

# New Light on the Pāratarājas

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IN this paper, I present 57 previously unpublished silver coins of the Pāratarājas, bearing Brahmi legends, which shed considerable new light on this little-known and poorly-understood series. Specifically, the coins help us connect what R.C. Senior has identified as two (previously disconnected) branches of the Pāratarāja family, thereby allowing us to organize the series in a more coherent way. New kings are identified in the process, and corrected spellings of several kings are also indicated. Several new coin types are presented, including the first two known didrachms of approximately 7 g each. The coins also allow us to re-examine and re-attribute several coins that have been studied in the past, and to begin an exploration of the place of this dynasty in history. A catalogue of the known coins is also presented.

The Pāratarājas are identified as such by their coins: two series of coins, one mostly in copper bearing legends in Kharoshthi and the other mostly in silver bearing legends in Brahmi. Among coins known so far, there has been no overlap between the two series, which appear to be quite separate from one another, despite commonalities of content. The notable feature of both series is that almost all of the coins bear the name ‘Pāratarāja’ as part of the legend, and they nearly always bear a swastika on the reverse (the exceptions being some very small fractions that seem to eliminate the swastika and/or the long legend, including the words ‘Pāratarāja’, for lack of space). The coins are very rare and, when found, are discovered almost exclusively in the Pakistani province of Baluchistan, reportedly mostly in the area of Loralai.

## 1. Previous Literature

The coins were first examined by Rapson.<sup>2</sup> He discussed three coins with Brahmi characters, the first from the collection of J.P. Rawlins, the second from the collection of a certain Mr. Bleazby, and the third (from an unknown collection) of which he had only a plaster cast. Rapson noted that Vincent Smith had read the name Arjuna on the Rawlins coin, but indicated that he disagreed with this reading. On the Bleazby coin, he provided an eye copy of the legend, but did not provide a reading. In retrospect, the eye copy does not seem particularly faithful. The third coin was declared ‘useless’ as far as yielding a readable legend was concerned. Rapson made no attempt to place these coins historically.

The series was next studied in some detail by Mukherjee,<sup>3</sup> who provided a detailed suggestion as to who these people were. I will review and reassess the history in section 6 below. Here I simply note that Mukherjee identified eight coins, five from the British Museum and three others known from publications or private collections, as belonging to

<sup>1</sup> I wish to thank Shailendra Bhandare, Joe Cribb, Harry Falk, Tom Mallon, Wilfried Pieper, Bob Senior and the editor (classical) of this journal for their very useful comments, and Nicholas Sims-Williams for his considerable help in elucidating the etymology of the kings’ names. I am especially indebted to Bob Senior for first introducing me to the coins of the Pāratarājas and for encouraging me to collect and study them.

<sup>2</sup> E.J. Rapson, ‘Notes on Indian coins and seals’, *JRAS* 1905, pp. 789-92.

<sup>3</sup> B.N. Mukherjee, *The Pāradas: A Study in their Coinage and History* (Calcutta: A. Mukherjee & Co., 1972).

the Pāratarājas. It appears, however, that Mukherjee was mistaken about the first two coins, which were Kushan and did not belong to the series.<sup>4</sup> Coins 3-8 did belong to the series, however. Of these, coins 3 and 4 bore Kharoshthi inscriptions, and will not concern us here.<sup>5</sup> Coins 5-8, however, bore legends in Brahmi (along with the swastika) and will be considered in detail.

Table 1 presents Mukherjee's reading of these four coins.

*Table 1: Pāratarāja coins studied by Mukherjee*

<i>Coin</i>	<i>Reference</i>	<i>Legend reading</i>
5	Shortt collection	Yasamaraputrasa Paratarāja Hvaramirasa
6	Ex-Bleazby	...(puta)sa Paratarāja Palasara(sa)
7	BM	Hilamaraputasa Paratarāja Ajuna(sa)
8	BM (Rapson, <i>JRAS</i> 1905)	... Mitolapa ... (very uncertain)

It is worth noting that Mukherjee's readings were generally quite specific, even if not definitive because of the condition of the coins. Only coin 8 seemed very uncertain to him. This point will bear on what follows. Coin 6 was the Bleazby coin examined by Rapson, and coin 8 was the plaster cast which Rapson had dismissed as 'useless' in terms of providing any legible letters. I suspect that coin 7 was in fact the Rawlins coin examined by Rapson, as we know that Vincent Smith had read the name Arjuna on it.

The coins were subsequently considered by Mitchiner.<sup>6</sup> In his monumental nine-volume study of Indo-Greek and Indo-Scythian coinage, Mitchiner included all four of Mukherjee's coins as a single type (MIG 1247). Superficially, of course, the four coins were indeed similar, as they all had obverses featuring a diademed bust right, and reverses that carried a central swastika and a circular Brahmi legend around. Nevertheless, considering Mukherjee's quite specific and different readings, it is indeed surprising that Mitchiner concluded that 'all coins appear to bear the same inscription',<sup>7</sup> which he read as '(Ksha)harata Rana Pusha Ladhanaputra(sa)'. Mitchiner was clearly aware of Mukherjee's work, as he quotes it and illustrates one of the coins using Mukherjee as his source. However, he dismissed it by saying that Mukherjee's 'readings of the legends cannot be substantiated'.<sup>8</sup> Mitchiner seems to have been unduly influenced in his attribution by his desire to connect this series to the mention of one Labdhanes, nephew of King Gudnaphar (presumably the Indo-Parthian king Gondophares), in an early Christian text, *The Apocryphal Gospel of Saint Thomas*. Mitchiner did not have any new coins to include in his catalogue.

New coins were, however, appearing slowly on the market, and were calling for a re-examination of the series. R.C. Senior single-handedly kept interest in the Pāratarājas alive in a series of studies. He began his re-examination in his comprehensive survey of Indo-Scythian

<sup>4</sup> These two coins have recently been studied by Joe Cribb, and form the basis for his suggestion that the coins assigned previously to the Yueh-Chi prince Heraus should be reassigned to Kujula Kadphises. See Joe Cribb, 'The 'Heraus' coins: their attribution to the Kushan king Kujula Kadphises, c.AD 30-80', in Martin Price, Andrew Burnett and Roger Bland (eds), *Essays in honour of Robert Carson and Kenneth Jenkins* (London, 1993), pp. 107-34.

<sup>5</sup> I understand that Harry Falk and Osmund Boppearachchi are working on the Kharoshthi coins of the Pāratarājas, so I will leave consideration of those coins to them.

<sup>6</sup> Michael Mitchiner, *Indo-Greek and Indo-Scythian Coinage. Volume 9: Greeks, Sakas and their contemporaries in Central and Southern India* (London: Hawkins Publications, 1976).

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 822.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 821.

coinage.<sup>9</sup> Senior took a fresh look at Mukherjee's coins 6-8 (he left out Mukherjee's coin 5, because he was unable to examine it himself), along with six<sup>10</sup> other coins that had surfaced subsequent to the early 1970's. He divided these nine coins into three categories. Four were assigned to a ruler named Miramara, son of Maramira. These included Mukherjee's coins 6 (Palasara) and 7 (Ajuna). Two coins were assigned to Ajuna, son of ----lamara, including Mukherjee's coin 8 (Mitolapa?). It is indeed surprising that Mukherjee's coin 7, which had been assigned to Ajuna by Mukherjee, was *not* assigned to Ajuna by Senior, but rather to Miramara! It is my guess that, at some point during his research, Senior may have accidentally mixed up the legends of two of the coins.<sup>11</sup> Finally, Senior listed three coins as uncertain, predicting that 'more coins will certainly surface in this series, enabling the legends to be read satisfactorily'.<sup>12</sup>

Senior himself published ten more coins of this series in the ONS *Newsletter* 170 (Winter 2002). The coins fell into five types, read by Senior as follows:

Type 14 (drachm):	Hriramirapu(tasa) ...
Type 15 (hemidrachm):	... Paratarāja Yolamarasa
Type 16 (hemidrachm):	Yolamaraputrasa Paratarāja Ajunasa
Type 17 (hemidrachm):	Hriramarapatasa Parata Maramirasa
Type 18 (trihemiobol):	Yolamarasa ...

These ten coins offered several new findings. First, they identified a ruler named 'Hriramara' who was the father of 'Maramira'. Of course, this 'Hriramara' recalls the name 'Hvaramira', son of 'Yasamara', suggested by Mukherjee as the issuer of his coin 5, which was not included by Senior in his catalogue. Second, the father of Ajuna was identified as 'Yolamara'. Again, looking back at Mukherjee, we see he had read the name of Ajuna's father as 'Hilamara'. Third, coins of Yolamara were also presented for the first time, although Senior did not provide the name of his father. This is curious, because the name is legible in Senior's illustration of the coin. The full legend appears to read (see Senior's coin 15f) *Bagarevaputrasa Pāratarāja Yolamarasa*, indicating that Yolamara's father was named Bagareva.

Senior concluded that the evidence so far indicated two branches of the family tree:

Hriramara → Maramira → Miramara  
 Yolamara → Ajuna.

The relationship between these two branches remained unknown.<sup>13</sup>

Next, in the ONS *Newsletter* 177 (Autumn 2003), Senior published two more coins belonging to the series. One, coin 85, was a hemidrachm which Senior read as *Dumaraputrarasa Parada Raja Na xx sa*. The other, coin 88, was a drachm that Senior identified as carrying the same legend as 297.1D from his catalogue and coin 14 from his *Newsletter* 170 note. His

<sup>9</sup> R.C. Senior: *A Catalogue of Indo-Scythian Coins* (Glastonbury, Somerset: R.C. Senior Ltd, 2000).

<sup>10</sup> Senior has eight new coins with Brahmi legends, but the last two are copper and will not be considered here as they appear to have quite different legends.

<sup>11</sup> Senior himself did not have access to Mukherjee's work.

<sup>12</sup> Senior, *ibid.*, p. 193.

<sup>13</sup> After I had finished this paper and had started to circulate it, Bob Senior informed me that he had connected the two branches through a die-link between a coin of Arjuna and Maramira, thereby placing them close to one another chronologically. This connection will appear in the supplementary volume to his Indo-Scythian catalogue, in press at the time of writing (January 2005).



best reading of the legend was now *Hriramiraputrasa Paratarājasa Mirata(hri?)sa*. Where the ruler of coin 85 fits in the genealogy is not clear, while the last coin appears to belong to a brother of Maramira, although Senior does not address this issue.

Finally, in the ONS *Newsletter* 179 (Spring 2004), Senior published three more coins of this series. The first, coin 91, was a hemidrachm that, according to Senior,<sup>14</sup> shared the same obverse die as coin 85, but had a completely different legend, which Senior read, very tentatively, as *Napa(...)?na?putrasa Parataraja Kaghasya?* The second, coin 92, was a hemidrachm, read as *Bagarajaputrasa Paratarajasa Yolamarasa*. Thus Senior reads the name of Yolamara's father for the first time, although his *Bagaraja* does not quite agree with my reading from his earlier coins (*Bagareva*). We will revisit this name in the next section. Finally, coin 93 is a trihemionbol or quarter drachm weighing 0.99 g and carrying the same legend as did coin 92.

## 2. The New Coins









I now present the 57 new coins, with full details, and will then examine how these coins consolidate and transform our understanding of this series and of previously studied coins. Coin T22 I have had in my collection for some years, while the rest have been acquired just over the last few years.<sup>15</sup> These later acquisitions are reportedly all from the area of Loralai in the Pakistani state of Baluchistan. All but four of the coins have images of a diademed bust right within a dotted border on the obverse, two carry a bust to the left, and the last two do not have any portrait on them. With the exception of one anepigraphic coin, they all carry legends in Brāhmi on the reverse, although exactly what is on the reverse of the last two coins is not entirely clear. 38 coins carry swastikas to the right, 14 carry swastikas left and five do not carry swastikas at all. The details of the coins are presented in Table 2.










*Table 2: The new silver coins of the Pāratārājas with Brāhmi legends*










Coin (Inv #)	Photograph	Details and Legend
T1 (412.05)		Bust R / Swastika R, legend around Drachm, 3.72 gm. Diam: 16 mm. @8h: <i>Yolamirasa Bagarevaputasa Pāratārāja (ja retrograde)</i>
T2 (412.06)		Bust R / Swastika R, legend around Drachm, 3.82 gm. Diam: 15-17 mm. @10h: <i>... revaputasa Pāratārāja (ja retrograde)</i>

<sup>14</sup> Senior did not actually publish the obverse of coin 85; I think that there is a real possibility that coins 85 and 91 do not actually share an obverse die.

<sup>15</sup> For the benefit of researchers, I have provided my own inventory numbers on the table detailing all the coins. Coins with inventory numbers starting with the same three digits were acquired as part of one group, so they might indicate small hoards. There are eight such 'packets' of coins, with inventory numbers starting 412, 429, 465, 477, 548, 558, 567 and 571.










T3 (429.04)		Bust R / Swastika R, legend around Hemidrachm, 1.69 gm. Diam: 13 mm. @9h: <i>Yolamirasa Bagarevaputasa Pāratarāja (ja retrograde)</i>
T4 (429.06)		Bust R / Swastika R, legend around Hemidrachm, 1.93 gm. Diam: 12 mm. @1h: <i>Yolamirasa Bagarevaputasa Pāratarājasa (legend retrograde)</i>
T5 (429.07)		Bust R / Swastika R, legend around Hemidrachm, 1.41 gm. Diam: 13 mm. @1h: <i>Yolamirasa Bagarevaputasa Pāratarājasa (legend retrograde)</i>
T6 (429.15)		Bust R / Swastika L, legend around Hemidrachm, 1.94 gm. Diam: 13 mm. @11h: <i>Yolamirasa Bagarevaputasa Pāratarājasa</i>
T7 (429.03)		Bust R / 4-line legend Trihemiobol or ¼ drachm, 0.68 gm. Diam: 10 mm. <i>(Yolamira)sa Bagare(va)putasa Pā(ratarājasa)</i>
T8 (465.14)		Bust R / 4-line legend Trihemiobol or ¼ drachm, 0.89 gm. Diam: 10 mm. <i>Yola(mira)sa Baga(reva)putasa Pā(ra)tarāja(sa)</i>
T9 (465.27)		Bust R / Swastika R Trihemiobol or ¼ drachm, 0.81 gm. Diam: 10 mm. No legend
T10 (412.08)		Bust R / Swastika R, legend around Drachm, 3.55 gm. Diam: 17 mm. @9h: <i>Arjunasa Yolamiraputasa Pārata jasa (sic! ra missing)</i>
T11 (412.09)		Bust R / Swastika R, legend around Drachm, 3.69 gm. Diam: 17 mm. @9h: <i>Arjunasa Yolamiraputasa Pāratarājasa</i>









T12 (465.12)		Bust R / Swastika R, legend around Hemidrachm, 1.78 gm. Diam: 13 mm. @ 10h: <i>Arjunasa Yolamiraputasa Pāratarājasa</i>
T13 (429.09)		Bust R / Swastika L, legend around Hemidrachm, 1.89 gm. Diam: 12 mm. @ 12h: <i>Arjunasa Yolamiraputasa Pāratarāja (no sa)</i>
T14 (429.10)		Bust R / Swastika L, legend around Hemidrachm, 1.61 gm. Diam: 12-13 mm. @ 12h: <i>Arjunasa Yolamiraputasa Pāratarāja (no sa)</i>
T15 (429.08)		Large Bust R / Swastika L, legend Hemidrachm, 1.81 gm. Diam: 12 mm. @ 10h: <i>(Ar)junasa Yolamiraputasa ... (Pāratarājasa ?)</i>
T16 (465.13)		Large Bust R / Swastika L, legend Hemidrachm, 1.64 gm. Diam: 12-13 mm. @ 11h: <i>Arjunasa Yolamiraputasa Pāra (legend truncated)</i>
T17 (465.26)		Large Bust R / Swastika L, legend around Hemidrachm, 1.97 gm. Diam: 12 mm. @ 11h: <i>Arjunasa Yolamiraputasa Pāra (legend truncated)</i>
T18 (412.07)		Bust R / Swastika R, legend around Drachm, 3.39 gm. Diam: 14 mm. @ 9h: <i>(H)varamirasa Yodamiraputasa Pāratarāja (no sa)</i>
T19 (465.25)		Bust R / Swastika R, legend around Drachm, 3.82 gm. Diam: 14 mm. @ 9h: <i>Mirahvarasa (H)varamiraputasa Pāra (legend truncated)</i>
T20 (429.17)		Bust R / Swastika R, legend around Drachm, 3.08 gm. Diam: 15-16 mm. @ 11h: <i>Mirahvarasa (H)varamiraputrasa Pāratarājasa</i>

T21 (429.16)		Bust R / Swastika L, legend around Drachm, 3.57 gm. Diam: 15 mm. @12h: <i>Mirahvarasa (H)va(ra- miraputrasa) Pāratarāja</i> (no sa)
T22 (192.14)		Bust R / Swastika R, legend around Hemidrachm, 1.44 gm. Diam: 12 mm. @10h: <i>Mirahvara Hvarami(raputrasa Pāratarā)</i> (no <i>jasa</i> )
T23 (429.11)		Bust R / Swastika R, legend around Hemidrachm, 1.78 gm. Diam: 13 mm. @11h: <i>Mirahvara Hvaramiraputrasa Pāratarāja</i> (no sa)
T24 (429.12)		Bust R / Swastika R, legend around Hemidrachm, 1.65 gm. Diam: 12 mm. @10h: <i>Mirahvarasa Hvaramiraputrasa Pāratarāja</i> (no sa)
T25 (429.19)		Large Bust R / Swastika R, legend around Hemidrachm, 1.65 gm. Diam: 11-12 mm. @11h: <i>Mirahvarasa Hvaramiraputrasa Pāratarāja</i> (no sa)
T26 (429.18)		Bust R / Swastika R, legend around Hemidrachm, 1.80 gm. Diam: 13-14 mm. @11h: <i>Mirahvarasa Hvaramiraputrasa Pāra</i> (legend truncated)
T27 (465.15)		Bust R / 4-line legend Trihemiobol or ¼ drachm, 0.99 gm. Diam: 11 mm. <i>Mirahvarasa / Hvaramiraputa / sa Pāratarā / jasa</i>
T28 (465.24)		Bust L / Swastika R, legend around Drachm, 3.55 gm. Diam: 15 mm. @12h: <i>Miratakmasa ... Pāratarāja</i>
T29 (429.05)		Bust R / Swastika R, legend around Hemidrachm, 1.65 gm. Diam: 12 mm. Uncertain reading.

<p>T30 (429.13)</p>		<p>Bust R / Swastika R, legend around Hemidrachm, 1.73 gm. Diam: 12 mm. Uncertain reading. <i>Yolamira?</i></p>
<p>T31 (412.10)</p>		<p>Bust R / Swastika R, legend around Drachm, 3.88 gm. Diam: 15 mm. Uncertain reading. <i>Hvaramira?</i></p>
<p>T32 (477.03)</p>		<p>Bust R / Swastika R, legend around Drachm, 3.78 gm. Diam: 16 mm. @4h: <i>Yolamirasa Bagarevaputrasa Pāratarājasa</i> (entire legend retrograde!)</p>
<p>T33 (477.04)</p>		<p>Bust R / Swastika R, legend around Hemidrachm, 1.82 gm. Diam: 13 mm. @10h: <i>(Yola)mīrasa Bagarevaputrasa Pā(ratarājasa)</i></p>
<p>T34 (477.20)</p>		<p>Bust R / 4-line legend Trihemiobol or ¼ drachm, 0.87 gm. Diam: 10 mm. <i>(Yolamira) / sa Bagare(va) / putasa Pa(ra) /ta Rājasa</i></p>
<p>T35 (477.21)</p>		<p>Bust R / Swastika R, legend around Drachm, 4.46 gm. Diam: 16 mm. @9h: <i>Arjunasa Yolamiraputrasa Pāra</i> (legend truncated)</p>
<p>T36 (477.25)</p>		<p>Bust R / Swastika R, legend around Drachm, 3.82 gm. Diam: 15 mm. @9h: <i>Arjunasa Yolamiraputrasa Pāra</i> (legend truncated)</p>
<p>T37 (477.23)</p>		<p>Bust R / Swastika L, legend around Hemidrachm, 1.91 gm. Diam: 12 mm. @7h: <i>Arjunasa Yolamiraputrasa Pāratarāja</i> (no sa)</p>
<p>T38 (477.22)</p>		<p>Bust R / Swastika L, legend around Hemidrachm, 1.91 gm. Diam: 12-13 mm. @3h: <i>Arju(nasa Yola)miraputrasa Pāratarāja</i> (no sa)</p>



T39 (477.02)		Bust R / Swastika R, legend around Drachm, 3.63 gm. Diam: 15 mm. @12h: <i>Hvaramira(sa)</i> <i>Yolamiraputrasa Pārata</i> (no <i>sa</i> )
T40 (477.24)		Bust R / Swastika R, legend around Drachm, 3.70 gm. Diam: 15 mm. @12h: <i>Hvaramirasa</i> <i>Yolamiraputrasa Pārata</i> (legend truncated)
T41 (477.01)		Bust R / Swastika R, legend around Drachm, 3.16 gm. Diam: 15 mm. @12h: <i>Mirahvarasa</i> <i>Hvaramiraputrasa Pāratarājasa</i>
T42 (477.26)		Bust R / Swastika R, legend around Drachm, 3.70 gm. Diam: 14-15 mm. @1h: <i>Mirahvarasa</i> <i>Hvaramiraputrasa Pāratarāja</i> (no <i>sa</i> )
T43 (477.27)		Bust R / Swastika L, legend around Drachm, 4.13 gm. Diam: 15-16 mm. @6h: <i>Mirahvarasa</i> <i>Hvaramiraputrasa Pāratarā</i> (no <i>jasā</i> )
T44 (477.28)		Bust R / Swastika R, legend around Hemidrachm, 1.97 gm. Diam: 12-13 mm. @11h: <i>Mirahvara Hvaramiraputra</i> <i>Pāratarāja</i> (no <i>sa</i> 's anywhere!)
T45 (477.29)		Bust R / Swastika R, legend around Hemidrachm, 1.78 gm. Diam: 12 mm. @1h: <i>Mirahvara Hvaramiraputra</i> <i>Pāratarā</i> (no <i>ja</i> or any <i>sa</i> !)
T46 (477.30)		Bust R / Swastika R, legend around Hemidrachm, 1.83 gm. Diam: 12 mm. @4h: <i>Mirahvara Hvaramiraputra</i> <i>Pāratarā</i> (no <i>ja</i> or any <i>sa</i> !)
T47 (477.31)		Bust R / 4-line legend Trihemiobol or ¼ drachm, 1.03 gm. Diam: 11 mm. <i>Mirahvarasa / Hvaramiraputra / sa</i> <i>Pāratarā / jasa</i>

T48 (477.05)		Swastika R / legend ? Obol, 0.52 gm. Diam: 8 mm. Illegible legend
T49 (477.32)		Swastika R / legend ? Obol, 0.73 gm. Diam: 8 mm. Illegible legend
T50 (493.2)		Bust R / Swastika R, legend around Didrachm, 7.53 gm. Diam: 20 mm. @9h: <i>Hvara(mirasa Yolamirapu)trasa Pāratarājasa</i>
T51 (493.3)		Bust R / Swastika L, legend around Didrachm, 6.76 gm. Diam: 17 mm. @10h: <i>Mirahvarasa Hvaramiraputrasa Pāratarājasa</i>
T52 (548.03)		Bust R / Swastika L, legend around Drachm, 3.56 gm. Diam: 16 mm. @11h: <i>Yolamirasa Bagarevaputrasa Pāratarājasa</i>
T53 (548.04)		Bust R / Swastika R, legend around Drachm, 3.91 gm. Diam: 15-16 mm. @7h: <i>Yolamirasa Bagarevaputrasa Pāratarājasa (retrograde!)</i>
T54 (558.09)		Bust R / Swastika L, legend around Drachm, 3.64 gm. Diam: 15-16 mm. @6h: <i>Hvaramirasa Yodamiraputrasa Pāratarājasa</i>
T55 (558.10)		Bust L / Swastika R, legend around Drachm, 3.66 gm. Diam: 14 mm. @12h: <i>Miratakmasa Hvaramiraputrasa Pāratarājasa</i>

T56 (567.2)		Bust R / Swastika R, legend around Drachm, 3.39 gm. Diam: 14 mm. @12h: <i>Miratakmasa</i> <i>Hvaramiraputrasa Pāratarājasa</i>
T57 (571.3)		Bust R / Swastika R, legend around Hemidrachm, 1.74 gm. Diam: 13 mm. @6h: <i>Yolamirasa Bagarevaputrasa</i> <i>Pāratarāsa (ja missing)</i>

### 3. Notes on the legend readings

Since there are several previously unpublished types among these coins, and since also there are quite a few coins in good condition, it has been possible to gain many insights from the legend readings.

#### 3.1 The Dynastic Name: *Pārata*

First, the very name of the dynasty can be modified from what was previously read as *Parata* to *Pārata*.<sup>16</sup> On most coins, both here and the ones previously known, the tops of the circular legends are off the flan so that no clear determination can be made of any diacritical marks. However, here several coins show clearly the horizontal rightward stroke indicating the diacritical for the long *a* sound in *Pārata*. These include coins T1, T10, T17, T20, T24, T27 and T44. Details of four of these coins are presented in Figure 1, where the reading as *Pārata* is very clear.



detail, T20



detail, T24



detail, T27



detail, T44

Figure 1: Details of the Dynastic name: *Pārata*

An additional point worth noting here is that the letter-forms of the word *Pārata* indicate a relatively early date for these coins. For example, the diacritical mark for the long *a* evolved later into one that curved up and then to the right of the consonant. However, here the long *a* is represented by a horizontal rightward stroke, and I will argue that the curving diacritical mark that has been mistaken previously for the long *a*, really represents the diacritical for the vowel 'i'. Coin T27 shows an interesting detail, in that the diacritical bends back to the left before then stroking to the right.<sup>17</sup>

Renaming the dynasty as the *Pāratas* is very significant, as it strengthens Mukherjee's argument that this dynasty can be identified as the *Pāradas* of the *Mahabharata*, the *Puranas* and other Indian sources. We will return to this point later.

<sup>16</sup> References to the *Pāradas* in the *Mahabharata* and other Indian sources were clear; what was not clear was whether the coins related to the same tribe.

<sup>17</sup> I am indebted to Harry Falk for pointing this out. This form indicates a date from the second century onwards.

### 3.2 *The order of words on the legend*

The second point on the legend readings is that the traditional order of words needs to be modified. On a circular legend, there is always a question of which word was intended to be read first. Mukherjee and Senior<sup>18</sup> both adopted the convention of starting with the patronymic first. Thus, for example, Mukherjee had for his coin 7 *Hilamaraputasa Paratarāja Ajuna(sa)*. Senior continued in this tradition, perhaps not least because this is the order in which coins of the Western Kshatrapas are always presented. However, it is clear from the coins under study that the ruler's name should be presented first. Thus, for example, coin T11 has been read here as *Arjunasa Yolamiraputasa Pāratarājasa*. Leaving aside the actual reading, which will be addressed later, the point here is that, as far as the order of the words is concerned, the name of the ruler must come first, followed by the patronymic and the title.

There are two reasons why this must be the intended order. First, we see from the fractional coins, especially coins T8, T27, T34 and T47, that the ruler's name is placed on the top line of the four line legends, followed by the patronymic on the second line and the title to follow. Here the order is very clear. Second, we see on several other coins that the legends have been truncated when the celator has run out of room on the die. When this truncation occurs, it is always on the words *Pāratarājasa*. Indeed, every possible truncation occurs, as well as no truncation, which happens in fewer than half the cases:

Ending *Pāratarājasa*, full legend, no truncation:

T4, T5, T11, T12, T20, T41, T50, T51, T52, T53, T54, T55, T56, T57.<sup>19</sup>

Ending *Pāratarāja*, last *sa* missing:

T1, T2, T3, T13, T14, T18, T21, T23, T24, T25, T28, T37, T38, T39, T42.

Ending *Pāratarā*, last *jasa* missing:

T22, T43, T45, T46.

Ending *Pārata*, last *rājasa* missing:

T40.

Ending *Pāra*, last *tarājasa* missing:

T15, T16, T17, T36.

Ending *Pā*, last *ratarājasa* missing:

T33.

The important point is that legends were truncated frequently and seemingly at random, and it seems natural to suppose that, when truncation was necessary, they would be truncated at the end of the required legend. Indeed, it appears the truncation might have been an unplanned phenomenon: the celator simply stopped when he ran out of room on the die, even if he was in the middle of a word such as *Pārata*. The only logical conclusion therefore seems to be that the intended order was: ruler's name, followed by the patronymic, followed by the title.

<sup>18</sup> I leave Mitchiner out of consideration because he proposed radically different, and, as it transpires, wholly incorrect, readings.

<sup>19</sup> Coin T57 the letter *ja* is missing, in error.

### 3.3 The king's names

The third broad class of comments on the readings concerns the names of the kings. In all, six kings are identified in the coins, named Bagareva, Yolamira, Arjuna, Hvaramira, Mirahvara, and Miratakhma.

#### Bagareva

Fourteen coins (T1-8, T32-34, T52-53 and T57) are all issues of the same ruler, and the coins name both him and his father. We will begin by considering the name of the father, who is known so far only from his son's coins. I have rendered this as *Bagareva*.



Figure 2: Details of the name *Bagareva*

Figure 2 shows some detailed renditions of this name from the coins. The only issue in the reading is the leftward horizontal stroke on the letter *r*. On coin T1, the word *rāja* also carries a similar leftward stroke on the right. However, *reja* would be a completely untenable reading, and so one might have thought that the leftward stroke might indicate a long *a*, yielding *Bagarāva* as a possible reading. However, the leftward stroke appears consistently on other coins where it is visible, while the word *rāja* does appear as expected with a rightward stroke on the *r* on other coins. Therefore, *Bagareva* appears to be the best reading for this father's name.

Further confirmation that the name *Bagareva* appears to be correct derives from the fact that this name has a clear meaning. In Bactrian, the name means 'Rich God', derived from 'Bag' (God) and 'rēw' (rich). It appears that this was an alternative name for Mithra, the sun god, which receives added corroboration from the fact that, as we will see, Bagareva's son's name refers to Mithra.<sup>20</sup>

While I believe that Bagareva was indeed the name of the king's natural father, there does exist the rather faint possibility that Bagareva here refers to Lord Mithra himself, and that the issuing king was claiming divine descent in naming himself the son of Bagareva. This theory would be easily dispelled if some coins of Bagareva showed up.

#### Yolamira

We turn now to the name of the ruler given on these fourteen coins. Senior had read it as Yolamara. However, he did not have the benefit of a coin where any possible diacritical marks above the consonants would be visible. The present group does contain coins with full legends. Various versions of the name are visible on these coins as well as those of subsequent rulers, presumably Yolamira's sons. Looking at the details in Figure 3 and on other coins, I believe that the best reading is *Yolamira*, with coin T1 being the most clear and most convincing. The *Yo* and *la* are clear on most coins. Several coins show a clear diacritical attached to the *ma* and, as argued above, it appears that the letter-forms are early enough for the diacritical mark on the *ma* in coin T18 to convert it to *mi* and not *mā*.

<sup>20</sup> My thanks are due to Nicholas Sims-Williams for pointing this out to me and for his assistance on understanding the meanings of the kings' names. He further informed me that names meaning 'servant of' or 'slave of' Bagareva are known in Bactrian and Sogdian.



Figure 3: Details of the name Yolamira

At least one coin (T1) seems to indicate a diacritical on the *r* that might suggest *re* or *rā* as a possible reading. However, other coins indicate a simple *ra* and so this seems the most acceptable reading. Two coins of Yolamira's son (T18 and T54) have an unexpected letter following the *Yo*. Rather than a *la*, we seem to have a *da*,<sup>21</sup> making the name *Yodamira*. This apparent interchangeability between *la* and *da* has several parallels. For example, the name on almost all of the coins of the Yueh-Chi prince Sapadbizes which I have seen replaces the *delta* with a *lambda*, making the name Sapalbizes. Similarly, on the first century Andhra coinage of *Chutukulananda* and *Mulananda*, there are variations that read *Chutukudananda* and *Mudananda*. Once again, the *la* and *da* seem interchangeable.<sup>22</sup>

Identifying coins of Yolamira is in itself a breakthrough, as this is one king for whom we have independent evidence. Konow<sup>23</sup> reports on some pottery fragments from Tor Dherai in the Loralai district that carry an inscription relating to one Shahi Yolamira. Konow says the name Yolamira is not known to us. These coins, found in the same area, provide further evidence of the existence of this king, and can place him in some historical context.<sup>24</sup>

Once again, the validity of this reading is buttressed by examining the meaning of the name. In Bactrian, the name Yola-mira means 'warrior Mithra'.<sup>25</sup>

*Yolamira* becomes the corrected reading not only of Senior's *Yolamara*, but also Mukherjee's *Yasamara* (coin 5) and *Hilamara* (coin 7).

### Arjuna

A group of twelve coins (T10-17 and T35-38) are issues of Yolamira's son Arjuna. Previous writers have identified a ruler named Ajuna, son of Yolamara (Senior) or Hilamara (Mukherjee). Indeed, Vincent Smith had read the name as Arjuna, but this had been rejected by Rapson.<sup>26</sup> Here we can confidently name this ruler Arjuna, and his father's name, as we have already seen, is Yolamira. Figure 4 shows details from three coins carrying Arjuna's name.

<sup>21</sup> My thanks to Harry Falk for pointing this out.

<sup>22</sup> I am indebted to Harry Falk for first pointing out that coin T18 seemed to have a *da*, and possibly even *dā*, in place of the *la*. Falk connects the word *Yoda* to Sanskrit *Yuddha*, which has substantially the same connotation as the Iranian *Yola*.

<sup>23</sup> Sten Konow, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. II pt. I, pp. 173-6.

<sup>24</sup> Interestingly, some of the pottery fragments discussed by Konow contained Brahmi letters, but others bore Kharoshthi characters. Konow was unable to make a sensible legend from the Brahmi fragments, but his reconstruction of the Kharoshthi inscription was as follows: 'Of the Shahi Yola Mira, the master of the vihara, this water hall (is) the religious gift, in his own Yola-Mira-shahi-Vihara, to the order of the four quarters, in the acceptance of the Sarvastivadin teachers. And from this right donation may there be in future a share for (his) mother and father, in future a share for all beings and long life for the master of the law' (Konow, *ibid.*, p. 176).

<sup>25</sup> Once again, I thank Professor Sims-Williams for pointing this out.

<sup>26</sup> In ONS *Newsletter* 170 Senior reads the legend as *Ajuna*, but names the ruler Arjuna.



detail, T10



detail, T11



detail, T16

Figure 4: Details of the name *Arjuna*

They show clearly the vertical stroke above the letter *j* to indicate the *r* preceding it. Coin T16 appears to have a slightly blundered version of the name: the *A* lacks the horizontal connector between the two verticals, the *j* is missing its middle horizontal stroke, and the *sa* has been divided into two separate parts. The coin is the same type as Senior's coin 85 from the *ONS Newsletter* 177. The detail in Figure 4 shows the peculiar form of the *sa* at the end of *Arjunasa*, which Senior interpreted as two letters. The same form for *sa* is visible in the word *Putrasa*, which Senior read as *Putra ra sa*. We will return to this coin later, but I feel confident in reading it as *Arjunasa*.

Arjuna is of course a familiar name in the Indian context, as it is the name of the famed Pandava prince from the *Mahabharata*.

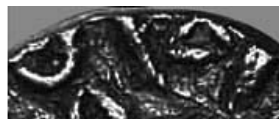
### Hvaramira

Coins T18, T39, T40, T50 and T54 appear to be coins of another son of Yolamira, with a name which I read as *Hvaramira*. The reading of the ruler's name is not absolutely definitive from the five coins, although coins T18, T40 and T54 give an almost complete reading. However, the same name appears in the patronymic of seventeen other coins (T19-T27, T41-T47 and T51) and it is quite clear in several of them. Details from some of these coins are presented in Figure 5. The critical aspect of the reading is the first letter, which Senior sometimes read as *Ma* (Sen 295.1D and 297.1D), and sometimes as *Hri* (*ONS Newsletter* 170.17 and 177.88), but which I read as the compound *Hva*. *Ma* can be confidently eliminated by looking at the difference in shape between the bottom of the first and third letters, the latter of which is clearly *ma*. *Hri* also appears to be untenable. The correct reading of the compound letter is *Hva*. Note that this reading recalls the reading of Mukherjee, who had read the Shortt coin (his coin no. 5) as being issued by Hvaramira, son of Yasamara. In my reading, this becomes Hvaramira, son of Yolamira.

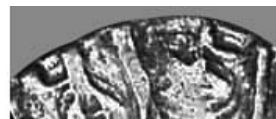
The letter *ma* in Hvaramira's name shows a diacritical mark that might be read as a long *ā*. However, the evidence from the letter-forms of the word *Pāratārājasa* has indicated an early date for these coins, when the diacritical for the long *ā* is a horizontal stroke to the right. Thus I have elected to read this letter as *mi* and the name as *Hvaramira*.



detail, T18



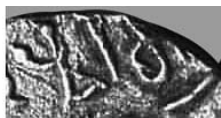
detail, T40



detail, T54



detail, T22



detail, T25



detail, T26



detail, T27

Figure 5: Details of the name *Hvaramira*

Further support for this reading is obtained by looking at the meaning of this word. Nicholas Sims-Williams has pointed out that ‘the element *hvara-* may represent Iranian *hwar-* “sun”. Since this is effectively synonymous with *Mira* = “Mithra,” the name of the sun-god, [the name] can be interpreted as “(dedicated to) Mithra the sun-god”; or, alternatively, “(dedicated to) Mithra (and) the sun-god.” The equivalent Middle Persian name *Mihr-xwar* is actually attested, see Philippe Gignoux, *Iranisches Personennamenbuch* II/2 (Vienna, 1986), pp. 131-2.<sup>27</sup>

### Mirahvara

I have not seen any coins in which Arjuna is named as the father, but seventeen coins (T19-27, T41-47 and T51) name *Hvaramira* as the father of a king whose name I read as *Mirahvara*. I believe that Senior had read this king’s name as *Miramara* (son of *Maramara*), which stemmed from his reading of the conjoined letter *Hva* as *Ma* in all cases. Figure 6 shows details of this king’s name from eight different coins. For the same reasons as before, we can see the first and third letters are indeed distinct. In this case, the first letter is a *ma* and the third letter is *hva*. Further, the diacritical on the first letter is read here as making the letter *Mi*, not *Mā*. Note that coins T24 and T25 appear to be from the same die. Also note that coins T21 (drachm) and T26 (hemidrachm) show modified forms for the letter *h* in *hva*.<sup>28</sup> T26 was the coin that showed the modified form of *Hva* in the name *Hvaramira* also; coin T21 had the top part of the *Hva* off the flan and so we were unable to see the modified form that presumably was there.

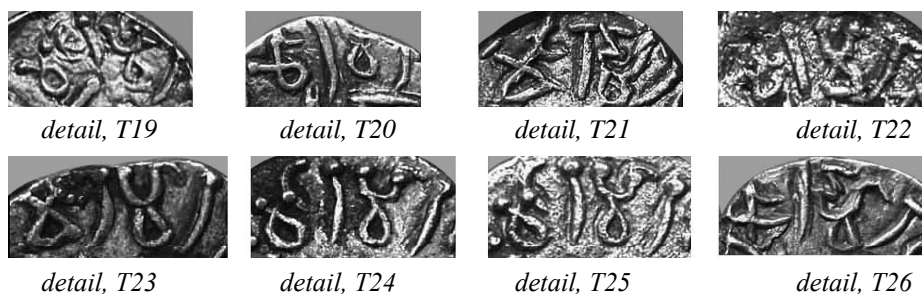


Figure 6: Details of the name *Mirahvara*

Obviously the name *Mirahvara* has the same two elements, *Hvara* and *Mira*, as occurred in the father’s name, only placed in the opposite order.

### Miratakhma<sup>29</sup>

Finally, there are three coins of a ruler who appears to be another son of *Hvaramira*. Coins T28 and T55 are the only coins with a bust left on the obverse, and they, along with coin T56, carry a legend that appears to be the same as that on Senior’s 297.1D from his Indo-Scythian

<sup>27</sup> Personal communication by email, 12 September 2004.

<sup>28</sup> Harry Falk has pointed out that the *hva* on both these coins has a horizontal stroke at the top, suggesting a reading of *hvā*. Since the reading of the name has already been established as *Mirahvara*, I prefer to think that the horizontal stroke is just part of the modified letter form, rather than a diacritical. Witness also the modified *la* in *Yolamira* on coin 18 (detail in Figure 3 above). This also has what could be interpreted as a horizontal stroke at the top; however, I do not think *Yolāmira* was intended.

<sup>29</sup> I am indebted to Harry Falk for proposing this reading. I had tentatively read the king’s name as *Miratathmi* (based on coins T28 and Senior 14). Falk proposed *Miratakhma* on the basis of those coins, and his reading is substantiated by coins T55 and T56, acquired more recently, which are definitive.



catalogue, his coin 14 from ONS *Newsletter* 170 and his coin 88 from ONS *Newsletter* 177. Here were Senior's readings of these three coins:

- 297.1D: *Hriramiraputrasa Paratarāja ... (ta?) hrimasa?*  
 Coin 14: *Hriramiraputrasa ...*  
 Coin 88: *Hriramiraputrasa Paratarājasa Miratahrimasa*

On the basis of the present three coins, especially T55 and T56, which are very clear, and a re-examination of Senior's coin 14, I would like to propose the following reading, presented here with the patronymic first to facilitate comparison:

*Hvaramiraputrasa Pāratarājasa Miratakhmasa*



*detail, T55: Miratakhma detail, T56: Miratakhma detail, T55: Hvaramira*  
 Figure 7: Details of the name *Miratakhma*

Figure 7 shows details of coin T55 and T56. First of all, we can see from the third panel that the father's name is *Hvaramira*, not *Hriramira* as Senior suggested. As we have seen this compound letter *Hva* several times before, it is not difficult to suggest this reading. Turning to the ruler's name, we see from the first two panels in Figure 7 that the last letter is a compound *khma*, thereby completing the reading as *Miratakhma*, son of *Hvaramira*.

Once again, support for this as the correct reading is obtained by reference to the meaning of the name. According to Nicholas Sims-Williams, 'takhma is a well-attested Iranian word meaning "strong, heroic" etc. and is common in names'.<sup>30</sup> Thus *Miratakhma* could be taken as 'heroic Mithra'. It is interesting to note here as an aside that the Kharoshthi series of Pāratarāja coins attests to a ruler by the name of *Yolatakhma*.<sup>31</sup> As the word 'Yola' means 'warrior', and 'takhma' means 'heroic', *Yolatakhma* becomes 'heroic warrior'.

<sup>30</sup> Personal communication by email, January 20, 2005.

<sup>31</sup> Harry Falk has suggested that the name Senior had read as 'Yolatanam' should really be *Yolatakhma*. He also suggests that the name from the Kharoshthi series which Senior proposed as 'Bhagavhanam' should be read as 'Bagavhanu'. In light of the names encountered here, I would speculate that another reading to consider would be *Bagahvara*. We know that the term 'Bag' refers to God generally, and perhaps Mithra in particular, and we have seen that the term 'hvar' could also refer to the sun. Thus *Bagahvara* would be a natural re-naming of Lord Mithra, or could represent an expression of the sentiment of dedication to the sun God. In any case, the term 'vhanu', according to Falk, is substantially the same, as it must be Sanskrit 'Bhaanu', meaning light, sun.

### Summary

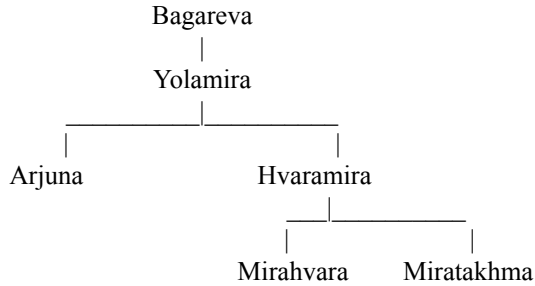
Table 3 presents a transcription of the basic forms of the legends from the coins as a summary of the discussion on the readings.

Table 3: Summary of Legend Readings

<b>Yolamira</b>
<p>𑂗𑂣𑂛𑂢𑂩𑂢𑂰𑂣𑂣𑂓𑂣𑂩𑂓  Yolamirasa Bagarevaputrasa Pāratarājasa  <i>Retrograde version (Coins T32 and T53):</i>  𑂣𑂛𑂣𑂣𑂣𑂣𑂣𑂣𑂣𑂣𑂣𑂣𑂣𑂣𑂣𑂣𑂣𑂣𑂣𑂣</p>
<b>Arjuna</b>
<p>𑂣𑂛𑂣𑂣𑂣𑂣𑂣𑂣𑂣𑂣𑂣𑂣𑂣𑂣𑂣𑂣𑂣𑂣𑂣𑂣  Arjunasa Yolamiraputrasa Pāratarājasa  <i>Modified version (Coins T15, T16 and T17):</i>  𑂣𑂛𑂣𑂣𑂣𑂣𑂣𑂣𑂣𑂣𑂣𑂣𑂣𑂣𑂣𑂣𑂣𑂣𑂣𑂣</p>
<b>Hvaramira</b>
<p>𑂣𑂛𑂣𑂣𑂣𑂣𑂣𑂣𑂣𑂣𑂣𑂣𑂣𑂣𑂣𑂣𑂣𑂣𑂣𑂣  Hvaramirasa Yolamiraputrasa Pāratarājasa</p>
<b>Mirahvara</b>
<p>𑂣𑂛𑂣𑂣𑂣𑂣𑂣𑂣𑂣𑂣𑂣𑂣𑂣𑂣𑂣𑂣𑂣𑂣𑂣𑂣  Mirahvarasa Hvaramiraputrasa Pāratarājasa</p>
<b>Miratakhma</b>
<p>𑂣𑂛𑂣𑂣𑂣𑂣𑂣𑂣𑂣𑂣𑂣𑂣𑂣𑂣𑂣𑂣𑂣𑂣𑂣𑂣  Miratakhmasa Hvaramiraputrasa Pāratarājasa</p>

### 3.4 *A genealogical tree*

Senior had suggested two branches of a family tree for the Pāratarājas, but had been unable to formally connect them. Now, the new readings of the legends allow us to construct a unified family tree:



The six kings listed on the tree can be placed there with confidence. A seventh king, identified on one coin by Senior as Kagha, has not been included as his father was not identifiable from the coin. We might speculatively place him as a son of Arjuna, because the obverse of his coin uses the obverse of a known coin of Arjuna (Senior's coin 85).

### 3.5 *Die Analysis*

I undertook a detailed die analysis for 67 coins that I was able to examine in hand – the 57 presented here and the 10 coins published by Senior in *ONS Newsletter* 170. I also looked at the photographs of the remaining coins in the total sample in order to look for die matches, and was able to obtain some, but, as most of these additions do not change any of the specific conclusions, I will not discuss them in detail here. The only exception is Senior 93, which is included for reasons that will become clear later. Thus 68 coins in all are included in the following.

The die analysis revealed two important results. First, the number of reverse dies far exceeds the number of obverse dies. There were a total of 21 obverse dies in all denominations: 1 didrachm die, 10 drachm dies, 6 hemidrachm dies, 2 quarter drachm dies, and 1 obol die. One additional die was used both as a hemidrachm and as a quarter drachm die. The number of reverse dies was 46: 2 didrachm dies, 21 drachm dies, 18 hemidrachm dies, 4 quarter drachm dies and 1 obol die. Thus the ratio of reverse to obverse dies was 2.19.

Second, the die analysis revealed that obverse dies were routinely carried over from one ruler to the next. For example, there are two didrachms in the sample; they bear the same obverse die, but the reverse dies match what were presumably the issuing rulers. The first coin (T50) was issued by Hvaramira and the second (T51) by his son Mirahvara. Indeed, the drachm dies show this carryover for each contiguous pair of rulers. Dies 2 and 3 were used only by Yolamira, but die 4 was used by both Yolamira and his son Arjuna. Die 5 was used by Arjuna and his brother Hvaramira. Die 6 appears to be one of Hvaramira alone, but then die 7 is used by both him and his son Mirahvara. Die 8 is used only by Mirahvara, but die 9 by both him and his brother Miratakhma. Finally, dies 10 and 11 are used exclusively by Miratakhma. Table 4 shows details of the die matches.






The hemidrachms and quarter drachms present a slightly more complicated picture. Here we have two dies that appear to cross three generations. Dies 14 and 15 are used on coins of Yolamira, his son Arjuna and his grandson (Arjuna's nephew) Mirahvara. The sample does not contain any hemidrachms of Hvaramira, so it is possible that he also used the same dies. A further complication is that die 15 was used on hemidrachms for Yolamira and Arjuna, but

on quarter drachms for Mirahvara. The only known coin of Yolamira using die 15 is Senior 93, which is why that coin was included in the table.

The fact that the dies were carried over from one ruler to another suggests that we cannot use the portraits as accurate representations of the rulers' actual appearances. This is also evident from the fact that different dies for the same ruler show widely different portraits; for example, compare dies 2 and 4 for Yolamira. However, the practice does give us greater assurance in placing Arjuna ahead of Hvaramira in the chronological order. Since Yolamira and Arjuna share obverse drachm dies, while Yolamira and Hvaramira do not, we are more confident in placing Arjuna immediately after Yolamira. Further, Arjuna and Hvaramira share obverse drachm dies, which seems to confirm that Hvaramira immediately followed Arjuna. It would therefore seem reasonable to suppose that Arjuna was the older son of Yolamira, succeeded to the throne, but had his reign cut short, presumably by an early death. His younger brother succeeded him,<sup>32</sup> to be followed in turn by *his* son, Mirahvara.



The die analysis also permits us to order chronologically the two sons of Hvaramira. Both Mirahvara and Miratakhma name Hvaramira as their father, so the question arises as to who succeeded first. Miratakhma does not share any obverse dies with Hvaramira. Rather, Mirahvara shares a die with his father (die 7), and Miratakhma in turn shares a die with his brother (die 9). Thus the order of succession seems to have clearly been from Hvaramira to Mirahvara, and then to Miratakhma. Presumably, therefore, Mirahvara was the older brother of Miratakhma.<sup>33</sup>

*Table 4: Die Analysis of 68 coins*

<b>Didrachms</b>				
Die 1				
	T50- Hvaramira Rev die R1	T51- Mirahvara Rev die R2		
<b>Drachms</b>				
Die 2				
	T1-Yolamira Rev die R3	T2-Yolamira Rev die R3		
Die 3				
	T52-Yolamira Rev die R4			

<sup>32</sup> This theory would be modified if Senior's coin 91 (Kagha) does indeed represent a son of Arjuna. He could then represent a dissident or another short-lived ruler.

<sup>33</sup> For other examples of succession from brother to brother, see R. Salomon, 'The Ksatrapas and Mahaksatrapas of India', *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Suedasiens* 18.1974, pp. 5-25.

Die 4				
	T32-Yolamira Rev die R5	T53-Yolamira Rev die R6	T35-Arjuna Rev die R7	T36-Arjuna Rev die R7
Die 5				
	T10-Arjuna Rev die R8	T11-Arjuna Rev die R9	T40-Hvaramira Rev die R10	T18-Hvaramira Rev die R11
				
	T39-Hvaramira Rev die R12			
Die 6				
	T31-“Hvaramira” Rev die R13			
Die 7				
	T54-Hvaramira Rev die R14	T43-Mirahvara Rev die R15	T21-Mirahvara Rev die R16	
Die 8				
	T41-Mirahvara Rev die R17			
Die 9				
	T20-Mirahvara Rev die R18	T42-Mirahvara Rev die R19	T19-Mirahvara Rev die R20	T56-Miratakhma Rev die R21
Die 10				
	T28-Miratakhma Rev die R21	T55-Miratakhma Rev die R22		

Die 11				
	S14-Miratakhma Rev die R23			
<b>Hemidrachms</b>				
Die 12	T3-Yolamira Rev die R24	T33-Yolamira Rev die R25	T57-Yolamira Rev die R26	S15a-Yolamira Rev die R27
	S15b-Yolamira Rev die R27	S15c-Yolamira Rev die R28	S15d-Yolamira Rev die R29	
Die 13	T6-Yolamira Rev die R30	S15e-Yolamira Rev die R30	S15f-Yolamira Rev die R30	
Die 14	T4-Yolamira Rev die R31	T5-Yolamira Rev die R31	T12-Arjuna Rev die R32	T13-Arjuna Rev die R33
	T14-Arjuna Rev die R33	T37-Arjuna Rev die R33	S16-Arjuna Rev die R33	T23-Mirahvara Rev die R35
	T44-Mirahvara Rev die R35	T22-Mirahvara Rev die R36	T45-Mirahvara Rev die R36	T46-Mirahvara Rev die R36
	T24-Mirahvara Rev die R37	T25-Mirahvara Rev die R37	T26-Mirahvara Rev die R38	S17-Mirahvara Rev die R39
Die 15	S93-Yolamira Rev die R43	T38-Arjuna Rev die R33	T27-Mirahvara (quarter drachm!) Rev die R44	T47-Mirahvara (quarter drachm!) Rev die R44
Die 16	T15-Arjuna Rev Die R34	T16-Arjuna Rev Die R34	T17-Arjuna Rev Die R34	
Die 17	T29-Unknown Rev die R40			
Die 18	T30-Unknown Rev die R41			
<b>Quarter drachms</b>				
Die 19	T7-Yolamira Rev die R42	T8-Yolamira Rev die R42	T34-Yolamira Rev die R42	S18-Yolamira Rev die R43
Die 20	T19-Unknown Rev die R45			
<b>Obols</b>				
Die 21	T48-Unknown Rev die R46	T49-Unknown Rev die R46		

#### 4. Revisiting previously studied coins

We are now in a position to revisit the coins previously studied to see where they fit in the new structure of Pārata coins. Table 5 lists all previously listed coins with their original legend readings, along with suggested new readings based on the analysis here. Some coins have been studied by different authors and given different readings; they are marked here by capital letters within parentheses to facilitate cross-referencing. It has been possible to attribute correctly all previously published coins except for the Mukherjee's coin no. 8 (the coin whose plaster cast Rapson had dismissed as 'useless').

Table 5: Re-attributions of previously studied coins

Reference	Original attribution	Suggested new attribution
Mukherjee 5 (A)	Hvaramira s/o Yasamara	Hvaramira s/o Yolamira
Mukherjee 6 (B)	Palasara s/o ??	Yolamira s/o Bagareva
Mukherjee 7 (C)	Ajuna s/o Hilarara	Arjuna s/o Yolamira
Mukherjee 8 (D)	Mitolapa ... (very uncertain)	??
MIG 1247.1 (B)	Pusha s/o Ladhanes	Yolamira s/o Bagareva
MIG 1247.2 (D)	--ditto--	??
MIG 1247.3 (C)	--ditto--	Arjuna s/o Yolamira
MIG 1247.4 (A)	--ditto--	Hvaramira s/o Yolamira
Sen 295.1D	Miramara s/o Maramira	Mirahvara s/o Hvaramira
Sen 295.2D	--ditto--	--ditto--
Sen 295.3D (C)	--ditto--	Arjuna s/o Yolamira
Sen 295.4H (B)	Ma(papa?) s/o Maramira	Yolamira s/o Bagareva
Sen 296.1D	Aju(na?) s/o ---(la)mara	Arjuna s/o Yolamira
Sen 296.2D (D)	--ditto?--	??
Sen 297.1D	--(ta?)hrima s/o Hriramira	Miratakhma s/o Hvaramira
Sen 297.2D	--ditto?--	--ditto--
Sen 298.1H	?? uncertain ??	Arjuna s/o Yolamira*
Sen ONS 170.14	?? s/o Hriramira	Miratakhma s/o Hvaramira
Sen ONS 170.15	Yolamara s/o ??	Yolamira s/o Bagareva
Sen ONS 170.16	Arjuna s/o Yolamara	Arjuna s/o Yolamira
Sen ONS 170.17	Maramira s/o Hriramara	Mirahvara s/o Hvaramira
Sen ONS 170.18	Yolamara s/o ??	Yolamira s/o Bagareva
Sen ONS 177.85	Na – ya s/o Dumara	Arjuna s/o Yolamira*
Sen ONS 177.88	Mirata(hma or hri) s/o Hriramira	Miratakhma s/o Hvaramira
Sen ONS 179.91	Kagha s/o Na?	Kagha s/o Arjuna? <sup>34</sup>
Sen ONS 179.92	Yolamara s/o Bagaraja	Yolamira s/o Bagareva
Sen ONS 179.93	--ditto--	--ditto--








\*This coin appears to have the same reverse die as T16 and T17. The attribution to Arjuna is quite certain. Part of the confusion is caused by the use of some unusual letter forms, especially for the *sa*. See the discussion of the legend on coin T16 in the discussion on the name Arjuna above. Also see the transcription of the legend for these coins in Table 3.

### 5. Catalogue of Coins









We can now put together a complete catalogue of the silver coins with Brahmi legends of the Pāratarājas. This catalogue is based on the 57 coins presented here, along with the 24 other coins previously published. The numbering system used has left gaps in order to provide for future discoveries. Table 6 presents the catalogue.








<sup>34</sup> Senior reports that his coin 91 had the same obverse die as coin 85. As coin 85 has been shown to be an issue of Arjuna, it is plausible to suggest that Kagha may have been Arjuna's son, and used his father's obverse die for convenience. But this is purely speculative.








Table 6: Catalogue of the Pāratarāja silver coins with Brāhmi legends









Type (Cat #)	Photograph	Details and Legend (* denotes coin illustrated)
1	<b>Bagareva</b>	
	No coins known	
2	<b>Yolamira</b>	
22a Drachm		<i>Obv:</i> Diademed bust right in dotted border <i>Rev:</i> Swastika right, with legend around: <i>Yolamirasa Bagarevapurasa</i> <i>Parataraja (sa missing, ja retrograde)</i> Known specimens: T1*, T2.
22b Drachm		<i>Obv:</i> Diademed bust right in dotted border <i>Rev:</i> Swastika right, with legend around: <i>Yolamirasa Bagarevapurasa</i> <i>Parataraja (entire legend retrograde)</i> Known specimens: T32, T53*.
23 Drachm		<i>Obv:</i> Diademed bust right in dotted border <i>Rev:</i> Swastika left, with legend around: <i>Yolamirasa Bagarevapurasa</i> <i>Parataraja</i> Known specimens: T52*.
24 Hemi-drachm		<i>Obv:</i> Diademed bust right in dotted border <i>Rev:</i> Swastika right, with legend around: <i>Yolamirasa Bagarevapurasa</i> <i>Paratarajasa</i> Known specimens: Sen 295.4H, Sen ONS 170.15a*-d, Sen ONS 179.92.
24a Hemi-drachm		<i>Obv:</i> Diademed bust right in dotted border <i>Rev:</i> Swastika right, with legend around: <i>Yolamirasa Bagarevapurasa</i> <i>Parataraja (ja retrograde)</i> Known specimens: T3, T33?
24b Hemi-drachm		<i>Obv:</i> Diademed bust right in dotted border <i>Rev:</i> Swastika right, with legend around: <i>Yolamirasa Bagarevapurasa</i> <i>Parataraja (entire legend retrograde)</i> Known specimens: T4, T5*.
24c Hemi-drachm		<i>Obv:</i> Diademed bust right in dotted border <i>Rev:</i> Swastika right, with legend around: <i>Yolamirasa Bagarevapurasa</i> <i>Paratarasa (sic! ja missing)</i> Known specimens: T57*.








25 Hemi- drachm		<i>Obv:</i> Diademed bust right in dotted border <i>Rev:</i> Swastika left, with legend around: <i>Yolamirasa Bagarevaputrasa</i> <i>Paratarajasa</i> Known specimens: T6, Sen 170.15e*-f.
26 Quarter drachm		<i>Obv:</i> Diademed bust right in dotted border <i>Rev:</i> Four line legend: <i>Yolamarisa Bagarevaputrasa</i> <i>Paratarajasa</i> Known specimens: T7, T8*, T34, Sen ONS 179.93.
26a Quarter drachm		<i>Obv:</i> Diademed bust right in dotted border <i>Rev:</i> Three line legend: <i>Yolamarisa ...ha? ...</i> Known specimen: Sen ONS 170.18*.
3	<b>Arjuna</b>	
32a Drachm		<i>Obv:</i> Diademed bust right in dotted border <i>Rev:</i> Swastika right, with legend around: <i>Arjunasa Yolamiraputasa Parata jasa</i> <i>(ra missing)</i> Known specimen: T10*.
32b Drachm		<i>Obv:</i> Diademed bust right in dotted border <i>Rev:</i> Swastika right, with legend around: <i>Arjunasa Yolamiraputrasa Para</i> <i>(tarajasa missing)</i> Known specimens: T35*, T36.
33 Drachm		<i>Obv:</i> Diademed bust right in dotted border <i>Rev:</i> Swastika left, with legend around: <i>Arjunasa Yolamiraputasa</i> <i>Paratarajasa</i> Known specimens: T11*, Sen 295.3, Sen 296.1.
34 Hemi- drachm		<i>Obv:</i> Diademed bust right in dotted border <i>Rev:</i> Swastika right, with legend around: <i>Arjunasa Yolamiraputasa</i> <i>Paratarajasa</i> Known specimen: T12*.
35a Hemi- drachm		<i>Obv:</i> Diademed bust right in dotted border <i>Rev:</i> Swastika left, with legend around: <i>Arjunasa Yolamiraputasa Parataraja</i> <i>(sa missing)</i> Known specimens: T13*, T14, T37, S16.

35b Hemi- drachm		<i>Obv:</i> Diademed bust of different style right in dotted border <i>Rev:</i> Swastika left, with legend around: <i>Arjunasa Yolamiraputasa Parataraja</i> ( <i>sa missing</i> ) Known specimen: T38*.
35c Hemi- drachm		<i>Obv:</i> Large bust right in dotted border <i>Rev:</i> Swastika left, with legend around: <i>Arjunasa Yolamiraputasa Para</i> ( <i>tarajasa missing, unusual sa form</i> ) Known specimens: T15, T16*, T17, Sen 298.1, Sen ONS 177.85.
4	<b>Kayyana (?)</b>	
44 Hemi- drachm		<i>Obv:</i> Diademed bust right in dotted border <i>Rev:</i> Swastika right, with legend around: <i>Kayyanasa? --putrasa Parataraja</i> ( <i>sa missing</i> ) Known specimen: Sen ONS 179.91*.
5	<b>Hvaramira</b>	
51 Di- drachm		<i>Obv:</i> Diademed bust right in dotted border <i>Rev:</i> Swastika right, with legend around: <i>Hvara(mirasa Yolamirapu)trasa</i> <i>Paratarajasa</i> Known specimen: T50*.
52a Drachm		<i>Obv:</i> Diademed bust right in dotted border <i>Rev:</i> Swastika right, with legend around: <i>Hvaramirasa Yolamiraputrasa</i> <i>Parataraja</i> ( <i>sa missing</i> ) Known specimens: T18*, T39.
52b Drachm		<i>Obv:</i> Diademed bust right in dotted border <i>Rev:</i> Swastika right, with legend around: <i>Hvaramirasa Yolamiraputrasa Parata</i> ( <i>rajasa missing</i> ) Known specimen: T40*.
53 Drachm		<i>Obv:</i> Diademed bust right in dotted border <i>Rev:</i> Swastika left, with legend around: <i>Hvaramirasa Yolamiraputrasa</i> <i>Paratarajasa</i> Known specimen: T54*.
54a Hemi- Drachm	No photo available	<i>Obv:</i> Diademed bust right in dotted border <i>Rev:</i> Swastika right, with legend around: <i>Hvaramirasa Yolamiraputrasa</i> <i>Parataraja</i> ( <i>sa missing</i> ) Known specimen: Mukherjee #5.

6	<b>Mirahvara</b>	
61 Di- drachm	 <p><i>Obv:</i> Diademed bust right in dotted border  <i>Rev:</i> Swastika left, with legend around:  <i>Mirahvarasa Hvaramiraputrasa</i>  <i>Paratarajasa</i>            Known specimen: T51*.</p>	
62 Drachm	 <p><i>Obv:</i> Diademed bust right in dotted border  <i>Rev:</i> Swastika right, with legend around:  <i>Mirahvarasa Hvaramiraputrasa</i>  <i>Paratarajasa</i>            Known specimens: T20*, T41, Sen 295.2.</p>	
62a Drachm	 <p><i>Obv:</i> Diademed bust right in dotted border  <i>Rev:</i> Swastika right, with legend around:  <i>Mirahvarasa Hvaramiraputrasa</i>  <i>Parataraja (sa missing)</i>            Known specimen: T42*.</p>	
62b Drachm	Sen 295.1D	<p><i>Obv:</i> Diademed bust right in dotted border  <i>Rev:</i> Swastika right, with legend around:  <i>Mirahvarasa Hvaramiraputrasa</i>  <i>Parata (rajasa missing)</i>            Known specimen: Sen 295.1*.</p>
62c Drachm	 <p><i>Obv:</i> Diademed bust right in dotted border  <i>Rev:</i> Swastika right, with legend around:  <i>Mirahvarasa Hvaramiraputrasa Para</i>  <i>(tarajasa missing)</i>            Known specimen: T19*.</p>	
63a Drachm	 <p><i>Obv:</i> Diademed bust right in dotted border  <i>Rev:</i> Swastika left, with legend around:  <i>Mirahvarasa Hvaramiraputrasa</i>  <i>Parataraja (sa missing, unusual letter forms)</i>            Known specimen: T21*.</p>	
63b Drachm	 <p><i>Obv:</i> Diademed bust right in dotted border  <i>Rev:</i> Swastika left, with legend around:  <i>Mirahvarasa Hvaramiraputrasa</i>  <i>Paratara (jasa missing, unusual letter forms)</i>            Known specimen: T43*.</p>	
64a Hemi- drachm	 <p><i>Obv:</i> Diademed bust right in dotted border  <i>Rev:</i> Swastika right, with legend around:  <i>Mirahvarasa Hvaramiraputrasa</i>  <i>Parataraja (sa missing)</i>            Known specimen: T23, T24, T25*.</p>	

64c Hemi- drachm		<i>Obv:</i> Diademed bust right in dotted border <i>Rev:</i> Swastika right, with legend around: <i>Mirahvarasa Hvaramiraputrasa</i> <i>Parata (rajasa missing)</i> Known specimen: Sen ONS 170.17*.
64d Hemi- drachm		<i>Obv:</i> Diademed bust right in dotted border <i>Rev:</i> Swastika right, with legend around: <i>Mirahvarasa Hvaramiraputrasa Para</i> <i>(tarajasa missing)</i> Known specimen: T26*.
64e Hemi- drachm		<i>Obv:</i> Diademed bust right in dotted border <i>Rev:</i> Swastika right, with legend around: <i>Mirahvara Hvaramiraputra</i> <i>Parataraja (sa missing everywhere!)</i> Known specimen: T44*.
64f Hemi- drachm		<i>Obv:</i> Diademed bust right in dotted border <i>Rev:</i> Swastika right, with legend around: <i>Mirahvara Hvaramiraputra Paratara</i> <i>(ja and all sa's missing)</i> Known specimens: T22, T45*, T46.
66 Quarter drachm		<i>Obv:</i> Diademed bust right in dotted border <i>Rev:</i> 4-line legend: <i>Mirahvarasa / Hvaramiraputra / sa</i> <i>Paratara / jasa</i> Known specimens: T27, T47*.
7	<b>Miratakhma</b>	
71 Drachm		<i>Obv:</i> Diademed bust left in dotted border <i>Rev:</i> Swastika right, with legend around: <i>Miratakhmasa Hvaramiraputrasa</i> <i>Parataraja (sa missing)</i> Known specimens: T28, T55*, Sen 297.1-2.
72 Drachm		<i>Obv:</i> Diademed bust right in dotted border <i>Rev:</i> Swastika right, with legend around: <i>Miratakhmasa Hvaramirapu(trasa</i> <i>Paratarajasa)</i> Known specimens: Sen ONS 170.14*, Sen ONS 177.88.
72a Drachm		<i>Obv:</i> Diademed bust right in dotted border <i>Rev:</i> Swastika right, with legend around: <i>Miratakhmasa Hvaramiraputrasa</i> <i>Paratarajasa</i> Known specimens: T56*.

9	Unattributed coins	
92 Drachm		<i>Obv:</i> Diademed bust right in dotted border <i>Rev:</i> Swastika right, with legend around: <i>Legend unclear: Hvaramirasa Yolamiraputrasa Paratarajasa ?</i> Known specimen: T31*.
94a Hemi- drachm		<i>Obv:</i> Diademed bust right in dotted border <i>Rev:</i> Swastika right, with legend around: <i>Legend unclear: Yolamira ?</i> Known specimen: T29*.
94b Hemi- drachm		<i>Obv:</i> Diademed bust right in dotted border <i>Rev:</i> Swastika right, with legend around: <i>Legend unclear: ?</i> Known specimen: T30*.
96 Quarter drachm		<i>Obv:</i> Diademed bust right in dotted border <i>Rev:</i> Swastika right, with no legend: <i>Yolamira ?</i> Known specimen: T9*.
97 Obol		<i>Obv:</i> Swastika right <i>Rev:</i> Remnants of legend ? Known specimens: T48, T49*.

#### 6. Historical References to the Pāratas

Mukherjee attempted to trace a history of the Pārata people and found a large number of references in the historical literature that could arguably be to these people. These references are summarized in Table 7. I have made no attempt to check these references, accepting Mukherjee's account at face value.

Table 7: Historical References to the Pāratas

Source	Reference	Date	Content
Herodotus	<i>History</i> I.101	c.650 BC	Identified the 'Paraitakenoi' as one of the tribes ruled by Deiokes, the Median king, in north-western Persia.
Strabo	<i>Geography</i> XI, XV and XVI	c.7 <sup>th</sup> century BC and later	Several references that place the 'Paraitakai' in the area of northern Iraq and north-western Persia. At one time they were subjects of Aturia of Assyria, and Eratosthenes located them 'above Babylonia'.
Arrian	<i>Anabasis Alexandrou</i> IV	c.330 BC	Alexander encountered the 'Paraitakai' in the area of Bactria and Sogdiana, and had to send Craterus to subdue them.
Strabo	<i>Geography</i> XV	c. late 3 <sup>rd</sup> century BC	Refers to the 'Paraitakenoi' as subject to the Parthians.

Strabo	<i>Geography</i> XVI	187 BC	Identifies the 'Paraitakenoi' as among the barbarians who murdered Antiochus III Magnus during his attempted raid to plunder the shrine of Bel in the Elymean Hills.
Isidore of Charax	<i>Stathmoi Parthikoi</i>	c.25-1 BC	Names the area beyond Sakastene as Paraitakene. Thus Seistan or modern Baluchistan seems to have become the territory of the Pāratas by this time.
Pliny	<i>Natural History</i> VI, 116 and 131	c.1 <sup>st</sup> century AD	Locates the territory of the 'Paraetaceni' between the Parthi and the Ariani. Thus the Pāratas seem at this time to be located somewhere on the borders of modern Afghanistan and Iran, in the Herat area.
Periplus		c.1 <sup>st</sup> century AD	Locates the territory of the 'Paradon' beyond the Ommanitic region, that is, on the coast of modern Baluchistan.
Ptolemy	<i>Geographike Hyphegesis</i>	2 <sup>nd</sup> century AD	Identifies the interior of Gedrosia as 'Paradene', thus placing the Pāratas in the interior of Baluchistan. Refers to a town named Paradabathra on the west bank of the Indus river.
Naqsh-i-Rustam inscription	Time of Shapur I	262 AD	Names P'rtu as one of the provinces of the empire, between Makran and Hindustan, i.e., in eastern Baluchistan. Since the Pārata king is not named by al-Tabari as one of the rulers who submitted to Ardeshir I, it appears that Shapur may have been the one to subjugate the Pāratas.
Paikuli inscription	Time of Narseh	293-302	Names the Paradanshah as one of the royals who congratulated Narseh on his defeat of Vahran III.
Mahabharata		?	Several references to the Pāradas as a foreign people 'beyond' the Sindhu, i.e., living to the west of the river Indus.
Ramayana		?	Also refers to the Pāradas along with other tribes in the west.
Mahamayuri		?	Mentions Parāsara as the <i>yaksha</i> in the land of the Pāratas.
Brihatsamhita		?	Locates the Pāratas in the west.

Source: Summarized from B.N. Mukherjee, *op. cit.*, pp. 35-52.

We know that the coins of the Pāratarājas are found in Baluchistan. If all of the references discovered by Mukherjee do indeed refer to the Pāratas, we may infer the following history. The Pāratas were a tribe originating in the 7th century BC in what is now north-western Iran, northern Iraq, or even eastern Turkey, perhaps more or less corresponding to the areas

inhabited today by the Kurds.<sup>35</sup> The historical references point to a migration that proceeded in fits and starts. Alexander encountered them in the area of Bactria and Sogdiana. In the late first century BC, Isidore of Charax has them in the region of Seistan. By the first century AD, the *Periplus* places them on the coast of Baluchistan, and, finally, in the second century, Ptolemy locates them in the interior of Baluchistan. Indian sources of around this time, such as the *Mahabharata* and the *Ramayana*, also place the Pāratas roughly in this area, west of the river Indus. This location appears to be confirmed by Sasanian inscriptions referring to the Pāratas, which suggest that they came under Sasanian domination around the time of Shapur I, in the middle of the third century AD. The only source who appears to contradict this timetable of migration is Pliny the Elder who, writing in the first century AD, places the Pāratarājas between the Parthi and Ariani, hence in the Herat region. However, Pliny's source, whoever it was, may well have lived several centuries before his time.

From this historical reconstruction, the earliest date at which the Pāratas are placed anywhere in Baluchistan is the end of the first century BC, and the date at which they are placed specifically in the interior of Baluchistan, which is where the coins are found, is the second century AD. Thus I would conclude for the time being that the most reasonable date for the Pāratarāja coins under examination is some time in the first to second centuries AD.

#### 7. Metrology, design and dating of the coins

Of the 81 coins known for this series, I have the weights for 80. The one missing coin is Mukherjee's coin no. 5, the Shortt collection coin originally published by Rapson, and excluded from Senior's Indo-Scythian catalogue. The 80 weights form a reasonable sample to examine the metrology of this series. Table 8 presents the average weights of coins of different denominations, in grams, arranged by ruler. I have excluded two coins from this analysis: T48 and T49, which, at 0.52g and 0.73g, might belong to a different denomination than the other eight fractional coins in the sample.

*Table 8: Average Weights of different coin denominations, by ruler*

	Didrachms		Drachms		Hemidrachms		Quarter drachms	
	No.	Avg. Wt.	No.	Avg. Wt.	No.	Avg. Wt.	No.	Avg. Wt.
Yolamira			5	3.76	14	1.81	5	0.88
Arjuna			6	3.71	11	1.75		
Kagha					1	1.67		
Hvaramira	1	7.53	4	3.59				
Mirahvara	1	6.76	8	3.62	9	1.76	2	1.01
Miratakhma			7	3.53				
Uncertain			1	3.88	2	1.69	1	0.81
All	2	7.15	31	3.65	37	1.77	8	0.90

<sup>35</sup> Today's Baluchis are also said to have migrated out of this area, and it is curious to note that the Baluchi and Kurdish languages are closely related. According to Harrison, the Baluchi language 'is classified as a member of the Iranian group of the Indo-European language family, which includes Farsi (Persian), Pushtu, Baluchi, and Kurdish. Baluchi is closely related to only one of the members of the Iranian group, Kurdish': see Selig S. Harrison, *In Afghanistan's Shadow: Baloch Nationalism and Soviet Temptations* (Washington: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1981). One naturally wonders therefore if the Baluchis are in some sense or other descendants of the Pāratas.

It is clear from the table that the coins form a very coherent metrological picture. The numbers fully justify their classification into four (possibly five) denominations: didrachms with an average weight of 7.15g (1.96 times the average drachm weight), drachms with an average weight of 3.65g, hemidrachms with an average weight of 1.77g (48.6% of the average weight of the drachms), and quarter drachms or trihemibols with an average weight of 0.90g (24.8% of the average weight of the drachms). If the last two fractional drachms (T48 and T49) were included with the other quarter drachms, the average weight would fall to 0.85g (23.2% of the average weight of the drachms). However, viewed as a separate denomination, these two coins average 0.63g in weight. This average is 17.1% of the average weight of the drachms, which would put them quite close to the expected 16.7% of obols. I am inclined to believe that these two coins were indeed intended to be obols, especially as they are the only coins in the sample that do not carry the ruler's portrait on them. The obols would form the fifth denomination.

A number of factors seem to connect these coins most closely to Parthian coinage. The fabric of the coins most closely resembles that of early Parthian coins, such as those of Arsakes I and II. In particular, the flans of the Pāratārāja coins are slightly convex on the obverse and slightly concave on the reverse. Sellwood had pointed out how early Parthian coins had this property.<sup>36</sup> Further, the pattern of denominations also seems to suggest an early Parthian model. Although drachms were issued by practically all the Parthian sovereigns, only some early ones issued fractional denominations. On the basis of Sellwood's listing of Parthian coins, we see that hemidrachms were issued by four rulers: Mithradates II, Orodes I, Phraates III and Orodes II, covering the period between 123 and 38 BC. According to Sellwood, Mithradates I (171-138 BC) issued triobols, diobols and obols; Phraates II issued obols, and Orodes II (57-38 BC) issued diobols and obols.

As we noted in the previous section, there is another factor that connects the Pāratārājas to the early Parthians. Strabo, in his *Geography*, refers to the 'Paraitakenoi' as subject to the Parthians in the late 3rd century BC. Arguably, these 'Paraitakenoi' are none other than the Pāratas, and the dating places them as Parthian subjects precisely at the time of Arsakes I and II.

On the basis of these parallels with early Parthian coinage, the Pāratārāja coinage discussed here might reasonably be dated to the first or second century BC. However, the metrology itself does not agree with such an early date. At the time of Arsakes I and II, the weight of the Parthian drachm was approximately 4.1g. This is the weight offered by Mitchiner,<sup>37</sup> and is confirmed by the average weight of recorded examples in the Fred Shore collection.<sup>38</sup> The average observed weight of Pāratārāja coins of 3.65g is thus considerably lower.

To try to determine the point of time at which the weight of the Parthian drachm had fallen to 3.65 gm., I looked at all the coins in the Shore collection and plotted the average drachm weights. There were a total of 330 coins in the sample, which is presumably fairly representative. The plot of the weights, and the trend line,<sup>39</sup> are presented in Figure 8. The chart shows clearly the decline in the average weight of the Parthian drachm, from a high of around 4.1g at the time of Arsakes I (c.225 BC) to around 3.5g at the end of the dynasty some 450 years later. The trend line reaches 3.65g around the time of Vardanes I (AD 40-45).

<sup>36</sup> D.G. Sellwood, *Parthian Coins* (London, Pardy & Son, 1980), p. 9.

<sup>37</sup> Michael Mitchiner, *Oriental Coins and their Values: The Ancient and Classical World* (London, Hawkins Publications, 1978), p. 107.

<sup>38</sup> Fred B. Shore, *Parthian Coins and History: Ten Dragons against Rome* (Quarryville, PA, Classical Numismatic Group, 1993). The average weight of two specimens of Arsakes I drachms is 4.15 g, and of the two specimens of Arsakes II 4.10 g.

<sup>39</sup> The trend line was simply the second-order polynomial offered by Excel.



Indeed, because of the considerable fluctuation in the average weight of the Parthian drachm from ruler to ruler, a weight of 3.65g for the Pāratarāja drachm is consistent with the Parthian coinage at any time from around 50 BC to AD 200.

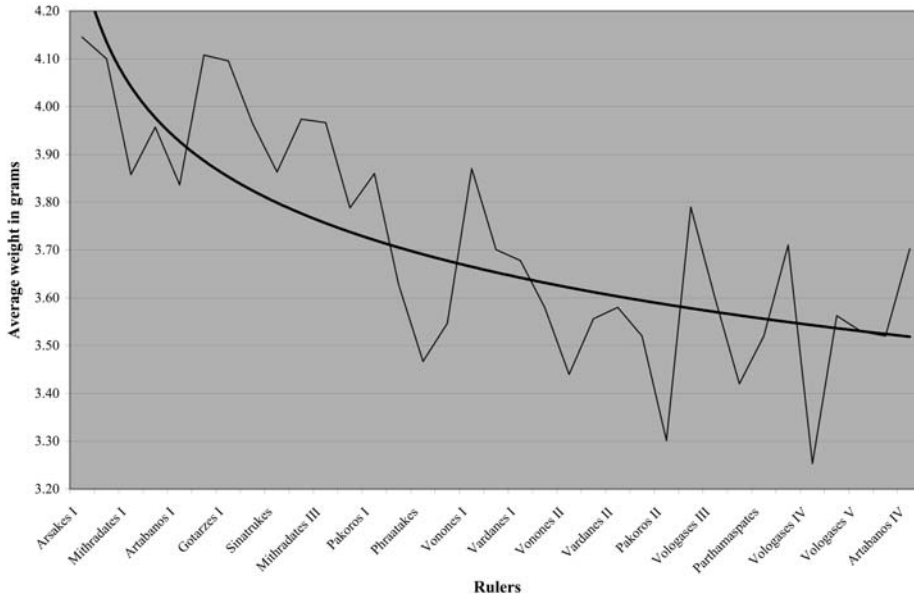


Figure 8: Average Weights of Parthian drachms in the Shore Collection

Konow (see n. 24 above in section 3 on the name Yolamira) dated the potsherds found in Loralai to *c.*150, largely on grounds of the letter-forms and the use of the title *Shahi*, which he said had been revived by Kanishka. If Konow is correct, and considering that Yolamira is chronologically the first among the five Pāratarāja kings whose coins we have, the date for the Pāratarāja coins would be *c.*150-200. This places the coins at the very end of the period suggested by the metrology. Their rather unusual fabric, similar to early Parthian coins of 350 years earlier, remains unexplained.

It is worth noting here a putative connection between the Pāratarāja coins and the silver drachms of the Indo-Parthians issued in Seistan. Although the fabric and style of the Seistan drachms is not similar to the Pāratarāja coins, might their *weight standard* be linked. Mitchiner<sup>40</sup> lists the notional weight of the silver drachms issued by all rulers from Gondophares to Sanabares as a reduced Attic standard of 3.7g. If this is correct, the standard would fit neatly with that of the Pāratarāja coins. To test this, I tabulated the weights of the 6 Seistan drachms provided by Mitchiner, the weights of all 24 Seistan drachms reported by Senior in his Indo-Scythian catalogue,<sup>41</sup> and those of 11 coins in my own collection, giving data on a total of 41 coins. The results are given in Table 9, in which the rulers are arranged in the order suggested by Senior in his review of the Seistan coinage.<sup>42</sup> Coins assigned by Mitchiner to Gondophares, surnamed ‘Sah’, have been assigned to Sases as suggested by Senior.

<sup>40</sup> Michael Mitchiner, *Indo-Greek and Indo-Scythian Coinage, Volume 8: The Indo-Parthians* (London, Hawkins Publications, 1976), pp. 727-31 and 775-8.

<sup>41</sup> Robert C. Senior, *op. cit.*, Volume II, pp. 148-84.

<sup>42</sup> Senior, *op. cit.*, Volume I, pp. 112-13.

*Table 9: Weights of Seistan drachms of the Indo-Parthians (grams.)*

	Avg	Mitchiner			Senior				Tandon			
Gondophares	3.46	3.97	3.27	3.16	3.57	3.76	3.19	3.71	3.85	3.24	2.98	3.31
Orthagnes	3.34	3.18		3.59	3.38					3.20		
Sases	3.42	3.20	2.71	3.84	3.62	3.38				3.78		
Ubouzanés	2.97			2.59	3.18					3.14		
Abdagases	2.86			3.74	2.15	3.52	3.01	2.28		2.89	2.46	
Sanabares	3.47			3.55	3.77	3.75	3.54	3.15		3.04		
Pakores	3.18	2.24		3.76						3.22	3.49	
<i>Group Average</i>	3.28											

The table shows that the average weight of the Seistan drachms is significantly lower than the 3.7g notional weight suggested by Mitchiner and the 3.65g average weight of the Pāratārāja drachms. The average of the 41 coins turns out to be 3.28g. The range of weights is rather large, from a low of 2.15g to a high of 3.97g. By comparison, the range of weights for the 26 Pāratārāja drachms in our sample is 2.96 – 4.13g, with an average of 3.65g. Thus the Pāratārāja drachms seem to be significantly heavier than the Seistan drachms, and the metrological link between these two groups seems somewhat tenuous.

Although the fabric and metrology of the Pāratārāja coinage seems to indicate a Parthian connection, there are nevertheless several signs of strong Indian influences on the coinage as well. The use of the swastika, the overall design involving a central symbolic element along with a circular legend, and the use of patronymics all have strong parallels in Indian coinages of the time. I consider each of these in turn, especially with a view to what they can tell us about the likely date of the Pāratārāja coins.

The swastika was a widely used symbol, not only in India but in many other parts of the world. Swastikas have been found in ancient sites ranging from Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa to Sumeria, ancient Egypt and many Greek sites.<sup>43</sup> On coins, there are some swastikas on Greek coins,<sup>44</sup> but swastikas were common only in India, where their earliest appearance seems to be on the punchmark coinage of various ancient *janapadas*, such as Kashi and Kosala. This use would date to the 5th or 4th century BC, as it pre-dates the conquest of Kosala by Magadha. Swastikas continued to be used at various times by various dynasties through the ensuing centuries. They appear in the Magadha-Maurya series and are widely prevalent in the cast copper coinage of the succeeding Sunga dynasty and also in the coinage of the Satvahanas and of Ujjain.

In the north-west, swastikas occur on the city coinages of Pushkalavati and Taxila, dating to the second century BC. They are absent from the Graeco-Bactrian and Indo-Greek coinage, and also from most of the Indo-Scythian coinage. The coins of the very last Scythian rulers, however, Rajuvula and his son Sodasa, did feature swastikas. These were probably from mints in Jammu and Mathura, and date to the early part of the first century AD. Finally, swastikas were a constant element in the coinage of the Kunindas, who ruled in northern India in the foothills of the Himalayas from the late 2nd century BC to some time late in the 1st century AD.

<sup>43</sup> Savita Sharma, *Early Indian Symbols* (Delhi, Agam Kala Prakashan, 1990), pp. 60-78.

<sup>44</sup> Swastikas are featured on a few coins of Syracuse, Leucas, Corinth and Ionia: see Leo Anson, *Numismata Graeca: Greek Coin-Types Classified for Immediate Identification* (London, K. Paul, 1910).

Swastikas next make a prominent appearance in the late second to early third century in the coinage of the Kushan king Vasudeva I. Towards the later part of his reign, his Peshawar coinage begins to feature the swastika as an ancillary symbol. This practice was continued by the Kushano-Sasanian coinage that followed in that region.

Thus we see that swastikas were widely used on coinage in north-western India, and their use by the Pāratārājas indicates a clear, albeit slight, affinity to Indian, rather than Parthian, coinage. However, the use of the swastika spanned such a long period that its presence on the Pāratārāja coinage does not greatly help in dating it.

Turning next to the overall design of the coins, we see influences from both the Persian and Indian spheres. The canonical form of Parthian coinage had on the obverse a bust left within a dotted border (no legend),<sup>45</sup> and on the reverse a seated king with a legend around in a *rectangular* arrangement. Thus the obverse of the Pāratārāja coinage seems to be similar to the Parthian prototype; however, the reverse, with its central symbolic element (the swastika) and *circular* legend, does not match the Parthian pattern.

Although the connection between the Pāratārāja coinage and that of Seistan seemed tenuous at best, there are some hints of an affinity with some other Indo-Parthian coins.<sup>46</sup> Senior's types 204, 207, 212, 244, 255, 257, and 258 all have obverse busts of a style very similar to the busts on the Pāratārāja coins; Senior has identified most of these types as issuing from Arachosia. Type 207 is particularly interesting, as it has not only a bust of similar style but also a reverse consisting of a central symbolic element surrounded by a legend. Although Senior's coin is not legible enough to read, Joe Cribb has informed me<sup>47</sup> that he has seen another specimen of that type which clearly reads *Gadana*. Coins of Gadana are associated with Orthagnes and Ubouzanes; in fact, Senior assigns them to Orthagnes. Thus this coin must be later than Gondophares, but earlier than Sasan, placing it late in the first century.<sup>48</sup> This gives another piece of evidence to help fix the date for the Pāratārāja coinage.

The most obvious comparison group for the Pāratārāja coinage, however, is that of the Western Kshatrapas. Although the Western Kshatrapa coinage seems to have been on a different weight standard, the design of these coins closely matches those of the Pāratārājas. Western Kshatrapa silver coinage featured on the obverse a bust right, surrounded by a mostly blundered circular legend in Greek,<sup>49</sup> and on the reverse a central symbolic element (typically a crescented three-arched hill, with river below and sun and moon above) surrounded by a circular Brahmi legend.<sup>50</sup> Thus, apart from the fact that the Pāratārāja coinage has dispensed with an obverse legend entirely, these two coinages seem closely linked in overall design.

A further affinity between the coinages of the Pāratārājas and the Western Kshatrapas is the use of patronymics in both. As far as I know, patronymics were never used in Parthian coinage. There were a few isolated uses in India, for example, a unique bronze coin of Artemidoros, which names him as the son of Maues.<sup>51</sup> There are also some coins of the Indo-

<sup>45</sup> In addition, there are a few coins with front-facing busts and a very few with right-facing busts.

<sup>46</sup> My thanks to Joe Cribb for calling my attention to these coins.

<sup>47</sup> Personal communication by email, 9 February 2006.

<sup>48</sup> Senior would date it early in the first century, as he dates Gondophares earlier than most other historians.

<sup>49</sup> The obverse circular legend in Greek was a holdover from the ample Graeco-Bactrian, Indo-Greek and successor Saka coinage that had been issued in Bactria and south of the Hindu Kush, including the Punjab, for the previous several centuries.

<sup>50</sup> The reverse design seems to loosely follow the coinage of the Audambaras and Kunindas, dating probably from the 1st century BC.

<sup>51</sup> The coin carries a Kharoshthi legend that reads *Rajatarajasa Moasaputrasa Artemidorasa*; see R.C. Senior and D. MacDonald, *The Decline of the Indo-Greeks* (Athens, Hellenic Numismatic Society, 1998), p. 55.

Parthian ruler Abdagases which name him as the son of Gondophares's brother.<sup>52</sup> And there is a single bronze coin of the Kushan king Huvishka, naming him as the son of Kanishka.<sup>53</sup> In neither of these cases, however, did the use of the patronymic become a regular feature of the dynastic coinage.

The Western Kshatrapas, on the other hand, did use patronymics as a regular feature of their coinage. The earliest Kshatrapa rulers, Aghudaka,<sup>54</sup> Bhumaka and Nahapana do not list their fathers, and the practice begins with Chastana.<sup>55</sup> It is interesting to note that Nahapana's greatest rival, the Satvahana ruler Gautamiputra Satakarni, used a matronymic on his coinage, a practice continued by his successors. Since Chastana came to power after Gautamiputra Satakarni defeated Nahapana, one naturally wonders if the adoption of a patronymic on his coinage was suggested by the Satvahana use of matronymics. Further, the use of patronymics by the Pāratarājas might well have been inspired by the similar custom of the Western Kshatrapas. If so, the date of the coinage of the Pāratarājas would lie some time after the accession of Chastana. Since the date of Chastana's accession is approximately in the year 75, this becomes the earliest date for the Pāratarājas.<sup>56</sup> Of course, since the Western Kshatrapas ruled, and continued the practice of naming their fathers on their coins, for a period of 265 years after the rise of Chastana, the coinage of the Pāratarājas could be fixed at any date after that earliest date.

There is one more small piece of evidence that suggests a date for the Pāratarājas shortly after the time of Chastana, a very rare copper coin of Rudradaman that features a bust very similar to the busts we see on the coinage of the Pāratarājas.<sup>57</sup> In particular, the bust includes the shoulders, unlike the general practice of simply depicting the head on Kshatrapa coins. Since Rudradaman is dated to 130-150, this coin suggests a similar date for the Pāratarājas.

Given Konow's suggestion that Kanishka began the use of the term *Shahi*, a suggested date for the Pāratarājas would be around the middle of the second century, give or take a quarter century or so. The letter-forms of the coins also point to a date in the middle of the second century.<sup>58</sup> Indeed, all the information we have reviewed seems to be consistent with such a date.

<sup>52</sup> The legend reads *Guduvharabhrataputrasa Maharajasa Avadagashasa*; see R.C. Senior: *A Catalogue of Indo-Scythian Coins*, types 225-231.

<sup>53</sup> Robert Göbl, *Münzprägung des Kušānreiches* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1984), type 984. There is some confusion about who is the father and who the son on this coin. While Göbl has assigned it to Huvishka, named as the son of Kanishka I, others have suggested it is a coin of Kanishka II, named as the son of Huvishka.

<sup>54</sup> There is uncertainty about the name of the first Kshatrapa ruler. Mitchiner calls him Aghudaka; Jha and Rajgor are undecided between Aghudaka and Abhedaka; Senior settles on Abhiraka.

<sup>55</sup> Shailendra Bhandare has pointed out to me that, although the early Kshatrapas did not use patronymics on their coinage, there is some evidence of patronymic usage in the epigraphy of this period. The son-in-law of Nahapana, named Ushabhadata, describes himself as 'Dinikaputra' in inscriptions at Nasik and Karle. Thus the use of patronymics may pre-date the arrival of Gautamiputra Satakarni. On the other hand, it could be argued that, since Ushabhadata belongs to the same generation as Chastana, his usage of a patronymic may be contemporaneous with the introduction of patronymics on the coins. In any event, none of this alters the basic point being made here.

<sup>56</sup> Bob Senior argues for an earlier date for Chastana. If this were correct, it would allow an earlier date for the Pāratarājas. However, it does not militate against the later date that I am proposing.

<sup>57</sup> Senior has published it in his catalogue as coin number 330.1: *op. cit.*, p. 200. I am indebted to Shailendra Bhandare for bringing this coin to my attention

<sup>58</sup> Harry Falk has pointed out two very specific paleographic elements that suggest this date. The *pā* on coin T27 shows a leftward bend on the left vertical before being joined with the diacritical; this is a second century innovation. Also, the squarish *ga* in Figure 2 points in the same direction.

### 8. *Conclusion*

This paper has presented a group of previously unpublished coins of the Pāratārājas, which have enabled me to organize all known coins from this dynasty in a coherent series, presented here as the catalogue in Table 6. The coins are dated to roughly the middle of the 2nd century AD, although they may be somewhat earlier; they are unlikely to be much later. I have re-examined the historical survey of Mukherjee and suggest that much of Mukherjee's work seems to have been on the mark. The Pāratas appear to be a people who originated in what is now the Kurdish region and who migrated eastward in fits and starts until they reached present-day Baluchistan. The influence of their language may persist in today's Baluchi.

In any event, fixing the reign of this dynasty in the interior of Baluchistan during the second and perhaps the third centuries AD fills an important gap in the history of the region. Very little has hitherto been known of the politics of this area from the time of Alexander's departure to the arrival of Islamic invaders in the early eighth century. Some historians have tended to assume that the Kushans must have held sway over this region, but that hypothesis does not appear to be correct, as the Pāratārājas appear to have been ruling precisely at the time when the Kushan empire was at its zenith.

One rather puzzling aspect of the Pāratārāja coinage is that there appears to be no clear prototype. The Kushans had ceased to mint coins in silver; thus it appears that the Pāratārājas were not in the Kushan sphere of influence. Perhaps they were closely tied to the Parthians. This is consistent with Strabo's observation that placed the Pāratas as subject to the Parthians in the 3rd century BC. Most of the Pāratārāja king names betray an Iranian origin. Further, we know that eventually the Pāratārājas were subjugated by the Sasanians, so it may well be that the connection was always westward to Persia rather than to the north and east.

However, the Pāratārāja coins do not resemble contemporary Parthian coins much at all, except in their weight standard. The fabric is quite different and, of course, the design, especially the reverse device (swastika) and legend arrangement is entirely different.<sup>59</sup> Here the coinage seems to show a marked affinity with the coinage of the Western Kshatrapas, both in terms of overall design, and also in the use of patronymics. But the Western Kshatrapa drachm was considerably lighter.

On balance, therefore, it seems that the Pāratārājas were a 'melting pot' or borderlands type of community, feeling influences from their stronger neighbours to the west (the Parthians) and the east (the Western Kshatrapas). They may well have played a role in trade between these two regions. Determining exactly where the Pāratārāja coinage fits in the evolution of the coinage of that region, and further tracing the ways in which there was Indian or Parthian influence on it, remains a question for future research.

<sup>59</sup> Perhaps the coinage is illustrative of a fierce independence from established authority, a quality that continues to be exhibited by the tribes of that region to this day.