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A TAX RECEIPT FROM HELLENISTIC BACTRIA

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## A TAX RECEIPT FROM HELLENISTIC BACTRIA

### (A) THE TEXT

Ashmolean Museum,  
Department of Eastern Art,  
Accession number EA 1994.79

14 x 6.25 cm

Second century BC

This unique text, recently donated to The Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, was brought to light by Mr R.C. Senior and drawn to my attention by Mr A.S. Hollis of Keble College, Oxford; see their accounts below. Because of damage to the surface it has not yet been read in full, but the legible text seems to make it clear that it is a receipt for taxes. Its most interesting feature is the dating clause, which informs us that the king of Bactria who appears here and on his coins as God Antimachus (Θεοῦ Ἀντιμάχου) had colleagues, probably two, just possibly three, in the fourth year of his reign. The names of these colleagues were Eumenes and another Antimachus, not necessarily the one known from coins as Victorious Antimachus (Νικηφόρου Ἀντιμάχου); here the reading of what follows the second Ἀντιμάχου can hardly be reconciled with Ν(ε)ικηφόρου, which in any case stands before the name on the coins. In theory the unread passage could contain the name of a fourth king, but καί seems an equally unlikely reading of the beginning of it.

The writing, which is on one side only, is in black ink, presumably carbon-based. Ink inscriptions of the second century BC on fragments of jars from Ai Khanum offer a good parallel, see C. Rapin, *BCH* 107 (1983) 315–381, but the writing material here is prepared skin, the first such example from the area. It is rather thick and has a limper texture than might be expected from parchment, which is a rather stiff material produced ‘simply by drying at ordinary temperatures under tension, most commonly on a wooden frame known as a stretching frame’ (R.Reed, *Ancient Skins Parchments and Leathers* 119). The skin may have been treated with some tanning agent, which would allow it to be classed as leather, but this has not been scientifically established, so that for the moment it seems better to continue to describe it by the generic term. For some of the difficulties in classifying ancient skin manuscripts compare op.cit. 261–4. It has not been possible to decide whether the written side is the hair side or the flesh side. I am grateful to Mr Bruce Barker-Benfield of the Bodleian Library for his advice on these matters.

The colour is yellowish brown, except in the patches of discoloration, one not too serious at the top right, the other very damaging to the legibility of the beginnings of the lines of the whole text. These are perhaps due to recent careless handling by the finders.

It is worth recalling what was said by W.W. Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India* 373: ‘One would expect to find in the Greek period a brisk trade in the export of parchment to India, for since early in the second century Eumenes II of Pergamum had started its manufacture on a great scale in his slave factories it had become the common writing material of Asia west of India, and at the end of that century Chang-k’ien or his lieutenants had noted its regular use throughout the Parthian empire (p.281)’. For ‘parchment’ as the predominant writing material at Dura Europus see P.Dura p.4, but note the caveat on p.ix, ‘Parchments — the word is used without prejudice of all strips of leather prepared to receive writing’ etc., cf. E.Crisci, *Scrittura e Civiltà* 15 (1991) 160 n. 173. Note too the mixture of papyri and skins in the recently discovered archive from Mesopotamia, see D. Feissel, J. Gascou, *CRAI* 1989, pp. 535–561, J. Teixidor, *CRAI* 1990, pp. 144–166, esp. figs. 1–3 (pp. 145–6, 149), showing a document on skin before unrolling and after.

The shape of the piece is trapezoidal, the bottom edge being longer than the top, although the visual effect is intensified by the loss of a very small irregular strip from the upper part of the right edge. Probably only two letters are lost there, one from line 1 and another from line 4. The top edge is oddly shaped, with a rounded piece projecting upwards at the left, to the right of which the edge appears to have been cut, although it is rather undulating. It looks as if a knife point was inserted in the original taller sheet about two centimetres from the left edge and then drawn under pressure to the right edge, so that the surviving piece was left attached only along the two centimetre stretch. Then it was torn free in a careless fashion. This recalls the slits cut between the duplicate texts of some double documents, e.g. the parchment P.Dura 31 (Pl. XIV), although that slit runs only from the middle of the sheet to the right edge. Nevertheless, it may suggest that this small piece of parchment was a waster from some previous use. Some possible traces of separate writing in the lower margin may support this suggestion, see 7 n.

There is a row of eight stitching holes, roughly equally spaced with c.1.5 to 2 cm between them, running horizontally close to the bottom edge. The membranes of parchment rolls are often stitched together rather than glued, see E.G. Turner, *Greek Papyri*<sup>2</sup> 8, with 174 nn.38, 39; 39, with 185 n.21 (see now E. Tov, *The Greek Minor Prophets Scroll from Nahal Hever* (Discoveries in the Judaean Desert VIII) p. 15). Contracts in the form of double documents are sometimes stitched and sealed so as to guard the inner text, see e.g. J. Teixidor, *CRAI* 1990, p. 149 (fig. 3). Again these instances may suggest a previous use for the piece, but Professor Parsons has made the ingenious and plausible suggestion that the tax here was a sales tax comparable with the Egyptian ἐγκύκλιον, cf. 7 n. on τῇ ὀνῇ, and that this schedule may have been stitched to a copy of the contract, which would have stood below it. If ὀνή does not mean an individual purchase, the obvious alternative is that it means the purchase of the franchise of a farmed tax, which was a favoured system of taxation in the Hellenistic period. Indeed the ἐγκύκλιον itself was a farmed tax.

One noticeable feature of the appearance is that the last two lines are written rather larger than the first five, although they look as if they were written by the same person. Perhaps this requires no explanation, but it is a possibility that the first five lines, which contain only official matter that could have been common to many receipts, were drafted in advance and that only the individual details were added at the last moment as the transaction was completed. On advance drafting in other texts see R.A. Coles, *ZPE* 39 (1980) 115 and P.Oxy. LIV p. 92, P.J. Sijpesteijn, *Penthe-meros-Certificates in Graeco-Roman Egypt* 16.

In spite of the unique provenance of the piece, its palaeography does not seem to me in any way remarkable: I would not have been able to tell from the writing alone that it did not come from Egypt. C. Rapin, *BCH* 107 (1983) 349-351, received a similar impression from his inscriptions in ink on jars; for a survey of Greek hands from Palestine and Mesopotamia see E. Crisci, *Scrittura e Civiltà* 15 (1991) 125-183, with 27 Plates. This hand is broadly comparable with Egyptian examples from the first half of the second century BC, e.g. P.Giss. 2 (Taf. II; 173 BC), E. Boswinkel, P.J. Sijpesteijn, *Greek Papyri, Ostraca and Mummy Labels* 4b (P. Leiden I 408 v.; 162 BC). The resemblances are not striking enough to confine the possible dates to those decades, and so, unfortunately, do not allow us to refine our ideas of the dates of Antimachus I, as variously calculated from the literary evidence, none of which directly mentions him, and from the range of the Indo-Greek coins.

Below is a diplomatic transcript (cf. Tafel V), showing what can be read with a fair degree of objectivity, followed by a punctuated and restored version.

. . . . . ντων θεου αντιμαχου και ευμενου και αντιμαχο[  
 . . . . . ου του δμηνος ολωιου εν ασαγγ . . . νοι νομοφυ  
 . . . . . κο . . . το . . . ου χειμηνος οδοτος λογευτης κυπαρο . . .  
 . . . . . ε ου τους . . . να πεσταλμενου υποδημωνακτος [ . . ] του ενομεν . [   
 5 . . . . . μεως και . . . ου του διαδιοδωρου του επι των πρ . . . δ . . .  
 . . . . . π . . . . . ου του δατα ου εξ ιερειων τρα  
 . . . . . η νη τα καθηκοντα (vac.)  
 (faint traces of two lines written downwards)

βασιλευνόντων θεοῦ Ἀντιμάχου καὶ Εὐμένους καὶ Ἀντιμάχου  
 . . . . . ου, ἔτους δ, μηνὸς Ὀλώιου, ἐν Ἀσαγγῶρνοις, νομοφυ-  
 λακοῦντος . . . ου. ἔχει Μηνόδοτος λογευτής, συμπρόντων  
 . . . . . ε ου τοῦ συναπεσταλμένου ὑπὸ Δημόνακτος [ . . ] τοῦ γενομένου  
 5 . . . . . μεως καὶ Σίμου τοῦ διὰ Διοδώρου τοῦ ἐπὶ τῶν προόδων  
 . . . . . π . . . . . ου τοῦ Δατάου ἐξ ιερειων τρα-  
 . . . . . τῇ νῇ τὰ καθήκοντα. (vac.)  
 (traces)

'In the reign of God Antimachus and Eumenes and Antimachus .... year 4, month of Olöus, in Asangorna(?), when NN was guardian of the law. Menodotus, tax-gatherer, in the presence of NN, who was sent out likewise by Demonax the former ..., and of Simus(?), who was ... by agency of Diodorus, controller of revenues, acknowledges receipt from(?) NN the son(?) of Dataes(?), ... of the payments due in respect of the purchase ...'

- 1 βασιλευνόντων. The beginnings of the lines are badly obscured by dirt and deterioration of the surface, which has crazed and absorbed into its cracks a black substance which is impossible to distinguish from ink. The ending -ντων seems reliable, and if we could separate the ink from the other matter probably remains of all the letters would be found. The following phrase θεοῦ Ἀντιμάχου makes it perfectly clear that we are dealing with the king whose name appears in that form, with θεοῦ before the name in a way which is exactly paralleled in the coins of Antimachus I of Bactria with the legend βασιλέως θεοῦ Ἀντιμάχου, see e.g. M. Mitchiner, *Indo-Greek and Scythian Coinage*, Vol. i, *The Early Indo-Greeks and their Antecedents* 73. The habit of placing the honorific title before the name persists in the succession of Bactrian kings: Θεὸς Ἀντίμαχος, Νικηφόρος Ἀντίμαχος, Δίκαιος Ἀγαθοκλῆς, Ὡτῆρ Εὐκρατίδης, Μέγας Εὐκρατίδης, Ἐπιφανὴς Πλάτων etc. The appearance of ἔτους δ (= τετάρτου) seems to clinch the argument that the text begins with a regnal dating clause.

καὶ Εὐμένους. The epsilon and upsilon have been linked in such a way that the crossbar of the epsilon forms part of the bowl of the upsilon. This sort of sharing is not uncommon in rapid writing, but it does not occur elsewhere in this item. Since all the letters but upsilon are clear, there can be no doubt of the name.

There are no coins of a Bactrian king called Eumenes. There are two unprovenanced Attic-weight tetradrachms with the legend βασιλέως Εὐμένους<c?> and a portrait head of the king, see Robert A. Bauslaugh, *ANSMN* 27 (1982) 39–51, Pl. 15–16. They are accepted as Attalid, although Attalid coins otherwise carry a portrait of the founder Philetaerus rather than the current king. I raised the question whether they might be Bactrian coins of our king, but Mr

Hollis, who has consulted Dr MacDowall, tells me that the types and general style of the coins do not suggest a Bactrian origin.

The name Eumenes is associated with the Attalid dynasty and this document is very likely to belong to the period of the long reign of Eumenes II of Pergamum (197-159 BC). It might not be too wild to speculate that Antimachus, the successor of rebels against the Seleucid empire, wanted to associate himself with those other rivals of the Seleucids, the Attalids. No candidate for identification other than Eumenes II himself is known. If that seems unlikely, perhaps this was a scion of the line of Antimachus named after him, or some unknown member of the wider family of the childless Eumenes II.

- 1-2 καὶ Ἀντιμάχο[υ] . . . . . ου. This makes clear that there was a second king of this dynasty called Antimachus. It is still argued whether the coins inscribed βασιλέως Νικηφόρου Ἀντιμάχου were issued by θεὸς Ἀντίμαχος or not. Here we would perhaps like to read some version of Νικηφόρου, even though this passage comes after the name. However, the letter before -ου has a descender more upright than the descender of the rho of this hand, which usually slopes back downwards to the left. Tau would seem most suitable, but perhaps iota is possible. At the beginning of the line there are remains of three or four letters which it would be possible to match against a correct guess, but which it is impossible for the moment to read with an objective eye. All efforts to match them with Νικο- or Νεικο- have proved fruitless. Nor do they fit καί, to suit the possibility that the royal college had a fourth member. The position of this difficult passage is perhaps an indication that it is not a title for the second Antimachus that we should expect, but some other description of him. It has not been possible to recognize any term of relationship, such as ἀδελφοῦ or υἱοῦ, at any point. This does not exclude the possibility that (τῶν) υἱῶν αὐτοῦ, or something similar, might be right.

- 2 Ὀλώτιου (i.e. Ὀλώρου). The commoner spelling for this Macedonian month is Λώτιου, but on the longer form see L. Robert, *Rev.Phil.*<sup>3</sup> 48 (1974) 193-4, n.74. He writes, 'Nous voyons maintenant (from IG X.ii, fasc. 1, No.2, a decree of Thessalonica dated 223 BC) que cette forme sur des inscriptions et des monnaies tardives a son origine dans la Macédoine du IIIe siècle'. This is of interest here, but the late coins and inscriptions are also relevant to us because of their provenance: they are coins of Parthian kings of the period from the late first century BC to the late second century AD, see Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum: W. Wroth, *Catalogue of the Coins of Parthia*, introd. p.lxvi, D. Sellwood, *An Introduction to the Coinage of Parthia* (1971) 155 no. 52/3 (Phraates IV), and inscriptions from Dura Europus, see F. Cumont, *Fouilles de Doura-Europos* (1926) 356, no.2 (SEG ii 755) and pl. 111.2, *Excavations at Doura Europos, Third Season* (1932) 61, no.159; *Fifth Season* (1934) 16, no.374, 151, no.468, 181, no.511, 194, no.541. The form also occurs at Priene, I.Priene 71 = Ionia, Pri.28.20, and at Julia Gordos in Lydia, see L.Robert, *Hellenica* VI 92, no.35.

The lack of a day number with the Macedonian month is common in Ptolemaic Greek documents. The probable reason is that it was too difficult to work out the day, which depended on precise observation of the state of the moon.

- 2 ἐν Ἀκαγγόρνοις. Double gamma seems much the best reading: the two uprights slope slightly downwards to the left and are roughly parallel; the pi in this hand has shorter legs which splay and curve in opposite directions, the clear examples being in συναπεταλμένου (4) and ἐπί (5). The first crossbar is firm and dark and runs to the top of the second upright. Although it stretches back slightly to the left of the first upright, it has none of the hump which is characteristic of tau. The crossbar of the second upright runs forward into the rubbed and faded area which has affected the next two letters and again has none of the characteristics of

tau. The gamma in λογευτής (3) is clear for comparison; the one in γενομένο[υ (4) has a very shadowy upright, but looks much the same.

The next two letters are rubbed and faded and also affected by some crumpling of the skin, but the descender has the length and the characteristic slope of rho, back downwards to the left, and the space and traces suit omega rather than alpha.

There is an impressive list of a dozen places beginning with Sang- in W. Ball, J.-C. Gardin, *Archaeological Gazetteer of Afghanistan: Catalogue des Sites Archéologiques d'Afghanistan* i 233-4, which is encouraging for the first part of the reading of the name. None of them has shown Graeco-Bactrian remains. There are other places on the maps beginning with Sang-, not listed there, e.g. Sangar Saray, which has a plausible location about ten miles east of Jelalabad, half way between Kabul and Peshawar, but this has no ancient remains that I know of, and no place has been discovered which has a name more than vaguely reminiscent of the form read here. For the purposes of the translation I have supposed that the Greek version of the Iranian name would have been treated as a neuter plural, like Ecbatana.

- 2-3 νομοφυλακοῦντος. At the end of 2 the fairly clear reading of νομοφν- is enough to make it virtually certain that we are dealing with a νομοφύλαξ. That the word is a participle is not clear palaeographically, but this place it seems very likely that the last element of the dating formula is by an eponymous magistrate. The repertory of titles of the eponymous magistrates of Greek cities by R. Sherck, *ZPE* 96 (1993) 277-280, does not include νομοφύλαξ. Although the placing suggests that he should be an annual magistrate whose name is used for dating purposes, it may be that he is mentioned because of some responsibility he had for the legality of the transaction. On the νομοφύλακες of Hellenistic cities see D. Magie, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor* ii 1007, A.H.M. Jones, *The Greek City from Alexander to Justinian* 239, 357 n.54. A fuller collection of the evidence is given by A.P. Christofilopulu, *Platon* 20 (1968) 134-143. Usually they appear as a college, from three to nine in number. In inscriptions from Mylasa in Caria of the first century BC a single νομοφύλαξ is required to act along with judges, but this may not indicate that the city had only one. In Egypt of the Ptolemaic and Roman periods there were νομοφύλακες of various types and of various grades, at the nome level and at the village level. Some of them seem to have duties which associate them with the police, some 'receive or forward tax payments', which may be relevant to our document, see P. Freib. IV 62 introd. It is possible that the single officer mentioned here was responsible for the area into which this place fell. I suppose that the passage ἔχον τὸ καθήκον τέλος διὰ τοῦ(το)ς (or -ή(ου)ς?) νομοφύλ(καος) in P.Oxy. XII 1440.6-7 of AD 120 has no relevance to the circumstances of our receipt in spite of τὰ καθήκοντα below in line 7.

- 3 ἔχει. This simple third-person formula for a tax receipt is unusual; only two examples are recorded by U. Wilcken, *Griechische Ostraka* i 60-61, both from the third century BC, one exactly dated to 260/259 BC. This single example hardly allows us to draw any conclusions about the Bactrian systems of administration or to try to date the document itself as early as the third century.

λογευτής. This term is common in the Ptolemaic papyri. It sometimes appears to denote a private debt-collector, but more usually a government tax-collector, see P. Grad. (= G. Plau-mann, *Griechische Papyri der Sammlung Gradenwitz*) 5 introd. pp. 32-4.

In connection with farmed taxes, which may be relevant to this receipt, see below 7 n. on ὦνῃ, they seem to have been representatives of the purchaser of the concession, see B.P. Grenfell, in P. Rev. Laws p. 150, referring to P. Rev. Laws (ed. J. Bingen, in *Sammelbuch Beiheft* 1) col. xiii.1-4 [ὅσου]ς δ[ὲ] δ[εῖ] κατασταθῆναι εἰς ἐκάστην ὦνῃν λογ[ε]υτάς καὶ ὑπηρετάς καὶ συμβολοφύλακας, διαγραφάτω ὅ τε ο[ἱ] κ[αὶ] νόμος καὶ ὁ ἀν[τιγραφεὺς] μετὰ

τοῦ ἀρχ[ώνου], ‘A list of all the collectors required for each farm, and their subordinates and the guardians of the receipts, shall be drawn up by the oeconomus and antigraphus acting in conjunction with the chief farmer’ (trans. Grenfell, p.82). See also U. Wilcken, *Griechische Ostraka* i 556-7.

- 3-5    κυπαρόντων ... τοῦ συναπεσταλμένου ὑπὸ Δημόνακτος κτλ. Cf. P.Rev.Laws col. xxx 9-12 ἐξέστω τοῖς γεωργοῖς, [ὥς γ]έγραπ[αι] παρόντων τούτων συντε[λέσ]αι, ἐνα[ν]τίον [τ]οῦ παρὰ τοῦ οἰκονόμου καὶ τοῦ [ἀ]ντιγ[ρα]φέως συναπεσταλμένου ἑκάστῃ ποιεῖν καὶ εἶν[αι] κατὰ τοῦτο ἀζημίους, ‘... (sc. if there are difficulties caused by the tax farmers), the cultivators shall be allowed in the presence of the agent of the oeconomus and antigraphus, as the law prescribes the presence of these two officials when payments are made, full power of action, without incurring any penalty by so doing’ (trans. Grenfell, p.102).

- 4        εον. For possible names see F.Dornseiff, B.Hansen, *Rückläufiges Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen* 129-130, 156, 220-221. Nothing very attractive emerges. The traces represented by the first sublinear dot may belong to two small letters.

- 4-5    [ ] τοῦ γενομένο[υ] . . . . . μεως. The deleted trace is an upright which might be explained as the beginning of a kappa, i.e the clerk began to write καὶ and then recalled that he ought to give Demonax's official title.

Probably γενομένο[υ] means that Demonax had gone out of office after appointing his agent, the συναπεσταλμένος. The agent, however, was still considered competent to act.

The reading of . . . . . μεως is a great problem. The damage to omega is not severe; -με .ος looks unpromising for the genitive ending we need. However, words ending in -μεύς do not offer any very suitable prospect, see C.D. Buck, W. Petersen, *A Reverse Index of Greek Nouns and Adjectives* 28, P. Kretschmer, E. Locker, *Rückläufiges Wörterbuch der Griechischen Sprache* 531. Sense might be given by διανομεύς, but that is not used as an official title; it usually denotes the divider of spoils of war. οἰκονομεύς is said to exist in Byzantine texts, see Buck, Petersen, l.c., but I have failed to locate it. In Ptolemaic papyri οἰκονόμος is a well known title, a variant of which would be very welcome here, but I cannot find either οἰκονομέως or διανομέως in the remains at the beginning of the line.

- 5        This διὰ is puzzling. One expects a participle to follow at the beginning of line 6 ‘Simus the person who (is taking some action) through Diodorus the controller of the revenues’. The traces do not seem to admit a participle there and for the sense we seem to need a word for ‘from’ and then the name of the taxpayer before τοῦ Δατάου. Perhaps διὰ is here the equivalent of παρὰ in the Egyptian usage of ὁ παρὰ τινος = ‘So-and-so's representative’, but this is a counsel of despair.

ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων. Although the surface is blurred and distorted at this point, the reading seems very suitable; the descender of the rho and the apex of the delta are particularly indicative. In Ptolemaic Egypt there were officials at various levels with this same title; one had authority over the whole of the Thebaid, others over the whole of their nome, and others lower still as subordinates of the nome official, see O.Joach. (= F. Preisigke, W. Spiegelberg, *Die Prinz-Joachim-Ostraka*) pp. 43–7, cf. 47–50.

- 6        There is the usual plethora of ink and ink-like blackness at the beginning of the line. We expect a participle to follow τοῦ διὰ Διοδώρου in line 5, see note, but there is nothing suggestive of a participial ending. Then the legible pi and the ending -ου might lead us to expect παρὰ τοῦ δέινος τοῦ Δατάου, but the remains are not very suitable for παρὰ.

Δατάου. Lambda might be an alternative to the dotted alpha, but it does not seem better suited to either palaeography or nomenclature. The name Δάταος or Δατάης is not recorded,



but it looks plausible enough beside Iranian names such as Datis, Mithradates etc., and the Greek ending would be a fiction in any case and might be variable.

ἐξ ἱερείων. Since ἱερείων can represent ἱερέων in papyri of this date, see LSJ s.v. ἱερεύς, the reference might be to 'priests', 'priestesses' (ἱέρεια), 'sacrificial victims' (ἱερεῖον), or even possibly to sacrifices or 'priesthoods' or 'sanctuaries' (all ἱερεῖα), although this last word is a rarity. How exactly such a phrase fits into the description of the payer or of the tax is not at the moment clear.

- 7 τῇ ὥνῃ τὰ καθήκοντα. This can clearly be translated as 'the dues relating to the purchase'. The sum is not specified, which at first seems strange in a tax receipt, but it can be paralleled, see e.g. SB VI 9552 No.5.1-3 ... ὁ ἐξειληφώς τὴν τῶν κακοποιῶν ὥνῃν ... Ὡρωι χαίρειν. τέταξαι τὸ καθήκον κοι τέλος (132 BC), '... the undertaker of the purchase (of the farmed trade-tax) on cloak makers ... to Horus, greetings. You have paid your due tax'. This also illustrates one of the possible meanings of ὥνῃ here: it may refer to a tax concession purchased from the government. Alternatively this may be a tax payable on a contract of purchase, cf. P.Freib. II 8.15 τεταγμένην ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν τῇ τῶν ἀνδραπόδων ὥνῃ τὸ καθήκον τέλος, '... having paid in respect of them the tax due on the purchase of slaves'.

In the margin below there are fainter traces of what seem to be the beginnings of two lines written downwards with perhaps three or four letters in each. The second line seems to be indented and looks as if it once ran on beyond the bottom edge. The faintness may indicate that the piece is a palimpsest, but it could be merely a paler ink. No sensible reading has emerged. Line 1 looks like ρ κ[, perhaps πρὸκ[. The kappa, which seems the most certain letter, is not very close to the edge, but there is no trace of the next letter. In the next line the first letter, of perhaps three, might be a nu, but unlike the nu of the receipt it would have the last stroke raised. This is under the third letter of the first line. If the piece is palimpsest, the letters may be random survivals and the appearance of line beginnings may be illusory. At any rate they seem to support the idea that the skin may have been re-used, see introd. para.5.

Oxford

John Rea

## (B) THE DISCOVERY OF THE DOCUMENT

For over 35 years I have been collecting Bactrian, Indo-Greek and Indo-Scythic coins. Many dealers have supplied me with such coins and over the years I have come to feel, as a result of studying the coins, that the accepted chronology of the period is in error. Basically, I believe that most coin and inscriptional dates have been allocated to the wrong eras, largely as a result of misinterpretation of the Takht-i-Bahi inscription and the date of Gondophares (the First). Realising that coin study can only go so far, I asked some of the dealers to let me have photographs of any inscriptions that they might come across which would be relevant to my studies. It appears that inscriptions had been found in the past, but, being valueless in monetary terms, they had been discarded. I myself photographed several sherds, fragments of stone, and even a bronze plaque, with inscriptions or graffiti on them. One dealer gave me a negative of a leather document which turned out to be of a 6th/7th century AD Epthalite land deed. The British Museum was given the negative and it caused some excitement there. I was asked if I could discover if there had been more such leather inscriptions found. As a result of further enquiry I was given a photocopy of a second, much larger Epthalite document, which I promptly sent to the Museum. Word spread of my new interest and another dealer subsequently showed me a matchbox which, he said, contained

a piece of leather with writing on it. The Epthalite documents were very large; so I doubted that he could have anything of significance, if it fitted into a matchbox.

He extricated a crumpled ball of material and, with the words "See! it is leather", began to demonstrate its suppleness by pulling it to and fro like a concertina. I examined it and was astonished to find that it was written in Greek by a skilled hand. Even more exciting was reading the name of King Theos Antimachos in the first line, a king who until then was only known from his coins. I also knew that previously no document in such a perishable material had survived intact from the 250 years of Greek rule in Bactria and the provinces which they later occupied. It is not my interest to acquire documents or inscriptions, but merely to take photographs of them so that they can be deciphered later by the experts who can read them. I duly took a photograph of this parchment. The following day I was shown it again, and noticed that it had already deteriorated, having acquired, in addition to the creases caused by the folding and pulling about, two large thumbprints. The loss to history, if it were not protected in some way, would be great, and so I gave advice to the dealer on how to handle and protect the material.

The document has since been donated to the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, where its future protection and preservation will be assured, and where it may be studied by all interested scholars, now and in the future.

Butleigh, Somerset

R.C. Senior

### (C) HISTORICAL AND NUMISMATIC THOUGHTS ON THE BACTRIAN TAX RECEIPT<sup>1</sup>

'During the reign of Theos Antimachus and Eumenes and Antimachus ..., year 4, in the month Oloös ...' This dating formula in the first two lines of our document provides a rare and

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<sup>1</sup> Select Bibliography. The following works may be referred to by the author's name alone (also by year, if necessary):

Audouin, R. and Bernard, P., 'Trésor de monnaies indiennes et indo-grecques d'Aï Khanoum (Afghanistan)', *Revue Numismatique* 1973, 238-289; 1974, 7-41.

Bernard, P. and Guillaume, O., 'Monnaies inédites de la Bactriane grecque a Aï Khanoum (Afghanistan)', *RN* 1980, 9-32.

Barrandon, J.-N. and Nicolet-Pierre, H., 'Analyses de monnaies royales gréco-bactriennes et indo-grecques des II<sup>e</sup>-I<sup>er</sup> siècles avant J. C. .', *Gazette Numismatique Suisse*, August 1989, 59-66.

Bernard, P. (1975), 'Note sur la signification historique de la trouvaille', *RN* 1975, 58-69.

— (1985), 'Fouilles d'Aï Khanoum IV: Les monnaies hors trésors; Questions d'histoire gréco-bactriennes', *Mémoires de la Délégation Archéologique Française en Afghanistan*, tome 28, 1985.

Bivar, A.D.H. (1950), 'The Death of Eucratides in Medieval Tradition', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1950, 7-13.

— (1951), 'The Bactra Coinage of Euthydemus and Demetrius', *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1951, 22-39 with plates III-IV.

— (1970), 'The Sequence of Menander's Drachmae', *JRAS* 1970, 123-136 with plates I-VI.

Bopearachchi, O., 'Monnaies gréco-bactriennes et indo-grecques: catalogue raisonné', *Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris, 1991. [The coinage of each individual ruler is arranged in separately-numbered series.]

Curiel, R. and Fussman, G., 'Le trésor monétaire de Qunduz', *Mémoires de la Délégation Archéologique Française en Afghanistan*, tome 20, 1965.

precious snapshot of Bactrian history. Since the evidence for that history is for the most part numismatic, it is mainly to the coins that we must go in the hope that they will suggest a possible context for the tax receipt. Fixed points in Bactrian chronology are few, and the relative abundance of a ruler's coinage is not necessarily a sure guide to the length of his reign. But we may reasonably hope that coins will help to establish the sequence of rulers and the connexions between them.

Although the opening word of the document βασιλευόντων is by no means certain, one can hardly doubt that θεοῦ Ἀντιμάχου is the Bactrian king Antimachus, whose portrait (wearing a Macedonian sun hat called the *causia*) is one of the glories of Hellenistic art.<sup>2</sup> θεοῦ is clear in the document; we may note that, as on all of Antimachus' portrait coins (with legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΘΕΟΥ ΑΝΤΙΜΑΧΟΥ), the designation Theos precedes the king's name.<sup>3</sup> So we can recognize here the first mention of king Antimachus apart from on the coins.

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- Dobbins, K.W., 'The Sequence of Bactrian Coins', *Numismatic Digest*, December 1978, 1-11.  
 Francfort, H.-P., 'Deux nouveaux tétradrachmes commémoratifs d'Agathocle', *RN* 1975, 19-22.  
 Guillaume, O. (ed.), 'Graeco-Bactrian and Indian Coins from Afghanistan', translated from the French by O. Bopearachchi, Delhi, Oxford University Press, 1991.  
 Holt, F. (1981a), 'The Euthydemid Coinage of Bactria: Further Hoard Evidence from Ai Khanoum', *RN* 1981, 7-44 with plates I-XII.  
 — (1981b), 'The so-called Pedigree Coins of the Bactrian Greeks', in *Proceedings of the Nickle Conference held in the Nickle Arts Museum of the University of Calgary*, October 1981, pp. 69-92.  
 Kraay, C.M., 'Demetrius in Bactria and India', *ND* 1985, 12-30 [ending with an editorial note (pp. 28-30) pointing out that Lahiri (pp. 264-265) had tentatively put forward the hypothesis of three kings called Demetrius].  
 Lahiri, A.N., *Corpus of Indo-Greek Coins*, Calcutta, 1965.  
 MacDowall, D.W. (1989), 'Experimentation in the Coinage of Apollodotus I', in Ratna Chandrikā, *Panorama of Oriental Studies*, Shri R.C. Agrawala Festschrift, New Delhi, 1989, pp. 47-55.  
 — (1991), 'The Hazrat Hoard of Indo-Greek Silver Drachms', *Pakistan Archaeology* 1991, 188-198.  
 — (1992), 'The Geographical Distribution of Monograms on the Coinage of Menander and Antimachus Nikephorus', in MacDowall et al. (edd.), 'Indian Numismatics, History, Art and Culture', *Essays in Honour of P.L. Gupta*, Delhi, 1992, pp. 119-129.  
 Mitchiner, M.B., *Indo-Greek and Indo-Scythian Coinage*, 9 volumes, London, 1975. [The coin 'types' are numbered continuously, not with a separate numeration for each ruler.]  
 Narain, A.K. (1957), *The Indo-Greeks*, Oxford, 1957.  
 — (1973), 'The Two Hindu Divinities on the Coins of Agathocles from Ai Khanoum', *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India* 1973, 73-77.  
 Petitot-Biehler, C.Y., 'Le trésor d'Ai Khanoum', *RN* 1975, 23-57.  
 Tarn, W.W., *The Greeks in Bactria and India* (second edition), Cambridge, 1951.

<sup>2</sup> A particularly fine specimen in the British Museum was illustrated by C.H.V. Sutherland, *Art in Coinage*, London, 1955, p. 54 no. 32, with the comment (p. 57) that, together with other Hellenistic coin portraits, it 'can take [its] place among the world's chief artistic works'; Antimachus himself is described (*ibid.*) as 'looking out with the firm, quizzical eye of experience upon his kingdom, his aging head protected by a sun-hat'. A very similar example is enlarged by Martin Robertson, 'What is "Hellenistic" about Hellenistic Art', in Peter Green (ed.), *Hellenistic History and Culture*, University of California Press, 1993, p. 71, plate 9. It should be said that by no means all of Antimachus' die-cutters reach this high standard; the coin which we illustrate in *Tafel VI (a)* is stylistically not among the best.

<sup>3</sup> The tax document indicates that this word order is not simply due to a desire to produce a symmetrical design on the silver coins, with ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΘΕΟΥ on one side of the standing Poseidon balancing ΑΝΤΙΜΑΧΟΥ on the other (see *Tafel VI (a)*). Accordingly I have called the king 'Theos

Since we have identified Theos Antimachus on the document as the Bactrian king, it would seem inescapable that the two following names represent kings associated with him, probably in a subordinate capacity. Eumenes is a great surprise, since he has left no trace in the surviving Bactrian coinage.<sup>4</sup> The third name, Antimachus ..., proves beyond question that there were two kings called Antimachus, whose reigns overlapped. At first sight this seems to solve a problem over which numismatists have long argued — and indeed that may well be so, though caution is necessary. In addition to the monolingual silver coinage of Theos Antimachus (tetradrachms, drachms, hemidrachms, obols and also commemorative tetradrachms),<sup>5</sup> and to the monolingual bronzes (both round and square) which are universally given to Theos Antimachus even though the legend is simply ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΜΑΧΟΥ,<sup>6</sup> there are plentiful bilingual silver drachms (Greek on obverse, Kharosthi on reverse, see Tafel VI (c)), and rare bilingual square bronzes, with Greek legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ ΑΝΤΙΜΑΧΟΥ.<sup>7</sup> Older scholars almost invariably distinguished between Theos and Nikephoros,<sup>8</sup> and, considering the latter to be a later contemporary or successor of Menander, put quite a large time-gap between the two Antimachi.<sup>9</sup> But it came to be realized that Nikephoros Antimachus belongs appreciably earlier: he is the successor of Apollodotus I and the predecessor of Menander.<sup>10</sup> Once Nikephoros is placed in his correct position

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Antimachus' rather than 'Antimachus Theos' (which is usual in numismatic circles). In fact the only Bactrian or IndoGreek king whose name precedes his epithet or title on the coins is Apollodotus I (ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΠΟΛΛΟΔΟΤΟΥ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ, see Tafel VI (f)).

<sup>4</sup> It is conceivable that a coin of the Bactrian Eumenes might turn up, since new discoveries in this series continue to be made at an astonishing rate (e.g. the tetradrachm mentioned for the first time in n. 24 below). Of course Eumenes as a royal name is familiar from the Pergamene dynasty; Eumenes II (197-159 B.C.) would certainly have been reigning at the time when our document was written. Since many have thought that Theos Antimachus was related to Euthydemus I, it is worth mentioning that Euthydemus came from Magnesia in Asia Minor (Polybius 11,39,1), almost certainly Magnesia on the Meander rather than Magnesia ad Sipylum (see Bernard (1985), App. V).

<sup>5</sup> series 1-4 and 9-10 Bopearachchi, types 124-129 Mitchiner, see our Tafel VI (a) and (b)

<sup>6</sup> series 5-8 Bopearachchi, cf. types 130-134 Mitchiner. The Jatter's statement that the legend of his type 130 (= series 5 Bopearachchi) includes ΘΕΟΥ is incorrect, being based upon Alexander Cunningham's pencil sketch of a coin which had been stolen from him (Coins of Alexander's Successors in the East, unchanged reprint of the 1884 edition, Argonaut inc., Chicago, 1969, p. 101 and plate 1, fig. 7).

<sup>7</sup> Bopearachchi (Antimachus II) series 1-2, cf. Mitchiner (who recognized only one Antimachus) types 135-136, our Tafel VI (c).

<sup>8</sup> An exception was G. Macdonald in the Cambridge History of India, p. 547, quoted with approval by Curiel and Fussman p. 70 and Bivar (1970) p. 125.

<sup>9</sup> E.g. Narain (1957), p. 181, dated Theos c. 190-180 B.C., and Nikephoros c. 130-125.

<sup>10</sup> The main points are as follows: (1) Nikephoros strikes bilingual drachms on the Indian weight standard (series 1 Bopearachchi, see our Tafel VI (c)) rather than bilingual hemidrachms on the Attic standard; Apollodotus I had switched from the latter (series 2-3 Bopearachchi) to the former (series 4 Bopearachchi, our Tafel VI (f)) in the course of his reign. (2) Like Apollodotus I (but unlike Menander, except for the early 'owl' drachms) Nikephoros does not put his own portrait on the bilingual silver, and he does not strike bilingual tetradrachms on the Indian standard (seemingly an innovation of Menander). (3) The legends on Nikephoros' drachms are continuous, both in Greek (obverse) and in Kharosthi (reverse), as on the bilingual silver of Apollodotus I; the earliest drachms of Menander, including those with Athena obverse and owl reverse (series 2 Bopearachchi) which lack the royal portrait, likewise have continuous legends, but (after transitional fluctuations in which the practice on the obverse may differ from that on the reverse) on the later drachms (and all Menander's bilingual tetradrachms, see our Tafel VI (i)) the legend on both sides is divided, with the king's name displayed prominently in the exergue (on the obverse below the king's portrait, on the reverse below

relative to these two kings, the probable time-gap between him and Theos is at least much reduced, and it became not unreasonable to view the Theos and the Nikephoros coins as issues of one and the same Antimachus, intended for circulation in different localities. That is the view of Mitchiner (vol. I, p. 69), Curiel and Fussman (p. 77) and Bivar (1970).<sup>11</sup> Bopearachchi, on the other hand, maintains the distinction between the two Antimachi (pp. 59-62 and 64-65), dating Theos c. 185-170 B.C. and Nikephoros c.-160-155.

Now the tax-receipt shows that there were indeed two kings called Antimachus, but that the reigns of Theos Antimachus and his namesake overlapped. Could the second Antimachus be Nikephoros? If so, both parties to the dispute might draw some comfort, the one group because the coinages are proved to belong to different kings, the other group because unification on chronological grounds has been shown to be entirely reasonable. At this stage, however, a word of caution is in order: the Nikephoros coins are firmly located (by hoard evidence as well as the use of bilingual legends) south of the Hindu Kush, whereas the tax receipt presumably came from Bactria.

In the second line of the document, .....ου may conceal a word or phrase which differentiated the second Antimachus from Theos Antimachus. One naturally wonders whether this could have been νικηφόρου as on the coins.<sup>12</sup> But the traces of the missing letters, while not sufficient to establish the true reading — or at least nobody has yet thought of anything appropriate that might fit the traces —<sup>13</sup> apparently rule out νικηφόρου (see Dr. Rea, above). So we are left with the following possibilities:

(1) The second Antimachus of the document is not the Nikephoros Antimachus of the coins. In that case, unless we attribute the coins of Theos and Nikephoros to the same monarch (which would remain possible), there would appear to have been three kings called Antimachus, reigning within a short space of time.

(2) The second Antimachus is indeed Nikephoros Antimachus of the coins, but he is not given that epithet in the document, whether (a) because, for some reason, the epithet is judged inappropriate in the present context (e.g. it might give too much prominence to a junior and subordinate king), or (b) because the second Antimachus has not yet achieved the military victories which made him take the title Nikephoros.

I shall later put forward a hypothesis based upon possibility 2(b). Meanwhile, however, let us consider how the reign of the three kings in our document might have fitted in with other kings whom we believe to have ruled north (and south) of the Hindu Kush at about the same time. The document is dated 'year 4'; surely a regnal year, but it is not clear whose regnal year.<sup>14</sup> This could be:

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the figure of Athena). (4) The monograms and hoard evidence (particularly the relative weight-loss due to circulation of drachms of these three kings in the Hazrat hoard) support the sequence of reigns Apollodotus I — Nikephoros Antimachus — Menander. For more details, see Bivar (1970), MacDowall (1991 and 1992), Bopearachchi pp. 62-65.

<sup>11</sup> Dr. MacDowall, who is preparing a combined catalogue of two Oxford collections, tells me that he had been entertaining the same possibility.

<sup>12</sup> An objection (in any case) to restoring νικηφόρου here is that the epithet would then follow the king's name, whereas on the coins it precedes; likewise for the first Antimachus, Theos precedes his name both on the document (line 1) and on the coins.

<sup>13</sup> I thought of τουνεώτερον, 'and of Antimachus the younger' (cf. LSJ Supplement s.v. νεώτερος, 'the younger, junior, following a name, Πομπήϊον τὸν νεώτερον Polyae. 8,23, 16').

<sup>14</sup> One of the inscriptions from the treasury at Ai Khanoum (a building from a late phase of the city's existence) is dated 'year 24', almost certainly without mention of a king's name. In that case the

- (a) the regnal year of all three kings, supposing that they all started to reign at the same time, or
- (b) the regnal year of the king mentioned first (Theos Antimachus), who was the senior and most important ruler, but not of his junior partners (it being thought superfluous to mention separate regnal years for the junior kings), or
- (c) the fourth year from the time when Theos Antimachus, who had already reigned for some time, associated the other two with himself by giving them the title of king.

Possibility (c) can surely be discounted — would any senior king wish to wind back the clock of his own regnal era to zero? It is hard to judge between (a) and (b); in either case our document would seem to come from relatively early in the reign of Theos Antimachus, who, on the basis of the volume of his coinage, is usually thought to have ruled for ten or fifteen years.<sup>15</sup>

The king whose coinage is most clearly linked to that of Theos Antimachus is undoubtedly Agathocles.<sup>16</sup> The latter seems to have reigned on both sides of the Hindu Kush. In Bactria he issued traditional Attic-weight silver,<sup>17</sup> while in the south he made remarkably audacious experiments to produce coinage acceptable to the inhabitants of his recently-acquired Indian territories. We find bilingual square bronzes of Indian fabric and types, with Brahmi inscriptions on the obverse,<sup>18</sup> and other bronzes,<sup>19</sup> some irregular in shape, show a Buddhist stupa and a tree within enclosure; the king's name appears only in Kharosthi, and the type closely resembles contemporary local coinage of Taxila.<sup>20</sup> The most spectacular discovery was made at Ai Khanoum in 1970, of six square bilingual (Greek/Brahmi) drachms bearing astonishingly detailed depictions of two Indian deities with their symbols.<sup>21</sup> The main link between Agathocles and Antimachus lies in the fact that both issued commemorative tetradrachms bearing the name, portrait and reverse type of earlier rulers, but also, on the reverse, a legend indicating that the piece was struck during their

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date is very plausibly interpreted as giving a regnal year of Eucratides I; supposing that it is near the end of Eucratides' reign, that would harmonize reasonably well with numismatic estimates of the length of Eucratides' reign; see P. Bernard (1985), pp. 97-105. Bernard dates the fall of Ai Khanoum to invading nomads as between 146 and 142 B.C. MacDowall, however, warns that we can not be sure that Eucratides I was the last Greek king to rule over Ai Khanoum, since his probable successors (Heliocles I, Eucratides II and perhaps Plato) do not seem to have issued bronze coins; they may have continued to strike bilingual bronzes with the name and types of Eucratides I such as have been found at Ai Khanoum.

<sup>15</sup> Narain (1957), p. 181, dated him c. 190-180 B.C., Bopearachchi (p. 59) c. 185-170 and Mitchiner (vol. I p. 76) c. 171-160. A necessary caveat (stressed to me by Dr. Macdowall) is that coinage is not always struck in the same volume per annum over a period of time. Sudden needs can produce very large issues in quite a short time; conversely there may be periods when few coins are struck. So the relative abundance of coinage is not a sure guide to the length of a reign.

<sup>16</sup> cf. Bopearachchi p. 60.

<sup>17</sup> series 1-4 and 19 Bopearachchi, cf. types 137-141 Mitchiner, our Tafel VI (e). If Bopearachchi is right to regard the two known hemidrachms of his series 19 as contemporary imitations (and indeed their style is poor), no doubt they are based upon an official issue of which no specimen has yet been found; the denomination of hemidrachm was customary at that time in the Bactrian coinage.

<sup>18</sup> series 10 Bopearachchi, cf. type 151-152 Mitchiner.

<sup>19</sup> 11 Bopearachchi, 156 Mitchiner.

<sup>20</sup> type 155 Mitchiner, cf. Bopearachchi p. 58 n. 1.

<sup>21</sup> series 9 Bopearachchi, type 149 Mitchiner; cf. Narain (1973), Audouin and Bernard (1974), 7-41 with plate VII, 1-6. All six coins are illustrated also in Guillaume, plate VI.

own reign (ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΟΝΤΟΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ or ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΟΝΤΟΣ ΘΕΟΥ ΑΝΤΙΜΑΧΟΥ).<sup>22</sup> Agathocles commemorates<sup>23</sup> Alexander the Great, Diodotus I, Diodotus II, Euthydemus I, Demetrius I, Pantaleon and a mysterious ‘Antiochus Nikator’ who is usually taken to be Antiochus II;<sup>24</sup> Theos Antimachus, according to our present knowledge, commemorates only Diodotus I and Euthydemus I.<sup>25</sup> Another point of contact between Agathocles and Theos Antimachus is that the latter too strikes square bronze coins<sup>26</sup> of which the fabric and the obverse type (elephant) recall contemporary Indian coins, though the pieces of Antimachus (unlike those of Agathocles series 10 Bopearachchi) have legends only in Greek.<sup>27</sup>

Most scholars have believed that Theos Antimachus preceded Agathocles.<sup>28</sup> One might support that view with an argument based upon the commemorative series: Antimachus introduced the idea at the very end of his reign,<sup>29</sup> honouring just two earlier monarchs; then Agathocles, on succeeding Antimachus, developed it further, adding four new honorands. Similarly with the square bronzes, one might argue that Theos Antimachus (series 6-8 Bopearachchi) first tried to adapt his coinage to indigenous traditions, but did not go so far as to include bilingual legends, which was a further development by Agathocles (series 10 Bopearachchi).<sup>30</sup> There are, however,

<sup>22</sup> ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΟΝΤΟΣ means simply ‘during the reign of ...’, a genitive absolute construction (like the probable βασιλευόντων at the start of our document). Some numismatists have wrongly believed that ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΟΝΤΟΣ implies a subordinate status (as compared with ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ).

<sup>23</sup> series 12-18. Bopearachchi, cf. types 142-146 Mitchiner (who wrote before the types commemorating Diodotus II and Pantaleon were published).

<sup>24</sup> though some have argued for Antiochus I and others for Antiochus III, while Holt (1981b, p. 85 n. 45) suggests that this Antiochus is not a Seleucid at all, but an otherwise unknown member of the family of the first Bactrian king, Diodotus. Perhaps Holt would wish to attribute to this postulated ruler some of the ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ coins (with Zeus reverse) of the period of the Diodoti. In January 1994 Mr. R.C. Senior saw and photographed an Attic-weight tetradrachm with on the obverse (no legend) a mature portrait similar to that on the Agathocles tetradrachm commemorating Antiochus (series 13 Bopearachchi), and on the reverse Zeus thundering with legend ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ ΝΙΚΑΤΟΡΟΣ. This coin seems comparable to the tetradrachm with ΔΙΟΔΟΤΟΥ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ (Diodotus series 16 Bopearachchi); both have the same monogram (Bopearachchi no. 109), which is otherwise first found on the coins of Demetrius I. Perhaps these commemorative issues were struck by Agathocles before he had the idea of adding his own name with ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΟΝΤΟΣ on the reverse.

<sup>25</sup> series 9-10 Bopearachchi, types 128-129 Mitchiner, our Tafel VI (b). A die-link has been claimed between the obverse dies of coins of Agathocles and Antimachus commemorating Euthydemus I. On this, Holt (1981b, pp. 74-75) writes ‘If true, this would prove just how closely Agathocles and Antimachus had cooperated in striking these pieces, making both series nearly simultaneous. There is a very close similarity between the coins, particularly their portraiture, but an actual die-link seems illusory ... These groups are enough alike, however, to suggest that the same artist or the same model was used in the workshop of each king. This alone might indicate that the commemorative coins were issued with some collaboration, at least in the case of those types shared by Agathocles and Antimachus.’

<sup>26</sup> series 6-8 Bopearachchi, cf. types 132-134 Mitchiner.

<sup>27</sup> Bopearachchi pp. 61-62 suggests that these coins of Theos Antimachus were intended for circulation not in India but in Arachosia and perhaps the region of Kabul.

<sup>28</sup> e.g. Tarn pp. 75-76, Narain (1957) pp. 58-59, Mitchiner vol. I pp. 65-66, Francfort p. 21, Holt (1981a) p. 43 ‘Agathocles clearly was the last significant king of this line’.

<sup>29</sup> The sole monogram on Theos Antimachus’ commemorative coins (Bopearachchi p. 392 no. 15, shown also in our Tafel VI (b)) does not occur on any other of Antimachus’ coins, nor by itself on the coins of any other Bactrian or Indo-Greek king.

<sup>30</sup> and by Pantaleon, to be discussed below.

arguments which may point in the opposite direction. Agathocles on his commemorative coins has the epithet ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ; on his regular coinage it seems likely that the legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ (series 3-4 Bopearachchi) would have been introduced later than the simple ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ (series 1-2 and 19 Bopearachchi, our Tafel VI (e)), and that view of the matter is supported by Bopearachchi<sup>31</sup> on stylistic grounds. In order to discuss the chronological relationship between Agathocles and Theos Antimachus, one must also take into account the other kings with whom Agathocles is associated. While his links with Antimachus are notable, those with Pantaleon are even closer: the bilingual Brahmi/Greek square bronze (Pantaleon series 6, Agathocles series 10 Bopearachchi)<sup>32</sup> and the monolingual cupro-nickel (Pantaleon series 4, Agathocles series 5-6) issues of the two kings are almost identical. Pantaleon did not strike commemorative tetradrachms; indeed he himself was commemorated, no doubt after his death, by Agathocles (series 18). This would suggest either that Pantaleon preceded Agathocles, or (as Bopearachchi pp. 58-59 prefers) that the pair started to rule simultaneously but that Pantaleon had a shorter reign. A third king also strikes cupro-nickel coins,<sup>33</sup> Euthydemus II.<sup>34</sup> His context seems purely Bactrian, and his floruit<sup>35</sup> somewhat earlier than that of Agathocles or Antimachus; there are no commemorative tetradrachms, no bilingual coins, nor any suggestion of adapting the coinage to local traditions south of the Hindu Kush (e.g. by striking square bronze coins like Pantaleon, Agathocles and Theos Antimachus). The cupro-nickel issues of Euthydemus II, Pantaleon and Agathocles are particularly noteworthy; it seems likely that they were all struck within a short space of time, perhaps therefore at the end of Euthydemus II's reign and the beginning of the reign of Pantaleon and Agathocles. The commemorative tetradrachms could then find their place in the final years of Agathocles and the initial years of Theos Antimachus. So I would tend to favour Bopearachchi's arrangement insofar as he makes Agathocles a predecessor rather than a successor of Theos Antimachus; the two reigns may have overlapped for a short period.<sup>36</sup>

The purpose of the above, somewhat intricate, discussion has been to find a possible context for the 'snapshot' of Bactrian history provided by our tax receipt. Can we identify a time (in relation to other Bactrian kings, if not absolutely) when these three kings, and no others, might have been ruling north of the Hindu Kush? I would suggest that, by this the fourth year of Theos Antimachus (whether or not it is also the fourth year of Eumenes and the other Antimachus), Euthydemus II, Pantaleon and Agathocles have all departed from the scene. If we followed Bopearachchi's estimate for the start of Antimachus' reign (c. 185 B.C.), the date of the document would be c. 181 B.C.;<sup>37</sup> below I shall suggest a date about a decade later.

<sup>31</sup> p. 61, following a stylistic observation by Petitot-Biehler p. 35.

<sup>32</sup> Bopearachchi p. 176 n. 20 makes the interesting remark that only on these two series does an Indian language appear on the obverse and Greek on the reverse (on all other bilingual issues the Greek legend occupies the obverse).

<sup>33</sup> For a metallurgical study, see J.-N. Barrandon and H. Nicolet-Pierre (with reference to earlier analyses). The nickel content (up to 20%) of some of the individual coins catalogued by Bopearachchi is mentioned in his footnotes.

<sup>34</sup> generally thought to have been a younger son of Euthydemus I and thus a younger brother of Demetrius I.

<sup>35</sup> Bopearachchi (p. 55) dates him c. 190-185 B.C. See our Tafel VI (d).

<sup>36</sup> Bopearachchi (pp. 61-62) sees Agathocles and Antimachus as rivals rather than collaborators, which does not seem necessary to me.

<sup>37</sup> Bopearachchi is perhaps a shade ungenerous in allowing Demetrius I and Euthydemus II, between them, a span of only 15 years (c. 200-185 B.C.). The former was remembered as a conqueror of India (Strabo 11,11,1). D.W. MacDowall, 'The Copper Coinage of Demetrius, the Son of



We may wonder who at the same time is ruling south of the Hindu Kush; the answer is quite probably Apollodotus I, who seems to have enjoyed a successful and quite lengthy reign.<sup>38</sup> Apollodotus continued the experimentation inaugurated by Pantaleon and Agathocles, aiming to produce a coinage in harmony with local traditions.<sup>39</sup> At first he struck, in silver, bilingual (Greek/Kharoshthi) round (series 2 Bopearachchi) and square (series 3) Attic-weight hemidrachms; the latter are particularly notable, since they bear in the field a number of symbols which are found on contemporary Indian punch-marked coins. Both Theos Antimachus and Apollodotus are commonly thought to belong to the house of Euthydemus I (whether by descent or political alliance). It is quite possible that the pair collaborated to a certain degree. The notable portrait tetradrachm of Apollodotus I discovered at Ai Khanoum<sup>40</sup> shows several connexions with Theos Antimachus: both kings wear the *causia*; the monogram on the Apollodotus tetradrachm is one which, as far as we know, appears elsewhere for the first time on the regular tetradrachms of Theos Antimachus.<sup>41</sup> This new portrait of Apollodotus I adds a superb further example to the Bactrian gallery of middleaged or elderly rulers which started from the later coinage of Euthydemus I and continued with Theos Antimachus.

I would now like to put forward (with all due reserve) a hypothesis which takes into account the most surprising feature of our document — mention of a Bactrian king Eumenes (line 1) who has left no trace whatever in the numismatic record. Perhaps Eumenes and the second Antimachus are respectively the elder and younger sons of Theos Antimachus; this would fit a common Greek practice whereby the father's name passed not to the first son (who quite often took the name of his grandfather) but to a younger son. It will be observed that Theos Antimachus on his coinage is never depicted as a young man,<sup>42</sup> but always as well advanced into middle age; even near the beginning of his reign ('year 4') he could well have had sons aged about 20 who were mature

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Euthydemus', *South Asian Studies* 5, 1989, 29-33, argued that the largest denomination of Demetrius' bronze coins with shield/trident (series 6 Bopearachchi), though monolingual, was designed for use south of the Hindu Kush (nearly all the attested find-spots of the type are from that region). This idea, however, did not commend itself to Bopearachchi (p. 54 n. 1).

<sup>38</sup> Bopearachchi (p. 62) gives him twenty years, c. 180-160 B.C. He too was remembered as one of the kings who extended Greek power in India (Trogus, Prologue to bk. 41, '*Indicae quoque res additae, gestae per Apollodotum et Menandrum, reges eorum*'). There may be a faint echo of this tradition (linking Apollodotus and Menander) in *Periplus Maris Erythraei* 47 μέχρι νῦν ἐν Βαρνάζοις παλαιαὶ προχωροῦσι δραχμαί, γράμμασιν Ἑλληνικοῖς ἐγκεχαραγμέναι ἐπίσημα τῶν μετ' Ἀλέξανδρον βασιλευκότων Ἀπολλοδότου καὶ Μενάνδρου. The author of the *Periplus*, writing in Egypt perhaps c. A.D. 100 (D.W. MacDowall and N.G. Wilson, *Numismatic Chronicle* 1970, 239) was probably unaware that there had been two Indo-Greek kings called Apollodotus; the drachms still current in Barygaza (Broach) were no doubt those of Apollodotus II, as has been confirmed by the Gogha hoard, deposited also c. A.D. 100, some 70 kilometres from Broach (John S. Deyell, *Num. Chron.* 1984, 118-119).

<sup>39</sup> see MacDowall (1989). In Tafel VI (f) we illustrate one of his square Indian-weight drachms.

<sup>40</sup> series 1 (and plate 11) Bopearachchi (too recent a discovery for Mitchiner). As P. Bernard (1985) p. 163 suggests, this should probably be considered as a special issue (rather than regular coinage), parallel to the Attic-weight monolingual tetradrachms struck by later Indo-Greek kings, such as were found in the Qunduz hoard (Curiel and Fussman, nos. 61 lff.) and have continued to emerge since then. Three specimens of the Apollodotus I tetradrachm are now known.

<sup>41</sup> Bopearachchi p. 393 no. 44. This can be seen on the tetradrachm of Theos Antimachus which we reproduce in Tafel VI (a).

<sup>42</sup> Mr. R.C. Senior has in his possession a coin on which the portrait looks somewhat younger, but, as he himself allows, this may be due to an element of idealization.

enough for a first taste of royal power, if only in a subordinate capacity. The association of sons with their royal fathers was a common occurrence in the Hellenistic world; as far as Bactria is concerned, it is attested in literature some thirty years after the date of this document, when Eucratides I was killed by the son whom he had made his colleague in power (Justin 41,6,5 'a filio, quem socium regni fecerat, in itinere interficitur').<sup>43</sup> The geography of Bactria, which rendered communication difficult, would favour an arrangement whereby junior kings exercised authority in particular areas delegated to them by a senior king. Possibly, however, Eumenes and the younger Antimachus were not granted the right to issue coins in their own name as long as Theos Antimachus was alive.<sup>44</sup> This might explain the total lack of coinage in the name of Eumenes, and the lack of any coinage in the name of a second Antimachus which can plausibly be ascribed to the regions north of the Hindu Kush. Eumenes may have died before his father, or have perished in his father's downfall if, as many have thought, Theos Antimachus was overthrown violently by Eucratides I.

Bopearachchi (pp. 65-66) believes that the successor of Theos Antimachus in Bactria (and colleague during Antimachus' final years) was Demetrius II, i.e. the issuer of the monolingual silver with Athena reverse,<sup>45</sup> and that both kings succumbed to Eucratides c. 170 B.C. This has the advantage that Demetrius II could then be identified with 'Demetrius king of the Indians' who, according to Justin (41,6,5), was defeated by Eucratides. Certain doubts, however, arise. If Demetrius of the silver with Athena reverse (our Tafel VI (j)) is Justin's 'Demetrius king of the Indians' (which should not mean the same as 'king of the Bactrians') and if he reigned in the 170s B.C., why is there no bilingual Demetrius coinage which can reasonably be assigned to that period? Rare bilingual coins in the name of Demetrius do indeed exist (Bopearachchi p. 287, our Tafel VI (k)), but these, for a number of reasons, seem to belong to a significantly later period; Bopearachchi himself (p. 99) ascribes them to a third Demetrius whom he puts as late as c. 100 B.C. As for the monolingual Demetrius silver with Athena reverse, I sympathize with Colin Kraay (p. 20), who, on the basis of style and the large number of specimens in the Qunduz hoard, placed

<sup>43</sup> Undoubtedly Justin means (he may of course have been wrong) that Eucratides was killed by his own son; the comment of Tarn (p. 220 n. 1) 'note that Justin does *not* say "a filio eius"' was inept (as well as betraying a surprising ignorance of Latin) and is justly criticized by Narain (1957) p. 70. Nonetheless, others (e.g. Bivar (1950), on different grounds) have believed that Eucratides was killed by the son of a rival, probably the son of 'Demetrius king of the Indians' (see n. 46 below), who, according to Justin (41,6,5), unsuccessfully besieged Eucratides; see further Bopearachchi p. 71, n. 1. The identity of Eucratides' parricide son eludes us. According to the common Greek custom of transmitting family names, the eldest son of Eucratides I might have been Heliocles I, since he bears the name of Eucratides' father (for the coins commemorating Eucratides' parents, see Eucratides I series 13-16 Bopearachchi, our Tafel VI (h)). There is a natural reluctance to think that a king who took the epithet ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ had killed his father. Perhaps, by analogy with our document, Eucratides granted more than one son the title of king, but did not allow them to coin during his lifetime; supposing that the parricide son were quickly killed (by his brother Heliocles?), he might have left no trace in numismatic history. Narain, however, believes (1957, pp. 71-72) that the parricide was Plato.

<sup>44</sup> We simply do not know what would have been the normal Bactrian practice in this respect; it may have varied from generation to generation and from case to case. When, a century earlier, Seleucus I associated his son (the future Antiochus I) with himself, and gave him authority in the east, coins were struck bearing the names of both kings, with the legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ (or ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ) ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ; for specimens discovered at Aï Khanoum, see Bernard (1985) pp. 35-41. It may well be that on other occasions a junior king struck coins in his own name during the lifetime of a senior king, as Bivar (1951) p. 33 believed in the case of Euthydemus I and Demetrius I, and this may have become the regular custom among later Indo-Greek kings.

<sup>45</sup> Bopearachchi p. 195, our Tafel VI (j).

this coinage 'in the general period of Eucratides I and II and Heliocles (I)', i.e. more probably c. 145-140 B.C. than in the 170s.<sup>46</sup> So perhaps we need not think of a Demetrius II in Bactria during the 170s. Theos Antimachus may have reigned supreme during the second half of that decade (together with junior kings Eumenes and the younger Antimachus) before he himself, and perhaps Eumenes as well, succumbed to Eucratides some time in the 160s.

It must be admitted that most of the dates given to the Bactrian kings are conjectural, even if some of them have gained a spurious air of authority through frequent repetition. In the period which we are considering three chronological points may have more substance. The first, which has been strongly urged to me by Dr. MacDowall, concerns the use of the title Theos on all the silver coins (both regular and commemorative) of Antimachus I. There is no precedent for this in the Bactrian series;<sup>47</sup> since Bactria was a successor kingdom of the Seleucids, and continued to show strong Seleucid influence in its coinage,<sup>48</sup> it is reasonable to argue that Antimachus put ΘΕΟΥ upon his coins in direct and immediate imitation of Antiochus IV (175-164 B.C.).<sup>49</sup> If so, perhaps Antimachus started to reign shortly after 175 B.C., and our document might have been written in 171 or 170 B.C. Secondly, Eucratides I, who may have overthrown Theos Antimachus, came to the throne at about the same time as Mithradates (I) the Great of Parthia (Justin 41,6,1 'eodem ferme tempore, sicut in Parthis Mithradates, ita in Bactris Eucratides, magni uterque viri, regna ineunt'). The accession of Mithradates is conventionally put c. 171 B.C. — not certain, but, with regard to Eucratides, the date cannot be far wrong, because it coheres well with the third chronological indicator. Before 162 B.C. Eucratides had not only established himself but also achieved sufficient success to replace his initial coin legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΟΥ with the more grandiose ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΟΥ. Both Eucratides' legend (with ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ) and his type (charging Dioscouroi, our Tafel VI (g)) were copied by the rebel Seleucid satrap

<sup>46</sup> Bopearachchi (pp. 50-51) cites this article of Kraay, but merely to distinguish Demetrius the son of Euthydemus from the issuer of the monolingual silver with Athena reverse. Kraay himself (p. 27) considered Justin's 'Demetrius king of the Indians' to be a minor dynast who clashed with Eucratides I towards the end of the latter's reign; he was quite prepared to credit him with the bilingual silver and bronze bearing the title Aniketos (Bopearachchi p. 287). If one accepts Kraay's dating of Justin's Demetrius, it might not be impossible to grant him a foothold on both sides of the Hindu Kush, and to believe that he struck the monolingual silver with Athena reverse as well as the bilingual coins. But I would not be at all happy with such a solution, since I suspect that the two groups of coins are separated by some 40 years; one of the two known bilingual drachms (illustrated in our Tafel VI (k); in Bopearachchi p. 99 n. 1 there seems to be a confusion between tetradrachms and drachms) is said to have been found with coins of Antialcidas, whom Bopearachchi dates c. 115-95 B.C., long after the death of Eucratides I. So Justin's Demetrius king of the Indians, who fought against Eucratides, remains a mystery to me. It is not easy to identify him with any of the three Demetrii who can reasonably be distinguished in the coinage; on the other hand one is reluctant (cf. Kraay p. 27) to postulate a fourth Demetrius who has left no coins.

<sup>47</sup> Clearly one must distinguish between the application of Theos to living, and to dead, rulers. On the commemorative tetradrachms, Agathocles applies Theos to Diodotus II, and both Agathocles and Antimachus (see our Tafel VI (b)) to Euthydemus I; neither commemorated monarch was called Theos on his coins during his lifetime.

<sup>48</sup> I suspect that there is much useful work (embracing fabric, denominations, types, legends and iconography) still to be done on links between the Seleucid and Bactrian coinages.

<sup>49</sup> Antiochus IV has three different legends on his silver coins: (a) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ, (b) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ, (c) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ. On the principle that titles tend to grow in elaboration, one might expect that the legends should have been introduced in that order. See n. 51 below. The first Bactrian or Indo-Greek king to use the title Epiphanes is Plato, who seems to belong to the dynasty of Eucratides I.

Timarchus in 162 B.C.<sup>50</sup> We should probably allow Eucratides a little while to gather his strength and defeat Antimachus, but the process is likely to have been complete by about 165 B.C. So the reign of Theos Antimachus could reasonably be dated c. 174-166 B.C.

Let us now turn to the second Antimachus of our document. While he may be an otherwise unknown king, it seems to me entirely plausible to think that he is Nikephoros Antimachus at an early stage of his career, perhaps five years before he took that title and issued coins. We have seen that the Nikephoros coinage seems to follow that of Apollodotus I south of the Hindu Kush; also that the newfound monolingual tetradrachm of Apollodotus I has affinities with the coins of Theos Antimachus. Bopearachchi (p. 66) describes the period c. 170-145 B.C. (his estimate for the reign of Eucratides I) under the heading 'guerres entre factions grecques des deux côtés de l'Hindukush'. This picture may be illuminated from Indian sources. On p. 83 Bopearachchi translates from the *Yugapurāṇa*, 'une guerre civile éclatera chez eux [sc. the Yavanas, that is the Greeks]: sur leur propre territoire aura lieu une terrible bataille, extrêmement meurtrière: il en résultera la destruction complète des Yavanas'.

The following might be a credible sequence of events: Theos Antimachus reigns in Bactria c. 174-166 B.C. (our document would then be dated c. 170 B.C.) together with his two sons Eumenes and the younger Antimachus. After the defeat and death of Theos Antimachus (and Eumenes?) at the hands of Eucratides I c. 166 B.C., the younger Antimachus escapes to his Euthydemid ally Apollodotus I south of the Hindu Kush, whom he succeeds in that region. Antimachus achieves sufficient military success against the forces of Eucratides to justify issuing coins with the epithet Nikephoros<sup>51</sup> and the type of a winged Victory (our *Tafel VI* (c)) before he too is defeated by Eucratides, c. 155 B.C., giving way to the most celebrated of Indo-Greek kings, Menander I (c. 155-130 B.C.),<sup>52</sup> who, though engaged in severe conflicts with Eucratides during the early part of his reign, establishes his power and outlives his great rival.<sup>53</sup>

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<sup>50</sup> cf. British Museum Catalogue, *Seleucid Kings of Syria*, p. 50 (plate XV, 2 shows a tetradrachm of Demetrius I and Laodice overstruck on a coin of Timarchus). One of the few known tetradrachms of Timarchus which escaped overstriking is illustrated in the catalogue of Sotheby's Zürich Sale, October 26th, 1993, no. 68.

<sup>51</sup> According to Tarn p. 194, Antiochus IV added ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ to his coin legend in 166 B.C., which would suit the chronology proposed here (if one can be so precise).

<sup>52</sup> thus Bopearachchi p. 76.

<sup>53</sup> See Bopearachchi pp. 85-86. Idem, 'Ménandre Sôter, un roi indo-grec', *Studia Iranica* 19, 1990, 39-85.

<sup>54</sup> As well as my two collaborators, I would like to thank in particular Dr. David MacDowall, whose forthcoming catalogue of two Oxford collections will undoubtedly make further important advances in Bactrian and Indo-Greek numismatics and history. Also I am grateful to Dr. R.A. Coles, Professor D.M. Lewis, Professor P.J. Parsons and Mr. N.G. Wilson. Sad news of the death in July 1994 of Professor Lewis has just reached me.

- (a) Attic-weight silver tetradrachm of Antimachus I (Theos), series 1A Bopearachchi.  
Obverse: Diademed bust of king wearing causia to right.  
Reverse: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΘΕΟΥ / ANTIMAXOY. Poseidon standing to front, holding trident in right hand and palm in left hand. Control mark below to right.
- (b) Attic-weight silver tetradrachm, struck during the reign of Antimachus I (Theos), series 10A Bopearachchi, commemorating Euthydemus I.  
Obverse: ΕΥΘΥΔΗΜΟΥ / ΘΕΟΥ. Diademed bust of Euthydemus I to right.  
Reverse: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΟΝΤΟΣ / ΘΕΟΥ / ANTIMAXOY. Heracles seated to left on rocks, resting left hand on rocks; in right hand he holds club which rests on separate pile of rocks [this had been the regular type on the silver coinage of Euthydemus I]. Control mark below to right.
- (c) Indian-weight bilingual silver drachm of Antimachus II (Nikephoros), series 1D Bopearachchi.  
Obverse: Continuous legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ ANTIMAXOY. Winged Nike to left, holding palm in right hand. Control mark below to left.  
Reverse: Continuous Kharoshthi legend [exactly corresponding to Greek] Maharajasa jayadharasa Antimakhasa. Diademed and helmeted king on horseback, galloping to right.
- (d) Attic-weight silver tetradrachm of Euthydemus II, series 1C Bopearachchi.  
Obverse: Diademed bust of king to right.  
Reverse: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ / ΕΥΘΥΔΗΜΟΥ. Wreathed Heracles standing to front, holding wreath in right hand, club and lion-skin in left hand. Control mark to left.
- (e) Attic-weight silver tetradrachm of Agathocles, series 1D Bopearachchi.  
Obverse: Diademed bust of king to right.  
Reverse: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ. Zeus standing to front, holding sceptre in left hand, and in right hand figure of Hecate who carries two torches. Control mark to left.
- (f) Square Indian-weight bilingual silver drachm of Apollodotus I, series 4G Bopearachchi.  
Obverse: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ / ΑΠΟΛΛΟΔΟΤΟΥ / ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ. Elephant to right, control mark below.  
Reverse: Maharajasa / Apaladatas / tratarasa. Humped bull to right, control mark below.
- (g) Attic-weight silver tetradrachm of Eucratides I, series 8B Bopearachchi.  
Obverse: Heroic bare-shouldered bust of king, diademed and helmeted, thrusting with spear over left shoulder.  
Reverse: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ / ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΟΥ. Dioscouroi, bearing lances and palms, on horseback, galloping to right. Control mark below to right.
- (h) Attic-weight silver tetradrachm struck by Eucratides I (series 15A Bopearachchi) to commemorate his parents Heliocles and Laodice. The latter, unlike the former, wears a diadem, suggesting that she was a princess in her own right. I follow Bopearachchi p. 209 n. 48 in treating the side showing his parents as the obverse (cf. the commemorative tetradrachms of Agathocles and Theos Antimachus).  
Obverse: ΗΛΙΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ / ΚΑΙ ΛΑΟΔΙΚΗΣ. Conjoined busts of couple (Laodice diademed) to right. Control mark to left.  
Reverse: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΜΕΓΑΣ / ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΗΣ. Diademed and helmeted bust of king to right.

(i) Indian-weight bilingual silver tetradrachm of Menander I (series 12A Bopearachchi).

Obverse: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ / ΜΕΝΑΝΔΡΟΥ. Diademed bust of king to right.

Reverse: Maharajasa tratarasa / Menandrasa. Athena standing to left, holding thunderbolt and aegis. Control marks to left and right.

(j) Attic-weight silver tetradrachm of Demetrius II (series 1H Bopearachchi).

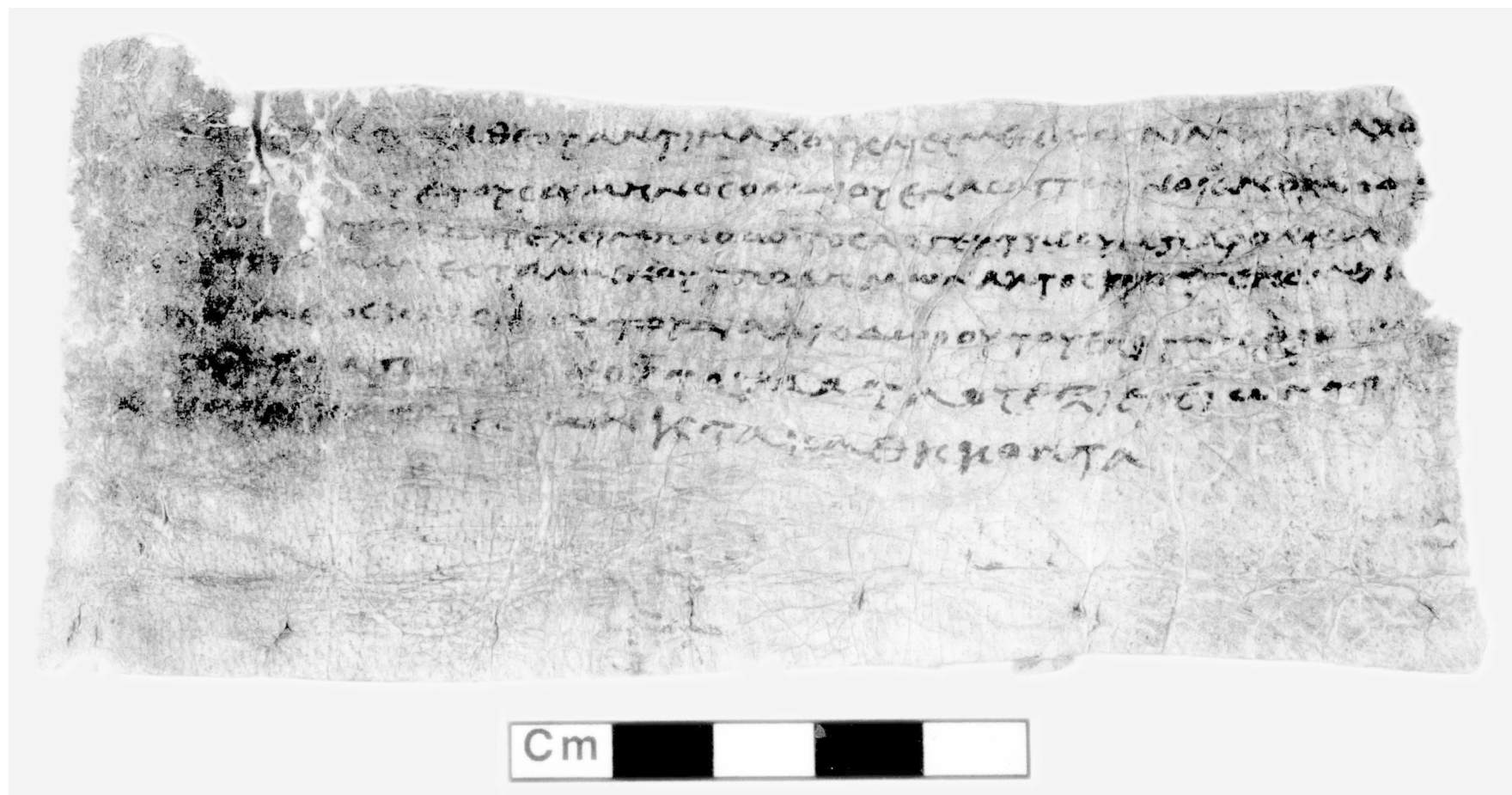
Obverse: Diademed bust of king to right.

Reverse: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ / ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ. Athena standing to front, holding spear in right hand, resting left hand on shield. Control mark to left.

(k) Indian-weight bilingual silver drachm of Demetrius III (Aniketos), series 2A Bopearachchi.

Obverse: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΙΚΗΤΟΥ / ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ. Diademed bust of king to right.

Reverse: Maharajasa aparajitasa / Demetriyasa. Zeus standing to front, holding thunderbolt in right hand, and sceptre in left hand. Control mark to right.



Steuerquittung aus Baktrien



a)



b)



c)



d)



e)



f)



g)



h)



i)



j)



k)

