90"  wt.: 110 grains

Ref.: Cunningham, 1894, pl.VIII, no.7.

Obv.: King on horseback to right. Brāhmi leg. reversed (Mihi)rakula.

Rev.: Seated goddess.

54. Metal: Copper  size:  wt.: 124 grains

Ref.: Cunningham, 1894, pl.VIII, no.9.

Obv.: King standing to left holding spear in left hand. Brahmi leg. 'Shāhī (Hi)ranyakula'.

Rev.: Seated goddess.
55. Metal: Copper size: wt.: 126 grains

Ref.: Cunningham, 1894, pl.VIII, no.10.

Obv.: King standing to left holding a spear in left hand. Brāhmī leg. (Hira)ṇyakula Shahī.

Rev.: Seated goddess.

56. Metal: Copper size: wt.: 3.73 gms.

Ref.: Smith, 1907, 97, 2, fig.11; Gob1, 1967, I, em.154.

Obv.: Standing king holding spear (arch) in left hand (resembling to Archer type of Chandegupta II).

Rev.: Above on left is solar symbol. Brāhmī leg. ‘-Kula’.

57. Metal: Copper size: diag.21.1mm. and wt.: 3.45 gms sides 17x18.7 mm

Ref.: G.B. Sharma, 1986, pl.VIII, no.4.

Obv.: First strike of Toramāṇa's Rev. (in the photo the first impression is seen upside down with solar symbol and
a clear 'To' above). Second strike of Mihirakula, with bust of king to the left of the flan and legend interfering with Toramāṇa's impression. To right a border of dots.

Rev.: First strike of Toramāṇa's obv. (in the photo one can see at 8 O'clock direction the traces of the two branches usually under this ruler's bust). Second strike line under which the legend is lost; above line bull to left clear. Border of big dots above (probably Mihirakula's) and small dots below (probably Tormāṇa's).

58. Metal: Copper size: wt.:

Ref.: G.B. Sharma, 1986, pl.XII, no.3.

Obv.: Bust of king to right, with earrings in ear.

Rev.: Solar symbol on the top with leg. below 'Śrī Kayarasa' in Brāhmi.

59. Metal: Copper size: 1.52 cms. wt.: 3.30 gms.

Ref.: G.B. Sharma, 1986, pl.XII, no.5.

Obv.: Bust of king to right.
Rev.: Traces of dotted margin on the top. Solar symbol on the top and leg. ‘Śrī Vayārasa’ in Brāhmī.

60. Metal: Copper size: 2.00 cms. wt.: 2.55 gms.

Ref.: G.B. Sharma, 1986, pl.XII, no.1.

Obv.: Barbarous bust of king to right, traces of legend in Brāhmī ‘Bāla’.

Rev.: Border of dots. Solar symbol on the top with legend in Brāhmī below a dividing line ‘Tora’.

61. Metal: Copper size: 1.06 cms. wt.: 4.790 gms.

Ref.: Ashvini Agrawal, 1986, pl.IV, no.1.

Obv.: Monogram and flower within dotted circle on left.

Rev.: Śiva standing with arms outstretched, standing behind is the bull facing left. Dotted circle visible on left side.

Remarks: The monogram is sometimes read as ‘Kota’.

62. Metal: Copper size: wt.:

Ref.: G.B. Sharma, 1986, pl.XII, no.6.
Obv.: Bust of king facing to right.

Rev.: Humped bull walking to left above the line, and below the line Brāhmī leg. 'Chandragupta'.

63. Metal: Copper size: wt.: 

Ref.: Prinsep Essays, pl.XXXIV, no.9.

Obv.: Trident on left, leg. on right in two lines, first line - 'Vi Di' and second line - 'Sa Gu' (fully as Vidisagupta)

Rev.: Humped bull to left.

64. Metal: Copper size: wt.: 

Ref.: Prinsep Essays, pl.XXXIV, no.10.

Obv.: Similar as no. 63.

Rev.: Similar as no.63.

65. Metal: Copper size: 1.70 x 1.65 cms. wt.: 2.16 gms.

Ref.: G.B. Sharma, 1986, pl.IX, no.2.

Obv.: Barbarous bust of king to right with a trident in front.
Rev.: Lanky bull to the left with leg. below: 'Bhīmasena'. (This particular coin represents the obv. of Toramāna and rev. of Mihirakula coin with a new name Bhīmasens - G.B. Sharma).

66. Metal: Copper size: 1.75 x 1.50 cms. wt.:


Obv.: Chakra or solar symbol to left; 'kpa' written vertically to the right. There appears to be another 'chakra' visible with dots around which seems to be different from the other symbol.

Rev.: Humped bull walking to the left.

67. Metal: Copper size: 1.85 wt.:


Obv.: Solar symbol or 'chakra' and 'kpa' written vertically as on the above coin. Border of dots.

Rev.: Humped bull and Śiva walking to left. Border of dots.