

The history of Toramana coinage of Kashmir, which can presumably be traced back to the sixth century, is well-known from the account of Kalhana's *Rajatarangini*. According to this narration, 'then he (Shreshthasena) has two sons Hiranya and Toramana, holding the position of sovereign and Yuvaraja, delighted the earth. Suppressing the undue abundance of [coins] struck by ..., Toramana put in circulation coins (dinnarah) struck in his own name. How did this [Toramana dare] to make display as if he were king, disregarding me? Thus thought in anger the king his elder brother, and placed him in prison' (Stein 1899: III, 102–04). Then Stein explained the subject statement in his own words 'Shreshthasena (Pravarasena I) is said to have had two sons, of which the elder, Hiranya succeeded him, while the other, Toramana, acted as Yuvaraja. Toramana presumed to strike coins in his own name, whereupon Hiranya threw him into prison for the remainder of his life' (ibid.). Stein further remarked that this Toramana is known by his large collection of copper coins which are still found in abundance in Kashmir. This was the earliest form of local coinage which was unanimously issued by the subsequent Hindu rulers of Kashmir for hundreds of years (ibid.).

The copper coins struck in the name of Toramana were first brought to light by Alexander Cunningham in his article on the medieval coinage of Kashmir in 1843. Before this, one coin of Toramana was incorporated by James Prinsep in one of his publications but without identification of the legend or attribution to a particular ruler (Thomas 1995, Pl. xxxi, no. 14). After fifty years, Cunningham rearranged the medieval coinage of Kashmir and presented the coins of Toramana in great details. Thereafter, several scholars, following the basic frame of Cunningham, have discussed the coins of Toramana and his successors in their own approaches. The coins of the subject ruler have always attracted the attention of scholars due to the origin of this prototype of Kashmiri coinage, the continuity of the Toramana series, the sovereign status of Toramana, and more importantly his position as a local ruler or king of the Hephthalite dynasty. In this regard, the contributions of many scholars are noteworthy enough to be highlighted herein the context of the scope and problems related to the Toramana series of coinage.

Previous Scholarships and Achievements

In 1843, Alexander Cunningham wrote an article titled 'The Ancient Coinage of Kashmir', in which he illustrated three coins of Toramana (Cunningham 1843, 20, 24, pl. II. nos. 1–3). He suggested that the uniform coin design of the 'standing male figure on the obverse and seated female on the reverse' of Kashmir had been circulated for more than thirteen centuries, i.e. from the beginning of the Christian era to the arrival of the Muslims in the mid-thirteenth century. In further remarks, he argued that the early coins of Toramana pattern were produced in good workmanship which gradually become degenerated over the centuries; it was then difficult to trace the outlines of the figures amongst the confused jumble of dots and strokes issued in the time of Jagadeva (1193-1208 CE) of the Vuppa dynasty (ibid., 5, 20-21).

Besides this, Cunningham widely described the chronological sequence of the dynastic rule of Kashmir from the Kushans (1st century) till the conquest of Mirza Haidar Dughlat (16th century) under the Mughal emperor Humayun. In his list, he identified the earliest Kashmirian dynasty with the Nagas (or Karkotas), ruled by seventeen princes. The author recognized the rule of Hiranya and Toramana contemporary with Vikramaditya (395–430 CE) of Malwa and placed them in the beginning of the fifth century (ibid., 7–10, 18–19).

Cunningham traced the origin of this design to the coins of Vasishka, Vasudeva II (3rd century), and Shaka (4th century) of the Late Kushan kings, as these portrayed a standing figure of king on the obverse and seated female figures on the reverse. The author identified these coins with Kanerki (Kanishka I) of the Indo-Scythians (Kushans), who established his rule in the first century CE, *Vasu-Kula* (146–161 CE) or *Vasu-nauda* (195–208 CE), and *Sita-maka* (Siddha, 99–114 CE) respectively (ibid., pl. I, nos. 1–3) for the reigns of Vasishka, Vasudeva II and Shaka, respectively. For the following series (ibid., pl. II, nos. 1–3), he referred to the historical accounts that in the reign of Hiranya (415–430 CE), Toramana, the Yuvaraja and younger brother of the king, 'having melted down the former (gold) coins called *Balahast* proceeded to strike *Dinars* in his own name'. Upon this, Toramana was thrown into prison where he died a few years later. This was the turning point in the history of Kashmir where a Yuvaraja (i.e. Toramana) minted coins in his own name without the consent of the king and this coinage gained widespread acceptance and reputation. Thereafter, the coin project of Toramana was successfully retained by the subsequent rulers of Kashmir who always issued coins in such uniform design. The rulers of the Naga dynasty imitated the coins of Toramana but never issued them in their own names (ibid., 20–24). The names of individual rulers appeared on coins during the reign of the Utpala dynasty in the mid-ninth century CE (Khan 2024, 2024).

In his following publication, Cunningham (1894) briefly described that Kashmir was a tributary state to the Indo-Greeks, then ruled by the Indo-Scythian (Kushan) rulers and the Little Kushans. In the beginning of the sixth century, Kashmir was occupied by Mihirakula, the powerful ruler of the Hephthalites. Cunningham further added that the 'true history' of Kashmir began from the rule of Toramana and his son Pravarasena (II) who belonged to the royal family of Kashmir. Then, in the beginning of the seventh century, the Kashmir valley was administrated by Durlabha (594–625 CE), the founder ruler of the Nagas (or Karkotaka i.e. Karkota), a native dynasty of Kashmir (Cunningham 1894, 25–27, 37–39).

Cunningham described various silver and copper types of Mihirakula (Hephthalites) and identified them as the earliest coin series of Kashmir. He strongly advocated the idea that the standing king and seated goddess type of this ruler, inscribed with the legend '*Jayatu Mihirakula*', was struck in Kashmir. The next known coin series consisted of the base gold coins of Toramana and his son Pravarasena, and was inscribed with the additional name 'Kidara'. Kidara was considered the local tribe of the Little Kushans. Accordingly, Toramana and successors were the descendants of Kidara (ibid., 27–28, 36).

In this work, Cunningham compiled a comprehensive catalogue of Kashmir coins, beginning with the issues of Toramana followed by the mixed issues of Pravarasena, Narendraditya and Gokarna. The following coin series comprised the uniform design of the Nagas and subsequent dynasties. Thus, Cunningham's list accommodates the coins of seventeen rulers of Kashmir between the reigns of Toramana (6th century) and Jagadeva (12–13th century). On the coins of Toramana and Pravarasena, he identified the reverse figure with the 'earth goddess', who is holding a lotus over her

left shoulder. He argued that this series was the 'real coinage' of Kashmir which began with the reigns of these kings. The author further inferred the origin of the standard type of Kashmir coinage - 'standing king and seated goddess' - from the coinage of the Indo-Scythian Kushan kings and their successors (ibid., 36–37).

After Cunningham, Charles J. Rodgers contributed a parallel type of article on the coins of Hindu rajas of Kashmir. This work included the copper coins of uniform design of Kashmir from the reign of Sankaravarman to Jagadeva but without any specimen of Toramana (Rodgers 1879, 277-80, pls. XI-XII). Later, Rodgers identified the coins of Toramana with different designs inscribed with the Brahmi letter 'To' which stands for the initial of the king's name, Toramana. The coins of these types belonged to the Hephthalite rulers Toramana and Mihirakula whose coins are well known in Punjab (Rodgers 1894, 38–39).

In 1895, Rodgers published a catalogue of coins which included nine copper coins of Toramana. These coins, based on the Hephthalite design, depicted the head of the king on the obverse and a wheel surmounted by a dotted circle on the reverse. Rodgers also described two coins with the head of the king to the right and a bull to left, and called them doubtful coins. In the next type of Toramana, he described thirty-one copper coins portraying the seated figure of the king with a cornucopia (probably a lotus flower with deity) on the obverse and a standing figure on the reverse (Rodgers 1895, 3-4). He remarked that this type seems to be the typical coinage of Kashmir originated by Toramana, mentioned in the *Rajatarangini* (Rodgers 1895, 1–4). He appropriately arranged the uniform coinage of Kashmir after the second type of Toramana portraying the seated figure (goddess) on one side and the standing male figure on the other. He systematically organized these coins with their number, average weight in grains and size ranges in inches.

After these initial works of Cunningham and Rodgers, G.B. Bleazby briefly highlighted the coins of the Hindu rajas of Kashmir housed in the Shri Pratap Singh Museum, Srinagar (Bleazby 1900). Under this classification, the second group (B), known as 'Coins of the Old Hindu Maharajas of Kashmir', comprised the coins of nine rulers. The number and average weight of coins of these rulers are given in chronological order. According to Bleazby's list, Toramana is known by sixty examples of copper (ibid., 20–22).

M. Aurel Stein (1899) identified the coins of Toramana with a person known as the brother and co-regent of King Hiranya of Kashmir. He remarked that the early copper coins issued by Toramana were preserved in Kashmir in great number seven in the nineteenth century. From the historical commentary by Kalhana, Stein observed notable discrepancies in the date of Toramana. He suggested the suitable date to the issuance of these coins in 5th or 6th century CE (Stein 1899, 82-83). Similar differences also persisted in the reign of Pravarasena II, the son of Toramana and immediate successor of Matrigupta. The gold and silver coins of Pravarasena-II, showing close resemblance to the coins of Toramana, are said to have been issued in the sixth century CE. On the other hand, these coins also display a close similarity to those of the Kidara Kushans, the successors of the Kushans who ruled in Gandhara from the fifth century onwards (Stein 1899, 65–66, 82–85). Besides this, Stein narrated three possibilities for the issuance of coins in the name Toramana: (a) son of Shreshthasena and younger brother of Hiranya of Kashmir; (b) father of Mihirakula of the White Huns; and (c) a Hindu-Shahi prince of Gandhara who ruled as late as the tenth century (ibid., III, 102–04, 82–83).

Soon after, Aurel Stein published a significant paper titled 'Notes on the Monetary System of Ancient Kashmir' on the medieval coins of Kashmir (Stein 1900). The author keenly observed

several varieties in the uniform design of copper coins of Toramana, portraying a standing king on the obverse and a seated goddess on the reverse. The obverse of these coins are inscribed with the Brahmi legend *Shri Toramana* and the reverse with the word *Kidara* in perpendicular pattern. The differences can be seen in the form of legend and treatment of the coins being struck for a long time. Besides this, the large quantity of these coins also indicates their vast production and prolonged circulation in the region. Accordingly, the good quality coins are of the original type and were minted at the beginning of the series (during the time of Toramana) while the coins of crude design appeared in the later period. Aurel Stein noted that this degradation progressively appeared in the forms of figures and their dresses as well as other elements which gradually transformed into a different stylized form of design. The available coins of Toramana reasonably justify the statement of Kalhana that certain coins of Kashmir were first minted by Prince Toramana in his own name without the consent of his elder brother, King Hiranya. Aurel Stein also remarked that the Toramana series constituted the earliest distinctive coinage of Kashmiri origin (Stein 1900, 151–54, nos. 13–15).

Like Cunningham, Stein argued that the first independent coins of Kashmir, as described above, were introduced by Toramana in his name and remained in circulation for a long time. It was further confirmed from the statement of Shrivara, reported in his *Chronicle* (III), that when the coins of Toramana were no longer in circulation, Sultan Hassan Shah (1472–84 CE) minted a new lead coin called *Dvidinnari*. The copper coins known by the term *Shritoramanadinaran*, after Toramana, must have been in circulation in the region till the fifteenth century. Similarly, Aurel Stein traced the term '*toramanah*' before *nishkah* and *dinnarah* in the miscellaneous list of words recorded by Lokaprakasha. He argued for the prolonged circulation (i.e. 800 years) of the Toramana series of coins, which were struck not only by King Toramana but also by the subsequent rulers of the Karkota dynasty. He also estimated the exchange rate of Toramana coins, which were struck in heavy weight as compared to the later light-weight coins, i.e. eight Toramanas went against ten Puntshus (Stein 1900, 154–57).

Vincent A. Smith (1906) dated the Toramana series of coins to the sixth century and their continuous circulation until the fifteenth century. He described that the earliest coin belonged to the reign of Toramana and the remaining, showing the name Toramana, were apparently issued by his successors. Smith was not interested in differentiating the original coins of Toramana from the imitation series. Smith generally followed Stein's statement (based on the assumption of Kalhana's *Rajatarangini*) that Toramana 'is identified with the prince so-called, who put in circulation coins struck in his own name during the lifetime of his brother King Hiranya'. He simply stated that Toramana mentioned in the *Chronicle of Kashmir* was identical or not with that Toramana, the king of Hephthalites, the son of Mihirakula, who issued coins in various types and designs. Smith briefly remarked that the coin design of Kashmir was derived from the standard type of the Kushans, having a standing king on the obverse and a seated goddess on the reverse (Smith 1906, 266–07).

Like other scholars, Smith remarked that the historical accounts and attribution of coins to the Hindu rulers of Kashmir from the time of Sankaravarman (883–902 CE) onwards are well defined and found in correct order. Of these, the earliest coins are from the Toramana series where the figures are shown in realistic form. The coins of Toramana were produced in heavy weight i.e. about 100 grains each, and the coins issued after Sankaravarman were in lighter weight. Smith remarked that the later coins of this series were found in very crude style and the figures generally

appeared in grotesque form. This monotonous coinage of the Toramana series was characteristically barbarous and devoid of aesthetic value (ibid., 266-67).

In his catalogue, Smith organized the coins of the Kashmir rulers into four groups: (a) early kings (Toramana and successors); (b) Utpala dynasty; (c) first Lohara dynasty; and (d) second Lohara dynasty. The early kings are represented by one copper coin of Khingila (Khinkhila, Narendraditya) and eleven copper coins of Toramana. Of these, the author illustrated three 'good' examples of Toramana (ibid., 267-73, pl. XXVII, nos. 2-4). Besides the Toramana series, the catalogue incorporated many copper coins of uniform design inscribed with the name of individual rulers of Kashmir known from the reign of Shankaravarman of the Utpala dynasty and onwards (Smith 1906, 270-73, pl. XXVII, nos. 9-17).

In 1922, Charles J. Brown briefly discussed the early coinage of Kashmir in his book *The Coins of India* and traced their origin to the Hephthalite rulers in the sixth century. The earliest coins of Kashmir, depicting a head of a king on the obverse and a vase on the reverse, were assigned to Khingila of the fifth century. The second series, portraying a standing figure on the obverse and a seated deity on the reverse, obviously based on the Kidarite style gold coins, were said to have been issued by the Naga rulers in the eighth century. The author attributed the copper coins of Toramana to the Hephthalite ruler and considered them as a disputed series of Kashmir coinage (Brown 1922, 54-55).

Ram C. Kak (1923) arranged one copper coin of Toramana before the uniform coinage of the Hindu rulers of Kashmir. He described the design of this coin to have a standing figure on the obverse and a seated goddess on the reverse (Kak 1923, no. 16). The author associated the subject of Toramana with the White Huns who invaded and ruled over Northern India about 500 CE. The subsequent issues of the Hindu rulers of Kashmir, showing a seated goddess on the obverse and a standing king on the reverse, are said to have minted after the Toramana coins (ibid., 154-58).

Sunil C. Ray (1952) contributed a significant paper on Toramana coins titled 'The Identity of Toramana of Kashmir Coins' and attempted to resolve various issues related to the coinage of this ruler. The weight pattern of Toramana coins occurred between 100 and 120 grains is similar to those of the Kidara Kushans. He described the coin design as: the standing king with the Brahmi legend *Shri Toramana* on the obverse and a seated goddess with perpendicular legend *Kidara* on the reverse. Ray, following the pattern of Cunningham, remarked that the coins of Kashmir were issued by the local ruler Toramana who was mentioned in the *Rajatarangini*. This Toramanaruled later, after the Huna (Hephthalite) king Mihirakula, who may not be identical with the powerful Huna ruler Toramana, the father of Mihirakula who conquered the Punjab, Sindh and Malwa regions. The author thus denied the attribution of these coins to the Huna Toramana, the father of Mihirakula, as earlier suggested by some scholars (Ray 1952, 152-54).

Besides this, the author noted some basic differences in the coin design after comparing them with those of Mihirakula. The copper coins of Mihirakula, having a standing figure of king on the obverse and a seated goddess with cornucopia over her left shoulder on the reverse (modelled on the pattern of the Kushans) were issued in Kashmir. The coins of Toramana likely exhibit the same devices such as a standing king on the obverse but with the word '*Kidara*' and seated goddess with lotus flower over her left shoulder instead of a cornucopia on the reverse. The word *Kidara* is absent from the coins of Mihirakula. This coin design of Toramana was likewise followed by his son and successor, Pravarasena II, mentioned in the *Rajatarangini*. The word *Kidara* was similarly retained

on the coins of Pravarasena II, who ruled in the last quarter of the sixth century CE, and on the coins of the Karkotaka rulers. On the basis of style, legend, attributes, fabric and execution, Ray assigned these coins to Toramana of Kashmir and not to Toramana, the father of Mihirakula, the great king of the Huna dynasty (ibid.). In view of this comparison, the coins of Mihirakula seem to have been issued earlier than those of the Toramana coins. In reference to the historical accounts, he further justified his views that the circulation of Huna Toramana coins in Kashmir was hardly to be accepted because Kashmir had not been conquered by Toramana but by his son Mihirakula (ibid., 153–54, 156).

Similarly, Ray refused to attribute these coins to a different Toramana whose name is mentioned in the *Rajatarangini*. This Toramana was the ruler of the Shahi dynasty of Ohind and Gandhara who lived in the tenth century CE. In this way, Ray has convincingly assigned the Toramana series of coins to the Kashmiri Toramana, father of Pravarasena II (ibid., 154–55).

In response to this interpretation of the author, Anant S. Altekar, editor of the journal (Journal of the Numismatic Society, XIII/1) suggested that the coins of Toramana were mechanically reproduced for hundreds of years and some were definitely later imitations belonging to different periods as late as the fifteenth century. In this regard, he gave the example of the Toramana coin published by Cunningham, which are in a better style and are earlier in date than the Toramana coins included by Smith in his catalogue. Contrary to Ray, Altekar attributed the early coins to Toramana, the Hunaking who ruled in the sixth century. Altekar also criticised Smith for associating these coins with Toramana, the son of Mihirakula, while ignoring the countermarked coins of Mihirakula which carried the legend 'Tora' of Toramana. Altekar suggested that Mihirakula probably had a son, who he named after his own father, Toramana. This theory was based on some Huna coins of Mihirakula, counterstruck by Toramana, with the head of king on the obverse and a bull on the reverse. Hoernle, who illustrated these coins, created confusion as he interpreted the Huna coins in the context of the *Rajatarangini* (Ray 1952, 155–57; Hoernle 1885, 4–7, Pl. I, figs. 1–5).

Ray disagreed with the above views of Altekar regarding the re-strikes of Mihirakula made by his son Toramana. He argued that the restrikes were usually exercised by a rival king or conqueror and not by one's son or father. He further suggested that such coins might have been counterstruck by another person whose name was Toramana but not this Toramana, father of Pravarasena II. These counter-struck coins of Mihirakula reported from Punjab are definitely of Huna origin. On the other hand, the coins of this Toramana, father of Pravarasena II, are from a well-known series of Kashmir and found in abundance in the territory (Ray 1952, 156–57).

Sunil C. Roy, writing on the medium of exchange in ancient Kashmir, briefly commented on the copper coins of Kashmir originated by Toramana in the sixth century CE (Roy 1956). This type of currency was a distinctive coinage of Kashmir which had been in circulation for many centuries until the time of Muslim rule in the fifteenth century. These coins were known to have been produced in immense quantities by many rulers of Kashmir up to the beginning of the Karkota dynasty in the seventh century. The coins of the Karkota (or Karkotaka) dynasty are in copper and mixed metal like gold, silver and copper. After the decline of the Hephthalites, Kashmir re-established her previous trade links with neighbouring countries such as Tibet, China and some provinces of India, particularly in the early phase of the Karkota dynasty (Roy 1956, 73–74).

Lallanji Gopal briefly highlighted the weight of Toramana coins of Kashmir. The weight of these occurred between 83.8 and 111.5 grains, which was substantially heavier than the subsequent

coins issued by Sankaravarman and his successors. The weight of later series ranged between 71.5 and 97.5 grains (Gopal 1965, 190).

In his following work, Lallanji Gopal added a section called 'Standing king and seated goddess Type' on Kashmir coinage published in the series of Numismatic Notes and Monograph titled 'Early Medieval Coin Types of Northern India' (Gopal 1966, 16-17). He described the coin design of Kashmir, showing standing king with a spear on the obverse and a seated goddess on the reverse, and emphasized that this type had remained unchanged for over 1,200 years, i.e. from Kanishka of the Kushan dynasty down to the period of Muslim rule in 1339 CE. On the coins of Toramana and Pravarasena, the deity on the reverse is replaced with a lotus, similar to what appeared on Gupta coins. In the Utpala dynasty, both arms of the seated goddess were gradually displaced to accommodate the legend in certain area (Gopal 1966, 16–17).

The author discussed in-depth the coinage of Toramana and highlighted its salient features. Like other scholars, Gopal credited Toramana for the introduction of a new model of coinage which was unanimously retained by all the subsequent rulers of Kashmir. The coins inscribed with the legend 'Toramana' are known in abundance; these were not only issued by the king himself but also by his successors for many centuries. On later coins (imitations) of Toramana, the word 'Kidara' disappeared from the reverse. This series of coinage is said to have circulated in Kashmir from the sixth to the fifteenth centuries. Gopal generally repeated the views and interpretations presented by Cunningham, Stein and Smith regarding the Toramana series of coins. He also highlighted the statement of Kalhana, that Toramana and his coinage originated in Kashmir. Accordingly, he attributed these coins to Toramana, the princely brother of Hiranya, the king of Kashmir who was imprisoned by his brother after issuing coins in his own name. Gopal mentioned that the Huna Toramana and Kashmiri Toramana are often considered identical but they were actually two different persons originating from different backgrounds. The Huna Toramana, known from coins and inscriptions, was a great conqueror and father of Mihirakula. The Kashmiri Toramana, identified from coins and historical references, was a brother of Hiranya and father of Pravarasena II who never ascended to the throne and died in captivity (*ibid.*, 18–20).

Unlike Cunningham and Rodgers, Kenneth W. West (1978) signified the obverse design with the standing figure of a king and reverse with a seated goddess, where the first part of the name of the ruler was moved on the reverse side of the coin after Pravarasena. In view of the two variations of the reverse figure, West generally classified the medieval coinage of Kashmir into two broad groups. One variety, in which the reverse deity looks like a dagger, is known for the production of base gold (electrum) coins. Like Cunningham and Gopal, West generally attributed the first variety, i.e. base gold coins, to the rulers (Durlabha through Jayapira) of the Naga dynasty produced before the copper coinage of Toramana. However, he was uncertain about such coins issued before the Varma (Utpala) dynasty (West 1978, 69-71).

On the second variety, the reverse figure is shown seated on a lion's back with knees spread wide known in base metal (copper). The coins of this variety began from the copper series of Pravarasena I and Toramana. Instead of this classification, West placed the above-mentioned base gold and copper coins of Toramana together. He further demarcated that the copper coins of this design were commonly known as 'Toramana due to the legend of Toramana inscribed on them. This style of coinage, with or without his name, continued in circulation until the Muslim conquest of Kashmir. Later, Avantivarman, founder of the Varma (Utpala) dynasty, and his successors displaced

the name of Toramana from this series of coinage and inserted their own names. In this way, the copper coins of Kashmir inscribed with the name of Toramana were minted from the Kushan period to the reign of Avantivarman (ibid.).

Michael Mitchiner (1878) briefly highlighted the Toramana series of copper coins, displaying the standing figure of a king on the obverse and a seated goddess on the reverse. He organised these coins of Kashmir into two varieties. The early coins of good workmanship inscribed with legend '*Sri Toramana*' on one side and '*Jaya*' on the other obviously belonged to Toramana II (540–70 CE), the successor of Mihirakula in Kashmir who fought the Maukharis. But later coins made in crude style, termed as anonymous derivatives of the Toramana coinage, were imitations by the rulers of the Karkota dynasty. These imitations were produced between 570 and 855 CE. (Mitchiner 1978: 495).

In the following work, Michael Mitchiner compiled a long list of Kashmiri rulers whose names and titles were traced on their coins (1979, 36-39). Accordingly, he highlighted these names and titles inscribed on their coins in Sharada characters. This list comprises the names of Hindu rajas of the last five dynasties of Kashmir, ranging from Duptala (Utpala) to Vuppadeva. Mitchiner associated the origin of the uniform coin design of Kashmir with the rule of Toramana II (530–70 CE), grandson of the Hephthalite King Toramana I. These coins of Kashmir represent the standing figure of the king on the obverse and an enthroned goddess on the reverse. Like his previous work, Mitchiner divided this series of coins into two groups, the early coins of good workmanship belonged to Toramana and later coins of crude style to his successors. Like other scholars, he attributed the post-Toramana coinage to the rulers of the Karkota dynasty (c.627–855 CE) who likewise imitated the coins of Toramana without any changes. Then the rulers of the Duptala (Utpala) dynasty also retained the same pattern for their coinage but they dropped the name of Toramana and began to write their own names. Thereafter, the same practice was carried on by the successors (Mitchiner 1979, 36–39).

Y.B. Singh (1982) briefly highlighted the economic condition of medieval Kashmir, where copper currency along with bronze and ivory icons was produced in the eighth century and onwards. Besides this, early Toramana coins of Kashmir were prevailed in circulation at the time. The author further explained the reasons for inferior-quality copper coins being minted in the early medieval period of Kashmir. Due to the decline of trade in the region after the discontinuation of trade links between Central Asia, Tibet, and China, as well as the rise of the Turks in the eighth century, the weak economy of Kashmir noticeably shifted to the stamped money. In such circumstances, the importance of copper coins was greatly recognised. At the same time, the copper series of Toramana was already existed and continually circulated till the fifteenth century (Singh 1982, 180–84).

In 1978, Singh compiled another article on the medieval currency of Kashmir titled 'Perspective on Coins of Early Medieval Kashmir'. In this work, he emphasised on the need for a numismatic approach to the coins of early medieval of Kashmir which had, in general, been neglected. Singh demonstrated that the early currency of Kashmir was of good quality due to the increasing trade links with Central Asia and neighbouring countries. Then it began to decline after the coinage of Toramana due to the discontinuation of trade with Kashmir's eastern neighbours. After the tenth century, the currency of Kashmir improved for a short period due to its new contacts with Karnataka state when Harsha, the local ruler of Kashmir, copied some fantastic designs of the monarch of this region (Singh 1987, 121–4).

In the light of above-mentioned works of Cunningham, Bela Lahiri (1984) attempted to evaluate the coinage of Kashmir from the early medieval phase in the sixth century down to the late medieval period in the mid-thirteenth century. The author broadly highlighted the coins of the early phases of Kashmir. From these numismatic evidences, he traced the evolution of the later coinage of Kashmir which became uniform in design and then gradually evolved into a crude style of execution. Accordingly, the scholar associated the origin of Kashmiri coinage with the rule of Mihirakula, the Hephthalite king who conquered Kashmir in the first half of the sixth century and retained the coin design of 'standing king' and 'enthroned deity' of the Kushans. This design was then imitated by the successors and thus it went through different stages of evaluation and degradation. Finally, it evolved into the standard 'Kashmir type' during the reign of Shankaravarma, the second ruler of the Utpala dynasty who began to issue the coins in his own name. Thereafter, except for some experiments by Harshadeva, the subsequent rulers of various dynasties consistently retained the subject design till the Muslim conquest of Kashmir in mid-fourteenth century. In view of the prolonged circulation of this monotonous design, Lahiri distinguished three groups of Kashmir coins, namely: (1) Mihirakula and his successors; (2) Toramana, the Kidara chief and his successors; and (3) the Karkotas (Lahiri 1984, 104–05).

Lahiri discussed in-depth the coins of the second group i.e. Toramana, his son Pravarasena II and successors, and recognised the connections of Toramana coins with the Kidarites. Lahiri is of the opinion that this Toramana was a different person from the father of Mihirakula of the Hephthalite dynasty. Accordingly, this Toramana originated a new series of Kashmir coins which appeared later, years after Mihirakula's rule. Like Mihirakula, the coin design of Toramana was also modelled on the pattern of Kushan coinage, portraying a 'standing king' on the obverse and a 'seated goddess' on the reverse. In the process of evolution of this coinage, the cornucopia held by the reverse deity in her left arm was replaced by a lotus with a long stem similar to the case of the reverse figure on the Gupta coins. Hence, the reverse of Toramana coins unanimously display the seated figure with a lotus flower in her left arm over her shoulder. Another change also appeared on these coins where the word *Kidara* arranged perpendicularly in the left field of reverse. Accordingly, Lahiri assigned this group of Toramana coins to the family of Kidara or Little Kushans who ruled after Mihirakula. He conjectured that Kashmir was retaken by the Little Kushans after a brief rule of the Hephthalites under Mihirakula (ibid., 103–05).

Lahiri identified further notable changes in the silver coins of Pravarasena II, the successor of Toramana, where the obverse and reverse devices were reshuffled: henceforth, the seated goddess with the first part of the legend appeared on the obverse and the standing figure with the second part of the legend on the reverse. This was a landmark in the evolution of Kashmir coinage and was unanimously followed by Toramana's successors (ibid., 105).

John Deyell (1990), speaking about on the monetary history of Kashmir, briefly discussed the production and prolonged circulation of the copper coins of Kashmir issued in the name of Toramana. He states that the Toramana type of coins were introduced in the first half of the sixth century. The same type, bearing the name of Toramana, continued to be issued without any change for over 300 years during the Naga (or Karkota) dynasty (520–855 CE). Then, in the mid-ninth century, the uniform design of Toramana design coinage shifted to another format where the name of each individual ruler regularly began to appear on a similar stylized series of coins. Consequently, the Toramana coins were likely continued in circulation till the mid-fifteenth century alongside the

new issues minted by succeeding twenty-nine rulers (Deyell 1990, 61–63, no. 62).

In his recent work 'Treasure, Trade and Tradition: Post Kidarite Coins of Gangetic Plains and Punjab Foothills', Deyell (2017) has focused on the post-Kidarite coins of Kashmir and its surrounding regions. Deyell attributed the post-Kidarite base gold series—bearing the names of Durlabha, Namvi, Pratapa, Vighraha, Vinaya and YaSho - to the rulers of the foothills of Punjab and Gandhara. Earlier, this enigmatic series of coinage was found mixed with the local coinage of Kashmir and erroneously assigned to the rulers of the Naga (625–757 CE) and Karkota dynasties (600–782 CE) of Kashmir. This series of coinage was incorrectly assigned by scholars to fill in the gap found between the issues of Toramana (late fifth or sixth century) and regular copper coins of the Utpala dynasty (ninth century) (Deyell 2017, 20–22, 160). For an alternate solution, like the model of Stein, Deyell argued for the prolonged circulation of Toramana coinage in Kashmir which passed through the process of evolution over 300 years (sixth to ninth centuries) (ibid., 29, 207, Fig. 1.5).

In the arrangement of Kashmir coinage, Deyell is of the opinion that the copper *dinnaras* or *puntshus*, a local term for copper coins of Kashmir, were first minted by Toramana, father of Pravarasena II, the local ruler known from the *Rajatarangini*. Deyell traced the origin of these coins to the late fifth or beginning of the sixth century. This series of coins was obviously initiated by Toramana who inscribed his name on them. These coins were subsequently issued by the successors without any changes and likely retained the name of the progenitor of these coins. Deyell suggested that Toramana developed this coin design from the base gold type of Pravarasena I who ruled before him. This design comprised the theme of Shaivite divinities, with a standing figure of Shiva on the obverse and the seated figure of Bhagavati on the reverse. He illustrated a few coins of the Toramana series and wanted to show their gradual degradation over the course of time. Deyell also emphasised on their extended production and circulation, at least 500 years, as these coins are regularly found in hoards with the contents of later periods (Deyell 2017, Figs. 1.2, 1.5, 16.17, 20.1). In the mid-ninth century, the name of Toramana was replaced, and the name of each individual ruler appeared on the stylized form of the Toramana design. This practice is attested from the names of thirty Hindu rulers who succeeded Toramana till the mid-fourteenth century (Deyell 2017, 160–61, 207–10).

Parmeshwari L. Gupta (1996) briefly commented on the various series of coins related to Kashmir, such as Hephthalite coins, Kidara Kushans (post-Kidarite) debased gold issues, and the well-known copper coins based on the pattern of Toramana coinage. The author highlighted copper coins of the Kidara Kushan type inscribed with the name Toramana, which remained in circulation for a long time. He assigned these coins to Toramana, the Hephthalite king, and not local Toramana of Kashmir, mentioned in the *Rajatarangini*. Similarly, Gupta attributed the post-Kidarite debased gold coins (having a seated goddess on one side and standing king on another) to the Karkota rulers of Kashmir (Gupta 1996).

Iqbal Ahmad (2013) elaborated a part of the Toramana series, having standing king on the obverse and enthroned Ardoxsho on the reverse, in his book on Kashmir coins. He attributed these coins to two rulers of the Hephthalites without any logic and arguments i.e. the early coins of good workmanship were attributed to Toramana and late coins of the same type to Mihirakula, i.e. father and son of the same dynasty (Ahmad 2013, 31–32, pls. xv–xvi).

Joe Cribb (2016) contributed a comprehensive article on the anomalies of debased gold coins of the early medieval period of Kashmir and the origin of Toramana coinage. This paper is based on a hoard of fifty-one base-gold coins which he collected from different sources. The author remarked

that the coin design of base-gold coinage of Kashmir was basically derived from the Kidarites/Kushans which had further been developed under the Guptas (Cribb 2016, 100–01).

Cribb successfully addressed the anomalies that occurred in debased gold coins of the early medieval of Kashmir and its surrounding region, issued between the Kidarite-Kushan coinage and the beginning of Toramana series. The author critically analysed two different series of debased gold coins, which Cunningham had earlier erroneously mixed together, and listed them according to the early medieval rulers of Kashmir. In the first series of coinage, based on the Gupta style of Kushan pattern, Cribb assigned such debased gold coins to the Kashmir rulers Meghama, Pravarasena, Tuyasina and Toramana. In this series, the coins of Meghama and Toramana are a new addition. He listed the coins of these rulers between the early sixth and early seventh centuries instead of the periods earlier suggested by Kalhana - from the second to the fifth centuries (Cribb 2016, 87–102). The hoard comprised four debased gold coins of Toramana which contained a very low content of gold, i.e. less than 6 per cent. The design of these coins was obviously derived from the base-gold coins of his father and predecessor, King Pravarasena I, and hence was not known before this. The name Toramana on these coins is identical with Huna Toramana, father of Mihirakula, but this was a different person who came after Mihirakula. The design of such base-gold coins of Toramana is identical with those of his early copper coins. In response to this work, Kapote scientifically analysed many copper of Toramana but could not trace any gold content in them (Kapote 2019, 825-32).

The gold coins of Toramana were definitely produced earlier than the copper coins, which seemed to be the precursor and prototype for the large production of his copper coins. Cribb also traced the origin of the coin design of Toramana showing standing Shiva with trident on the obverse and Goddess Shri Lakshmi seated on the lion throne on the reverse to the coins of his predecessors, Meghavahana and his father Pravarasena I. Like other scholars, Cribb suggests the minting period of Toramana copper coins, including imitations, to be from the sixth century onwards to the reign of Avantivarman (c.855–83CE), founder king of the Utpala dynasty, in the mid-ninth century (Cribb 2016, 100–04, 110).

In her article on the early coins of Toramana, 'An Investigation of the Early Phase Coin Series of Toramana of Kashmir' (Kapote 2019), Sneha Kapote carried out scientific analysis of a few examples of the Toramana series in order to explore the continuation of base-gold currency in similar coins after the discovery of some base gold coins of Toramana in a gold hoard. The contents of these coins suggest that this type of gold currency was in practice before the copper coinage of Toramana (Cribb 2016). She concludes that the early coins of Toramana with except hoard specimens were uniformly struck in copper, like the remaining copper issues of the late period. Accordingly, the early copper coins of Toramana were definitely issued in the intermediate phase, after a few known examples of his base-gold coins and before the later crude imitations. In view of the characteristic features and treatment of coins, Kapote like Mitchiner, broadly classified the copper coins of Toramana into two groups: the early copper coins and later imitations. She also suggested that the subject coins of Toramana needed to be classified elaborately into subcategories. She further explained that the crude imitations of Toramana have close resemblance with those of the coins of Avantivarman, the founder ruler of the Varma (Utpala) dynasty of Kashmir, although an appropriate link between the Toramana imitations and Avantivarman coins has yet to be established (Kapote 2019).

The previous scholarships, as described above, have obviously been working to resolve the following various issues related to the history and coinage of Toramana, since they were first brought to light in the nineteenth century:

1. Toramana, the owner of the subject coins of Kashmir as mentioned in the *Rajatarangini*, was definitely a local authority who issued coins in his own name without the consent of his elder brother, the ruling monarch Hiranya. Another Toramana, known from inscriptions and a separate series of coins, was a different king who had established his rule in Gandhara, Punjab and northern India in the late fifth and early sixth century CE. This Toramana, the conqueror of northern India and father of Mihirakula, obviously belonged to the Hephthalite dynasty.
2. It is widely accepted that the Toramana series of coins found in abundance were not all issued by himself but also produced by the successors for a long period of time. Accordingly, the subject coins designated with the name Toramana were regularly imitated by the rulers of the Karkota dynasty from the seventh to the mid-ninth century. It was Avantivarman (855–83 CE), founder king of the Utpala dynasty, who discarded the name Toramana and issued the coins in his own name (Khan 2024, 20-24). Despite this modification, the obverse and reverse design of these coins remained unaffected till the end of Hindu rule in Kashmir in the mid-fourteenth century. Thus, the subsequent Hindu rulers of Kashmir, except for a few gold and silver coins of King Harshadeva (1089-1101 CE), followed this pattern of Toramana which lasted till the time of Lakshmandeva and the successors of the Vuppa dynasty of Kashmir.
3. As described above, many scholars generally classified the copper coins of Toramana into two groups: (a) the early coins of good workmanship, and (b) the later coins of crude style. Hence, the first group of coins belonged to the life issues of Toramana and the second group of coins to the successors, the rulers of the Karkota dynasty. Now, the third group of Toramana comprises some base-gold coins, which are similar in design to his first group of copper coins. These coins evolved from the base-gold gold of Pravarasena I, the predecessors of Toramana, and hence they will be placed before the first group of regular copper coins.

Toramana Coins and the Present Scholarship

The above-mentioned division of the copper coins of Toramana is obviously very simple and presents generalized differences between the early and late coins. However, a prominent difference and regular changes can be observed between the two groups of coins when we compare the early coins with the late coins of Toramana. This classification is obviously inappropriate and incomplete due to a huge gap in the number of coins produced in the name of Toramana. In his last publications, Deyell attempted to incorporate more varieties of coins to fill up the gap between the early and late issues of the subject series of Toramana (Deyell 2016, 29, 160, 208–09, Figs. 1.5, 16.17. 20.1). However, this is still lacking various connections and further explanations. It is, therefore, essential to explore linkages amongst the various groups in order to: (a) identify the life issue of Toramana and separate them from his numerous imitations, and (b) understand the various phases of devaluation of the imitations from the beginning till the last issue occurred before the coinage of Avantivarman (855–83 CE).

There is a consensus, as cited above, amongst the scholars that the name of Toramana was first replaced by Avantivarman, founder ruler of the Utpala dynasty, with his own name. Besides this, no serious attempt has been made to discover the connections between the coins of Avantivarman and late imitations of Toramana. In this regard, Deyell's efforts are appreciated, as he placed one variety of Avantivarman coins after Toramana coins. But certain coins do not allow us to make any connections: for instance, the selected coins of Toramana belonged to his normal issues

while the sole example of Avantivarman cited by Deyell is of a different variety, brought out after the early issues, where the left arm of the reverse deity has been removed. This is indeed a great requirement of numismatic scholarship: to detect the close links between the late imitations of Toramana and early coins of Avantivarman.

Coin Design

The coin design of Toramana, as Cribb narrated, after some modifications, was based on the pattern of base-gold coins of Pravarasena I, the local ruler of medieval Kashmir. The obverse represents the standing figure of Shiva like a king, which was likewise appeared on the coins of the Kushans and Kidarites. The figure is standing frontally with head slightly turned to his right, right hand extended over a square altar in the left field and holding a trident in his raised left hand. There is a halo around his head, he wears necklace of pearls as well as a knee-length tight fitting tunic with belt around the waist, dhoti and tight leggings, and his outer legs are fastened with triangular knots. It is inscribed with the Gupta Brahmi legend '*Shri Toramana*' (anti-clockwise, read from outer edge) in perpendicular form in the upper left field and a water pot tied with a ribbon having narrow neck resting on a lotus, surmounted by a *chakra* or conch in the right field. The obverse figure, shown in a much-stylized form, where the scarf wrapped around his arms with floating ends appear like sleeves in broad foliage style and the lower hem of the dress is also in curved flanges.

The reverse of these coins portrays figure of Lakshmi seated frontally on the back of a lion with her head slightly turned to her right. The deity has a halo around her head, and is bedecked with elongated earrings, a necklace and an armband. She is wearing a peaked headdress, a long tunic having frontal ridge ornamented with a vertical lozenge pattern, neckline over breast and flared hem spread over thighs, tight leggings with hemline at ankle and a scarf wrapped around arms with floating ends. The deity holds a lotus flower in her raised right hand and a long-stem lotus in the form of *purnaghata* (vase of plenty) with floral stems over her left shoulder with the left hand resting in her lap. The recumbent lion is placed underneath the deity, facing left with head turned frontally. The right leg of the deity is flexed above the lion's back and left leg bent down before her body; a narrow-necked water pot tied with ribbons is surmounted by a conch and two foliage emerging from it stands in the left field. The Gupta Brahmi legend '*Kidara*' in perpendicular shape is in the outer left field and '*Jaya[ti]*' in the right field. Though this specific design of Kashmir coinage developed from the basic pattern of the Late Kushans and Kidarites, it further evolved stylistically under the Gupta rulers. Hence the subject coins of Toramana have close resemblance with the coins of the Gupta rulers.

Evolution of Toramana Coins

The profile and evolution of the medieval coinage of Kashmir is elaborately discussed and analysed in my forthcoming catalogue of the medieval coinage of Kashmir. The present paper only deals with the coin design of Toramana as described above, and its process of evolution till the beginning of a new pattern of coinage at the time of the Utpala dynasty, i.e. in the mid-ninth century. Thus, it includes all major and minor varieties of the uniform coins - both life issues and imitations - minted in the name of Toramana from the sixth to the ninth century. The coins issued in the name of Toramana are, thus, copious and extensively known in hoard contents, excavations, and museum collections. To understand the production of Toramana series, the present author widely investigated the subject stuff preserved in public museums, private collections, online auction catalogues and

worldwide online database sites. This collection of data obviously took me a long time to elaborate the process of the evolution of Toramana coins. Kapote and other scholars, as described above, always emphasised for the need of a detailed study of the Toramana series of Kashmir coins.

This design, once adopted by Toramana during the sixth century, became a popular type of Kashmiri coinage which was regularly retained by his successors until the beginning of Islamic coinage in the mid-fourteenth century. Over the course of time, the said type passed through various stages of transformation and gradually changed into stereotypes where the body parts, dresses and headdresses of deities, attributes and other features on both sides were shown separately. As a result, the figures and other features were completely departed from their original design. Thus, the subject design eventually lost its original characters where the figures and associated features were merely represented by certain lines and dots or dotted flowers. Similarly, other elements, including the figure of the seated lion and both arms of the reverse deity, were also dropped in the process of devolution. The name Toramana was retained on the coins by his successors, the rulers of the Karkota dynasty, after which the name of the individual ruler regularly appeared on coins from the time of Avantivarman, founder king of the Utpala dynasty, in the mid-ninth century. Thereafter, the name of each individual ruler was partially inscribed on one side and partially on other side of the coin. This practice was continued till the time of Lakshmandeva of the Vuppa dynasty, who inscribed his own name (like his predecessors). After this, the name of individual rulers of the Hindu rajas of Kashmir disappeared from coins. During this period, only Harshadeva interrupted the existing pattern for a short while when he borrowed some foreign designs for his gold and silver coins.

A. Life Issues of Toramana

Stage 1: Seated deity wearing lozenge-patterned tunic

These coins comprise late base-gold and early copper coins, all of which were produced in uniform design. The obverse, as described above, has a standing figure of Shiva with head slightly rotated to his right, right hand extended over the square altar with a dot in the centre, and a short pedestal below in the left field. He is holding a long trident terminated in curved shape in his raised left hand, halo around head, and is wearing a necklace, knee-length tight fitting tunic with belt around the waist, dhoti and tight leggings. The outer calves are clasped with large triangular knots. This side is inscribed with Gupta Brahmi legend '*Shri Toramana*' (anti-clockwise, read from outer edge) in the upper left field, and a narrow-necked water pot tied with a band neck resting on lotus, surmounted by a *chakra* or conch in the right field. The scarf wrapped around his arms with floating ends is shown as part of the sleeves in broad foliage style and lower hem of dress also in curved flanges. On some coins a row of dots is added above the square altar in the left field.

The reverse figure is seated frontally on the lion's back with head slightly curved to her right, halo around head. She is wearing pointed crown, large elongated earrings, necklace with neckline over breast, armband, tunic with frontal band adorned with vertical lozenge-shaped design and flanged hem spread over thighs, tight leggings with hemline at ankle and a scarf wrapped around arms with extended floating ends. The deity holds a lotus flower in her raised right hand and a long stem in the form of *puṇnaghata* (vase of plenty) with three flowers over left shoulder in the left hand resting in her lap. The recumbent lion is facing left with head turned frontally, the right leg of the deity flexed over the lion's shoulder and left leg bent before her body. A narrow-necked water pot tied with ribbons is surmounted by a conch and two foliage emerging from it stands in the left field and word '*Kidara*' in the outer left field and *Jaya*[*ti*] in the right.

A1. Legend: *Kidara/ Jaya[ti]*, lozenge tunic (R); Legend: *Shri Toramana* (O), debased gold

Obv. Shiva standing frontally with head in profile to left, halo around head, wearing peaked headdress, dotted necklace, knee-length tight tunic with scarf around shoulders which is converted into short flared sleeves; the lower hem of tunic also appears in flanged shape; short dhoti and leggings at ankles tied with ribbons in the form of triangle (outer side); right arm extending over altar and raised left holding a trident with curved outer prongs within crescent. A narrow-necked water pot tied with band placed on lotus flower and topped by a conch stands in the right field. Gupta Brahmi legend *Shri Toramana* (anti-clockwise, read from edge) in upper left field.

Rev. Female figure seated frontally with head slightly turned to her right; she wears a short pronged headdress surmounted by an arch-like ornament, short tunic decorated with vertical lozenge-shaped pattern, flared hem with horizontal curves spread over thighs, tight leggings with hemline at ankle, holding a lotus in her raised right hand and left hand resting in her lap with long-stem lotus blossom in the form of *purnaghata* (vase of plenty) with three flowers over left shoulder. The left leg of the deity is flexed frontally and the right leg bent over the lion's shoulder. A narrow-necked water pot tied with band is surmounted by a conch with foliage emerging from it stands in the left field. The Gupta Brahmi legend '*Kidara*' is on the outer left and *Jaya[ti]* on the right.

Reference: Cribb 2016, Figs. 10–11

Nos. & Source: 1*. Akshay Jain, 7.19g [Fig A1.1], 2*. Germany [Fig. A1.2]



Fig. A1.1



Fig. A1.2



A2. Legend: *Kidara/Jaya*, lozenge tunic (R); Legend: *Shri Toramana* (O), copper

Obv. As A1, wearing tight tunic with wide dotted brim, scarf over shoulders shown in foliage pattern, like sleeves on a tunic, belt around waist, dhoti and tight leggings tied with ribbons in the form of chicken hocks. A narrow-necked water pot tied with band resting on lotus, surmounted by a *chakra* or conch is in the right field. Gupta Brahmi legend *Shri Toramana* is in the upper left field.

Rev. As A1, tunic decorated with lozenge-shaped central band, belt tied around waist, Gupta Brahmi legend '*Kidara*' on left and '*Jaya*' on right.

Reference. Cunningham 1894, III.2; Gopal 1966, I.1; West 1978, 70 (var, a–b)

Nos. and Source: 3. BM 1894.0507.920, 6.39g, 4. BM 1894.0507.364, 6.17g

Fig. A2.1. pinterest.com.pin (obv) & V Coin (rev)



Fig. A2.1



**A3. Legend: *Kidara/Jaya*, lozenge tunic, lion's head uncertain (R)
Legend: *Shri Toramana* (O), copper**

Obv. As A2, Gupta Brahmi legend '*Shri Toramana*' in upper left field.

Rev. As A2, but lion's head underneath deity is usually off flan and word '*Kidara*' in the left field often disappeared.

Reference: Cunningham 1894, III.2; Gopal 1966, I.1; West 1978, 70 (var, b)

Nos. & Source: 5. BM 1894.0507.2030, 6.48g, 6. BM 1902.0608, [4]37, 5.41g

Fig. A3.1. Stephen Album



B. Imitation Series of Toramana

As cited above, this series of coins passed through different phases of transformation where the original design of the deities on both sides gradually transformed into outlines of the figures such as head, legs and arms parted away from the central body. Hence, the middle body of the obverse figure appeared in small crossed lines and the middle of the reverse figure composed of merely two short folds in the form of parallel horizontal lines. Similarly, the flanged hem and scarf in the form of sleeves of tunic and dhoti changed into short parallel lines, while the lotus flower surmounted by water flask and then by a conch changed into a simple *kalasha* (vase), both in obverse right and reverse left fields. A leaning lion underneath the reverse figure gradually disappeared from the late issues of Toramana. The reverse legend was confined to the letter '*Ja*' or '*Jaya*' and there are no more remnants of the obverse legend in the final stage of the Toramana series of coins. The following classification of Toramana coins usually reflect the degeneration of designs where the features disappeared forever or were altered from one form into another. Hence, prominent changes are noticeable in the following four varieties whereas further small variation are given in sub-varieties. The coins of this design were likely carried on by Avantivarman of the Dutpala (Utpala) dynasty who retained the same type of Toramana coins and inscribed them with his own name (Khan 2024, 20-24).

Stage 2: Seated deity wearing folded tunic

The obverse and reverse designs are almost identical with those of the normal issues of Toramana, as described above, but a notable difference is observed in the form of dress of the enthroned deity. This seems to be the first deviation from the early design where the enthroned figure wears a similar belted tunic with flared hems but the middle part below the breast appears in parallel horizontal folds. As cited above, on the normal issues of Toramana, this part of the tunic was noticeably made in central lozenge pattern. Similarly, on some coins, the flared skirt at the lower hem of dress of the obverse and reverse sides also appeared in regular dots. A row of dots above the square altar in the left field of obverse is now a regular part of the device. Besides this, other minute differences can be noticed in sub-variety 5.5. On well-preserved examples, these differences are vividly visible but on blurred and worn coins such features are not noticeably detectable.

B1. Legend: *Jaya*, folded tunic, lion's head left (R); Legend: *Shri Toramana* (O), copper

Obv. As A2, wearing pointed cap but lower hem of flared skirt appears in the form of dots, leggings tied with triangular knots. Gupta Brahmi legend *Shri Toramana* in upper left field.

Rev. As A2, but narrow waist with prominent breasts, wears dotted necklace, middle part of long tunic below breast is shown in parallel horizontal folds instead of vertical lozenge band. The left leg of deity is flexed frontally with right leg bent over the lion's shoulder; the pot in the left field is in circular shape. The word *Kidara* in the left field has disappeared.

Reference: Cunningham 1894, III.2; Gopal 1966, I.3; West 1978, 70 (var, b)

Nos. & Source: 7*. BM 1859.0301.101, 6.37g [Fig. B1.1], 8. BM 1859.0507.2029, 7.19g



Fig. B1.1



B2. Legend: *Jaya*, folded tunic, narrow waist, lion's head left (R); Legend: *Shri Toramana* (O)

Obv. As B1, wears pointed cap, flared hem of tunic and skirt appear in the form of dots, leggings tied with triangular knots. Gupta Brahmi legend *Shri Toramana* in upper left field.

Rev. As B1, but deity has narrow waist and prominent breasts, tunic below breast shown in the form of horizontal (barred) folds.

Reference: Cunningham 1894, III.2; Stein 1899, X.13; Gopal 1966, I.1; West 1978, 70 (var, b)

Nos. & Source: 9. BM 1890.0604.42, 6.90g, 10. BM 1894.0507.2028, 7.12g

Fig. B2.1. Todywalla.com 0179-0027-01, 6.23g



Fig. B2.1



Stage 3: Seated deity wearing folded tunic and other changes

In the first phase of imitations (stage-2), the major difference was the horizontal folds of the tunic shown below the swinging breast of the enthroned deity. In the following phase (stage-3), the differences become more prominent and now these coins can easily be differentiated from the normal issues of Toramana; hence, anyone can identify them as imitations without a doubt. The natural curves in obverse and reverse figures and realist approach in design gradually diminish. These coins obviously developed from the coins of stage-2 and hence the tunic folds below chest of the reverse deity appear in stylized form with marked distinction and shown in parallel horizontal bars. The swinging breasts of deity have disappeared and the necklace and neckline become an upper segment of the body which is separated from lower body by the aforementioned horizontal bars. The left hand of the reverse deity, without lotus flower stem, appears in triangular form like a dagger. The

tunic length of reverse figure is now shorter and the horizontal curves over thighs disappeared. The legs of the reverse figure are now disproportional and the left one seems taller and is parted away from the body.

The flared hem of the tunics of the obverse and reverse figures are statically shown with prominent dots in rows. The flared sleeves (formerly scarf) of the obverse figures appear in stylized form of three oblique lines with dots below in the shape of bells. The middle body, basically part of the dress, is now shown in cross bands with a dot below and above. The normal form of the hair of the obverse figure has changed into dots enclosed within a halo. Similarly, the dhoti has now changed into parallel vertical lines with dotted ends in bell shape arranged underneath the alignment of parallel flared ends of the tunic. A square altar with a short pedestal in the left field is now filled with four dots, while on earlier coins it had a single dot in the centre. A row of dots above the square altar is likely continued.

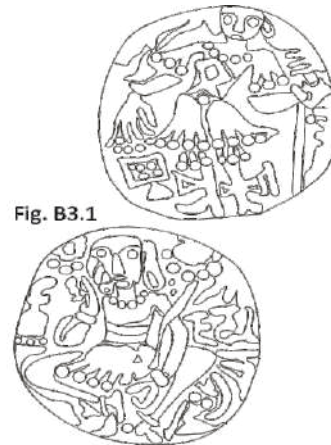
**B3. Legend: *Jaya*, folded tunic, narrow waist, lion's head left (R)
Legend: *Shri Toramana* (O), figures in segments**

Obv. As B1, hair appears in dots and wears a pointed cap, dotted necklace, flared skirt with lower hem in the form of prominent dots and decorated with cross bands followed by a dot, short dhoti in the form of vertical lines like flares of tunic, leggings tied with large triangular knots. Right hand sacrificing over a square altar topped by a row of dots and holding a staff surmounted by a crescent filled with a dotted flower. Gupta Brahmi legend *Shri Toramana* in upper left field.

Rev. As B2, narrow waist and inconspicuous breasts, wears dotted necklace, tunic below chest shown in the form of segmented bands followed by a flared hem with prominent dots. Horizontal curves over thighs disappear, left hand holding a lotus flower stem before left thigh shown in triangular shape. The word *Kidara* in the left field disappears.

Reference: Cunningham 1894, III.2; Gopal 1966, I.2; West 1978, 71 (var. d)

Nos. & Source: 11*. BM 1894.0704.03, 6.88g [Fig. B3.1], 12. AM [Nick] 2020.07.10, 7.15g



Stage 4: Lion's head disappears and letters *Jaya* are bold and prominent

Further degradation of the obverse and reverse design became dominant in this stage, corresponding to the major changes in the third stage of the Toramana series. The obverse and reverse figures now appear in stereotype and hence many organs, particularly arms and legs, are shown separately. The obverse figure wears a plain peaked headdress while the reverse figure wears dotted headdress. In previous stages, the head of the reverse figure was shown turned to her right but now the head is changed into a frontal position. Similarly, the head of the obverse figure is also changed into frontal position but on some coins it is still slightly curved towards to the right side. The obverse figure is divided in the middle by a large dot in the belly. A square altar filled with dots in the left field of the obverse is no longer clearly visible. The upper part of a trident appears in the form of large crescent filled with dots.

The lotus flower below the water vase in the left field of the reverse is merely shown in dots and, similarly, a lotus flower held by the deity in her raised right hand in the left field is also merged into dotted flower. A lotus flower held by the deity in the left hand above her shoulder is altered to become a dotted flower. The lion's head underneath the reverse deity has now disappeared; however, the hind part with dots is still visible on some coins. The water vase above lotus flower, surmounted by a conch and tangled with ribbons, has changed into a simple *puṛṇaghata* (*kalasha*) placed in the right field of the obverse and left field of the reverse. The right hand of the reverse deity is shown with additional inner and outer parallel vertical lines (folds of sleeves).

Other minor variations and degenerations are further shown in the following sub-varieties.

B4. Legend: *Jaya*, barred tunic, narrow waist, lion head left (R); *Shri Toramana*, dotted ring (O)

Obv. As B3, the figure has long hair over left shoulder in dotted form, tight tunic, upper body decorated with cross bands filled with dots, flared sleeves on arms appear like wings terminated with dots, both arms separated from body, flared hems shown in parallel lines, dhoti, leggings tied with ribbons in triangular form. A water pot in the right field is almost off flan. Gupta Brahmi legend *Shri Toramana* in upper left field.

Rev. As B3, hind part of lion is partly seen on the right side, deity wearing earrings, necklace, bracelets, tight tunic with flared hem in parallel lines spread over thighs and frontal portion below chest is shown with horizontal bands. The left leg of deity is flexed and separated from body. The right leg bent over the lion's shoulder, a water pot tied with band and narrow neck surmounted by a conch with emerging foliage in the left field is mostly off flan. Gupta Brahmi legend *Jaya* in the right field.

Reference: Cunningham 1894, III.2; Gopal 1966, I.3; West 1978, 71 (var. d)

Nos. & Source: 13*. BM 1970.0514.98, 6.83g [Fig. B4.1], 14. AM [Nick] 2020.07.10, 6.74g



Fig. B4.1



**B5. Legend: *Jaya*, folded tunic, narrow waist, lion's head uncertain ®
Legend: *Shri Toramana* (O)**

Obv. As B4, prominent necklace and a water pot in the right field is not visible. Gupta Brahmi legend *Shri Toramana* in upper left field.

Rev. As B4, but lion's head below deity is not visible and waist of deity is separated by two horizontal bands. Gupta Brahmi legend *Jaya* in the right field.

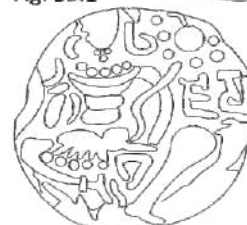
Reference: Cunningham 1894, III.2; Gopal 1966, I.3; West 1978, 71 (var. d)

Nos. & Source: 15. BM 1922.01.16.44, 7.06g, 16. BM 1894.0711.10, 6.71g

Fig. B5.1. bombayauction.com, 132



Fig. B5.1



**B6. Legend: *Jaya*, barred (folded) tunic, narrow waist, lion's hind part visible ®
Legend: *Shri Toramana* (O)**

Obv. As B4, wearing tight tunic with flared sleeves (looks like wings) and flared hem in parallel lines and frontal portion with cross-bands followed by a dot, both hands parted away from arms below flared sleeves. Altar in the left field is filled with dots and Gupta Brahmi legend *Shri Toramana* in upper left field.

Rev. As B4, like obverse, the waist is separated by two horizontal bands, left leg is separated from body and left hand in triangular form shown parallel along with left leg. Gupta Brahmi Legend *Jaya* in the right field.

Reference: Cunningham 1894, III.2; Gopal 1966, I.3; West 1978, 71 (var. d)

Nos. & Source: 17. BM 1847.1201.276, 6.45g, 18*. AM [Nick] 2020.07.10, 6.90g [Fig. B6.1]



Fig. B6.1



**B7. Legend: *Jaya*, barred tunic (folded), narrow waist, lion's head uncertain ®
Legend: *Shri Toramana* (O), figures' waist in segments**

Obv. As B4, the upper body is divided into portions by a dot in the middle. Gupta Brahmi legend *Shri Toramana* in upper left field.

Rev. As B3, hind part of lion is often seen in the right field, the waist is separated by two horizontal bands (folds), left hand in triangular form shown parallel to left leg is shown in segments. Gupta Brahmi Legend *Jaya* in the right field.

Reference: Cunningham 1894, III.2; Stein 1899, X.14; Gopal 1966, I.2, West 1978, 71 (var. d)

Nos. & Source: 19. FM, 6.30g, 20. AM [Nick] 2020.07.10, 6.90g

Fig. B7.1. ancient-indian-coins, 01052018



Fig. B7.1



Stage 5: Stereotype with winged arms of obverse figure, late style

This stage is concerned with the final step of the degradation of Toramana imitations. The obverse and reverse designs are both executed in extremely rudimentary and degenerate styles. The figures' heads on both sides are now completely turned to frontal positions. A group of small dots for earrings now regularly appears on either side of the head of the obverse deity. Flared sleeves (developed from scarf) are shorter and spread at the lower ends like bird wings and are detached from the arms above the elbows. In further later coins, the arms are completely isolated from the body of the obverse figure and merely shown through horizontal lines where the right hand, including wrist portion, is also disjointed from each other. The chest portion of the same figure consists of a dotted necklace and a neckline below while the middle body is shown by cross bands with a dot below. The lower hem of

the tunic over thighs is split into two each with three vertical fringes and dhoti divided into six vertical lines with dots below in the same alignments. The triangular knots at the outer legs are enormously bigger in size. Remnants of square altar are still visible on some coins and *apurnaghata* (*kalasha*) is also visible in the right field of some coins. The long stem of the trident in the left hand of the obverse figure is seen, but its upper portion is badly disrupted and often off flan. On some coins, the standing figure is normal and on some they are colossally taller in size.

The seated figure on the reverse is found in a stylized form in this stage of imitation. The headdress is uncertain, and he is wearing large earrings; the chest portion, like the obverse figure, contains a dotted necklace and neckline below; the middle body is shown by a pair of short parallel lines and thigh portion with wide flared hem of a tunic; the right leg is curved frontally and left leg slanting before her; the right hand, shown in segments, is raised frontally and the left holds a lotus stem parallel with the left leg. Lotuses, in the form of dotted flowers, are shown parallel with the shoulders in the left and right fields. A *purnaghata* is displayed in the left field and word *Jaya* in the right. The recumbent lion below the reverse deity has now completely disappeared.

The coins of this stage are extremely common and further fall into the following sub-varieties.

**B8. Legend: *Jaya*, barred (folded) tunic, narrow waist, lion's head uncertain (R)
two *kalasha* (O), figures stylized**

Obv. As B7, figure shown in stylized and stereo type, Gupta Brahmi legend *Shri Toramana* (anti-clockwise) in the left field in large letters. The parallel rows of flared hem of tunic and *dhoti* are shown in symmetrical lines terminating with dots. A *purnaghata* (*kalasha*) is sometimes shown in the right field.

Rev. As B7, both legs disjointed, middle body divided by a pair of horizontal bands, *kalasha* with dots below in the left field and legend *Jaya* in the right. A lotus flower held in the left hand over shoulder is also separated and shown like a *kalasha* or dotted flower in upper right field. The figure is completely stereo-typed: chest, lower body, legs shown in segmented limbs. Like obverse, dotted necklace with neckline and dotted row of flared hem of tunic make a parallel design.

Reference: Cunningham 1894, III.2; Stein 1899, X.15; Gopal 1966, I.3; West 1978, 71 (var. d)

Nos. & Source: 21. BM 1896.1103.2364, 6.94g, 22. BM 1970.0514.96, 6.68g

Fig. B8.1.VCoin, 1454051, 6.84g



Fig. B8.1



B9. Legend: *Jaya*, barred tunic, narrow waist, lion head uncertain (R legend off flan (O), late common design

Obv. As B8, obverse figure is more stylized, broad shoulders with flared sleeves look like bird wings. Flared hem of tunic and flared hem of *dhoti* appear in vertical bell-shaped lines. Gupta Brahmi legend *Shri Toramana* in the left field, often off flan.

Rev. As B8, the figure is in stylized form, head partly off flan and thick letters of Gupta Brahmi legend *Jaya* in the right field; right arm with sleeves are merely shown in parallel vertical lines. One *kalasha* or a dotted flower (lotus flower) each is shown in the left field and one (lotus) in upper right field, respectively.

Reference: Cunningham 1894, III.2; Gopal 1966, I.3; West 1978, 71 (var. d)

Nos. & Source: 23. AM [Stein Collection], 24. AM [Elliot] 1859.895, 6.54g, 25. ARC 3, 5.84g, 26. ARC 13, 5.68g, 27. LMC 35

Fig. B9.1. icollector.com



Fig. B9.1



C. Early Coins of Avantivarman (Links with Late Toramana Coins)

Avantivarman was an energetic king who introduced many reforms during his reigns. Like other socio-cultural and socio-economic reforms, the king also carried out changes in the existing pattern of Toramana coinage which were in practice for over 300 years. The copper coins after Toramana are known to have been followed by Avantivarman, first ruler of the Utpala dynasty, who discarded the name Toramana as well as the word *Jaya*, and inscribed his own name on the coins. Under new arrangements, the title *Shri*, replacing the word *Jaya*, is written in the right field of reverse and the name *Ava*.....[Avantivarman?] with *kalasha* (*puṇaḡhata*) underneath appeared in the right field of obverse. The new pattern of legend introduced by Avantivarman was followed by all his successors. The coins of Avantivarman, although rare, are known in several varieties and they certainly establish their close connection with the imitation series of Toramana (Khan 2024, 20-24). Of these, one variety, having left arm with long stalk of lotus flower over shoulder, is almost identical with the later imitations of Toramana. Other features of Avantivarman coins, including dresses of the figures and their style of execution, also have close resemblance with those of the later imitations of Toramana. These similarities obviously reveal the links of the Avantivarman coins with those of the Toramana imitations (Khan 2024, 22, type-1]. Accordingly, the origin of Avantivarman coinage can likely be traced back to the later issues of the Toramana series.

C1. Legend: *Shri* (R); Legend: *Ava* (O) underneath left arm

Obv. As B1, the figure is slightly bent in the middle, headdress usually off flan, flared sleeves shown like branch of tree detached from arms, wearing earrings, dotted necklace, chest with a horizontal bar followed by cross band and a dot below, lower hem of tunic and trousers in vertical alignments with dots and outer legs tied with triangular knots, right arm with long fingers extended over square fire altar with a row of dots in the left field (often off flan), left hand holding a trident is also off flan. Sharada legend *Ava*... with *kalasha* underneath left arm (right field).

Rev. Enthroned deity facing frontally, wearing large earrings of oval shape parted away from head, dotted necklace, tight tunic with prominent folds like horizontal bar around waist, right thigh covered with flared hem, right leg in curved shape and left slanting frontally, right hand with sleeves disjoints and shown in parallel lines, left hand in triangular form placed before left thigh and holding a lotus flower with long stalk over left shoulder. Sharada legend *Shri* in the right field.

Reference: Khan 2024, nos. 1-4 (type-1)

No. & Source: 28*. AM [Shortt Bequest] 1975, 6.27g [Fig. C1.2]

Fig. C1.1. worthpoint.com/ worthopedia.com/



Fig. C1.1



Fig. C1.2



Abbreviations

AM: Ashmolean Museum (Oxford) ARC: Amanur Rahman Collection (Islamabad)
BM: British Museum (London) FM: Fitzwilliam Museum (Cambridge)
LMC: Lahore Museum Cabinet O & Obv: Obverse; R & Rev: Reverse

Courtesy for images in plates and drawn figures

The British Museum (London); Ashmolean Museum (Oxford);
Amanur Rahman Collection; Cribb 2016; worthpoint.coma;
pinterest.com.pin; VCoin; Stephen Album;
Todywalla.com, bombayauction.com;
ancient-indian-coins; icollector.com

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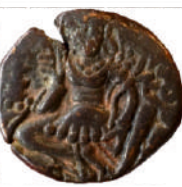
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