

The Coins of the Pāratarājas: A Synthesis

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It seems fitting that, at a seminar organized to celebrate the 100th anniversary of the Numismatic Society of India, I present a paper that offers a solution to a problem even older than the Society. In 1905, E. J. Rapson had published a small group of five coins which he identified as ‘Coins with reverse type “Svastika.”’² The coins were unified by the presence on their reverses of a central swastika surrounded by a circular legend. However, they differed in other respects. The first two coins, which were of silver, featured a bust *right* on the obverse and a reverse legend in Brāhmi letters. The third and fourth coins, also of silver, had a bust *left* on the obverse and the circular legends were in Kharoshthi characters. Finally, the fifth coin, which was made of copper, showed a standing figure facing right and a reverse legend also of Kharoshthi characters. The problems posed by these coins were: Who issued these coins? Did they belong in one series? In what order were they issued? When and where were they issued?

Rapson noted that a coin similar to the first two, owned by Mr. Rawlins, had been published by Vincent Smith in JASB 1897 and that Smith had assigned the coin (on which he “doubtfully” read the name Arjuna) to the Saurashtran series, presumably meaning the dynasty we now call the Western Kshatrapas. However, Rapson rejected this attribution, on the grounds that the resemblance between the two series was not sufficient and that the provenance of the swastika coins, Jhelum in the Punjab, suggested that the coins were issued in that general area rather than in Saurashtra. However, Rapson himself was unable to make any definitive attribution, arguing only that the dynasty was probably one of Persian or Parthian princes or satraps ruling somewhere in northern Punjab. The Persian connection arose from the partial reading of the legends on the third and fourth coins which indicated that they were issued by a king whose father’s name was Bagapharna, a name clearly Iranian in origin.

Some progress on understanding these coins was made in the interim, but it is only now, over 100 years later, that we can finally answer all of the questions posed by Rapson’s paper. Mukherjee had worked out in his 1972 monograph³ that the coins were issues of a tribe called the Pāratas or Pāradas, as the phrase *Parataraja* was clearly visible on one of Rapson’s coins. Senior collected more coins of the series and made some progress in identifying different types and proposing readings of the legends. But it was only within the last five years that true solutions to the problems were found. In a 2006 paper, I proposed readings for all of the known coins carrying Brāhmī legends, identifying five issuing kings and suggesting a relative and absolute chronology for them.⁴ In a 2007 paper, Harry Falk finally read correctly for the first time most of the

¹ I have had helpful discussions about the Pāratarājas with several people over the years; I would particularly like to thank Shailen Bhandare, Joe Cribb, Harry Falk, Tom Mallon, Bob Senior and Nicholas Sims-Williams. I am also grateful to Hans Loeschner, Anne van’t Haaft and Wilfried Pieper for sharing coin images with me and granting me permission to publish some of them.

² E.J. Rapson: “Notes on Indian Coins and Seals,” *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1905, pp. 789-792.

³ B.N. Mukherjee: *The Pāradas: A Study in their Coinage and History*, Calcutta: A. Mukherjee & Co., 1972.

⁴ Pankaj Tandon: “New Light on the Pāratarājas,” *The Numismatic Chronicle* 166, 2006, pp. 173-209.

Kharoshthi legends, although he was unable to create a chronology for the coins.⁵ Finally, in a 2009 paper, I identified two more kings and proposed a relative and absolute chronology for the entire series.⁶

In this paper, I will summarize the results from my two earlier papers and that of Falk, presenting for the first time the entire sequence of coins in a unified catalogue. I will also present some new discoveries that help to tie up a few loose ends that had been left behind by the earlier research. One discovery relates to the tribal name and will be discussed in the next section, while the others are concerned with the sequence of the standing king types (Rapson's fifth coin) and will be discussed in the context of the numismatic sequence. Finally, I will present some more detailed information on the coin sequences of individual kings, making significant progress towards a complete chronological picture for the coinage as a whole.

The name of the tribe

There has been some ambiguity on the name of the tribe that issued Rapson's coins because the Indian literary sources sometimes name a tribe called the *Pāratas* and sometimes the *Pāradas*.⁷ These do seem to be alternative spellings of the same name (rather than different names) because the two different spellings have never been seen in the same list of tribes, and the tribe's name (whether as the *Pāratas* or the *Pāradas*) appears along with the same group of other tribes, such as the Yavanas, the Pahlavas, the Kambojas, and so on. It has therefore seemed reasonable to suppose that these are indeed alternative spellings of the same name rather than the names of two different tribes.



Figure 1: Coin of Datayola II with tribal name *Pārada*

⁵ Harry Falk: "The Names of the Pāratarājas Issuing Coins with Kharoshthi Legends," *The Numismatic Chronicle* 167, 2007, pp. 171-178.

⁶ Pankaj Tandon: "Further Light on the Pāratarājas," *The Numismatic Chronicle* 169, 2009, pp. 137-171.

⁷ See the discussion on this point in the paper by Falk, *ibid*.

Nevertheless, that has so far been a supposition, no matter how reasonable it might seem. On all published coins so far, the name of the tribe has been *Pārata*. However, I have now discovered a few coins, from very late in the series, where the tribal name has been spelled *Pārada*. One such coin is shown in Figure 1. We see the legend on this coin, starting at about 2:30, and reading counter-clockwise:

Datayolasa Datarvha(rnāputrasa Pa)radaraja (terminal *sa* missing).

The letter *da* in the tribal name (at about 4 o'clock on the coin) can be compared with the same letter in the king's name and in the patronymic, and the reading is clearly definitive. Chronologically, this coin could be among the last ones to be issued in the series, and so it is possible that the conventional spelling of the tribal name actually changed to *Pārada*, or this might simply represent a variant spelling contributed by the die cutter. In any case, since we also know of coins of Datayola II where the tribal name is spelled *Pārata*, any remaining doubts that these might not be alternative spellings for the name of the same tribe can now be dispelled forever.

The location of the tribal lands

Vincent Smith⁸ had assigned this coinage to the Surat district, as he associated it with a *Pārādā* river mentioned in an inscription found in Nasik. Rapson, on the basis of the Jhelum district provenance of the British Museum's coins, assumed the tribal lands must have been somewhere in that area, and this assumption was maintained by Mukherjee. However, it is now quite clear that the *Pārata* kingdom was in the north-eastern part of what is now the Pakistani state of Balochistan, perhaps extending into southern Afghanistan.

There are several pieces of evidence that support this assertion. First, and most important, the coins appearing in the market these days with some frequency are said to be found primarily in the Loralai district of Balochistan. Second, buttressing this informal evidence is the fact that Sir Aurel Stein had discovered some pottery shards in that same area in 1926-27 and Sten Konow, in reading the inscriptions on these shards, had found they mentioned a king named Shahi Yolamira.⁹ Yolamira is also the name of the king whose coins are the earliest ones from the *Pāratarāja* series, thus confirming that the tribe did control the Loralai region in ancient times. Third, this location is very consistent with a wide array of literary and inscriptional sources. Mukherjee had reviewed a large number of classical sources which mentioned this tribe. It was mentioned earliest by Herodotus, who located the tribe in the Median region of northern Iran. Successive authors, such as Strabo, Isidore of Charax, and the author of the *Periplus*, located the tribe further and further east, suggesting an eastward migration, until finally Ptolemy, in his *Geography*, located them in the interior of Gedrosia (i.e., Balochistan) in the first century. The Indian sources always mention the *Pāradas* or *Pāratas* in conjunction with other western tribes such as the Yavanas, the Sakas and the Pahlavas, and it is quite clear the tribe was claimed to live west of the river Indus. Two Sasanian inscriptions mention the land of the *Pāradas* and associate it with Turan and Makuran, both of which were in Balochistan. And it is possible that references to the tribe are also found in some Chinese sources such as the *Hou Hanshu* and the writings of Xuandang. The location in north-

⁸ Smith, V.A.: "Conquests of Samudra-Gupta," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, October 1897, 859-910.

⁹ Sten Konow: *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. II pt. I, pp 173-76.

eastern Balochistan and its immediate vicinity is consistent with all these sources.¹⁰ Thus it is veritably certain that this is the area where the Pāratas ruled and where they issued their coins.

The Numismatic Sequence

In this section, I will present all of the known coin types of the series in what I believe to be the most likely chronological order. In the discussion of each king's coinage, I will point out the reasons why I have chosen the particular order that I have. The coins are presented in a table illustrating each coin and providing other relevant details.

Yolamira

The first king in the numismatic sequence is named Yolamira, and his coins also name his father, Bagareva. We know Yolamira is the first king in the series because all other kings' coins can be placed in a logical sequence following him. The typical legend on Yolamira's coins reads:

Yolamirasa Bagarevapurasa Pāratarājasa

(coin) of Yolamira, son of Bagareva, Pārata king.

Note the use of the genitive case, represented by the suffix *sa* on each word. The language of the legend is Prākṛit, and the script used is Brāhmī. Both the names contained in the legend are Iranian in origin. The name *Bagareva* means "rich god," while *Yolamira* means "warrior Mithra." Mithra was the Iranian solar deity, who may be familiar to readers from Kushan coins, where he is known as Miuro, Miro or Meiro.

It appears that Bagareva did not issue any coinage; we have not yet found any coins issued by him. Thus the series commences with Yolamira. Yolamira's coins can be divided into three groups, which are likely to have been issued at different points in time. The coins in the first group (coins 1-4 in the table) are united by the fact that the king depicted on the obverse is bearded. Coins 1 and 2, a drachm and hemi-drachm, were clearly carved by the same hand and at the same time; the style is very close, down to the retrograde letter *ja* in the reverse legend. Coins 3 and 4, both quarter drachms or trihemiohols which share an obverse die, display a slightly different style but still depict a bearded king; thus I have chosen to include them in this group.

Group 2 (coins 5 and 6) clearly belong together. They exhibit the same style of bust, now clean-shaven, the same letter forms on the reverse legend, and swastikas that now turn to the left rather than to the right as did the swastikas on the coins of group 1. Similarly, the coins of group 3 (coins 7 and 8) also clearly belong together. Again, the style of bust is very similar, and quite distinct from the busts of groups 1 and 2, the swastikas now turn to the right again, and the letter forms are virtually identical. The entire legend is retrograde on these coins, further cementing the identity of the group.

Looking just at the busts on the coins, one would be tempted to place the coins of group 3 last in the sequence, as the clean-shaven busts of groups 1 and 2 make the king appear younger. However, it is clear that the portraits on the coins are not life-like, as they are so dissimilar as to appear to be portraits of different men. Further, the coins of group 3 must be the last ones in the sequence, as the obverse dies of the group 3 coins

¹⁰ I have discussed all of this evidence in great detail in a recent paper "The Location and Kings of Pāradān," unpublished manuscript, Boston, July 2010.

have been re-used by the successor kings. Since the group 2 coins show a clean-shaven king, as do the group 3 coins, they seem to logically belong closer in time to group 3 than do the group 1 coins. I have therefore elected to place the group 1 coins first in the sequence.

There is a further reason for placing group 2 after group 1, having to do with coin 5A. This coin is my invention; no such coin has actually been found. But I assert that such a coin must have been issued. Although the standard denomination of the silver issues is the drachm, of approximately 3.65 gm., three subsequent kings (Hvaramira, Mirahvara and Kozana, coins 19, 27 and 40) issued double weight didrachms. What is remarkable about these coins is that, although they are separated in time by about 30 to 40 years, *they all use the same obverse die*. What is even more remarkable is that the die they use must have been issued by Yolamira some 30 to 40 years earlier than Hvaramira. This is clear because the style of the didrachm die of the later kings matches the style of Yolamira's group 2 coins. Compare the obverses of coin 5A (where I have inserted the obverse of coin 27, the didrachm of Mirahvara) and coin 5 of Yolamira. It would be obvious to any observer that these two dies have been carved by the same hand at the same time. Further, the style of the didrachm obverse die does not match any coin of Hvaramira, the first king for whom we have an actual didrachm. It is therefore quite clear that the first didrachms must have been issued by Yolamira. Coin 5A is an attempt to recreate what such a coin must have looked like. I have matched here the obverse of coin 27 and an enlarged reverse of coin 5. Since the style of the obverse die closely matches the style of the obverse of coin 5, it seems reasonable to suppose that the reverse of coin 5A would resemble the reverse of coin 5.

What does this have to do with the order of the groups? Clearly Yolamira's (anticipated) didrachm belongs with group 2. My first inclination was to treat this as evidence that group 2 must have been sequentially first, as it seemed logical that the "special issue" didrachm may have been issued at the time of the king's accession. However, in looking at the known didrachms of the three later kings and as I will show in detail later, I found that in no case was the didrachm issued as part of the first drachm issues. The didrachms were all issued as part of a second or later issue of each of the three kings. Thus it seemed reasonable to suppose that Yolamira's didrachms, and hence all his group 2 coins, were not part of a first issue. The group 1 coins were therefore logically first, followed by groups 2 and 3. This organization has the further virtue of placing contiguously the coins featuring the clean-shaven portrait.

Yolamira issued quarter drachms or trihemibols (coins 3 and 4) that are important for a couple of reasons. Coin 3 features a four-line legend rather than the circular legend we see on most coins. This gives us insight into the intended order of words in the legend. It is customary when presenting the coins of the Western Kshatrapas to place the patronymic portion of the legend prior to the king's own portion. Following this pattern, Yolamira's legend would read: *Bagarevapurasa Pāratarājasa Yolamirasa*. However, the legend on the quarter dinar puts the king's name on the top line, and the legend reads: *Yolamirasa Bagarevapurasa Pāratarājasa*. This therefore appears to be the intended order of words on the circular legends also.¹¹

¹¹ This intended order is further supported by the fact that the circular legends are frequently truncated for lack of space. When this truncation occurs, it always shortens the word *Pāratarājasa*. Thus this word must have been carved last on to the die.

Coin 4 has a shortened legend. Although the entire legend is not on the flan, it appears to read: *Yolamira Shahi*. This is an important corroboration of a piece of archaeological evidence on the Pāratas. As was mentioned earlier, some pottery shards naming *Shahi Yolamira* were found in the Loralai area by Sir Aurel Stein in 1926-27. This provides solid evidence supporting the informal reports that the coins naming Yolamira, including one giving him the title *Shahi*, that are said to come from the Loralai area, do in fact come from that region. And this is an important component of the argument that the Pārata kingdom was indeed in that region.

It is worth noting at this point that the metrology established by Yolamira was quite robust and lasted approximately 80 years. The detailed metrological analysis of the silver, Brāhmī legend coins was presented in my first paper.¹² The drachms in my sample weighed an average of approximately 3.65 gm., the hemi-drachms approximately 1.77 gm., and the quarter drachms 0.90 gm. Thus there seems to have been quite a tight metrology at the Pārata mint.

Bagamira

Yolamira was succeeded by his (presumably oldest) son Bagamira. Bagamira's coins (see coin 9) are the rarest of any king in the Pārata series; he is known from only two coins, both struck from the same dies. The important point though is that the obverse die used on Bagamira's coins is the die Yolamira had used on coin 7.¹³ The legend on the coins reads:

Bagamirasa Yolamiraputrasa Pāratarājasa.

Since Bagamira used only Yolamira's obverse die, it seems reasonable to suppose that he followed Yolamira. Another son of Yolamira, named Arjuna, also used the die from coin 7, but then also issued other drachms using freshly cut dies. Thus he must have come later. Judging by the lack of new dies, and the paucity of his coinage, Bagamira must have had a very short reign.

In Bagamira's name, we see a pattern that continues throughout the dynasty: the names of the kings often use root words borrowed from previous kings' names. In Bagamira's case, both root words are borrowed: *Baga* (god) from his grandfather Bagareva, and *Mira* (Mithra) from his father Yolamira. The name *Bagamira* then simply means "Lord Mithra."

Arjuna

Bagamira was succeeded by his younger brother Arjuna. We know from Arjuna's coin legends that he was another son of Yolamira; his legends read:

Arjunasa Yolamiraputrasa Pāratarājasa.

We can conclude that he followed Bagamira from the fact that he also re-used the Yolamira die from coin 7, but then also used freshly cut dies later in his reign. Thus it would not be logical for Bagamira to have come later.

Arjuna's name is very untypical of the Pārata series. It is one of only two (out of fifteen) names that is not Iranian but Indian. It seems reasonable to suppose that Arjuna's

¹² Pankaj Tandon: "New Light on the Pāratarājas," *The Numismatic Chronicle* 166, 2006, pp. 203-206.

¹³ Since the coins are not in very good condition, some doubts remain on whether die matches exist or not. However, even if the obverse dies on coins 7 and 9 do not match, they are clearly the work of the same hand and therefore can be linked in time.

mother was Indian. This points to another plausible supposition: that the Pārata kings had multiple wives.

I have divided Arjuna's coins into three groups, although a further sub-division would be possible. The first group (coins 10 and 11) consists of drachms and hemi-drachms on which Arjuna has used his father's dies. The drachm (coin 10) uses Yolamira's die from coin 7 (also used by Bagamira on coin 9) and the hemi-drachm (coin 11) uses the Yolamira die from coin 8. Coins 10 and 11 also show a clear affinity on the reverses. The swastikas turn to the right and the letter forms are virtually identical. The reverse dies were clearly cut at the same time by the same hand. These coins must have been the earliest of Arjuna's reign, because they use Yolamira's dies.

Coins of group 2 (coins 12-15) must have been issued later in Arjuna's reign. These coins are united by the left-turning swastikas on the reverses. Coins 12 and 13 must have been the first issues from this group. Coin 12 is a new drachm die, similar in style to the Yolamira die used on coin 10. Coin 13 is a hemi-drachm, which still uses the Yolamira die used by Arjuna on his earlier issue (coin 11). But coin 13 must have been issued along with coin 12; they share the new leftward orientation of the swastika and also exhibit similar letter forms that are different from those used on the coins of group 1. Coin 14 must have come next; it is also a hemi-drachm that uses the same reverse die as coin 13 but a new obverse die. Coin 15 must have come even later. It is another hemi-drachm with new obverse *and* reverse dies. The reverse die still has the left-turning swastika and the letter forms have degraded somewhat. The letter *sa* is particularly unusual, but so are the *a* and *ja*.

Finally, coin 16 forms a separate "group" and was probably Arjuna's last issue. This is a drachm that re-uses the die from coin 12, but has a new reverse die on which the swastika turns to the right. The letter forms on this coin are very precise and clearly show no similarity to the letter forms of any other Arjuna coin.

Hvaramira

Arjuna was followed by Hvaramira, yet another son of Yolamira. His legends read:

Hvaramirasa Yolamiraputrassa Pāratarājasa.

The name *Hvaramira* again uses the root word *Mira* (for Mithra) but introduces the new root word *Hvara*, which refers to the glory of the sun. The word is no doubt related to the Iranian concept of *khvareno*, which Rosenfield describes as "a supernatural boon which may take the form of fire, a part of the all-illuminating heavenly light which is common to all divinities and which lights a great prince."¹⁴ In the Kushan pantheon, the personification of this *khvareno* was the deity *Pharro*. The name *Hvaramira* could be interpreted to mean "glorious Mithra."

We can infer that Hvaramira was the youngest of Yolamira's three known sons (or at least ruled the latest of the three) by the fact that he did not use any of Yolamira's dies, but did use Arjuna's last drachm die. Further, no coins are known for any sons of Bagamira or Arjuna, but two of Hvaramira's sons issued coins. Thus it appears that Hvaramira succeeded Arjuna and was then in turn succeeded by his son.

¹⁴ John M. Rosenfield, *The Dynastic Arts of the Kushans*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967, reprinted 1993 by Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers, New Delhi, p. 198.

Hvaramira's coins can be divided into three groups. Except for the unique didrachm (coin 19), all his known coins are drachms; no fractional coins are known. The drachms from group 1, coins 17 and 18, must have been early issues as they re-use the Arjuna die of coin 16. The first drachm from group 2, coin 20, shows a bust that is stylistically very similar to the Arjuna die of coin 16, notably in the use of horizontal stripes on the chest, but represents a new die. The letter forms on the reverse, however, are quite different. They are relatively crude. A particularly noticeable letter is *ta*, whose lower curved portion is almost reduced to a horizontal line. The same sorts of letter forms are also visible on the didrachm, coin 19, which is why it seems logical to group it with coin 20. The didrachm, as already discussed, uses an obverse die very similar in style and execution to Yolamira's drachm die from coin 5. I think we can be quite sure therefore that the di-drachm die of coin 20 was originally made for a Yolamira issue of which we have not yet found any examples. This must have been a special issue of some kind. My original impulse was to assume that this must have been a coronation issue, but it is quite clear that Hvaramira's didrachm was not issued at the time of the first drachm issues. Rather, it was issued later, in conjunction with the drachms like coin 20. The same pattern is visible in the cases of the two other known di-drachms in the series.¹⁵ It could be that the Pārata king was crowned only some time after coming to power, or it could be that these coins were victory issues of some kind. This could account for the fact that we do not have di-drachms for all of the kings; it is possible some of them never issued any, if the occasion for their issue did not arise in any given king's reign.

The last coin in group 2, coin 21, shows a reversion to more well-formed letters. I have chosen to list it after coins 19 and 20 because it seems to represent a new style obverse. The final group consists of just coin 22, another new drachm die which clearly belongs last in Hvaramira's reign because the die was re-used by his son and successor, Mirahvara. Note that the letter forms on coin 22 are quite similar to those on coin 21, further buttressing the idea of placing the latter coin late in group 2. Both these coins spell the father's name as *Yodamira* rather than *Yolamira*. This was also true of coin 18, and may have been true on coins 19 and 20 as well. I have not seen an example of these types where the father's name is clearly legible.

Mirahvara

Hvaramira was succeeded by his son Mirahvara. We know this because we have drachms of Mirahvara (see coin 23) that use the die from Hvaramira's coin 22. They bear the legend:

Mirahvarasa Hvaramiraputrasa Pāratarājasa.

The name *Mirahvara* is made up of the same two root words as *Hvaramira*. Whether they have the same meaning is not exactly known; perhaps *Mirahvara* could be interpreted to mean "the glory of Mithra."

I have divided the coins of Mirahvara into three groups. The first group, consisting of coins 23-26, includes the drachms that use the Hvaramira die (coins 23 and 26), and hemi-drachms and quarter drachms (or trihemidobols) that use dies of Yolamira and Arjuna! The hemidrachms (coin 24) use the hemidrachm die of Yolamira's coin 8,

¹⁵ Mirahvara's di-drachm (coin 27) also belongs with his mid-reign issues, as does Koziya's (coin 40), which belongs to a reduced weight standard introduced some time into Koziya's reign (he did issue coins belonging to the original weight-standard initially).

which was also then used by Arjuna (coins 11 and 13); we do not have any hemi-drachms of Hvaramira. The quarter drachms¹⁶ (coin 25) use the hemi-drachm die of Arjuna's coin 14. Again, we have no quarter drachms of Hvaramira. Thus it appears that Mirahvara reintroduced the fractional coinage that had lapsed during the reign of Hvaramira. The coins of this group are united by the letter forms of the reverse legends. They all have a complex form of the letter *ha* and an acutely angled lower stroke on the letter *sa*. They come early in the reign because of the drachm die identity with the coin of Hvaramira. I have listed coin 26 last because of the left-turning swastika. It seems likely that that reverse die was manufactured after the very first issues 23-25, which featured the right-turning swastika.

Group 2 of Mirahvara's coinage contains the di-drachm (coin 27), a drachm with an entirely new die (coin 28) and hemi-drachms (coins 29 and 30) that continue using the obverse die used by Yolamira and Arjuna and then by Mirahvara on coin 24. These coins are all united by the letter forms, which are very smooth and stylish. The form of *ha* has reverted to its original simple shape and the lower stroke on *sa* has once again become a smooth curve. The didrachm, of course, uses the didrachm die used by Hvaramira on coin 19. The reverse swastika turns left like on coin 26; however, the letter forms separate the didrachm from this coin and connect it to coins 28-30. Thus clearly the didrachm was once again struck in a later emission rather than in Mirahvara's inaugural issue.

The late-reign issues of group 3 consist of a drachm (coin 31) and a hemidrachm. The drachm uses the same die as coin 28, which was a freshly cut die for Mirahvara. The reason we can be sure this coin is late is that the die by this time had developed a prominent crack running almost vertically down the middle of the coin. The coin can be paired with the hemi-drachm because of the distinctive letter forms. The hemi-drachm (coin 32) uses the same die as all of Mirahvara's earlier hemi-drachms, the die he had inherited from Yolamira and Arjuna.

Miratakhma

Miratakhma was Mirahvara's (presumably younger) brother and he succeeded him. Again, we know this from the die match of Miratakhma's first issue, coin 33, which used the cracked Mirahvara die of coin 31. The legend on the coin reads:

Miratakhmasa Hvaramiraputrasa Pāratārājaśa.

The name *Miratakhma* uses the familiar root word *Mira*, along with a new root word *takhma*, which means "strong, heroic." Thus *Miratakhma* would mean "heroic Mithra."

Miratakhma's coins are quite rare, although he introduced at least two other drachm dies that we know of. The first, seen on coin 34, is quite different stylistically from all previous coins, particularly in the treatment of the hair, which is depicted as long and flowing. The second die, seen on coins 35 and 36, is radically new. It turns the bust to the left in contrast to all previous Pārata coins where the bust faced right. Further, the new die shows the king wearing a peaked tiara along with his diadem; all previous coins showed a bare-headed, diademed king. Thus this type introduces two new features to the obverse design, features which are continued in the subsequent coinage. Coin 35

¹⁶ I prefer the term "quarter drachm" over "trihemiobol" both because it is clearer to all readers and also because the obol was not a common denomination in this series (if it was even a denomination at all). Thus it is likely that the Pāratārājas thought of this coin as half of a hemi-drachm rather than a triple of a hemi-obol, which was almost certainly *not* a denomination in their coinage.

introduces a radical new feature on the reverse as well: the legend is in Sanskrit as opposed to Prakrit, as the legend reads:

Miratakhmasya Hvaramiraputrasya Pārata (sic! *rājasya* missing).

This feature was not repeated in any subsequent coins.

As far as the ordering of the later issues of Miratakhma is concerned, I had no strong reason to place coin 34 earlier or later than coins 35 and 36, since both types are echoed in later coinage. I elected to place coins 35 and 36 last because their innovation persisted in the coinage of a number of subsequent kings.

With Miratakhma, the well-defined tree of Pārata kings, with brothers and sons following older brothers and fathers, ends. No coins are known of any kings who announce their fathers to be Miratakhma or Mirahvara. Thus the construction of the family tree of kings, and their order of succession, is a little more speculative. Nevertheless, I suspect strong arguments can be made to support the construction laid out in the following sections.

Kozana

Kozana (whose name had previously been read as Spajhana by Senior in his catalogue of Indo-Scythian coins) marks several transitions in the coinage of the Pāratarājas. He is the last king to issue any coins with Brāhmī legends, switching then to Kharoshthi. He is also the last king to issue coins with an appreciable silver content. He undertakes the first serious reform of the weight-standard maintained by all the previous kings. Finally, he solidifies the transition to coins depicting the king as crowned rather than bare-headed. Thus the coinage underwent a considerable transformation with Kozana and this suggests that the time may have been marked by considerable change in the overall environment as well.

The fact that Kozana's coinage has so many transitional characteristics makes it quite clear that his coinage follows that of Miratakhma, even though no direct familial link is available. The legend on Kozana's coins reads:

Kozanasa Bagavharnaputrasya Pāratarājasa.

His father, Bagavharna, is unknown from any previous coinage. However, the name seems very consistent with the patterns established by the previous six kings. It contains two root words: *Baga*, or god, which we had seen in the names *Bagareva* and *Bagamira*, and *vharna*, which surely is a variant of *hvara*,¹⁷ seen in the names *Hvaramira* and *Mirahvara*. *Bagavharna* could be taken to mean "the glory of god." Judging by the name, I believe it is quite possible that Bagavharna was Bagamira's son and therefore cousin to Mirahvara and Miratakhma. We do not know the meaning of the name *Kozana*, although Falk has suggested that it might be related to the name *Kujula* known from the Kushan series.

Kozana's first coin (coin 37) is a silver hemi-drachm with a Brāhmī legend. Presumably a drachm must have also been issued, although the issue was rather small,

¹⁷ It is worth remembering that the reading of *hvara* comes from the Brāhmī legend coins, while the reading of *vharna* comes from the Kharoshthi legend coins (the father's name is not clear on the one Brāhmī legend coin of Kozana). It is quite possible that the letters *hva* in Brāhmī and *vha* in Kharoshthi were both intended to represent the same foreign sound (probably a guttural *f*) for which neither script had an exact equivalent. We see the same phenomenon in the representation of the sound *z* in the name *Kozana*, which is written as *ysa* in Brāhmī and *jha* in Kharoshthi.

judging by the scarcity of the coins; there is only one example known of this type. This was the last Brāhmī legend coin in the Pāratarāja series. The bust on this coin was the conventional bare-headed, diademed bust facing right.

The second group of coins (coins 38 and 39) are the first coins to feature a legend in Kharoshthi. The coins follow the conventional weight standard, with the drachm weighing a notional 3.65 gm., and the hemi-drachm approximately 1.82 gm. However, the coins are very different stylistically, and this suggests they may not have been issued at the same time. The drachm (coin 38) features a diademed, bare-headed bust right in a style reminiscent of Miratakhma's unusual die of coin 34. The hemi-drachm (coin 39), on the other hand, features a crowned bust left, similar in design to Miratakhma's coins 35 and 36. It is conceivable that coin 39 actually belongs to the subsequent series which was on a reduced weight standard, but the celator mistakenly used an old blank belonging to the conventional weight standard.

The third and final group of Kozana's coinage (coins 40-42) is on a reduced weight standard. The first coin in the group is a didrachm that uses the same die as the didrachms of Hvaramira (coin 19) and Mirahvara (coin 27), although Kozana's didrachm weighs 5.05 gm., as opposed to 7.53 gm. and 6.76 gm. for the previous two didrachms. Thus Kozana's didrachm clearly belongs to a reduced weight standard, where the notional weight of a drachm might be around 2.50 gm. Most known drachms, however, weigh less than this. Coin 41 weighs 2.23 gm., and the hemi-drachm (coin 42) weighs 1.04 gm. Thus it is slightly unclear what exactly the new weight standard was, but it is clear that there was a new, reduced weight standard.

The other feature of the new series worth noting is that the obverse features a diademed bust left crowned with a peaked tiara, following the last coin type of Miratakhma. This style of bust persists through the next couple of reigns.

Bhimarjuna

Although we know of coins of Kozana's son Koziya, I believe Kozana was not succeeded by his son, but by a king named Bhimarjuna, son of Yolatakhma. The legend on his coins reads:

Bhimarjunasa Yolatakhmaputrasa Pāratarājasa

We have no prior knowledge of either of these names, so the relationship of Bhimarjuna to the other Pārata kings is speculative. Nevertheless, it seems very reasonable to suppose that Bhimarjuna was a direct descendant of Arjuna. His name includes the name *Arjuna* combined with the name of Bhima, another heroic Pandava brother from the *Mahābhārata*. Since no coins of any son of Arjuna were known, it is quite possible that Yolatakhma was Arjuna's son. This would be quite logical in that the name *Yolatakhma* is made up of the root words *Yola*, meaning "war" and present in the name of Arjuna's father, Yoramira, and *takhma*, meaning "heroic" and present in the name of Arjuna's nephew Miratakhma.

If my theories are correct, the narrative of regal succession in the Pāratarāja dynasty could indicate an extended family environment in which cousins would be treated as brothers. Yoramira had three sons, Bagamira, Arjuna, and Hvaramira, who ruled in that order. Bagamira and Arjuna may have died relatively young either through disease, war, or family intrigue. Neither of their sons are known to have issued coins, as Hvaramira was followed in turn by two of his sons, Mirahvara and Miratakhma. But

Miratakhma was followed by Kozana, who may well have been Bagamira's grandson. And he, in turn, was followed by Bhimarjuna, who may well have been Arjuna's grandson. Only after Bhimarjuna's presumed death did Kozana's son Koziya come to the throne.

Why do I believe Kozana was succeeded not by his son but by Bhimarjuna? There are three reasons:

1. Kozana's coins were all in silver, while Koziya's coins are all in copper. Bhimarjuna's coins seem to have a range. There are a few coins that are silvery in appearance, some that are a very clear billon, while others that are largely copper. Thus the transition from silver to copper seems to have taken place during Bhimarjuna's reign, suggesting that it occurred in between the reigns of Kozana and Koziya.
2. The style of Bhimarjuna's coins seems to be quite close to that of Kozana's, while Koziya's seems more distinct. Specifically, the size of the head on Kozana's coins is relatively small, while it is quite large on Koziya's coins. The size of the head on Bhimarjuna's coins is relatively small.
3. The weight of Kozana's low-weight-standard drachms is approximately 2.25 gm. My sample of 35 drachms of Bhimarjuna had an average weight of 1.95 gm., while my sample of 91 drachms of Koziya had an average weight of 1.66 gm. It seems therefore that a steady devaluation of the currency was taking place in this period, first in the transition from silver to copper and then in the weight reduction of the copper drachms.

Bhimarjuna's coins, being largely of copper, are difficult subjects for die analysis because the coins are generally not in very good condition. I have presented five coins, each featuring a different obverse (and reverse) die. There were probably other obverse dies, but they have proved difficult to clearly identify. The first coin (coin 42) is a very clear billon and shares the obverse die with at least one silvery-looking coin I have seen; thus this must have been relatively early. Coin 43, with the "chubby-cheeked" die, also appears to be a billon coin. The subsequent coins all appear to be copper coins. They are arranged in order of declining weight. The last coin, which features very distinctive letter forms on the reverse legend, appears to be very close to Koziya's first coin (coin 47). This may well have been Bhimarjuna's last issue.

Koziya

Bhimarjuna was succeeded by Kozana's son Koziya. Koziya's coinage is the most copious of all the Pāratarāja coinage. Not only is the number of coins the greatest, but so also is the number of coin types. The table lists 17 coin types for Koziya (coins 47-63), consisting of three denominations, drachm (coins 47-55 and 57-59), hemi-drachm (coin 56) and di-drachm (coins 60-63), and from three broad periods in his reign. The standard legend, in Kharoshthi, is:

Koziyasa Kozanaputrasa Pāratarājasa.

The coins in the first group, coins 47-52, which I believe to be the earliest of the series, are united by their depiction of the king as clean-shaven. To my eye, the face also looks fairly young. The first coin, coin 47, is very similar in style and letter forms to the last Bhimarjuna issue (coin 46) and is almost certainly Koziya's first issue. Note that the head on this coin is relatively small and the shoulders are seen clearly in a roughly

proportional size. Thus this coin conforms in style to the coins of Bhimarjuna; indeed, I suspect that the die of coin 47 may well be a Bhimarjuna die, although I have not been able to find a definitive die match. The dies of coins 46 and 47 are very close, but the condition of the coins prevents a clear determination of whether they form a die match. The letter forms on the two coins are also very similar, and seem to be the work of the same hand.

Coin 48 is similar in style to coin 47, although the head is larger and the shoulders are no longer visible on the coin. But the king is still shown bare-headed, diademed, and wearing a simple peaked crown. Subsequent coins, numbers 49-51, add an ear flap, perhaps attempting to convert the crown to a helmet, even though the peaked front is still present. It is not clear what the order of these three types should be; I have placed them in the order of how young the portraits looked to me, an admittedly subjective and imperfect method of ordering them. Finally, coin 52 introduces a new image in which the ear flap has disappeared and the ear is now covered by the king's hair, represented in neat horizontal rows. Note that on this coin the king's shoulders have reappeared. This coin belongs last in this group because it is related to subsequent issues.

The second group of coins (coins 53 and 54) continue to depict the king as diademed and crowned, with the hair arranged in rows, but now show him sporting a mustache. Coin 53 is possibly a didrachm, as it weighs 2.62 gm., in contrast to the average weight of 1.66 gm. for Koziya's drachms. Another possibility is that the coin was struck on an old blank or on another coin. Mitigating against this explanation is the fact that the shoulders are visible on this coin, while they are not on the next coin. Coin 54 is certainly a drachm of this type.

Some time during the first or second phases of Koziya's coinage, a new type was introduced: a standing king type of double weight, i.e., a di-drachm. Coin 60 is an example of this type. I have never seen a specimen of this type that is detailed enough to see whether the king's face bears a mustache or not, nor exactly what the treatment of the hair is, so I have been unable to determine exactly when during the drachm sequence this di-drachm was introduced. What is visible is the peaked crown, indicating that this type was introduced some time during these first two phases when the drachms show the king wearing a peaked crown. My suspicion, based on what I *can* see of the king's image, is that the type was introduced fairly early, perhaps even contemporaneously with coin 48.

Coin 60 not only introduced an interesting new type and denomination, it also served as the "Rosetta stone" to help Harry Falk finally read the Kharoshthi legends correctly. That was because the coin features not just the Kharoshthi legend on the reverse, but also a short Brāhmī legend on the obverse: the name of the king, Koziya. The first letter *ko* allowed a re-reading of the first letter of the name in Kharoshthi, which had been read as *śpa* since the letter looked exactly like the letter *śpa* on the coins of the Indo-Scythian king Śpalarises.¹⁸ And the second letter of the Brāhmī legend revealed the correct reading of the second letter of the Kharoshthi legend, the Kharoshthi *jha*. In Brāhmī, the name was spelled *Koysiya*, and it became clear that the compound letter *ysa* represented the sound *za* since Brāhmī does not have a letter for the non-Indian sound *z*.¹⁹

¹⁸ The fact that the letter was indeed *śpa* in those names was attested by the Greek spelling of the names on the same coins: CPAΛIPIHC or ΠPAΛIPIHC, where the letter Π (or *shan*) represented the sound *sh*.

¹⁹ I have explored this issue in detail in my paper "The Western Kshatrapa Dāmazāda," *The Numismatic Chronicle*, 169, 2009, pp. 173-187.

Thus the letter *jha* in the Kharoshthi legend was not meant to be read literally, but rather it also represented the sound *za* for which Kharoshthi had no symbol.²⁰

In the third phase of Koziya's coinage, the king is no longer shown wearing a peaked crown but a turban.²¹ Further, the head on the drachms (coins 55-59) faces right rather than left. The face looks older. Since this fits the chronological sequence and the portraits do look like they could be of the same person, one wonders if the portraits of Koziya might be fairly realistic. In any event, the late "turbaned" series features several types. In coin 55, the king is shown wearing a large diamond-shaped ear-ring. Coin 56 is the only known hemi-drachm of the copper series. Coin 57 has a more ornate turban and a large round ear-ring. Coins 58 and 59 feature a new element in front of the king's face; it appears to be a scepter. Coin 59 features another variation: the swastika on the reverse turns to the left instead of the right.

Coins 61-63 are the standing king types that belong to this third phase. The fact that there are three coins in this group as opposed to only one (coin 60) in the first and second phases does not mean that the third phase standing king types are more common. On the contrary, they are much rarer. There are far more examples of the coin 60 type, but they differ in only marginal ways from one another. Coins 61-63 seem to have quite distinctive features. Coin 61 is similar to coin 60 except the king now wears a turban. Coin 62 has the king turned to the left as opposed to the right. On this coin, the king holds in his right hand a scepter similar to the one in the right field of coin 58, while his left hand rests on the hilt of his sword. Also, the obverse legend naming the king has moved to the right field as opposed to the left field on coin 61, and is now in Kharoshthi as opposed to Brāhmī. Further, while the Brāhmī legend on the obverse of coins 60 and 61 was in the nominative case: *Koziya*, the Kharoshthi legend on coin 62 is in the genitive case: *Koziyasa*. Coin 63 follows 62, although the scepter is thicker, more like the one on coin 59. Further, on this coin the reverse swastika turns left as on coin 59. Thus coins 59 and 63 were probably issued in roughly the same time frame or perhaps even contemporaneously. They appear to be the last issues of Koziya.

Datarvharna

No coins are known of any son of Koziya or of Bhimarjuna. There are coins of the standing king type known for two other rulers. The first of these is named Datarvharna, son of Datayola; the second is Datayola, son of Datarvharna. The question arises: which of these coins comes first? Falk had assumed Datarvharna came first, as he did not know the name of the second king, only that he was a son of Datarvharna, and I had carried on with this assumption in my 2009 paper. But now that we know that the name of the second king is Datayola, there exists the possibility that he came first. In order to explain the two sets of coins, one of Datarvharna, son of Datayola, and the other of Datayola, son of Datarvharna, we could just as easily have the sequence:

Datarvharna → Datayola → Datarvharna

²⁰ Actually the letter is not literally *jha* since it features an added flourish attached to the right of the main stem, and there is also a small circle above the letter. These embellishments were probably intended to convert the *jha* to *za*, in much the same way as a dot below the Hindi letter *ja* converts that letter to *za*.

²¹ It is possible that the "head-dress" is not a covering of any kind but simply a special way to represent the hair. To my eye, however, it looks like the king is wearing a turban, especially on coins such as coin 57 on which there is a very decorative treatment above the ear.

with the first Datarvharna known only from Datayola's coin legends, as the sequence

Datayola → Datarvharna → Datayola

with the first Datayola known only from *his* son's coins.

Thus the order of these two kings needs to be carefully considered. After doing so, I have come to the strong conclusion that Datarvharna comes first and Datayola second, in line with Falk's assumption and my earlier treatment. Thus there must have been another Datayola (Datarvharna's father) who did not issue coins as far as we know. I will outline my argument after presenting both sets of coins.

Datarvharna basically issued one standing king type that closely follows the late type of Koziya's coin 62. The king is shown standing facing, turned slightly to the left, wearing a turban, holding a scepter in his (proper) right hand and the hilt of his sword with the left. There is a Kharoshthi legend in the right field naming the king in the genitive case: *Datarvharnasa*. All the coins I have seen seem to use the same obverse die, as on coins 64-66, although it is difficult to be certain about this because of the condition of the coins. The reverses vary, however. Coin 64 shows a reverse with the standard legend in well-formed letters. Coin 65 has unusual letters that are much cruder in execution, while coin 66 has a variant legend where Falk had read the title *Rajño*. I have not seen a coin with a fully legible legend for this type, but it seems that the reconstructed legend would probably be:

Rajño Datarvharnasa Datayolaputrasa Pārata.

This seems unusual as a legend and one wonders if the "title" *Rajño* is really a mistake for *rāja* at the end of *Pāratarāja*.

The name *Datarvharna* is once again made up of two root words, one of which we have seen before in the names of previous kings. The root *vharna* represents divine glory. There is some ambiguity about the meaning of the root word *Datar*. Falk reasons that it must mean "creator," making the name *Datarvharna* mean "the glory of the creator," ... but reports that Nicholas Sims-Williams has expressed some reservations about this interpretation.²²

We do not have a direct genealogical connection between Datarvharna and the previous kings of the series. However, his name does contain a root word (*vharna*) we have seen before, as does his father's name (*yola*). Further, Datarvharna's coin type closely follows the late type of his predecessor Koziya. Therefore it seems plausible that he belonged to the same family and that the succession was an orderly one. If he did indeed belong to the same family line, I would suggest that he may well have been the grandson of Bhimarjuna; in other words, that his father Datayola was Bhimarjuna's son. There are two reasons why I think this is plausible. First, the root name *yola* seems important in this line, as it is in the names of both Datarvharna's father and of his son. The same root word is also present in the name of Bhimarjuna's father Yolatakhma (and in the name of *his* grandfather Yoramira). Second, placing Datarvharna in Bhimarjuna's line in this way allows him to belong to the generation just after Koziya's and therefore renders him a plausible successor to Koziya. If he were in Koziya's line, he would have to be his grandson. The root word *yola* seems not to be as important in Koziya's line (although the patriarch of the dynasty was named Yoramira and so the root *yola* would be plausible anywhere in the family). Further, if he succeeded Koziya but belonged to a generation two levels after Koziya, one would expect his reign to be relatively long.

²² See Falk, *op. cit.*, footnote 14.

However, the paucity of dies in the Datarvharna coinage (possibly as low as one) suggests a short reign. Therefore, it seems more plausible to fit him in Bhimarjuna's line. Of course all this is speculative. Datarvharna may not have belonged to the old royal family at all, or, even if he did, could have descended from someone totally different.

Datayola II

The last king in the series was named Datayola, who was the son of Datarvharna. I have called him Datayola II in order to distinguish him from Datarvharna's father. The legend on his coins reads:

Datayolasa Datarvharnaputrasa Pāratarājasa

although there are a few coins, such as coin 71 (also seen in Figure 1), where the tribal name is spelled *Pārada*. Falk has suggested that the name *Datayola* means "fighter for the law."

The coinage of Datayola II follows closely that of Datarvharna. The main type (coins 67-72) shows on the obverse a standing king facing, turned to the left, holding a scepter and sword hilt, with the king's name in Kharoshthi in the right field. The reverse shows the usual swastika surrounded by the circular Kharoshthi legend, although the swastika here sometimes turns to the right and sometimes to the left. (The swastika on all known coins of Datarvharna turns to the right.) Thus the two series are very closely compatible.

One notable feature of Datayola's coins is that there are several known examples of coins that are overstruck on coins of the Kushano-Sasanian king Hormizd I (see coins 69 and 72, and probably 71 also). The undertypes on these coins are examples of Hormizd's larger copper coins, Cribb types 34-35.²³ These overstrikes are very important in helping pin down the dates for the Pāratarāja series.

Apart from the standing king types, which are di-drachms, Datayola also issued a bust type in an entirely new denomination: a tetradrachm (coin 73). Further, there is one known copper drachm (coin 74) featuring a turbaned king, but too crude in its execution to fit into Koziya's issues. The legend on the coin is not legible. I suspect, judging from the crude execution, that this is also a coin of Datayola II, although Datarvharna cannot be ruled out. The fact that Datayola also experimented with a tetradrachm seems to support the idea that he might have experimented with a drachm denomination as well. These seem to be the last coins in the main Pāratarāja series, except possibly for the much later type represented by coin 75.

Unknown king

Coin 75 is an example of one other coin type that sometimes appears with other Pāratarāja coins and features the reverse swastika typical of the coins of this series. This would lead one to believe that this is indeed a Pāratarāja coin, perhaps following the coins of Datayola II. However, I believe this coin was issued much later than the coins discussed so far and may not even be a Pāratarāja coin at all, although it quite possibly is. There are several reasons for this. The style of the coin is quite different from other known coins of the series, and the legend appears to be in Brāhmī, marking a departure from the other copper coins of the series. The legend is still unread and on no coin that I

²³ Joe Cribb, 'Numismatic Evidence for Kushano-Sasanian Chronology', *Studia Iranica*, Tome 19, 1990, fasc 2, plate IV.

have seen can the tribal name be asserted to be present. The weight matches the didrachms of the series, but this coin features a bust right on the obverse, rather than the standing king present on all known didrachms from the rest of the series. Finally, the crown worn by the king on this coin has a notable feature on the crown: a lunar crescent, possibly topped by a solar disc. This is a crown feature first introduced by the Sasanian king Yazdegard I (399-420), which was then copied widely on the coins of the Kushano-Sasanians and the Hephthalites. Coin 75 is therefore likely to be from the fifth century, more than 100 years after Datayola II, since the latter can be quite conclusively dated to c. 280-300 on account of his overstrikes on the coins of Hormizd I. This would explain why the coin does not appear to be a close evolution of Datayola's coins and why it might not even be a Pāratārāja coin, but a coin of some successor dynasty.

Dating of the Series

I have proposed the following chronology for the Pāratārāja series:

Yolamira, c. 125-150
 Bagamira, c. 150
 Arjuna, c. 150-165
 Hvaramira, c. 165-175
 Mirahvara, c. 175-185
 Miratakhma, c. 185-200
 Kozana, c. 200-220
 Bhimarjuna, c. 220-230
 Koziya, c. 230-270
 Datavharna, c. 270-280
 Datayola II, c. 280-300

I have discussed elsewhere²⁴ arguments for dating the series to c. 125-300 of the common era. All the evidence that I could come up with is consistent with these dates, and there are strong reasons to actually use these as the approximate dates. The basic argument goes as follows:

1. Overall, the eleven Pārata kings who issued coins appear to belong to seven generations. Bagamira, Arjuna and Hvaramira belong to one generation as they are all brothers. That reduces the number of generations by two from the number of kings. Mirahvara and Miratakhma are also brothers; that cuts another generation out. Finally, Bhimarjuna ruled between father and son Kozana and Koziya and must have belonged to one of their generations (I have argued he was probably Kozana's cousin); that is a fourth generation cut from the original eleven kings. Thus we are down to seven generations. In a detailed analysis of a large number of ancient dynasties,²⁵ I showed that an average generational length at that time was around 25 years. This suggests that the eleven kings, belonging to seven generations, should fit into a time period approximately 175 years in length.

²⁴ Pankaj Tandon: "Further Light on the Pāratārājas," *The Numismatic Chronicle* 169, 2009, pp. 137-171.

²⁵ See the Appendix to my 2009 paper.

2. Since Datayola II, the last king in the series, overstruck coins of Hormizd I (270-290), it seems that a date shortly after the dates of Hormizd would be suitable for Datayola. The dates of c. 280-300 fit that profile.
3. If the series ends in c. 300, the 175 year span would suggest a start date of c. 125. Since Yolamira uses the term *Shahi* on the pottery shards analyzed by Sten Konow,²⁶ a date for that king around the time of Kanishka I, or shortly thereafter, seems reasonable, since it was Kanishka who revived use of that title. Hence the start of Yolamira's reign to c. 125 CE seems reasonable.
4. The use of patronymics on the Pāratarāja coinage was probably influenced by the similar usage on the coins of the Western Kshatrapas. The first ruler of that dynasty to use a patronymic was Chastana, who is dated to c. 75 CE. So the dates I am proposing for the Pāratarājas are consistent with this.
5. Most Western Kshatrapa coins show only the ruler's head, but there are certain rare coins of Rudradāman (ruled 130-150) that show the shoulders in a manner very similar to the treatment on the Pāratarāja coins. This suggests a rough contemporaneity between Yolamira and Rudradāman.
6. The weight of the Pāratarāja silver drachm before Kozana's monetary reform was approximately 3.65 gm. This agrees very well with the weight of the Parthian drachm during the second century.
7. The standing king type introduced by Koziya featured the king wearing a knee length tunic with a gracefully curved hemline. This style of tunic was featured on Kushan coins for the first time by Kanishka II (the coinage of his predecessor, Vasudeva I, always featured a straight hemline), who ruled c. 227-247. These dates agree very well with my proposed dates of 230-270 for Koziya.
8. There are several paleographic features on the Pāratarāja coin legends that agree with the dating to the 2nd and 3rd centuries.

For all these reasons, the dating of the dynasty to c. 125-300 seems very reasonable.

Conclusion

In this paper, I have synthesized some of my earlier work and that of Harry Falk on the Pāratarāja coinage, providing for the first time a complete dynastic chronology for these coins. I have also, for the first time, provided a detailed sequential analysis for the coinage of each of the eleven kings, thereby creating a detailed chronology of the numismatic sequence. At this point, the task of analyzing and ordering this coinage is substantially complete.

We are therefore now in a position to answer the questions posed by Rapson in his JRAS paper back in 1905. The coins with "reverse type svastika" that he considered were all coins belonging to the Pāratarāja series, issued by the kings of that dynasty in what is now northeastern Balochistan during the second and third centuries. His coins were numbered 4-8. Coin 4 is a silver hemidrachm of Yolamira, similar to coin 2 in the table.²⁷ His coin 5 is almost certainly a silver drachm of Mirahvara, similar to coin 23 in

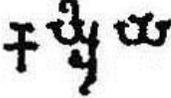
²⁶ See footnote 9 above and the discussion around that.

²⁷ I have a die match to the reverse of Rapson's coin in my collection, confirming the identification.

<i>Hvaramirasa Yolamiraputrasa Pāratarājasa</i>		
Early issues		
Coin 17 (477.24) Silver drachm		<i>Obv:</i> Bust R (same die as coins 12, 16) <i>Rev:</i> Swastika R, legend around: @12h: <i>Hvaramirasa Yolamira-</i> <i>putrasa Pārata (rājasa missing)</i> 3.70 gm, 15 mm
Coin 18 (412.07) Silver drachm		<i>Obv:</i> Bust R (same die as coin 17) <i>Rev:</i> Swastika R, legend around: @9h: <i>Hvaramirasa Yodamira-</i> <i>putrasa Pārata (rājasa missing)</i> 3.39 gm, 14 mm
Mid-reign issues		
Coin 19 (493.2) Silver didrachm		<i>Obv:</i> Bust R (Yolamira die, see coin 5) <i>Rev:</i> Swastika Right, legend around: @9h: <i>Hvara(mirasa</i> <i>Yolamirapu)trasa Pāratarājasa</i> 7.53 gm, 20 mm
Coin 20 (642.02) Silver drachm		<i>Obv:</i> Diademed bust Right <i>Rev:</i> Swastika Right, legend around: @12h: <i>Hvaram(irasa Yolamira-)</i> <i>putrasa Pāratarājasa</i> 3.78 gm, 15 mm
Coin 21 (Pieper) Silver drachm		<i>Obv:</i> Diademed bust Right <i>Rev:</i> Swastika Right, legend around: @12h: <i>Hvaramirasa Yodamira-</i> <i>putrasa Pāratarājasa</i> 3.70 gm, 15 mm
Late-reign issue		
Coin 22 (558.09) Silver drachm		<i>Obv:</i> Diademed bust Right <i>Rev:</i> Swastika Left, legend around: @6h: <i>Hvaramirasa Yodamiraputrasa</i> <i>Pāratarājasa</i> 3.64 gm, 15-16 mm
5. Mirahvara s/o Hvaramira (c. 175-185 CE)		
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<i>Mirahvarasa Hvaramiraputrasa Pāratarājasa</i>		
Early issues		

Coin 23 (585.07) Silver hemi- drachm		<i>Obv:</i> Bust R (same die as coin 22) <i>Rev:</i> Swastika Right, legend around: @11h: <i>Mirahvarasa Hvaramira- putrasa Pāratarā</i> (no <i>jasa</i>) 4.13 gm, 15-16 mm
Coin 24 (429.18) Silver hemi- drachm		<i>Obv:</i> Bust R (same die as 8, 11, 13) <i>Rev:</i> Swastika Right, legend around: @11h: <i>Mirahvarasa Hvarami- (no ra) putrasa Pāra</i> (no <i>tarājasa</i>) 1.80 gm, 13-14 mm
Coin 25 (465.15) Silver quarter drachm		<i>Obv:</i> Bust R (same die as coin 14) <i>Rev:</i> Four line legend: <i>Mirahvara / Hvaramiraputra / sa Pāratarā / jasa</i> 0.99 gm, 11 mm
Coin 26 (477.27) Silver drachm		<i>Obv:</i> Bust R (same die as coins 22, 23) <i>Rev:</i> Swastika Left, legend around: @6h: <i>Mirahvarasa Hvaramira- putrasa Pāratarā</i> (no <i>jasa</i>) 4.13 gm, 15-16 mm
Mid-reign issues		
Coin 27 (493.3) Silver didrachm		<i>Obv:</i> Bust Right (same die as coin 17) <i>Rev:</i> Swastika Right, legend around: @10h: <i>Mirahvarasa Hvaramiraputrasa Pāratarājasa</i> 6.76 gm, 17 mm
Coin 28 (429.17) Silver drachm		<i>Obv:</i> Diademed bust Right <i>Rev:</i> Swastika Right, legend around: @11h: <i>Mirahvarasa Hvaramiraputrasa Pāratarājasa</i> 3.08 gm, 15-16 mm
Coin 29 (429.11) Silver hemi- drachm		<i>Obv:</i> Bust R (same die as coin 24) <i>Rev:</i> Swastika Right, legend around: @11h: <i>Mirahvara Hvaramiraputra Pāratarāja</i> (no <i>sa</i>) 1.78 gm, 13 mm
Coin 30 (477.29) Silver hemi- drachm		<i>Obv:</i> Bust R (same die as coin 29) <i>Rev:</i> Swastika Right, legend around: @1h: <i>Mirahvara Hvaramiraputra Pāratarā</i> (no <i>jasa</i>) 1.78 gm, 12 mm
Late-reign issues		

Coin 48 (649.13) Copper Drachm		<i>Obv:</i> Crowned bust Left <i>Rev:</i> Swastika Right, legend around: @ 1h: <i>Koziyasa Kozanaputrasa</i> <i>Pāratarājasa</i> 1.47 gm, 14 mm
Coin 49 (649.15) Copper drachm		<i>Obv:</i> Crowned bust Left with ear flap <i>Rev:</i> Swastika Right, legend around: @ 1h: <i>Koziyasa Kozanaputrasa</i> <i>Pāratarājasa</i> 1.90 gm, 12-13 mm
Coin 50 (365.15) Copper drachm		<i>Obv:</i> Crowned bust Left with ear flap <i>Rev:</i> Swastika Right, legend around: @ 1h: <i>Koziyasa Kozanaputrasa</i> <i>Pāratarājasa</i> 1.61 gm, 14 mm
Coin 51 (Lingen) Copper drachm		<i>Obv:</i> Crowned bust Left with ear flap <i>Rev:</i> Swastika Right, legend around: @ 1h: <i>Koziyasa Kozanaputrasa</i> <i>Pāratarājasa</i> 1.89 gm, 14 mm
Coin 52 (151.04) Copper drachm		<i>Obv:</i> Crowned bust Left, hair in rows <i>Rev:</i> Swastika Right, legend around: @ 1h: <i>Koziyasa Kozanaputrasa</i> <i>Pāratarājasa</i> 1.76 gm, 13 mm
Mid-reign issues, crowned king with mustache		
Coin 53 (365.18) Copper didrachm?		<i>Obv:</i> Crowned bust L, king w/mustache <i>Rev:</i> Swastika Right, legend around: @ 12h: <i>Koziyasa Kozanaputrasa</i> <i>Pāratarāja</i> (no sa) 2.62 gm, 15 mm
Coin 54 (581.2) Copper drachm		<i>Obv:</i> Crowned bust L, king w/mustache <i>Rev:</i> Swastika Right, legend around: @ 1h: <i>Koziyasa Kozanaputrasa</i> <i>Pāratarāja</i> (no sa) 1.54 gm, 12-13 mm
Late-reign issues, turbaned king		
Coin 55 (465.21) Copper drachm		<i>Obv:</i> Turbaned bust Right <i>Rev:</i> Swastika Right, legend around: @ 12h: <i>Koziyasa Kozanaputrasa</i> <i>Pāratarājasa</i> 1.47 gm, 13-14 mm

Coin 56 (653.39) Copper hemi- drachm		<i>Obv:</i> Turbaned bust Right <i>Rev:</i> Swastika Right, legend around: @12h: <i>Koziyasa Kozanaputrasa</i> <i>Pāratarājasa</i> 0.78 gm, 11 mm
Coin 57 (365.20) Copper drachm		<i>Obv:</i> Bust R, wearing turban w/flap <i>Rev:</i> Swastika Right, legend around: @12h: <i>Koziyasa Kozanaputrasa</i> <i>Pāratarājasa</i> 1.28 gm, 12-13 mm
Coin 58 (649.28) Copper drachm		<i>Obv:</i> Turbaned bust R, scepter before <i>Rev:</i> Swastika Right, legend around: @12h: <i>Koziyasa Kozanaputrasa</i> <i>Pāratarājasa</i> 1.83 gm, 12-14 mm
Coin 59 (465.22) Copper drachm		<i>Obv:</i> Turbaned bust R, scepter before <i>Rev:</i> Swastika Left, legend around: @12h: <i>Koziyasa Kozanaputrasa</i> <i>Pāratarājasa</i> 1.55 gm, 12-14 mm
Standing King types, early to late		
Obverse Brāhmī legend: 		
Coin 60 (583.09) Copper didrachm		<i>Obv:</i> Standing king R, wearing peaked tiara, inscription L: <i>Koziya</i> <i>Rev:</i> Swastika Right, legend around: @12h: <i>Koziyasa Kozanaputrasa</i> <i>Pāratarājasa</i> 3.87 gm, 21 mm
Coin 61 (Pieper) Copper didrachm		<i>Obv:</i> Standing king R, wearing turban, inscription L: <i>Koziya</i> <i>Rev:</i> Swastika Right, legend around: (<i>Koziyasa Kozanaputrasa</i> <i>Pāratarājasa</i>) 3.94 gm, 19 mm
Coin 62 (649.30) Copper didrachm		<i>Obv:</i> Standing king L, wearing turban, inscription R: <i>Koziya</i> <i>Rev:</i> Swastika Right, legend around: @12h: <i>Koziyasa Kozanaputrasa</i> <i>Pāratarājasa</i> 4.66 gm, 17-18 mm

<p>Coin 69 (653.64) Copper didrachm</p>		<p><i>Obv:</i> Standing king Left <i>Rev:</i> Swastika Right, legend around: @2h: <i>Datayolasa Datarvharna-putrasa Pāratarājasa</i> 4.42 gm, 18 mm Overstrike on ? Hormizd I ?</p>
<p>Coin 70 (649.34) Copper didrachm</p>		<p><i>Obv:</i> Standing king Left, legend R: <i>Datayola, (same die as 69)</i> <i>Rev:</i> Swastika Left, legend around: @1h: <i>Datayolasa Datarvharna-putrasa Pāratarāja</i> 3.40 gm, 17 mm</p>
<p>Coin 71 (653.62) Copper didrachm</p>		<p><i>Obv:</i> Standing king Left <i>Rev:</i> Swastika left, legend around: @3h: <i>Datayolasa Datarvharna-putrasa Pāradarāja</i> 4.11 gm, 16-18 mm Possible overstrike on ?</p>
<p>Coin 72 Loeschner Copper didrachm</p>		<p><i>Obv:</i> Standing king Left <i>Rev:</i> Swastika left, legend around: @1h: <i>Datayolasa Datarvharna-putrasa Pāradarāja</i> Overstrike on coin of Hormizd I</p>
<p>Coin 73 Copper tetra- drachm</p>		<p><i>Obv:</i> Diademed bust left, holding flower <i>Rev:</i> Swastika right, legend around: @11h: <i>Datayo(lasa Datarvharna-putrasa Pārata)rāja</i> 7.72 gm, 21 mm</p>
<p>Coin 74 (151.01) Copper drachm</p>		<p><i>Obv:</i> Turbaned bust Left <i>Rev:</i> Swastika right, legend around: ? ? 2.10 gm, 15 mm</p>
<p>Unknown king (c. 5th century)</p>		
<p>Coin 75 (653.32) Copper didrachm</p>		<p><i>Obv:</i> Crowned bust Right <i>Rev:</i> Swastika right, legend around: ? ? 3.18 gm, 18 mm</p>