

Graeco-Bactrian Issues of Later Indo-Greek Kings

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[PLATES 7-9]

THE so-called 'Qunduz' hoard¹ contained coins bearing exclusively Greek legends and of Attic standard, struck not only by earlier Bactrian kings, as Euthydemus, Demetrios, Eucratides, Heliocles and others, but also by the later Indo-Greek kings for whom in almost every case only bilingual coins of Indian standard had hitherto been known, and who, it was thought, reigned only in the Indian territories south of the Hindu Kush.² The discovery of the

The following abbreviations have been used:

<i>BBN</i>	<i>Bulletin de la Bibliothèque Nationale</i>
<i>BMC</i>	P. Gardner, <i>A Catalogue of Indian Coins in the British Museum. The Coins of the Greek and Scythic Kings of Bactria and India</i> (London, 1888; repr., 1968).
<i>BMQ</i>	<i>The British Museum Quarterly</i>
<i>CASE</i>	A. Cunningham, <i>Coins of Alexander's Successors in the East</i> (London, 1884, Delhi-Varanasi, 1970, Chicago, 1969); originally a series of articles in <i>Numismatic Chronicle</i> , 1868, 1870, 1872, 1873.
<i>Corpus</i>	A. N. Lahiri, <i>Corpus of the Indo-Greek Coins</i> (Calcutta, 1956).
<i>IG</i>	A. K. Narain, <i>The Indo-Greeks</i> (Oxford, 1957).
<i>JNSI</i>	<i>Journal of the Numismatic Society of India.</i>
Mionnet	Mionnet, <i>Description des Médailles antiques, grecques et romaines, Supplément</i> , VIII, (Paris, 1837).
Mitchiner	M. Mitchiner, <i>Indo-Greek and Indo-Scythian Coinage</i> , 9 vols., (London, 1975-1976).
<i>Monnaies hors trésors</i>	P. Bernard, <i>Fouilles d'Aï Khanoum IV. Les monnaies hors trésors. Questions d'histoire gréco-bactrienne (MDAFA 27, Paris, 1985).</i>
<i>PMC</i>	R. B. Whitehead, <i>Catalogue of Coins in the Punjab Museum, Lahore. I. Indo-Greek Coins</i> (Oxford, 1914).
<i>TQ</i>	R. Curiel and G. Fussman, <i>Le trésor monétaire de Qunduz (MDAFA 20, Paris, 1965).</i>

¹ This hoard was found by chance on the 23 August 1946 at Khisht Tepe (on the Afghan side of Amu Daria, about 90 km from Qunduz in Afghanistan). Prior to the detailed publication by R. Curiel and G. Fussman in *TQ*, the find was discussed in important articles by A. D. H. Bivar, 'Indo-Greek Victory Medallions', *N. Circ.*, (May, 1953), pp. 201-02; 'The Qunduz Treasure', *N. Circ.* (May, 1954), pp. 187-91; *The Bactrian Treasure of Qunduz. Numismatic Notes and Monographs* (Numismatic Society of India), no. 3, 1955; 'The Bactrian treasure of Qunduz', *JNSI* 1955, pp. 37-52. Although the complete and well illustrated publication of the Qunduz hoard appears under the name of R. Curiel and G. Fussman, it is necessary to emphasize here that the inventory was done by R. Curiel and the commentary was written by G. Fussman (*TQ*, pp. 9-11). So when referring to the historical analysis one should quote G. Fussman.

² I refer to the tetradrachms of Lysias (*TQ*, nos. 611-614), Theophilus (*ibid.*, no. 615), Archebios (nos. 624-625), Philoxenos (*ibid.*, no. 626) and Hermaeus (*ibid.*, no. 627), and the

hoard posed many serious problems of historical interpretation, for it was generally agreed that the Graeco-Bactrian coins (Greek legend, Attic standard) circulated north of the Hindu Kush, whereas the Indo-Greek coins (bilingual, Indian standard) circulated south of the range. Since the discovery of this hoard, many coins of this class, i.e. Graeco-Bactrian issues of Indo-Greek rulers, have appeared from time to time, and several interpretations have been given to explain their role.

The aim of this study is to give a complete inventory of all published and some hitherto unknown Graeco-Bactrian coins minted by Menander and his successors south of the Hindu Kush, and to re-examine the various hypotheses put forward by scholars since the Qunduz find in the light of new archaeological discoveries. Regarding the coins from the Qunduz hoard, I rely on the detailed and well illustrated publication by R. Curiel and G. Fussman. For the rest I have had the opportunity to examine almost all of them during my researches in the history of the Graeco-Bactrian and Indo-Greek kingdoms.³

In this inventory of Graeco-Bactrian coins issued by later Indo-Greek kings, all the specimens are first catalogued under the name of each king, then they are classified under series in conformity with the following criteria: denominations, obverse and reverse types, and legend arrangement. Coins in each series are then grouped according to the variations of monograms. The disposition of the legend and the die axes are indicated, as are the monograms and their position in the field. The die links are noted as well. When a coin is illustrated or mentioned in several publications, which is usually the case for the well known specimens, I have tried to give at least the

double-decadrachms of Amyntas (ibid, nos. 619–623). Almost a hundred years before the discovery of the Qunduz hoard two Graeco-Bactrian coins of Antialcidas were known: one tetradrachm was acquired by Col. Abbott and noticed by E. Thomas in *Prinsep's Essays on Indian Antiquities* (ed. E. Thomas, London, 1858), II, p. 193; later cf. A. Cunningham, *CASE*, pl. VIII, no. 5, (*NC* 1869, pl. IX, no. 5), and then by P. Gardner, *BMC*, Antialcidas, no. 1, p. 25. The second coin was a drachm published by Mionnet, *Supplément*, p. 483 = A. Cunningham, *CASE*, pl. VIII, no. 6, (*NC* 1869, pl. IX, no. 6). However, these two coins being in isolation seemed unaccountable for a long time. Furthermore the chronological and geographical position of this king was very much debated because of the supposed overstrike of Eucratides over Antialcidas that A. von Sallet, ('Die Nachfolger Alexanders des Grossen in Baktrien und Indien', *ZfN* 1879, pp. 298–9), seemed to have identified. We were able to examine this coin in the Münzkabinett, Staatliche Museen of Berlin, and notice the regrettable error committed by von Sallet in his reading: see my article, 'Monnaies indo-grecques surfrappées', *RN* 1989, pp. 49–79, esp. pp. 50–1.

³ I wish to extend my warmest thanks to Dr (Mrs) Cécile Morisson, the Director of the Cabinet des Médailles of Paris, to Mr Joe Cribb, Curator, Department of Coins and Medals of the British Museum, and to Mr Harry Fowler, the Chairman of the American Numismatic Society, New York, who very kindly allowed me to reproduce certain coins, several of which have never been published, and who always extended a very warm welcome to me and provided me with every working facility. I am also exceedingly grateful to Prof Paul Bernard, Directeur d'Etudes, Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes, IV^e Section, Paris, Mr Raoul Curiel, former Curator of the Cabinet des Médailles de Paris, and to Prof Zeph Stewart, the Director of the Center for Hellenic Studies, Washington, for their unfailing helpfulness, advice and guidance.

most important references; the place where it is now held is indicated at the head.

MENANDER

ATTIC STANDARD SILVER TETRADRACHM

- Obv.* In reel and bead border, diademed bust of king to r.
Rev. Athena Alkidemos standing to l. holding shield on outstretched l. arm, and hurling thunderbolt with r. hand. Leg. ↓↓ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ / ΜΕΝΑΝΔΡΟΥ

Monogram to l. Μ (cf. Mitchiner, 2, 212, b).

1. 16.18 g ↑ The British Museum. Inv. no. 1966. 11.4.1.
 Allouche-Le Page, *Journal Asiatique* 1950, pp. 476–7; A. D. H. Bivar *N. Circ.* (May, 1954.), pp. 188–9, fig. 7 (= *JNSI* 1955, p. 38, no. 3); A. K. Narain, *JG*, pl. II, no. 7; A. N. Lahiri, *Corpus*, pp. 148–9, pl. XXIV, no. 1; Monnaies et Médailles, Basel, Auct. 32, 20. X. 1966, no. 178; G. K. Jenkins, *BMQ*, 1967–8, p. 109, pl. XXIII, no. 1 (= *JNSI* 1968, pp. 25–6, pl. I, no. 1); N. Davis and C. M. Kraay, *The Hellenistic Kingdoms* (London, 1973), no. 164; Mitchiner, 2, 212, second illustration from the left; *Monnaies hors trésors*, p. 103, n. 7.
2. 16.81 g ↑ Monogram to l. ⌘ (cf. Mitchiner, 2, 212, a).
 Bank Leu, Zurich, Auct. 13, April, 1975, no. 329. (= Mitchiner, 2, 212, first illustration).
3. 14.13 g ↑ Cabinet des Médailles, Paris, Inv. no. 1973. 35. Unpublished.⁴ (Pl. 7, 1).

These three coins were issued with different obverse and reverse dies and bear two different monograms, which probably indicates that a considerable number of this class were issued. The reverse type, Athena Alkidemos, is familiar in Menander's abundant bilingual coinage.⁵ As for the diademed head of the king it only appears, as correctly shown by A. D. H. Bivar in his remarkable study of Menander's coinage,⁶ on later bilingual issues of Menander. As one may easily notice on the first bilingual series, where the legend is adjusted first ∩ (for Greek) and ∪ (for Kharoshthi), then ∩ (for Greek) and ∪ (for Kharoshthi), the portrait of the king is always presented as seen from the back wielding the spear;⁷ it is only much later, with the introduction of new mints, that the diademed portrait can be found.

⁴ This coin was bought at Monnaies et Médailles, Basel.

⁵ See A. B. Brett, 'Athena 'Alkidemos' of Pella', *ANSMN* 1950, pp. 55–72.

⁶ 'The sequence of Menander's drachmae', *JRAS* 1970, pp. 123–36.

⁷ Cf. Mitchiner 2, first 220 and then 221–225.

Therefore I believe this unilingual series was minted when Menander became the sole king of the whole Indo-Greek kingdom, after the death of Eucratides.⁸

ZOILOS I

ATTIC STANDARD SILVER TETRADRACHM

Obv. In reel and bead border, diademed bust of king r.

Rev. Naked Heracles, standing facing, crowned with leaves, holding in outstretched r. hand another wreath and carrying club and lion's skin with his l. arm. Leg. ☉ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ / ΖΩΙΛΟΥ.

Monogram to l. ♂ (unpublished)

1. 16.75 g ↑ Collection Harry Fowler. Inv. no. 9-11-84. Unpublished (Pl. 7, 2)

This coin, which is exceptional on more than one count, is a major revelation. It brings to light a coinage that is purely Greek in type, weight and legend, of a king for whom until now only a bilingual coinage of Indian standard was known. The king's portrait on the obverse and the Heracles standing and holding wreath on the reverse correspond exactly to the types on his bilingual issues of Indian weight (cf. Mitchiner 2, 255-6). It proves, further and beyond any doubt, the existence of two Zoili,⁹ one a contemporary of Menander and the other, much later, the successor of Apollodotos II in the region of Sagala, striking rudely styled bilingual drachms with Athena Alkidemos on the reverse.

ANTIALCIDAS

I. ATTIC STANDARD SILVER TETRADRACHM

Obv. In reel and bead border, diademed bust of king r.

Rev. Zeus seated l. on throne holding in outstretched r. hand Nike with wreath and palm in l. long sceptre; in the field l., forepart of elephant to r. with bell around neck, who raises his trunk. ☉ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ / ANTIAAKIDAOY.

⁸ Menander was partly contemporary with Eucratides and may have begun his rule around 155 BC. The dates given here are taken from the forthcoming publication based on my doctoral thesis presented to the Sorbonne University, Paris I, *Étude d'histoire et de numismatique indo-grecques*, vols. I-IV, 1987.

⁹ Even in spite of the differences of types and titles, styles, and especially monograms between the two coinages, R. B. Whitehead (*NC*, 1950, p. 209) and G. Fussman (*TQ*, p. 73-79) refuse to admit the existence of two Zoili. As far as we are concerned, two homonymous kings named Zoilos did exist, and I have treated this question in the light of overstrikes, composition of the coin hoards, and the pattern of monograms in a paper 'Les derniers rois indo-grecs, une autre hypothèse', read at the International Colloquium, *Histoires et cultes de l'Asie Centrale préislamique. Source écrites et documents archéologiques*. Paris 22-28 November 1988 (forthcoming publication).

Monogram to r. ♀ (cf. Mitchiner, 2, 269, a).

1. 16.66 g ↑ The British Museum. Inv. no. India Office Collection, no. 53.
A. Cunningham, *CASE*, pp. 198-9, pl. VIII, no. 5, (*NC* 1869, pp. 300-01, pl. IX, no. 5); P. Gardner, *BMC*, Antialcidas, no. 1, p. 25, pl. VII, 9; A. N. Lahiri, *Corpus*, p. 82, pl. IV, no. 7; G. K. Jenkins, *BMQ* 1966-7, pp. 109-10, pl. XXIII, no. 2 (= *JNSI* 1968, pp. 25-6); Mitchiner 2, 269.
- 2.¹⁰ 16.64 g ↑ Cabinet des Médailles, Paris. R. 3681. 223, ex coll. Marc Le Berre. Unpublished. (Pl. 7, 3).

II. ATTIC STANDARD SILVER TETRADRACHM

Obv. In reel and bead border, helmeted bust of king r.

Rev. As on the preceding series I. Leg. as on the preceding series I.

Monogram to r. ♀ (cf. Mitchiner 2, 270¹¹).

3. 16.61 g ↑ Kabul Museum; *TQ*, no. 616.
A. D. H. Bivar, *N. Circ.* 1954, p. 189 fig. 8; *JNSI* 1955, pl. VI, no. 6; A. K. Narain, *JNSI* 1954, p. 186, pl. III, no. 2; A. N. Lahiri, *Corpus*, p. 82, pl. IV, no. 8; Mitchiner, 2, 270, first illustration.
- 4.¹² 16.65 g ↑ Collection Wahler,¹³ U.S.A.
Monnaies et Médailles, Basel, Auct. 53, November, 1977, no. 162.

III. ATTIC STANDARD SILVER TETRADRACHM

Obv. As on the preceding series II.

Rev. As on the preceding series I and II. Leg. ☉ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ / ANTIAAKIDAOY.

Monogram to r. ♀ (cf. Mitchiner, 2, 270).

5. 16.47 g ↑ Bank Leu, Auct. 1975, no. 331.
Mitchiner 2, 270, second illustration.
6. 16.24 g ↑ Collection Harry Fowler.¹⁴ Unpublished. (Pl. 7, 4).
- 7.¹⁵ 16.66 g ↖ Cabinet des Médailles, Paris. R. 3681. 190, ex coll. Marc Le Berre. Unpublished. (Pl. 7, 5)

¹⁰ These two coins, nos. 1 and 2, were issued with the same reverse die.

¹¹ Mitchiner does not seem to distinguish between the two different series; one may notice that each series has a very clear legend arrangement: one ☉ and the other ☉, so our series II = Mitchiner 2, 270, 1st illustration; our series III = Mitchiner 2, 270, 2nd illustration.

¹² These two coins of Antialcidas, nos. 3 and 4, were struck with different obverse and reverse dies.

¹³ I owe this information to the authorities of the American Numismatic Society.

¹⁴ This coin was bought at Bank Leu, Zurich, 1975.

¹⁵ These three coins nos. 5, 6 and 7, of Antialcidas were issued with different obverse and reverse dies.

IV. ATTIC STANDARD SILVER TETRADRACHM

Obv. In reel and bead border, diademed bust of king r., wearing kausia.
Rev. As on the preceding series I–III. Leg. as on the preceding series III.

Monogram to r. \mathbb{K} (cf. Mitchiner 2, 271, a).

8. 16.07 g \uparrow Kabul Museum; *TQ*, no. 618.
 A. D. H. Bivar, *N. Circ.* 1954, p. 189, fig. 10; A. K. Narain, *JNSI* 1954, pp. 186–7, pl. III, no. 3 = A. N. Lahiri, *Corpus*, pp. 82–3.

Monogram to r. \mathbb{I} (cf. Mitchiner 2, 271, b)

- 9.¹⁶ 16.72 g \nearrow Kabul Museum, *TQ*, no. 617.
 A. D. H. Bivar, *N. Circ.* 1954, p. 189, fig. 9 (= *JNSI* 1955, pl. VI, no. 7); A. K. Narain, *JNSI* 1954, pp. 186–7, pl. III, no. 4; A. N. Lahiri, *Corpus*, p. 82–3, pl. IV, no. 9; Mitchiner 2, 271.

V. ATTIC STANDARD SILVER DRACHM

Obv. As on the preceding series IV.

Rev. As on the preceding series I–IV, but the forepart of the elephant is turned l., and its trunk holds the wreath. Leg. as on the preceding series III and IV.

Monogram to r. \mathbb{K} (Cf. Mitchiner 2, 272, a).

- 10.¹⁷ 4.70 g \uparrow Cabinet des Médailles, Paris. 1845, ex coll. Révil. (Pl. 7, 6).
 Mionnet, *Supplément*, p. 483 (line drawing); A. Cunningham, *CASE*, p. 199, pl. VIII, no. 6, (*NC* 1869, p. 301, pl. IX, no. 6); R. B. Whitehead, *PMC*, p. 36, unrep. V; A. N. Lahiri, *Corpus*, p. 83, pl. IV, no. 10; Mitchiner 2, 272.¹⁸
- 11.¹⁹ 4.07 g \uparrow Cabinet des Médailles, Paris, R. 3681. 191, ex coll. Marc Le Berre. Unpublished. (Pl. 7, 7).

We now know of eleven Graeco-Bactrian coins of Antialcidas, of several varieties, bearing three different monograms (\mathbb{I} , \mathbb{K} , \mathbb{K}), three obverse types,

¹⁶ These two coins, nos. 8–9, of Antialcidas are of different dies.

¹⁷ This coin was first published by Mionnet, *Supplément*, p. 483, when it belonged to the cabinet of M. Révil; but it was subsequently acquired by the Cabinet des Médailles de Paris (then known as Cabinet de France) in 1845. A. Cunningham, *CASE*, p. 199 (*NC* 1869, p. 301) referred to Mionnet, but seems to have been unaware that it was already held in the Cabinet de France; R. B. Whitehead, *PMC*, p. 36, unrepresented types V, correctly indicated it as then belonging to the Cabinet de France, but A. N. Lahiri, *Corpus*, p. 83, referring to R. B. Whitehead, says 'It is not in "Cabinet de France"', see *PMC*, p. 36, unrep. type V'. This is probably a printing mistake.

¹⁸ Those who have referred to this coin always reproduced the line drawing given by Mionnet, p. 483. We are presenting it, for the first time, in photographs: see Pl. 7, no. 6.

¹⁹ These two coins, nos. 10 and 11, were struck with the same obverse die.

two noteworthy legend arrangements, and above all of two denominations, tetradrachms and drachms of Attic standard. Antialcidas is the only Indo-Greek king for whom a parallel series of unilingual drachms is so far known. It is also very important to emphasize here that these two drachms were struck with two different reverse dies, and that all the published bilingual silver coins of Antialcidas that we know so far were issued in the same mints as the unilingual ones,²⁰ and bear mostly the same obverse and reverse types.²¹ The important conclusion to be drawn from these observations is that all the mints that issued bilingual coins for Antialcidas were also engaged in striking unilingual coins of Attic weight.

LYSIAS

I. ATTIC STANDARD SILVER TETRADRACHM

Obv. In reel and bead border, diademed bust of king r. wearing elephant's scalp.

Rev. Naked Heracles standing facing, crowing himself with his r. hand, and carrying club and lion's skin with his l. arm. Leg. ζ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΙΚΗΤΟΥ / ΛΥΣΙΟΥ.

Monogram to l. $\bar{\Lambda}$, to r. Σ (cf. Mitchiner 2, 259, a).

1. 16.55 g \uparrow Kabul Museum; *TQ*, no. 613.
 A. D. H. Bivar, *N. Circ.* 1954, p. 188, fig. 4 (= *JNSI*, 1955, p. 51, pl. VI, no. 3); A. K. Narain, *JNSI* 1954, p. 185, pl. II, no. 6; A. N. Lahiri, *Corpus*, pp. 145–6; Mitchiner 2, 259, 1st illustration.
2. 16.36 g \uparrow Cabinet des Médailles, Paris. Inv. no. 1970. 617, ex coll. Marc Le Berre. Unpublished. (Pl. 8, 8).
- Monogram to l. $\bar{\Lambda}$, to r. $\bar{\Sigma}$ (cf. Mitchiner 2, 259, b).
- 3.²² 15.90 g \uparrow Kabul Museum; *TQ*, no. 612.
4. 16.90 g \uparrow Cabinet des Médailles, Paris. Inv. no. 1972. 1040. Bought at Monnaies et Médailles, Basel. Unpublished. (Pl. 8, 9).
5. 16.67 g \uparrow Collection Harry Fowler. Inv. no. 27-4-84. Unpublished. (Pl. 8, 10).
6. \uparrow Collection Wahler, U.S.A.
 Monnaies et Médailles, Auct. 53, November, 1977, Basel, no. 161.

Monogram to l. \mathbb{I} (cf. Mitchiner 2, 259, c).

- 7.²³ 16.88 g \uparrow Kabul Museum; *TQ*, no. 611.
 A. D. H. Bivar, *N. Circ.* 1954, p. 188, fig. 5 (*JNSI*, 1955,

²⁰ Some of the bilingual bronzes of Antialcidas bear the combined monogram: $\bar{\Lambda}\Sigma$, but they do not appear on his silver coinage.

²¹ Cf. Mitchiner 2, 275, 277, 279.

²² These four coins of Lysias, nos. 3–6, were struck with the same obverse and reverse dies.

²³ These two coins of Lysias, nos. 7 and 8, were struck with the same obverse die.

8. 15.92 g ↑ p. 51, pl. VI, no. 4); A. K. Narain, *JNSI* 1954, p. 185, pl. II, no. 7; A. N. Lahiri, *Corpus*, pl. XXIII, no. 4. The British Museum. Inv. no. 1966. 11. 4. 2. Monnaies et Médailles, Basel, Auct. 32, Oct. 20, 1966, no. 179; G. K. Jenkins, *BMQ* 1967-8, p. 110, pl. XXIII, no. 3 (= *JNSI* 1968, 24, pl. I, no. 2); Mitchiner 2, 259, second illustration).

II. ATTIC STANDARD SILVER TETRADRACHM

- Obv.* In reel and bead border, helmeted bust of king l., seen from the back, wielding spear with his upraised r. hand. The l. shoulder of the king is covered by the scalp of an elephant, with tusks projected forward, as if it belonged to an aegis.
- Rev.* As on the preceding series I. Leg. as on the preceding series I.
- 9.²⁴ 16.11 g ↑ Monogram to l. $\bar{\Lambda}$, to r. Σ (cf. Mitchiner 2, 260, a). Kabul Museum; *TQ*, no. 614. A. D. H. Bivar, *N. Circ.* 1954, p. 187 (= *JNSI* 1955, pp. 50-1, pl. VI, no. 2); A. K. Narain, *JNSI* 1954, pl. II, p. 185, no. 5; A. N. Lahiri, *Corpus*, p. 146, pl. XXIII, no. 5; Mitchiner 2, 260, first illustration.
- 10.²⁵ 16.98 g ↑ Monogram to l. $\bar{\kappa}$. Cabinet des Médailles, Paris. Inv. no. 1970. 389, ex coll. Marc Le Berre. Unpublished. (Pl. 8, 11).

We now know of ten unilingual tetradrachms of Lysias, bearing three different monograms: $\bar{\Lambda}$ with Σ or Σ , $\bar{\rho}$ and $\bar{\kappa}$. As was true in the case of Antialcidas, all the published bilingual silver coins of Lysias were issued by the same mints²⁶ and bear the same obverse and reverse types.²⁷ It is quite certain that all the mints that issued bilingual coins for Lysias were also responsible for minting unilingual coins of Attic weight.

²⁴ A series of bilingual drachms, bearing the same types, is now known to me from two coins, one in the British Museum, Inv. no. 1888. 12. 1. 199, ex coll. Cunningham, published by R. B. Whitehead, *NC* 1923, pl. XV, no. 7 (Mitchiner 2, 265); and the other an unpublished coin in the collection of Harry Fowler, Inv. no. 7-16-87.

²⁵ These two coins of Lysias, nos. 9 and 10, were struck with different dies. The coin no. 9 is double-struck on the reverse.

²⁶ Some of the bronze coins of Lysias are issued by the mints characterized by the monograms: $\bar{\kappa}$ and $\bar{\rho}$, but they do not appear on his silver coinage.

²⁷ A Graeco-Bactrian coin of Lysias is described by J. Kozolubski in *Seaby's Coin and Medal Bulletin* (1965), p. 358, no. 316 (without illustration), as having a diademed and draped bust of the king r. on the obverse and young Heracles standing facing on the reverse, but no one since then seems to have come across this coin or any other specimen belonging to this series. However, there is no reason to doubt the existence of such a series which would correspond exactly to the bilingual coins of Lysias; cf. Mitchiner 2, 261.

PHILOXENOS

I. ATTIC STANDARD SILVER TETRADRACHM

- Obv.* In reel and bead border, diademed bust of king r.
- Rev.* King diademed and helmeted, on horseback r.; horse prancing. Leg. \odot $\text{ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΙΚΗΤΟΥ} / \PhiΙΛΟΞΕΝΟΥ$.
- Monogram to r. $\bar{\kappa}$ (cf. Mitchiner 3, 337, a).
1. 16.74 g ↑ Kabul Museum; *TQ*, no. 626. A. D. H. Bivar, *N. Circ.* 1954, p. 190, fig. 12; A. K. Narain, *JNSI* 1954, p. 187, pl. II no. 6; A. N. Lahiri, *Corpus*, p. 167, pl. XXVIII, no. 1; Mitchiner 3, 337, first illustration.
- 2.²⁸ 16.53 g ↑ Cabinet des Médailles, Paris. Inv. no. 1977. 29. 11. (Pl. 8, 12). Monnaies et Médailles, Basel, Auct. 53, Nov. 4, 1977, no. 163; Mitchiner 3, 337, second illustration;²⁹ H. Nicolet-Pierre, *BBN*, 1978, 3, p. 100, fig. 1.
- Monogram to r. $\bar{\rho}$.
3. 16.67 g ↑ Collection Harry Fowler. Inv. no. 10-1-86. Unpublished. (Pl. 8, 13). This coin first appeared in a sale catalogue, *Monnaies de Collection*, Strasbourg, 19-20 June, 1984, no. 263. It was found in the region of Mazar-i Sharif, and was held in the collection of Prof. Broussy, Toulouse (France) until his death.³⁰
- 4.³¹ 16.56 g ↑ Collection Harry Fowler. Inv. no. 4-30-75, Bank Leu, Zurich. Unpublished. (Pl. 8, 14).

II. ATTIC STANDARD SILVER TETRADRACHM

- Obv.* As on the preceding series.
- Rev.* As on the preceding series. Leg. \odot $\text{ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΙΚΗΤΟΥ} / \PhiΙΛΟΞΕΝΟΥ$.
- Monogram to r. in ex. $\Sigma\bar{\rho}$ (Mitchiner 3, 337, b³²)
5. 14.68 g ↑ Wahler Collection, U.S.A. Bank Leu, Auct. 13, April 4, 1975, no. 332; Mitchiner 3, 337, third illustration.

²⁸ These two coins, nos. 1 and 2, of Philoxenos are struck with the same obverse and reverse dies.

²⁹ Mitchiner illustrated the same coin in the Cabinet des Médailles de Paris as belonging to a private collection.

³⁰ For the provenance of this coin see *TQ*, p. 63, n. 16.

³¹ These two coins, nos. 3 and 4, of Philoxenos are struck with different obverse and reverse dies.

³² The adjustment of the legend is noteworthy: it is similar to what we find on Archebios' Graeco-Bactrian tetradrachms; see below (p. 92) under Archebios.

Since the first unilingual coin of Philoxenos was found in the Qunduz hoard, four other specimens have appeared from time to time. These five coins were issued with four different obverse and reverse dies, and bear three different monograms. These three monograms Φ , Ψ and Σ are also found on the majority of the bilingual silver coins of Philoxenos.

DIOMEDES

I. ATTIC STANDARD SILVER TETRADRACHM

Obv. In reel and bead border, diademed bust of king r.

Rev. Mounted Dioscuri holding palms, prancing to r. with spears. Leg. \curvearrowright
 ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ / ΔΙΟΜΗΔΟΥ.

Monogram to r. Φ

1. 16.16 g ↑ Cabinet des Médailles, Paris. Inv. no. 1971. 618, ex coll. Le Berre (Pl. 8, 15).
 H. Nicolet-Pierre, *BBN*, 1978, 3, p. 100, fig. 2; *Monnaies hors trésors*, p. 165.

II. ATTIC STANDARD SILVER TETRADRACHM

Obv. In reel and bead border, diademed and helmeted bust of king r.

Rev. Mounted Dioscuri holding palms, prancing to r. with spears. Leg. \curvearrowright
 ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ / ΑΙΟΜΗΔΟΥ.

Monogram to r. Φ

2. 16.81 g ↑ (R. C. Senior) Collection. Unpublished. (Pl. 9, 16).

Ten years after the publication of the first Graeco-Bactrian issue of Diomedes, which was a major revelation for the Indo-Greek kings, now we are in a position to introduce a second specimen of this class, with a different obverse type and a new monogram, thanks to the generous cooperation of Mr R. C. Senior, the owner of this coin, and Mr Joe Cribb who kindly sent me a photograph of it. The main characteristics of these two specimens, such as the royal portraits, one diademed, the other helmeted, the reverse type and the two monograms Φ and Φ , can be found in his bilingual tetradrachms and drachms.³³

THEOPHILOS

II. ATTIC STANDARD SILVER TETRADRACHM

Obv. In reel and bead border, diademed bust of king r.

Rev. Athena seated l. holding spear and wearing helmet, holds Nike on her

³³ Cf. Mitchiner 3, 347, b, and 349, a.

extended r. hand; shield leaning against the seat.³⁴ Leg. \curvearrowright ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΟΣ / ΘΕΟΦΙΛΟΥ.

Monogram to l. Ψ (cf. Mitchiner 3, 371.³⁵)

1. 16.67 g ↑ Kabul Museum; *TQ*, no. 615.
 A. D. H. Bivar, *N. Circ.* 1954, p. 188, fig. 6 (= *JNSI* 1955, p. 51, pl. VI, no. 5); A. K. Narain, *JNSI* 1954, p. 186, pl. III, no. 1; A. N. Lahiri, *Corpus*, p. 186, pl. XXXIII, no. 1.
2. 16.78 g ↑ Monogram to l. Ψ (cf. Mitchiner 3, 371, a).
 ↑ *BM*, Inv. no. 1965. 4. 10. 1. (Pl. 9, 17).
 G. K. Jenkins, *BMQ* 1966-7, p. 110, pl. XXIII, no. 5 (= *JNSI* 1968, p. 24-5, pl. I, no. 3); Mitchiner 3, 371, first illustration.
3. 16.78 g ↑ Wahler Collection, U.S.A.
 Spink stock 19 August, 1976 = Mitchiner 3, 371, second illustration.

These three coins of Theophilos are struck with the same obverse die, but the three reverses are of different dies. The two monograms: Ψ and Ψ are, no doubt, two variants of the same mint. Here we come across one of the rare cases where a unilingual issue does not correspond to the bilingual series issued in the same name. One may notice that the types, the titles and the monograms of these Greek tetradrachms have no parallel series in the bilingual coins of the Indo-Greek king named Theophilos, who had adopted Heracles as his obverse type, ΔΙΚΑΙΟΣ as his epithet, and used the following monograms:³⁶ Ψ , Ψ and Σ . G. K. Jenkins, using the considerable differences that he had observed in the portraits, suggested that there were two different men of the same name.³⁷

Yet one may still argue, in spite of all the differences between the Graeco-Bactrian and Indo-Greek series, that the more individualized features of the portrait on the unilingual tetradrachms may be mainly due to the exceptional skill of the engraver and to the relatively larger space he may have enjoyed while engraving the die: the average dimension of a unilingual tetradrachm (31-34 mm) is obviously larger than that of a bilingual tetradrachm (24-27 mm) or drachm (15-16 mm). Regarding the difference of the monogram one may assume that an exceptional issue might have been

³⁴ A diversity can be observed on the three reverses of these tetradrachms: Athena is sometimes represented seated on a simple stool (our nos. 1 and 3), or sometimes on an armchair of which the legs and armrests are conjured away (no. 2); and also the position of Athena's legs changes from one specimen to the other: they are presented either parallel (no. 1), crossed (no. 3), or the left leg very much set back from the right (no. 2).

³⁵ Mitchiner seems to ignore the fact that this coin from the Qunduz hoard bears the monogram: Ψ , not Ψ .

³⁶ Cf. Mitchiner 3, 372-374.

³⁷ *BMQ* 1966-7, p. 110; also in *JNSI* 1968, pp. 23-7.

thought worthy of a special mint. For this outstanding issue Theophilos may have taken the title *Autokratōr* (possessing full powers)³⁸ in contrast with the ordinary epithet *Dikaios*. To the question one may raise regarding the difference of the reverse type figured on the Greek coins we may draw attention to a similar coin found in a hoard from the Ai Khanum excavations,³⁹ bearing the name of Apollodotos (but without an epithet), with an obverse type similar to that of Theophilos (Athena enthroned with a victory on her right hand), and bearing the monogram Φ . This coin was correctly attributed to Apollodotos I, for whom only bilingual coins had hitherto been known, by P. Bernard⁴⁰ followed by Cl.-Y. Petitot-Biehler,⁴¹ in spite of the considerable divergence from his bilingual coins, which have nothing in common in respect of monetary types (Elephant/humped bull for silver (cf. Mitchiner 2, 203, 206, 207), and Apollo and tripod for bronzes (cf. Mitchiner 2, 209, 210)), monograms,⁴² and the fact that the bilingual coins bear the epithet Soter. In conclusion, I believe that the arguments used by Jenkins are not sufficient in themselves to show that there were two homonymous Indo-Greek kings named Theophilos.

AMYNTAS

I. ATTIC STANDARD SILVER DOUBLE-DECADRACHM

Obv. In reel and bead border, diademed and helmeted bust of king r.

Rev. Zeus seated l. on throne holding in outstretched r. hand armed Athena who holds shield and spear, and in l. hand long sceptre and palm. Leg. \curvearrowright **ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΝΙΚΑΤΟΡΟΣ / ΑΜΥΝΤΟΥ.**

³⁸ For this title see A. Bouché-Leclercq, *Histoire des Séleucides* (Brussels, 1913), pp. 130, 188; G. Le Rider, *Suse sous les Séleucides et les Parthes...* (*MMAI*) (Paris, 1965), p. 319; J. and L. Robert, *Bull. Ép.*, 1961, 419, pp. 193-4. A. N. Lahiri was wrong when he assumed that the epithet *Autokratōr* is used only by the Indo-Parthian king Gondophares. This epithet is attested even in some early Parthian issues, where the name of Arsaces is accompanied by the title: **ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΟΣ**; cf. M. T. Abgarians and D. G. Sellwood, 'A hoard of early Parthian drachms', *NC* 1971, pp. 103-19.

³⁹ This coin was found in the hoard discovered in 1973 during the excavations conducted by the French Archaeological Delegation in Afghanistan under the direction of Prof. Paul Bernard.

⁴⁰ *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, (1974), pp. 306-7.

⁴¹ *RN* 1975, pp. 37-39. Contrary to the hypothesis put forward by A. K. Narain (first in *IG*, pp. 64-5, 124-7, and then in *JNSI* 1957, pp. 121-34), this coin made it possible to decide once and for all in favour of the existence of two Apollodoti, one a predecessor of Eucratides and the other very much later, a successor of Maues. I do not intend to enter into details to show the serious consequences for the chronology proposed by Narain that resulted from his refusal to accept the existence of two Apollodoti. One may read the arguments developed in favour of two Apollodoti by G. K. Jenkins, 'The Apollodotus question: another view', *JNSI*, 1959, pp. 20-33; J. P. Guépin, 'Apollodotus et Eucratides', *Jaarboek voor Munt- en Penningkunde*, 1956, pp. 1-19; D. W. MacDowall et N. G. Wilson, 'Apollodoti reges Indorum', *NC* 1960, pp. 221-8, and recently, *Les monnaies hors trésors*, pp. 66-7.

⁴² The monogram Φ is never attested in the bilingual issues of Apollodotos I.

- Monogram to r. Φ (cf. Mitchiner 3, 385, a).
1. 84-92 g \uparrow Kabul Museum; *TQ*, no. 620.
A. D. H. Bivar, *N. Circ.* 1953, pp. 201-2, fig. 1; A. K. Narain, *IG*, pl. V, no. 1 (= *JNSI* 1953, p. 213, pl. IX, no. 1); A. N. Lahiri, *Corpus*, pp. 78-79, pl. III, no. 2.
 - 2.⁴³ 84-70 g \uparrow Kabul Museum; *TQ*, no. 619.
A. D. H. Bivar, *N. Circ.* 1953, col. 201-2; A. N. Lahiri, *Corpus*, pp. 78-9, pl. III, no. 1; N. Davis and C. M. Kraay, *The Hellenistic Kingdoms* (London, 1973), no. 174; Mitchiner, 3, 385.

II. ATTIC STANDARD SILVER DOUBLE-DECADRACHM

Obv. As on the preceding series.

Rev. City goddess (Tyche) seated l. on a throne, holding cornucopiae in l. hand, and making a gesture with outstretched r. hand. Leg. as on the preceding series.

Monogram to r. Φ (cf. Mitchiner 3, 386, a).

3. 84-89 g \uparrow Kabul Museum; *TQ*, no. 621.
A. D. H. Bivar, *N. Circ.* 1953, pp. 201-2; A. K. Narain, *IG*, pl. V, no. 1; A. N. Lahiri, *Corpus*, p. 79; Mitchiner 3, 386.
4. 84-76 g \uparrow Kabul Museum; *TQ*, no. 622.
A. D. H. Bivar, *N. Circ.* 1953, pp. 201-2, fig. 2; A. K. Narain, *IG*, pl. V, no. 1 (= *JNSI* 1953, p. 213, pl. IX, no. 2; A. N. Lahiri, *Corpus*, p. 79, pl. III, no. 2.
- 5.⁴⁴ 84-50 g \uparrow Kabul Museum; *TQ*, no. 623.
A. D. H. Bivar, *N. Circ.* 1953, pp. 201-2, *JNSI*; A. K. Narain, *IG*, pl. V, no. 1; A. N. Lahiri, *Corpus*, p. 79.

These five double-decadrachms of Attic standard were the most important revelation of the Qunduz hoard, for they bring to light on the one hand a coinage purely Greek in weight and legend of a king for whom until then only a bilingual coinage was known, and on the other hand the largest silver denomination ever attested in antiquity. Furthermore the five specimens, with two different reverse types, are linked by the same obverse die. I am not concerned here to explain why these two types should alternate on the same issue. It is more important to know the role of such high value coins (double-

⁴³ As R. Curiel well observed, these two coins of Amyntas nos. 1 and 2 (*TQ*, nos. 619-620), are struck with the same obverse and reverse dies, but one may well notice that on the reverse of no. 620 there are two parallel circular lines of dots under the king's name in the exergue which do not appear on coin no. 619. These dots correspond exactly to the number of letters of **AMYNTΟΥ**, which may have originally been engraved to dispose the king's name in circular form. Having struck the coin no. 619 and before striking the coin no. 620, the engraver seems to have obliterated the dots by filling the corresponding holes of the same die.

⁴⁴ These five coins, nos. 1-5, of Amyntas are struck with the same obverse die and nos. 3-5 with the same reverse die.

decadrachms). Were they commemorative victory medallions or simple coins used for current payments? We will come to this question later.

ARCHEBIOS

I. ATTIC STANDARD SILVER TETRADRACHM

Obv. In reel and bead border, diademed and helmeted bust of king r., seen from the back, wielding a spear with r. hand; king's l. shoulder is covered by the aegis.

Rev. Zeus facing, clad in himation, holding long sceptre in l. hand and hurling thunderbolt with r. hand. Leg. ☉ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ / ΑΡΧΕΒΙΟΥ.

Monogram to r. Ⓜ (cf. Mitchiner 3, 355, a).

1. 16.87 g ↗ Kabul Museum; *TQ*, no. 624.
A. N. Lahiri, *Corpus*, pp. 100–1, pl. IX, no. 3).
- 2.⁴⁵ 16.82 g ↗ Kabul Museum; *TQ*, no. 625.
A. D. H. Bivar, *N. Circ.* 1953, p. 190 (= *JNSI* 1955, p. 52); A. N. Lahiri, *Corpus*, p. 100–1).
3. 16.72 g ↑ BM, Inv. no. 1959. 11. 1. 1. (**Pl. 9, 18**).
Monnaies et Médailles, Auct. XIX, June 5–6, 1959, no. 573; A. N. Lahiri, *Corpus*, p. 101; G. K. Jenkins, *BMQ* 1966–7, pl. XXIII, no. 4 (= *JNSI* 1968, p. 25, pl. I, no. 4); Mitchiner 3, 335.
- 4.⁴⁶ 16.84 g ↑ Cabinet des Médailles, Paris, Inv. no. 1986. 1062. (**Pl. 9, 19**).
This coin first appeared in a sale catalogue, *Monnaies de Collection*, Strasbourg, 19–20 June, 1984, no. 264. It was found in the region of Mazar-i Sharif, and was in the collection of Prof. Broussy, Toulouse (France) until his death.⁴⁷

G. K. Jenkins correctly described the obverse of this issue of Archebios as an outstanding work of art. The reverse reproduces the Zeus type of the same king's bilingual coins,⁴⁸ and the monogram likewise is commonly found on his bilingual coinage.

⁴⁵ These two coins, nos. 1–2, of Archebios are struck with the same obverse and reverse dies.

⁴⁶ The last two coins, nos. 3 and 4, of Archebios are struck with the same obverse and reverse dies; they are closely similar to the two specimens of the Qunduz hoard and no doubt of the same hand.

⁴⁷ Concerning the provenance of this coin, see *TQ*, p. 63, n. 16.

⁴⁸ *JNSI* 1968, p. 25.

HERMAEUS

I. ATTIC STANDARD SILVER TETRADRACHM

Obv. In reel and bead border, diademed bust of king r.

Rev. Zeus-Mithra⁴⁹ with Persian head-dress and radiate, seated l. on throne, holding long sceptre in l. hand and making a gesture with his outstretched r. hand. Leg. ☉ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ / ΕΡΜΑΙΟΥ.

Monogram to l. Ⓜ (cf. Mitchiner 3, 409, a).

1. 16.54 g ↑ Kabul Museum; *TQ*, no. 627.
A. D. H. Bivar, *N. Circ.* 1954, p. 190 (= *JNSI* 1955, p. 52, pl. VIII, no. 5; A. K. Narain, *JNSI* 1954, pl. III, no. 7, *IG*, pl. V, no. 3; A. N. Lahiri, *Corpus*, p. 139, pl. XVII, no. 12; Mitchiner 3, 409.
2. 16.83 g ↑ Cabinet des Médailles, Paris. Inv. no. R, 3681. 521, ex. coll. Marc Le Berre. Unpublished. (**Pl. 9, 20**).
- 3.⁵⁰ 16.56 g ↑ Collection Nasher, formed in Qunduz. Unpublished. (**Pl. 9, 21**). I owe this information to the generosity of the Cabinet des Médailles, Paris, who provided me with the photographs and the description of this collection.

It is interesting to find two more specimens struck with the same obverse and reverse dies as the one in the Qunduz hoard. As was true for most of the other Indo-Greek coins we have mentioned here, the types and the legend of this unilingual issue correspond exactly to the bilingual coinage of Hermaeus.⁵¹ It should be noted that a mint Ⓜ, very rarely attested in his bilingual coinage, was responsible for this issue.

Having described Graeco-Bactrian coins minted by Menander and by his Indo-Greek successors, we may now proceed to re-examine some of the questions of historical interpretation they raised. I have, however no intention of treating all the questions raised by the Qunduz hoard itself: I am more concerned with various explanations given by several scholars to justify the discovery of coins of Attic weight minted by the Indo-Greek kings who

⁴⁹ A. D. H. Bivar, 'Mithraic images of Bactria: are they related to Roman Mithraism?' in *Études préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'Empire romain*, 80 (1979), pp. 741–50; D. W. MacDowall, 'The role of Mithra among the deities of the Kusana coinage', in J. R. Hinnell, *Mithraic Studies* (Manchester University Press, 1975), pp. 142–50; and also, 'Sol invictus and Mithra. Some evidence from the mint of Rome', *EPRO*, 80 (1979), pp. 557–71.

⁵⁰ These three coins, nos. 1–3, of Hermaeus are struck with the same obverse and reverse dies.

⁵¹ Apart from the usual diademed or helmeted royal portrait, two other different obverse types are known in the coinages of Hermaeus: the first is the king on horseback (cf. Mitchiner 3, 410); the second one has so far been known through one specimen in the British Museum, but wrongly interpreted as king on horseback (cf. Mitchiner 3, 411, second illustration). Recently I have questioned this interpretation, thanks to the two drachms in the Cabinet des Médailles, struck with the same dies as the one in the British Museum; I interpret the type as queen-amazon: see 'Roi-cavalier on Reine-amazone?', *Bulletin de la Société Française de Numismatique* (November, 1988), pp. 453–6.

are supposed to have reigned only in Indian territories where bilingual coins of Indian standard were in circulation.

In order to explain the presence of Graeco-Bactrian coins in Bactria, but minted by the Indo-Greek kings, A. K. Narain,⁵² followed by G. Fussman,⁵³ proposed that these sovereigns exercised a political control over some part of the regions north of the Hindu Kush. This assumption was based on the view that the coins in conformity with the Attic standard were strictly a currency for Bactria. G. Fussman further argued that it was logical to suppose that the Graeco-Bactrian coins, since they were intended for circulation north of the Hindu Kush, were struck in the north, and conversely that the bilingual ones should have been minted south of it. D. W. MacDowall⁵⁴ and M. Mitchiner⁵⁵ were in favour of Narain's hypothesis, but made clear that these Graeco-Bactrian coins were struck in the mints situated south of the Hindu Kush.

Already in 1968, only two years after the publication of the Qunduz hoard by R. Curiel and G. Fussman, G. K. Jenkins wrote articles in two different journals, which put into question, but in a very ambiguous way, the hypothesis of A. K. Narain and G. Fussman.⁵⁶ Jenkins wrote: 'Then again, if the later Attic tetradrachms are to be regarded as strictly a currency for Bactria, it is logical to suppose that their mintage, at whichever mint, should imply some degree of control by the Indo-Greek kings of the region to the north of the Hindu Kush. But is it not conceivable that these coins, especially the double-decadrachms of Amyntas, were really something in the nature of medallic or presentation pieces rather than as currency? In that case it seems less necessary to envisage that the issuing kings really had any control over the Bactrian region, and that the coins could well have been minted to the south of the Hindu Kush as the monograms would seem in most cases to imply.'⁵⁷ The same doubt and hesitation can be seen in a number of questions posed by H. Nicolet-Pierre when publishing the Graeco-Bactrian tetradrachms of Philoxenos and Diomedes. H. Nicolet-Pierre questions:⁵⁸ 'Faut-il conclure, de l'existence de ces monnyages et de leur presence dans le trésor de Qunduz, que ces souverains régnèrent aussi sur une partie de la Bactriane, plus profondément hellénisée que leurs possessions indiennes? Ou s'agit-il de frappes exceptionnelles dans des ateliers indiens, émissions de prestige rares mais nécessaires pour perpétuer une tradition? Ou bien ces rois préférèrent-ils utiliser des monnaies de poids attique dans leurs transactions avec leurs voisins du Nord, les pièces bilingues de poids indien étant celles de la circulation locale?' G. K. Jenkins and H. Nicolet-Pierre, even in spite of their hesitation, took a big step forward towards a reasonable solution, but

⁵² *IG* pp. 48, 50, 103, 105, 107.

⁵³ *TQ*, pp. 62-3.

⁵⁴ In F. R. Allchin and N. Hammond (edd.), *The Archaeology of Afghanistan from earliest times to the Timurid periods* (London, 1978), p. 210.

⁵⁵ Mitchiner 2, pp. 102-4.

⁵⁶ *BMQ* 1967/8, pp. 108-12; *JNSI* 1968, pp. 23-7.

⁵⁷ *JNSI* 1968, p. 26.

⁵⁸ *BBN* 1978, 3, p. 100.

the final great leap was taken by P. Bernard in his recent book on the stray finds from the Ai Khanum excavation conducted by the French Archaeological Delegation in Afghanistan under his direction.⁵⁹ I repeat briefly the most important arguments used by him when opposing Narain's hypothesis.⁶⁰

1. If one accepts A. K. Narain's chronology, the control of some regions of Bactria should be extended until the beginning of the reign of Hermaeus who, according to him, did not begin to rule until 70 BC.

2. How can one imagine that the mountainous province of Badakhshan,⁶¹ considered by Narain as the last Greek enclave held by the later Greek kings of India, a fringe region with high valleys of rough climatic conditions, where no central power seems to have ever exercised firm control, was the last bastion of Greek power? It is even less probable, argued P. Bernard, that the lower valley of the Qunduz river, where the hoard was found, remained under the control of the Greeks until 70 BC, surrounded from east and west by the nomadic invaders.

3. The hypothesis of A. K. Narain does not tally with the results obtained from the excavation of Ai Khanum. The silver coins found in the hoards⁶²

⁵⁹ *Les monnaies hors trésors*. In this book, P. Bernard gives an exhaustive inventory of the coins found apart from the hoards.

⁶⁰ *Les monnaies hors trésors*, pp. 103-5.

⁶¹ Badakhshan is situated on the mid and upper Kokcha and on the left bank of the upper Oxus somewhat to the east of the Qunduz river. The reason to suggest this region was that it is close to the Khisht Tepe where the hoard was found. G. Fussman proposed to enlarge this Greek territory beyond this enclave, owing to the fact that two coins of Philoxenos (our no. 3) and Archebios (no. 4) were found in Mazar-i Sharif, further to the west of the Qunduz river and close to Bactra.

⁶² The first Ai Khanum hoard was found in 1970, in room 20 of the administrative quarter situated in the centre of the lower city; it contained 677 silver punch-marked coins and 6 bilingual drachms of Agathocles, but none of the issues of other Graeco-Bactrian kings was present in it: see R. Audoin and P. Bernard, *RN* 1973, pp. 238-89, *idd.*, *RN* 1974, pp. 7-41. The second hoard was found in 1973, in the ruins of the kitchen of a large private house situated outside the north wall of the city. It comprised 63 silver tetradrachms of Attic standard, 49 of which were Graeco-Bactrian coins: 7 Diodotos in the name of Antiochos, 1 Diodotos in the name of Diodotos, 27 Euthydemos, 3 Demetrios I, 1 Euthydemos II, 3 Agathocles, 2 Antimachos Theos, 1 Apollodotos I, 1 Eucratides, (cf. C.-Y. Petitot-Biehler, *RN* 1975, pp. 23-57). It is very important to emphasize here that although there was only one coin of Eucratides I in this hoard, it is a later issue of this king, because the name of the king is accompanied with the epithet *Megas* and adjusted ⚡ (Mitchiner 1, 177), contrary to his first issues where the legend is without epithet and adjusted ⚡ (Mitchiner 1, 168). The third hoard was found in the winter 1973/4 by an Afghan farmer near the excavation site itself. It was quickly sold in Kabul and a large portion of it passed in commerce through New York City. It was published by Fr. Holt, *RN* 1981, pp. 7-43, from a rapid inventory completed by Dr (Mrs) Waggoner, curator of the American Numismatic Society. As Holt himself correctly said, doubts must be expressed about the integrity of any hoard of valuable coins which has been passed from dealer to dealer over a period of years. Except for a few suspicious coins, like the drachm of Lysias, the composition of this hoard is similar to the one published by Petitot-Biehler. It must have comprised 142 silver coins of Attic standard, 120 of which were Graeco-Bactrian: 7 Diodotos in the name of Antiochos, 4 Diodotos in the name of Diodotos, 81 Euthydemos, 8 Demetrios I, 3 Euthydemos II, 6 Agathocles, 2 Antimachos Theos, 9 Eucratides.

and the stray finds, (over 200 items, mainly bronzes),⁶³ stop suddenly at Eucratides I's reign. In particular the absence of any coin of Heliocles and his successor, in hoards or in stray finds is especially remarkable, whereas his coinage is abundantly represented in the Qunduz hoard.⁶⁴ The fact that the coinages stop at Eucratides I's reign, far from being a chance coincidence, is surely explained by one event, the nature of which became clear through the excavation: the catastrophe which struck the city when the palace was burnt down and the existence of the Greek city came to an end. The archaeological data are categorical; after the palace was burnt down and during the brief period that followed when indigenous populations occupied the city, there is no trace of Greek presence; from the time they were driven away from Ai Khanum, the Greek settlers never returned. One is therefore led to assume that the cause for this tragedy was the invasion of the peoples of the steppe, which occurred at a time when, precisely, Chinese records mention large scale movements of tribes travelling westwards from north-west China and southern Siberia. The Chinese imperial annals (the *Shih-chi* and the *Han Shu*) provide us with texts based on a report allegedly made by a certain Chang-K'ien, an envoy of the Han emperor Wu Ti, to the western provinces between 138 and 126 BC. He tells us about the arrival in Central Asia of the Yüeh-chi in the second half of the second century BC. One could derive from this Chinese source a picture of a thrust which took place progressively in two stages.⁶⁵ The numismatic data provided by the Qunduz and Ai Khanum hoards would thus corroborate this picture. In the first stage the Yüeh-chi nomads must have taken the territories situated north of the Oxus, i.e. Sogdiana, the region of Ai Khanum at the eastern extremity of the plain of Bactria, on the left bank of the river, and the second stage of this move must have already been completed at the time of the visit by the Chinese

⁶³ The excavations have yielded 274 coins. There were 224 legible coins of which 77 were Graeco-Bactrian and Indo-Greek specimens. The coins found apart from the hoards are almost exclusively bronzes of small denomination. The Seleucid coins are represented in quantity (68 specimens of which 62 of Antiochos II). Then come Euthydemus I with 49 bronzes, Diodotos with 26 coins and Eucratides with 12 coins of which 11 were bilingual. There were also 6 Demetrios I, 5 Euthydemus II, 3 Antimachos Theos, 3 Agathocles, and 1 Apollodotos: P. Bernard, *Les monnaies hors trésors*, pp. 17–71.

⁶⁴ It is noteworthy that 221 coins out of 627, i.e. over one third, are struck in the name of Heliocles.

⁶⁵ We use the translation by B. Watson in *Records of the Grand Historian of China translated from Shih chi of Ssu-ma chien*, vol. II (London, 1961): 'The Great Yüeh-chih live some two or three thousand li west of Ta-Yüan, north of Kuei River ... they are a nation of nomads, moving from place to place with their herds and their customs are like those of Hsiung-nu. They have some one or two hundred thousand archer warriors' (p. 267, ch. 123). '... after they were defeated by the Hsiung-nu they moved far away to the west, beyond Ta-Yuan; there they attacked and conquered the people of Ta-hsia (Bactria)...' (p. 268, ch. 123). '... they (Yüeh-chih) attacked and conquered the people of Ta-hsia (Bactria) and set up the court of the king on the northern bank of the Kuei river (Oxus)' (p. 268, ch. 123). 'After the Great Yüeh-chi moved west and attacked and conquered Ta-hsia, the entire country came under their sway' (p. 269, ch. 123).

ambassador Chang K'ien in these regions in 129–128 BC. P. Bernard was able to date exactly the catastrophe which brought the existence of the Greek city of Ai Khanum to an end, (or in other words the first invasion of Sogdiana by the Yüeh-chi), thanks to an inscription, found in a destruction stratum, giving a clear *terminus post quem*, the twenty-fourth year in the reign of Eucratides (= 148–7 BC).⁶⁶ It is likely that the destruction of the Greek city of Ai Khanum and the first stage of the Yüeh-chi invasion and also the death of Eucratides I took place more or less at the same time, that is around 145 BC.⁶⁷

A. K. Narain considered that Badakhshan, the name that for him covers all the region on the left bank of the upper Oxus from the Pamir to the lower reaches of the river at Qunduz, and which would include the Ai Khanum plain, had been the last bastion of Greek resistance to the nomads' onslaughts.⁶⁸ The coin finds from Ai Khanum show on the contrary that Badakhshan proper, i.e. the mountain region of the mid and upper Kokcha and of the left bank of the upper Oxus, was lost to the Greeks, together with the Ai Khanum plain, at the time of the first Yüeh-chi invasion and that, during the respite they were granted for two decades before being overpowered by the second one, the territories they still controlled were situated mainly west of Qunduz, the eastern frontier of their lands then running between the latter city and Ai Khanum.⁶⁹

⁶⁶ *Les monnaies hors trésors*, pp. 97–105.

⁶⁷ P. Bernard admits (*Les monnaies hors trésors*, p. 103, n. 4) that the chronology he proposed in 1969 in *Ai Khanoum I* (1973), p. 109, for the destruction of the city was wrong. It was a preliminary report based on the data available at the end of the fourth campaign.

⁶⁸ Cf. *IG*, pp. 138–40.

⁶⁹ See the remarkable study on this question by P. Bernard and H. P. Francfort, *Étude de géographie historique sur la plaine d'Ai Khanoum (Afghanistan)* (CNRS, Paris, 1978). I give the English translation of a section of an article by P. Bernard in *RN* 1975, pp. 67–9, where he summarises his arguments developed in this book: 'According to a certain tradition of ancient and mediaeval geography, it would seem that the Ai Khanum plain and its mountainous hinterland belonged, not to Bactria, as has always been supposed, but to Sogdiana. That appears to be the inference to be drawn from a certain number of geographical indications that my friend H. P. Francfort and I intend to analyse in a forthcoming article; I shall briefly mention the main ones here: 1). In Achaemenid inscriptions lapis lazuli (*kapautaka*), the only mine of which is found in the upper valley of the Kokcha, is always mentioned as coming from Sogdiana; 2). For Ptolemy Bactria borders on Sogdiana to the north and east; conversely, Sogdiana borders on Bactria to the south and west and also touches India to the south via the Caucasus, i.e. the Hindu Kush-Himalayan chain (*Geography*, i, 16; vi, 11, 1; xii, 1. Already Erastosthenes in Strabo x, 8 [*sic*]; J. Markwart, *Wehrot und Arang* (1938), pp. 27–8). These indications only make sense if, for the classical geographers, Sogdiana, i.e. the right bank of the Oxus, was in fact prolonged to the south-east by an appendix which included the region lying between the Kokcha and the upper Oxus, and thus crossed over to part of the left bank of the latter river. 3). Khuttalana province, which all ancient Islamic sources agree in placing in Transoxia, therefore on the right bank of the Oxus, also included the Ai Khanum plain and the immediate approaches of the mountainous hinterland. That will be shown by the identification by H. P. Francfort of Nushara-Andijaragh, one of the main cities of this province, mentioned several times by Arab and Persian geographers, with an important Islamic site of the Ai Khanum plain (*Hudūd al-*

Let me add another argument in favour of P. Bernard's hypothesis, according to which after the second and final invasion by the Yüeh-chi, following the death of Heliocles I around 130 BC, the Greek domination over the territories north of the Hindu Kush came to an end. The Qunduz hoard contains a certain number of interesting coins (mainly *TQ*, nos. 166–176, 237–241 and many other coins) issued in the name of Eucratides, of which the style of the royal portrait reminds us of the posthumous imitations of Eucratides I (cf. Mitchiner 1, 200). An exhaustive study of dies, monograms and style of all Eucratides' coins will certainly enable us to separate the genuine coins of Eucratides from the posthumous issues. Leaving aside this group, I wish to draw attention to two coins in the same hoard, issued in the name of Heliocles (*TQ*, nos. 582 and 583) that have received little attention from the scholars.⁷⁰ As R. Curiel very well noted, the reverse type of these two coins is of extremely crude style. The head of Zeus is reduced to a caricature. On coin no. 583 what we read is the mirror image of the epithet ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ. The monogram is the same as the one that appears on later imitations of Heliocles coins (cf. Mitchiner 4, 501, c), so they cannot be considered as genuine life time issues of Heliocles I. They are obviously posthumous coins struck by the nomads who occupied Bactria after the defeat of the Greeks. These coins were in the same hoard with the remarkable issues of Amyntas and Hermaeus and other Indo-Greek kings. One is thus obliged to assume that when the coin of Hermaeus reached this region there were no more Greeks but rather nomads imitating the coins of the last two great Greek kings who reigned over Bactria, Eucratides I and Heliocles I. They were the same nomadic invaders who, fifty years later, having occupied the western territories of the Indo-Greek kingdom, e.g. Paropamisadae and Arachosia, minted debased silver coins imitating the genuine issues of Hermaeus (cf. Mitchiner 3, 418–421), the last Greek king to reign in this part of the Indo-Greek kingdom.⁷¹ When fixing a burial date for the Qunduz

Alam, ed. V. Minorsky, pp. 119 and 360–361 (Nuchara); Istakhri p. 339 (BGA) and Ibn Hauqal, *Configuration de la terre* (ed. J. H. Kramers and G. Wiet), p. 495).

Therefore ancient Bactria only extended as far as Qunduz and its territory to the east, whereas Sogdiana, overlapping the Oxus opposite Ai Khanum, is supposed to have reached south-eastwards along the Kokcha; if the Kokcha did indeed constitute the eastern frontier between these two provinces, which were already two different political entities in the Achaemenid period, one will better understand that the nomads, after completing the conquest of the whole of Sogdiana when they reached its banks, decided not to cross this frontier, at least for a while.

⁷⁰ R. Curiel had correctly added two more specimens to this list of barbarized coins, *TQ*, nos. 472 and 592. M. Mitchiner, *The Early Coinage of Central Asia* (London, 1973), pp. 51–3, considered 9 specimens of Heliocles in this hoard as imitations (among them *TQ*, nos. 472, 482–3, 592–3); also see E. V. Zejmal, *Drevnie monety Tadzhikistana* (Dushanbe, 1983), pp. 111, 113.

⁷¹ Hermaeus would not have been the last Indo-Greek king, as A. K. Narain thought him to be, but Strato II associated with his son seems to have reigned in the Punjab until AD 10. My researches based on new numismatic data, overstrikes, hoard evidence, monogram pattern, evolution of monetary style etc. have compelled me to reconsider A. K. Narain's hypothesis and to propose a quite different chronology for the last Indo-Greek kings: see the article cited in n. 9.

hoard one has to take into consideration not only the coin of Hermaeus, but also the posthumous coins of Heliocles I. So one cannot now accept the very early date of 100 BC, which involves a considerable compression of the chronology of the later Indo-Greek kings, proposed by A. D. H. Bivar⁷² and approved by G. Fussman.⁷³

The final conclusions to be drawn from these arguments are that once completely overpowered by the Yüeh-chi around 130 BC the Greeks had no further control whatsoever over the provinces north of the Hindu Kush, and naturally that all these Graeco-Bactrian coins issued by Indo-Greek kings were struck in the mints situated in their territories south of the Hindu Kush. If this is so, the first question one should ask obviously is how these Graeco-Bactrian coins, struck in the mints situated south of the Hindu Kush, reached Bactria and for what purpose they were issued by the kings who reigned only in the Indo-Greek territories where coins of Indian standard were in circulation?

H. Nicolet-Pierre suggested two possibilities to explain their role. Either they were exceptional issues of prestige, rare but necessary to perpetuate the tradition, or they were currency used for the transactions with their neighbours of the northern territories.⁷⁴ She did not develop either of these propositions, as we said earlier. P. Bernard independently held and developed the view that these Graeco-Bactrian coins were minted by the sovereigns in question for their trade with Bactria, where silver currency had always been of Attic standard. Let us examine each of these propositions separately.

The strongest argument in support of the first hypothesis, according to which these coins were exceptional issues of prestige, is the existence of double-decadrachms of Amyntas that one may consider as medallic rather than as ordinary currency.⁷⁵ However, a certain number of important objections can be made against this hypothesis. Firstly, we have to answer the question: if they were prestigious issues, why were they in a hoard found in the territories of nomads but not in the territories of the kings who minted them? Secondly, an exceptional issue should be minted by exceptional sovereigns alone, but a king like Theophilus, to judge from the small number of his coins we know, would not have been so important. On the contrary Apollodotos II and Hippostratos, for whom a considerable number of coins with diversity of types and monograms are known, do not seem to have issued any Attic standard coins. I am well aware of the fact that it is hazardous to base one's reasoning on an *ex absentia* argument which a new find may invalidate at any moment; however, as I will argue later it seems to me that the lack of Bactrian coins in the name of Apollodotos, Hippostratos or any other king who reigned in the Punjab, is due to a historical fact that we can account for.

⁷² *JNSI* 1955, pp. 45–6.

⁷³ *TQ*, pp. 59–60, 63–4.

⁷⁴ *BBN* 1978, 3, p. 100.

⁷⁵ A. D. H. Bivar considered them as victory medallions, *N. Circ.* (May, 1953), pp. 201–2.

The second hypothesis, on the contrary, is more acceptable, except for the objection we have already made, that is, that high value coins such as double-decadrachms can hardly be considered as a denomination of common currency. Nevertheless one can always argue that although these issues cannot be considered as common currency meant for ordinary circulation, they may have served in exceptional transactions, since on the one hand they represent a very precise denomination, in this case of Attic standard, and on the other hand, they are identical in legend, monogram and in certain types with the ordinary Indo-Greek issues. Although I do not pretend to settle the question, there are many arguments in favour of accepting the Graeco-Bactrian coins in question as a currency issued by the Indo-Greek kings for their transactions with their neighbours of Bactria. In this way one may easily explain how these coins, minted in the territories south of the Hindu Kush, were found in Bactria, the two isolated specimens of later kings, Philoxenos and Archebios, found in Mazar-i Sharif, being noteworthy. Smaller denominations like drachms of Attic weight (of Antialcidas, our nos. 10 and 11), whose existence is now attested may have been used for small purchases along with the tetradrachms for bigger transactions. The remarkable specimens of the Graeco-Bactrian coins issued by later Indo-Greeks found along with the posthumous imitations of Eucratides I and Heliocles I of crude style in the Qunduz hoard enable us to make a very important observation: that is, in spite of the differences of style, provenance, monograms, and types, there is one characteristic common to all the coins in this hoard: they were struck according to the Attic standard. Even the two barbarized posthumous coins, which we consider as the most recent issues in the Qunduz hoard, along with the tetradrachm of Hermaeus, are of Attic weight.⁷⁶ It seems that even half a century after the conquest of Bactria by the Yüeh-chi the coins of Attic standard were in circulation as a common currency. Is it not possible to imagine, in this context, that the Indo-Greek kings were obliged to mint coins of Attic standard for their transactions with the populations of Bactria, who would have only accepted a currency they were accustomed to?

Our own researches on the attribution of monograms to geographical regions, which confirm, to a certain extent, the propositions already made by G. K. Jenkins⁷⁷ and A. D. H. Bivar,⁷⁸ enable us to assume that each and every Indo-Greek king who minted coins of Attic weight along with coins of

⁷⁶ Their weights are slightly inferior to the normal standard (15.81 g, 15.25 g), but there are very many cases in the same hoard, especially nos. 115 (14.48 g), 106 (15.59 g), of Eucratides' genuine issues.

⁷⁷ *JNSI* 1955, pp. 1–26, I entirely agree with Jenkins in his attribution of the following monograms \bar{A} to Charsadda and \bar{N} to Taxila.

⁷⁸ *NC* 1965, pp. 70–107. I basically agree with A. D. H. Bivar in most of his attributions, but it is quite difficult to accept his attribution of \bar{K} to Pushkalavati and \bar{M} to Alexandria, I think it should be exactly the contrary.

Indian standard had under his control one or many western territories of the Indo-Greek kingdom, e.g. Paropamisadae with Alexandria-Kapisa, Arachosia-Gardez and western Gandhara with Pushkalavati.⁷⁹ It is in perfect conformity with a common logic that the territories located in the immediate vicinity of Bactria were in trade relations with their northern neighbours. For Apollodotos II, who overpowered the Indo-Scythian king Maues in Taxila around 80 BC, and his successors Hippostratos (65–55 BC), Dionysios (65–60 BC), Zoilos II (60–35 BC), Apollophanes (35–30 BC) and Strato II and III (30 BC–AD 10), not a single coin of Attic standard is so far attested.⁸⁰ Why? As I said earlier, I do not believe that it is a question of an *ex absentia* argument, but rather a fact, for two reasons: firstly the later Indo-Greeks, according to the find spots of their coins, seem to have reigned far away from Bactria, first in the western Panjab with Taxila as capital and then, chased away by Azes I, in the eastern Panjab with Sagala as capital, but never in one of those fringe territories of Bactria; secondly by the end of the reign of Apollodotos II around 70 BC, the western territories, especially Paropamisadae, had already passed into the hands of nomadic tribes who were then minting coins of Indian standard copying the monetary types of Hermaeus, enabling Greeks in the Panjab to make their transactions with their Indo-Greek currency. It seems most improbable, for these reasons, to suppose that these later Indo-Greek kings ever minted coins of Attic standard. In conclusion, I find that there are many convincing arguments for accepting the hypothesis that the Graeco-Bactrian coins were issued by Indo-Greeks as a currency for use for transactions with Bactria.

A possible third hypothesis, which may equally explain the role of these Graeco-Bactrian coins found in Bactria, was conveyed to me recently by G. Le Rider, during several personal communications I had with him. Le Rider would prefer to interpret these issues as tribute made to the nomadic tribes in Bactria by the Indo-Greeks reigning in the neighbouring territories so as to stop their penetration into the Indo-Greek territories. He also drew my

⁷⁹ These researches were carried out not only on existing sources but also on many unpublished numismatic data. I had the opportunity, thanks to the missions generously offered to me by the U.A. 1222, Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique (France), to examine many museum collections in Europe and in the U.S.A., and to establish the provenance for many of these coins. The two Paris collections, Cabinet des Médailles and Musée Guimet, are noteworthy. The Graeco-Bactrian and Indo-Greek coins of the Cabinet des Médailles comprise three major collections: coins of General Allard, former general of Napoleon, who was later in the service of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, were collected mainly in the Panjab; Joseph Hackin, former Director of the French Archaeological Delegation in Afghanistan, bought his coins in Kabul and Peshawar; and the collection of Marc Le Berre, former architect of the French Archaeological Delegation in Afghanistan, was made of coins from Mir Zakah. The collection of the Musée Guimet is composed of Joseph Hackin's private collection, half of it being in the Cabinet des Médailles, and of some specimens from the Begram excavations. The results of these researchers and the catalogues of the above mentioned collections will be published in the near future.

⁸⁰ See my article cited in n. 9.

attention to various comparable situations in the history of the Hellenistic world. I now wish to examine this hypothesis, and take the responsibility for the commentary that follows. Although one may refer to more than one historical event where Greeks were forced to pay tribute to barbarian tribes, I wish to take one specific case. The states of Asia Minor, and the Seleucid kingdom in particular, had to pay tribute when their dominions were under continuous pressure from the Celtic tribes which had invaded from the north. Despite occasional acts of successful opposition, most of the Greek communities were terrified into paying tribute.⁸¹ Only after several decades did Attalus I of Pergamon finally defy them and refuse, subsequently defeating them.⁸²

It is not improbable that the Greeks in the Indian territories would have been under the permanent pressure of the Yüeh-chi, in the northern neighbourhood, who finally overpowered them. One may well imagine that in their desperate effort to keep their kingdom, they may have paid tribute to their enemies, at least to stop temporarily their advance. This is one of the ways one may explain the presence of the large number of Heliocles' coins found in the Qunduz hoard. It is very difficult to assume that all the silver unilingual coins, which have no parallel series of bronze issues, were in circulation as a common currency. So they would have been minted in large quantity to pay tribute to their enemy. As was discussed earlier, the Indo-Greek kings who minted Graeco-Bactrian coins had under their domination one or many bordering provinces south of the Hindu Kush where they would have been in under continuous pressure of the Yüeh-chi. So one may suppose that the Yüeh-chi would have imposed tribute upon the Greeks who sought peace. The double-decadrachms issued by Amyntas, who would have been an immediate predecessor of Hermaeus, can well be interpreted as a desperate effort to dissuade the enemy from penetrating into his territories. One should not forget that the Indo-Greek coins of Amyntas are very few in number compared to his exceptional Graeco-Bactrian issues.

⁸¹ Livy gives a vivid picture of the invasion: 'The Gauls, a vast horde of men, whether moved by shortage of land or hope of plunder, feeling assured that no people through which they would pass was their match in war, under the leadership of Brennus came into the country of the Dardanians. There strife broke out among them; about twenty thousand men, with Lonorius and Lutauius as their chiefs, seceded from Brennus and turned aside into Thrace. There, when they had penetrated as far as Byzantium, contending against those who resisted and imposing tribute upon those who sought peace, they occupied for a considerable time the coast of the Propontis, holding as tributaries the cities of the district. (xxxviii, 16, 1-3). 'And so great was the terror of their name, their number being also enlarged by great natural increase, that in the end even the kings of Syria did not refuse to pay them tribute'. (xxxviii, 17, 13-15). (Translation by Evan T. Sage, Loeb Classical Library (London, 1936); cf. *CAH* VII, 1 (2nd. ed., 1984), pp. 422-5.)

⁸² 'Attalus, the father of King Eumenes, was the first of the inhabitants of Asia to refuse, and his bold step, contrary to the expectation of all, was aided by fortune and he worsted the Gauls in pitched battle'. (Livy, xxxviii, 17, 13-15). See also A. Bouché-Leclercq, *Histoire des Séleucides*, (Brussels, 1913), p. 65, 112; M. Rostovtzeff, *The Social & Economic History of the Hellenistic World*, (Oxford, 1941), (repr. 1953), pp. 33, 43, 555, 578.

After establishing that the Indo-Greek kings who, like Menander, minted Graeco-Bactrian coins, did not have any possessions north of the Hindu Kush, I have examined three possibilities to account for the existence of the Graeco-Bactrian coins issued in the name of kings who normally should have minted only the bilingual coinages: we have seen that the first one – that these coins were prestige issues – is to be practically excluded. Between the two remaining ones – currency for commercial exchanges with Bactria or tribute paid to menacing neighbours used to the Attic standard – I hesitate to negate one in favour of the other, for both propositions remain, as far as I am concerned, as possible hypotheses, and one cannot pretend to present one or the other as established until further evidence can be provided to make one's choice.



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BOPEARACHCHI, LATER GRAECO-BACTRIAN (1)



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BOPEARACHCHI, LATER GRAECO-BACTRIAN (2)



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BOPEARACHCHI, LATER GRAECO-BACTRIAN (3)