

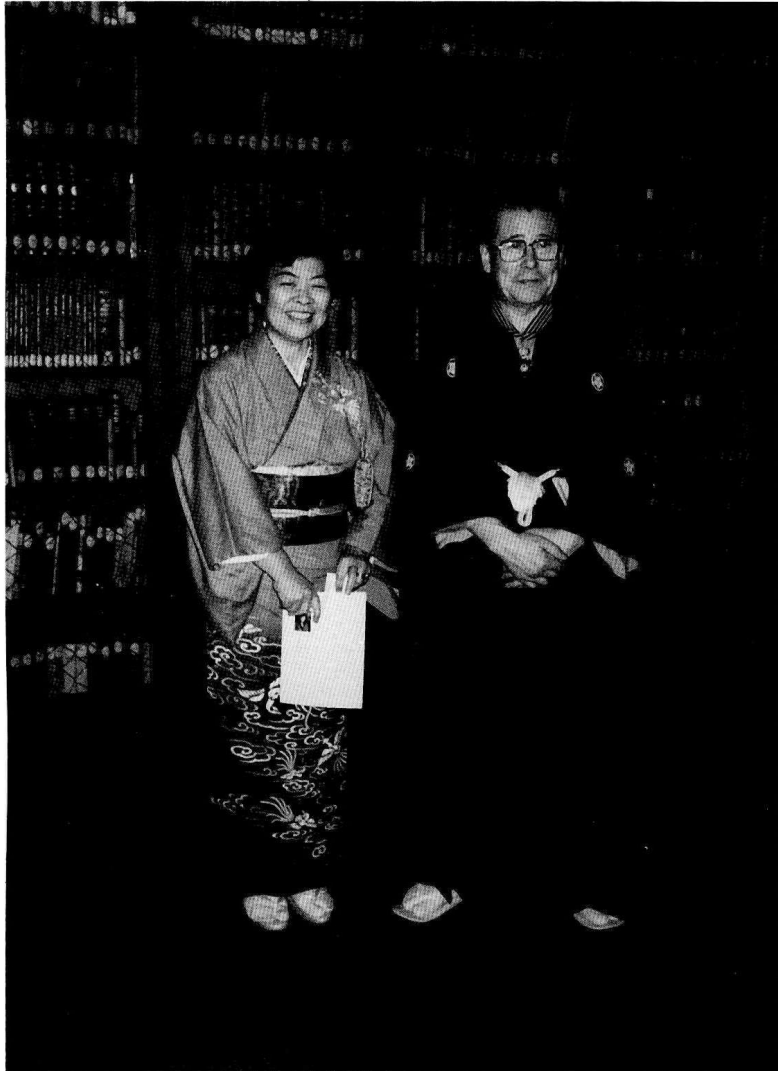
Silk Road Art and Archaeology (ISSN 0917-1614) is published annually
by *the Institute of Silk Road Studies*, 120-14 Nikaïdo, Kamakura-shi, Japan-248.
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Prof. Ikuo Hirayama, founder of the journal of Silk Road Art and Archaeology was awarded the order of *Commandeur des Arts et Lettres* (Commander of Arts and Letters) by the Ministry of Culture, Government of France on the twenty-seventh, March, 1991, in recognition of his distinguished contribution to the conservation of Oriental antiquities and sites, and also of his financial help to the Musée Guimet, Paris. The award ceremony was held in the library of the Musée Guimet. This picture, showing him wearing the medal of *Commandeur* and accompanied by Mrs. Michiko Hirayama, was taken just after the ceremony.



The Hirayama Ikuo Prize for 1990 was awarded to Dr. Hubertus von Gall, German Archaeological Institute, Berlin, on the twenty-third, October, 1991. This prize is to be awarded annually to the scholar who contributes the most outstanding article to the journal *Silk Road Art and Archaeology*, and also has already published many important articles and other publications. The award ceremony was held at the Kazan Kaikan Hotel. Dr. von Gall is listening to Professor Hirayama who is holding and reading the diploma. Then the prize (ten thousand U. S. dollars) was awarded to him.

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Contents

<i>Osmund Bopearachchi</i>	The Euthydemus' Imitations and the Date of Sogdian Independence	1
<i>Galina A. Pugachenkova</i>	The Buddhist Monuments of Airtam	23
<i>Adalbert J. Gail</i>	OHĎO: Bhūteśa — Śiva as Lord of the Demons in the Kuṣāṇa Realm	43
<i>Katsumi Tanabe</i>	OHĎO: Another Kushan Wind God	51
<i>Anna M. Quagliotti</i>	The Buddha, the Solar Disk and the Cosmic Tree — A Relief in the Victoria and Albert Museum	73
<i>Djangar Ya. Ilyasov</i> <i>Tigran K. Mkrtychev</i>	Bactrian Goddess from Dalverjintepe — Attempts of Typological Analysis	107
<i>Robert H. Brill</i>	Some Thoughts on the Origin of the Chinese Word "BOLI"	129
<i>Eugeny V. Zeimal'</i>	Eastern (Chinese) Turkestan on the Silk Road — First Millennium A. D. Numismatic Evidence	137
<i>Markus Mode</i>	Sogdian Gods in Exile — Some Iconographic Evidence from Khotan in the Light of Recently Excavated Material from Sogdiana	179
<i>Joachim K. Bautze</i>	Some Notes on the "Shoulder Ornament" in the Art of Northern India	215
<i>Claudine Bautze-Picron</i>	Lakhi Sarai, an Indian Site of Late Buddhist Iconography and Its Position within the Asian Buddhist World	239
<i>Henrik H. Sørensen</i>	Typology and Iconography in the Esoteric Buddhist Art of Dunhuang	285
<i>Gerd J. R. Mevissen</i>	The Indian Connection: Images of Deified Spells in the Arts of Northern Buddhism, Part II	351
<i>Asok K. Das</i>	Chinese Porcelain at the Mughal Court	383

The Euthydemus' Imitations and the Date of Sogdian Independence

Osmund Bopearachchi

Alexander the Great's conquest of the Achaemenid satrapy of Bactria and Sogdiana in Central Asia (329–327 B.C.) and his forward march into the Indian territories (327–326 B.C.) provoked, in these regions, a political upheaval with far reaching consequences. During the years which followed immediately the death of the conqueror in 323 B.C., in spite of a massive tentative exodus by the Greek colonists which was crushed by a bloody repression, the ruling Macedonians seem to have kept these areas under their control except the Indus valley which they lost very soon. Some time later, in the closing years of the IVth century B. C. the satrapies of Parthia, Aria and Bactria-Sogdiana passed under the control of the Seleucid dynasties established in Syria and Mesopotamia, while the territories south of the Hindu Kush came under the control of the Mauryan king Chandragupta. Towards the middle of the IIIrd century B.C., Diodotus, the satrap of Bactria-Sogdiana, revolted against his Seleucid master and proclaimed himself king. Thus was born the Graeco-Bactrian kingdom.

However there were fundamental cultural, economic and above all linguistic differences between Sogdiana and Bactria. Sogdiana had never lost its Achaemenid heritage acquired since the middle of the VIth century B.C. when it came under the rule of the Persian king Cyrus. Sogdiana, soon broke away from the Bactrian kingdom and became an independent kingdom. On the other hand, Bactria began to distance itself from Persian culture and was soon thoroughly hellenized. Bactria remained Greek for a longer period until it was progressively overthrown, from the middle of the second century B.C., by the nomadic tribes among whom the Yuezhi played a decisive role.

The question remains as to when Sogdiana seceded. The hypothesis which is almost taken for granted today was first put forward by Allotte de la Fuÿe in 1910.⁽¹⁾ According to his hypothesis later developed by M. Mitchiner,⁽²⁾ Sogdian independence took place after Euthydemus I's death c. 200 B.C. We believe, on the contrary that it happened during the lifetime of Euthydemus, towards the end of his reign. We are in a position to broach the subject afresh, owing to some new numismatic evidence. It should be emphasized here that the whole reconstruction of the history of Sogdian independence depends mainly on numismatic evidence. By numismatic evidence, we mean a long series of silver coins struck in the name of Euthydemus, with a diademed portrait of the king on the obverse and seated Herakles on the reverse. These silver issues can be divided into two distinct groups. The first group of tetradrachms struck

according to the Attic weight standard was issued by Euthydemus I. The second group on the contrary struck according to a different weight standard was issued by the Sogdians after their independence. They are known as Sogdian imitations.

The existence of a bronze coin with the types of Euthydemus I, Herakles' head / horse prancing r. (no. 66), and bearing an Aramaic legend recently published by François Widemann,⁽³⁾ on the one hand and, on the other, the existence of a series of authentic Euthydemus I tetradrachms, confirmed by a considerable number of specimens, but which unfortunately has drawn scant attention from numismatists, make it possible to offer a definitive solution, we believe, to the dating of the very earliest Euthydemus I imitations and therefore of Sogdiana's independence. It is by placing these new numismatic data in relation with a chronological sequence of the various Euthydemus I series that one can perceive their historical importance. What do we know about Euthydemus I?

A historical narrative by Polybius and the coinage in Euthydemus' name are our main sources on Euthydemus I's reign.

About the circumstances in which Euthydemus acceded to the throne we only know what can be reconstituted from the words Polybius attributes to him (XI, 39). Besieged in Bactria by Antiochus III, Euthydemus denies, before Telas, an envoy of the Seleucid king, ever having committed any act of rebellion against his ancestors. This rebellion had been instigated by others and though he had assumed power in Bactria, it had been by annihilating the descendants of these rebels. Taking this text literally — and there is no reason not to do so with a historian such as Polybius — it would be at Diodotus II's death, the latter and Diodotus I being the "real rebels" alluded to in the text, that Euthydemus seized the Bactrian throne by making away with the descendants of the reigning Diodotid family. According to Justin's *History of the World* abbreviated from Pompeius Trogus (XLI, 4), Diodotus, the Seleucid satrap of Bactria-Sogdiana, revolted against Antiochus II, his suzerain, and declared independence. Justin also tells us that when Seleucus II directed his forces against the revolted satraps of the north-eastern provinces, Diodotus was succeeded by a son of the same name, to the throne of Bactria. Polybius thus confirms Justin's account, saying that Euthydemus took the possession of Bactria, by dethroning the descendants of those who had first revolted.

Judging from the great abundance of his coinage, the second largest in quantity after that of Eucratides I among the Graeco-Bactrian sovereigns, Euthydemus I must have had a long reign. It seems to us that Euthydemus I's silver coinage may be roughly divided into seven different groups on the basis of the following criteria: the difference in age in the royal portrait, the variants in the drawings of the ribbons of the diadem, the iconography and style of the representations of Herakles, the elimination of the dotted circle on the reverse and finally the change in orientation of the dies: for it is at the end of Euthydemus I's reign that one goes from the position $\uparrow \downarrow$ to the position $\uparrow \uparrow$ which will


be thereafter the normal orientation for all subsequent Greco-Bactrian and Indo-Greek coinage. Our classification uses and develops that proposed by A.D. H. Bivar.⁽⁴⁾ Thanks to the generosity and the cooperation of the curators of various museums and of private collectors, and to the financial aids granted to me by the Kreitman Fund for Central Asian Numismatic Research, of the Royal Numismatic Society of Great Britain and the French National Centre for Scientific Research (C. N. R. S.) we were able to examine a significant number of relevant coins, and to propose a new classification to the coins issued by Euthydemus I.⁽⁵⁾ Having observed the main characteristics of the relevant coins in each group we have selected the most significant ones from various collections to be illustrated.

For different monetary series of the Graeco-Bactrian coins illustrated in this article, we have referred to our book *Monnaies gréco-bactriennes et indo-grecques. Catalogue raisonné*, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, 1991, abbreviated *BN*. In this short inventory following indications are also given: obverse and reverse types, metal (AV=gold, AR=silver, Æ=bronze), denomination, weight in grams, monogram, die axes by graphics, name of the collection and inventory number.

The very first coins issued by Euthydemus I are very close in style and striking technique to the coinage of his predecessor Diodotus (nos. 1 & 2). One will also note three other characteristics shared with Diodotus' issues: the dotted circle on the obverse and the reverse, the axis of the dies strictly anti-parallel $\uparrow \downarrow$, and a fairly thick and squat flan.

Diodotus (nos. 1 & 2).


Diademed head of Diodotus / Thundering Zeus (*BN*, Diodote, series 6)


No. 1. AR. Tetradrachm, 16.75 g. to 1. . $\uparrow \downarrow$. British Museum, Inv. no. 1888. 12. 8. 66.


No. 2. AV. Stater, 8.46 g. to 1. . $\uparrow \downarrow$. British Museum, Inv. no. 1879. 4. 1. 5.


Euthydemus I Group 1 (nos. 3–6).

Diademed head of Euthydemus / Herakles seated on a rock, holds in his r. hand the club which rests aslant on a pile of rocks in front of him. (*BN*, Euthydème I, series 1–3)

No. 3. AV. Stater, 8.24 g. to 1. . $\uparrow \downarrow$. British Museum, Inv. no. 1888. 12. 8. 72.

No. 4. AR. Drachm, 3.97 g. to 1. . $\uparrow \downarrow$. American Numismatic Society (ex coll. E. T. Newell).

No. 5. AV. Stater, 8.22 g. to 1. . $\uparrow \downarrow$. British Museum, Inv. no. 1888. 12. 8. 73.


No. 6. AR. Tetradrachm, 16.73 g. to 1. . $\uparrow \downarrow$. British Museum, Inv.


no. 1847. 12. 1. 26.


The effigy of Euthydemus I on gold and silver coins shows the portrait of a young man. As one could expect, Euthydemus I, who had seized power by doing away with the descendants of the founding dynasty, rejects the Zeus with thunderbolt and introduces a new type, Herakles at rest seated on a rock on which he leans with his left hand. On the silver coins in the first group (nos. 3-6) Herakles holds in his right hand the club which rests aslant on three or four rocks piled up in front of him.


Group 2 (nos. 7-10).

Diademed head of Euthydemus / Herakles holds in his r. hand the club which rests vertically. (*BN*, Euthydème I, series 4)

No. 7. AR. Tetradrachm, 16.45 g. to r. . ↑ ↓. British Museum, Inv. no. 1961. 3. 1. 8.

No. 8. AR. Tetradrachm, 16.36 g. to l. . ↑ ↓. British Museum, Inv. no. I. O. C. 2.


No. 9. AR. Tetradrachm, 16.50 g. to l. . ↑ ↓. British Museum, Inv. no. 1888. 12. 8. 74.


No. 10. AR. Tetradrachm, 16.70 g. to l. . ↑ ↓. British Museum, Inv. no. 1860. 12. 20. 6.


The second group, while retaining the technical aspects of the first, shows the head of the sovereign characterized by hard and heavy features. On the reverse Herakles is slimmer; he is seated on a triangular shaped rock and his club is set down vertically. It is also interesting to note that the coin no. 7 characterized by some of the features also found on the no. 6 makes the transition between group 1 and 2.

Group 3 (nos. 11-16)


Diademed head of Euthydemus / Herakles holds in his r. hand the club which rests on a pile of three rocks ending in a comma shape at the bottom. (*BN*, Euthydème I, series 5).


No. 11. AR. Tetradrachm, 15.46 g. to r. . ↑ ↓. American Numismatic Society (ex coll. H. Fowler).

No. 12. AR. Tetradrachm, 16.24 g. to r. . ↑ ↓. American Numismatic Society (ex coll. W. F. Spengler).

No. 13. AR. Tetradrachm, 16.62 g. to r. . ↑ ↓. British Museum, Inv. no. 1853. 7. 13. 9.

No. 14. AR. Tetradrachm, 15.56 g. ↑ ↓. British Museum, Inv. no. 1938. 12. 12. 2.

No. 15. AR. Tetradrachm, 16.32 g. to r. . ↑ ↓. American Numismatic Society (ex coll. E. T. Newell).


No. 16. AR. Tetradrachm, 16.61 g. to r. . ↑ ↓. American Numismatic


Society (ex coll. E. T. Newell).

The third group shows varied types of face. On the reverse Herakles holds his right foot back, most often lifted up and leaning on a pile of two rocks; the club rests on a pile of three rocks ending in a comma shape at the bottom. It is difficult to assume at this point whether the distinct stylistic characteristics that can be observed on the coins of the second and the third groups are due to any chronological differences.

Group 4 (nos. 17–18).

Diademed head of Euthydemus / Herakles leans his right foot back on to the rock on which he is seated. (*BN*, Euthydème, I, series 6).


No. 17. AR. Tetradrachm, 15.86 g. to r. . ↑ ↑. American Numismatic Society (ex coll. E. T. Newell).


No. 18. AR. Tetradrachm, 16.50 g. to r. . ↑ ↑. British Museum, Inv. no. 1856. 11. 5. 2.


The issues in group 4 are characterized by the absence of the dotted circle on the reverse. Die orientation goes from the anti-parallel position ↑ ↓ to the parallel position ↑ ↑ which will be henceforth the normal orientation for all the subsequent Graeco-Bactrian coinage. The Herakles on the reverse leans his right foot back on to the rock on which he is seated; the club rests on a pile of three similar rocks.



Group 5 (nos. 19–22).


Diademed head of Euthydemus / Herakles seated on a rock and his club rests on a support which is barely distinguishable from his leg. (*BN*, Euthydème I, series 9).

No. 19. AR. Tetradrachm, 16.00 g. to r. . ↑ ↑. American Numismatic Society (ex coll. E. T. Newell).

No. 20. AR. Tetradrachm, 16.36 g. to r. . ↑ ↑. British Museum.


No. 21. AR. Tetradrachm, 16.41 g. to r. . ↑ ↑. British Museum, Inv. no. 1888. 12. 8. 75.


No. 22. AR. Tetradrachm, 16.30 g. to r. . ↑ . *Trésor de Qunduz*, no. 15.

Here the well-known monogram composed of the letters *kappa* and *rho*  appears. Herakles is seated on a rock covered with the lion skin and his club rests on a support which is barely distinguishable from his leg.

Group 6 (nos. 23–28).

Diademed head of Euthydemus / Herakles on a rock holding the club against his right thigh. (*BN*, Euthydème I, series 10).

No. 23. AR. Tetradrachm, 15.74 g. to r. . ↑ ↑. Ai Khanum hoard (III) (*RN*, 1975, pp. 23–57, no. 21).⁽⁶⁾

No. 24. AR. Tetradrachm, 16.38 g. to r. . ↑ ↑. American Numismatic

- Society (ex coll. E. T. Newell).
- No. 25. AR. Tetradrachm, 16.47 g. to r. \mathbb{R} . $\uparrow \uparrow$. American Numismatic Society (ex coll. H. Fowler).
- No. 26. AR. Tetradrachm, 15.72 g. to r. \mathbb{R} . $\uparrow \curvearrowright$. Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts, Inv. no. N. 1290.
- No. 27. AR. Tetradrachm, 16.05 g. to r. \mathbb{R} . $\uparrow \curvearrowright$. Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts, Inv. no. N. 28238.
- No. 28. AR. Drachm, 3.73 g. to r. \mathbb{R} . $\uparrow \uparrow$. American Numismatic Society (ex coll. W. F. Spengler).

The sixth group is the most important of all for our demonstration. The portrait of the sovereign is closer to that in the preceding group but shows a frontal fold and a strand of curly hair which we shall return to later. Herakles now holds the club leaning against his right thigh. The only common characteristic between this group and the first, from the technical point of view, is the thick flan.

This group does not appear in the classification proposed by Bivar nor in that proposed by M. Mitchiner. This group is known to us in the first place by a single specimen no. 18 of the Qunduz hoard.⁽⁷⁾ The Ai Khanoum hoard III published by Petitot-Biehler in 1975 comprises two specimens.⁽⁸⁾ In the Ai Khanoum hoard IV, published by Frank Holt in 1981, there are 12.⁽⁹⁾ Today this group is further attested by many other specimens in several museums some of which are illustrated here. We shall return subsequently to the importance of this group for demonstrating our hypothesis.

Group 7 (nos. 29–38).

Diademed head of old Euthydemus / Herakles on a rock holding the club against his right thigh. (*BN*, Euthydème I, series 11 & 12).

- No. 29. AV. Octadrachm, 32.73 g. to r. \mathbb{A} . $\uparrow \uparrow$. Cabinet de Médailles de Paris, Inv. no. 1966. 163.
- No. 30. AR. Tetradrachm, 15.67 g. to r. \mathbb{R} . $\uparrow \uparrow$. Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts, Inv. no. N. 1294.
- No. 31. AR. Tetradrachm, 16.58 g. to r. \mathbb{R} . $\uparrow \uparrow$. Lahore Museum, Inv. no. *PMC*, no. 8.
- No. 32. AR. Tetradrachm, 16.00 g. to r. \mathbb{R} . $\uparrow \uparrow$. American Numismatic Society (ex coll. H. Fowler).
- No. 33. AR. Tetradrachm, 16.38 g. to r. \mathbb{R} . $\uparrow \uparrow$. British Museum, Inv. no. G. 1157.
- No. 34. AR. Tetradrachm, 14.25 g. to r. \mathbb{R} . $\uparrow \uparrow$. Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts, Inv. no. N. 193012.
- No. 35. AR. Tetradrachm, 16.07 g. to r. \mathbb{R} . $\uparrow \uparrow$. Ai Khanoum hoard (III) (*RN* 1975, pp. 23–57, no. 22).
- No. 36. AR. Tetradrachm, 16.45 g. to r. \mathbb{R} . $\uparrow \uparrow$. British Museum, Inv. no. 1888. 12. 8. 76.

No. 37. AR. Tetradrachm, 16.00 g. to r. P . $\uparrow \uparrow$. American Numismatic Society (ex coll. E. T. Newell).

No. 38. AR. Tetradrachm, 16.08 g to r. P . $\uparrow \uparrow$. British Museum, Inv. no. 1922. 4. 24. 101.

Group 7 is represented by a gold octadrachm and several silver series. The Herakles on the reverse is the same as that in the preceding group, but the portrait of the sovereign, powerfully realistic, is that of an old man. We have illustrated here our selected specimens according to an evolution of aging that can be observed on the king's face. If one takes into account the evolution of the royal portrait from a young man to an old man one has to conclude that the issues in this group 7 are chronologically placed at the end of the reign of Euthydemus I.

The octadrachm in the Paris Cabinet des Médailles deserves a special mention. It is the only coin of that weight found to date in the gold coinage. One will admire Euthydemus' artistically curly hair as well as the loop formed by the two ends of the ribbons and the expressive features of the face, which retain a virile energy in spite of their fleshiness. As G. Le Rider observed in 1969, special dies must have been engraved to strike such a coin, whose diameter is larger than that of ordinary tetradrachms, and it must have been issued for a memorable occasion.⁽¹⁰⁾ On the basis of what we know about the events of Euthydemus' reign we suppose that this coin comes after Euthydemus I's victorious resistance in 208–206 B.C. at the siege of Bactria, when his legitimacy was recognized by Antiochus III and Bactria became finally independent. It was also to celebrate an event of great historical importance that the 20 stater gold coin of Eucratides I was issued; given its weight, the highest denomination ever known in antiquity, this coin was certainly not intended for circulation but, as has already been suggested, it was a medal commemorating the conquest of the Indian territories by Eucratides I.⁽¹¹⁾

For the bronzes of Euthydemus I we have proposed a classification into two groups on the basis of two criteria: the change in thickness of the flan which is accompanied by a change in the shape of the edge, and the variations in the relative positions of the dies.

Bronzes of Diodotus (nos. 39–40).

Head of Zeus / Artemis running r. holding torch. (*BN*, Diodote, series 8).

No. 39. Æ . 6.17 g. $\uparrow \downarrow$. British Museum, Inv. no. 1922.4. 24. 2886.

Head of Hermes / Athena standing facing holding spear. (*BN*, Diodote, series 12).

No. 40. Æ . 6.47 g. $\uparrow \downarrow$. British Museum, Inv. no. 1888. 12. 8. 71.

Group 1. Bronzes of Euthydemus I (nos. 41–44).



Head of Herakles / Horse prancing r. (*BN*, Euthydème I, series 17).

- No. 41. Æ. 8.12 g. ↑ ↓. British Museum, Inv. no. 1903. 12. 2. 1.
 No. 42. Æ. 7.31 g. ↑ →. British Museum, Inv. no. 1894. 5. 6. 2394.
 No. 43. Æ. 8.09 g. ↑ →. British Museum, Inv. no. 1888. 12. 8. 80.
 No. 44. Æ. 6.78 g. ↑ →. British Museum, Inv. no. 1888. 12. 8. 81.

The first group is characterized by a thick flan with a bevelled edge similar to that of the Diodotus bronzes (nos. 39 & 40), which leads one to classify this series at the beginning of Euthydemus I's bronze coinage. Within the same group one may observe a progressive decrease in thickness of the flans, which however remain thicker than those in the second group and retain a bevelled edge.

Group 2 (nos. 45–48).

Head of Herakles / Horse prancing r. (*BN*, Euthydème I, series 22–24)

- No. 45. Æ. 7.59 g. ↑ ↓. British Museum, Inv. no. 1888. 12. 8. 106.
 No. 46. Æ. 7.30 g. ↑ ↓. British Museum, Inv. no. 1860. 12. 20. 11.
 No. 47. Æ. 4.11 g.  ↑ ↘. British Museum, Inv. no. 1888. 12. 8. 107.
 No. 48. Æ. 3.77 g.  ↑ ↑. British Museum, Inv. no. I. O. C. 5.

Group 2 is characterized by thin flat flan, a straight edge and the emergence of monograms on the reverse.

This is the context in which one can examine the Sogdian imitations of Euthydemus I. Euthydemus' imitations are numerous and, judging from their style, their production was continued until a fairly late period. These imitations may easily be detected by their weight, which is usually under 12 g, and of course by the barbarian tendency in the style of the types and inscriptions. The later the imitation, the greater the deformation, until it becomes a caricature.

In 1910 Allotte de la Fuyé suggested a classification for these imitations, based on his own large collection, which he assembled himself.⁽¹²⁾ His classification principle has never been called into question; however the finding of new items has enabled M. Mitchiner to develop it further.⁽¹³⁾ These imitations fall at first sight into two groups, A and B, whose origins are without doubt totally different. For the coins in group A, the effigy is that of Euthydemus I and the Herakles on the reverse retains a vaguely human appearance (nos. 49–65).⁽¹⁴⁾ In group B the obverse shows a mitred effigy of the sovereign; on the reverse the body of the god is no more than a shapeless assembly of more or less blurred lines.⁽¹⁵⁾ We shall not dwell on the imitations in group B, it is sufficient here to have mentioned its existence. Group A is of more interest to us for it is directly related to our subject.

Within category A, Allotte de la Fuyé suggested subdivisions which correspond to the increasing deformation of the types and therefore to an approximately chronological classification.⁽¹⁶⁾ The classification that we propose here concerns only the very first imitations of Euthydemus and it changes or modifies

what Allotte de la Fuje and M. Mitchiner have proposed so far.

Group 1. Sogdian imitations (nos. 49–52).

No. 49. AR. Tetradrachm, 12.09 g. to r. **κ**. ↑ ↑. British Museum. Inv. no. 1858. 7. 31. 2.⁽¹⁷⁾

No. 50. AR. Tetradrachm, 11.90 g. to r. **κ**. ↑ ↑. Cabinet des Médailles de Paris. Inv. no. N. 6436.⁽¹⁸⁾

No. 51. AR. Tetradrachm, 11.47 g. to r. **κ**. ↑ ↑. American Numismatic Society (ex coll. E. T. Newell).

No. 52. AR. Tetradrachm, 11.53 g. to r. **κ**. ↑ ↑. State Museum, Lucknow. Inv. no. 25815.

The first subdivision comprises coins bearing a Greek legend, whose style is still fairly close to that of authentic Euthydemus I coins. The main criterion which enables us to identify these first imitations, whose workmanship is still very respectable compared to that of later issues, is the lighter weight of 12 g, which Mitchiner calls the "Persic standard". The sovereign's head is that of a middle-aged man; the reverse imitates the type of the naked Herakles, seated on a rock and leaning on it with his left hand, and holding in his right hand a club which rests on his right thigh. In the field to the right one can see the monogram made of the letters *kappa* and *rho* **κ**, although the loop of the rho is almost reduced to a dot **κ**.⁽¹⁹⁾

Group 2. Sogdian imitations (nos. 53–55).

No. 53. AR. Tetradrachm, 11.78 g. to r. **κ**. ↑ ↑. Cabinet des Médailles de Paris. Inv. no. N. 6434.⁽²⁰⁾

No. 54. AR. Tetradrachm, 11.19 g. to r. **κ**. ↑ ↑. Cabinet des Médailles de Paris. Inv. no. N. 6435.⁽²¹⁾

No. 55. AR. Tetradrachm, 9.23 g. to r. **κ**. ↑ ↑. Cabinet des Médailles de Paris. (ex coll. Rollin 1834).

In the second subdivision one finds a corrupt and disfigured legend which supposedly reads *ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΕΥΘΥΔΗΜΟΥ*; and the letters are difficult to make out. The legend on the coin no. 53 reads *ΒΑΣΛΕΩΣ* instead of *ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ*.

Group 3. Sogdian imitations (nos. 56–58).

No. 56. AR. Tetradrachm, 10.85 g. to r. **κ**. ↑ ↑. British Museum. Inv. no. OR 0283.⁽²²⁾

No. 57. AR. Tetradrachm, 11.20 g. to r. **κ**. ↑ ↑. Lahore Museum, Inv. no. *PMC*, no. 11.

No. 58. AR. Tetradrachm, 11.53 g. to r. **κ**. ↑ ↑. State Museum, Lucknow. inv. no. 25814.⁽²³⁾

In the third subdivision one finds more and more corrupt and disfigured legend which reads *ΕΥΟΥΔΗΜΟΥ* instead of *ΕΥΘΥΔΗΜΟΥ*; in another words, *ρ* is replaced by *υ*, *θ* by *ο* and *Δ* by *Λ*.

Group 4. Sogdian imitations (nos. 59–60).

No. 59. AR. Tetradrachm, 9.39 g. to r. Δ . $\uparrow\uparrow$. British Museum. Inv. no. BMC 10.

No. 60. AR. Tetradrachm, 7.84 g. to r. Δ . $\uparrow\uparrow$. Cabinet des Médailles de Paris.

In the fourth subdivision the monogram **K** is replaced by a triangle.

Group 5. Sogdian imitations (nos. 61–62).

No. 61. AR. Tetradrachm, 11.06 g. $\uparrow\uparrow$. British Museum. Inv. no. 1902. 6. 8. 406.⁽²⁴⁾

No. 62. AR. Tetradrachm, 13.68 g. $\uparrow\uparrow$. British Museum. Inv. no. 1853. 3. 1. 1259.⁽²⁵⁾

This subdivision is only represented by three coins.⁽²⁶⁾ The reverse imitates the type of our 3rd group of authentic Euthydemus issues depicting the seated Herakles, holding in his right hand a club which rests on a pile of rocks in front of him. Although in Mitchiner's classification this series is placed as the very first imitations, we believe that this group of coins were issued later. One observes the same corrupt and disfigured legend which reads *EVOAHMOV* instead of *EYΘYΔHMOY*, which is also found on the imitations of the third group. Secondly contrary to the very first imitations of our classification (group 1–4), the absence of monogram **K** which is a common feature of all the first four subdivisions, is noteworthy.

All the five groups that we have identified can be considered as the first imitations of Sogdiana. The remaining subsequent imitations belong to two distinct groups: intermediate and late. The coins of the intermediate group are characterized by an Aramaic legends on either the left or right side of the reverse and a corrupt Greek legend on the other side. Therefore on certain coins *BAΣIAEΩΣ* is on the right and an Aramaic legend on the left (no. 63), on others *EYΘYΔHMOY* is on the left and an Aramaic legend on the right (no. 64). It will also be noted that the distortion of the Herakles image progresses more rapidly than that of the sovereign's portrait. These coins initially bear the anonymous legend *MaLKAT SuG* "King of Sogdiana" (no. 63) or *MaLKaTsaT MaLKA* "king of kings" (no. 64) and then the name of two kings *MaLKAT HaSa* "Hasa"⁽²⁷⁾ or *MaLKAT KaGAHa* "Kagaha".⁽²⁸⁾

These late subdivisions which follow the intermediate group go through a continuous succession of stages characterized by increasing distortion. The coins can be arranged according to their decreasing conformity with the original portrait: a heavy, flabby face with a more and more pronounced frontal fold. In all the series of the late imitations the Greek legend disappears completely and a circumferential Aramaic legend appears (no. 65). The classification is then made according to the different Aramaic inscriptions. These coins, amplifying the king's titlature, seem to have started during the reign of Hasa.⁽²⁹⁾ He was

apparently succeeded by two kings in the name of Kamasa (no. 65)⁽³⁰⁾ and Malta.⁽³¹⁾ The final conclusion that can be drawn from these observations is that the very early imitations with the Greek legend (nos. 49–62) were issued by an anonymous king of Sogdiana and the intermediate and late imitations by the named kings Hasa, Kagaha, Hamasa, and Malta. As we have stated above we do not wish to give a complete classification of these late issues, for the simple reason that they do not have a direct bearing on our present subject, but this problem will be treated elsewhere. We have given below as an example three significant types of these intermediate and late imitations.

[BA] ΣΙΑ [ΕΩΣ] / *MaLKAT SuG*

No. 63. AR. Tetradrachm, 9.44 g. ↑ ↑. British Museum. Inv. no. 1890.
4. 4. 18.⁽³²⁾

MaLKaTsaT MaLKA / *EVOVAHM* [*OV*].

No. 64. AR. Tetradrachm, 11.29 g. ↑ ↑. British Museum. Inv. no. 1894.
5. 6. 1733.⁽³³⁾

MaHAT MaLKa KaMA.

No. 65. AR. Tetradrachm, 8.77 g. ↑ ↑. British Museum. Inv. no. 1890.
4. 4. 19.⁽³⁴⁾

Why are these imitations attributed to Sogdiana? In 1841 H. H. Wilson noted that these imitations had been brought from the Bukhara region⁽³⁵⁾ and in 1910 Allotte de la Fuje confirmed this attribution.⁽³⁶⁾ In his article on monetary circulation north of the Oxus in Greco-Bactrian times, on the basis of the studies made by V. M. Masson and E. V. Zejmal⁽³⁷⁾ on the find sites, E. V. Rtveladze proved that the Bukhara region is clearly the place where the Euthydemus I imitations were struck and circulated.⁽³⁸⁾ Apart from isolated finds of these imitations in this region, a hoard of 86 specimens of these coins was found in 1937 on the Murda Partob tepe, 3 km east of Bukhara.⁽³⁹⁾ Another hoard which is kept in the Ethnographic Museum of Bukhara is also alleged to have been found in Bukhara, in the Šaxrud canal.⁽⁴⁰⁾

Furthermore, in view of the great number of find places and of authentic Euthydemus I coins, Rtveladze concluded that the Bukhara region was part of the territories controlled by that king.⁽⁴¹⁾ The discovery on the one hand of a great number of Euthydemus I imitations and, on the other hand, of a very small number of issues of his successors indicates, according to him, that this same region ceased to belong to the Graeco-Bactrian kingdom.

Having introduced the different coin series issued by Euthydemus himself and by the Sogdians after their independence and having analyzed their distribution relying on their find-spots we may now present our principal arguments which enabled us to suppose that the Sogdians assumed their independence during the lifetime of Euthydemus. As we have said earlier, our first document is a half-unit bronze coin bearing the types of Euthydemus I and Aramaic