A NEW GOLD DINAR OF KANISHKA I WITH THE BUDDHA IMAGE

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Introductory Remarks

In 1974 the present author wrote an article(1) dealing with the bronze coins issued by the Great King of the Kushans, Kanishka I on the reverse of which is represented a standing image of the Buddha Shâkyamuni. Since then, many bronze coins issued by this king with the image of the Buddha or Bodhisattva Maitreya on the reverse have been found. These new finds were investigated by J. Cribb(2) and R. Göbl(3) and brought to light an important knowledge about the Buddhist icons on the Kushan coins. In addition to these, G. Fussman(4) published an important quarter dinar issued by Kanishka I with a standing image of the Buddha on the reverse and kept by the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. By this quarter dinar, we now know that there are three gold coins with the Buddha image. As for the other two examples, they are both dinars and owned by British Museum(5) and the Boston Museum of Fine Arts(6) respectively.

However, another gold dinar of Kanishka I with the Buddha image was brought to Japan recently and is now kept by a private collector in Kamakura city. The author of this paper had the chance to examine that coin thanks to the benevolence of the owner. After the examination, the author found that it is coined by the same die as that of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts but worth publishing with some investigations, for this new piece is far better preserved than the other.

1. Description of the object

The newly found gold dinar to be investigated in this paper is as follows. Its weight is 7.98gr. and the diameter 2.07cm. The die-adjustment is 1°.

Obverse (Fig. 1)

King Kanishka I is standing facing with head to the left. He holds a lance in his left hand and his right hand is placed over a small altar to the left. His right hand grasps an elephant goad (ānkuśa), or behind his right hand there is a horizontal representation of an elephant goad. He wears a beard, whiskers and moustache and a ring-shaped mark is engraved on the left cheek. He wears a gorgeous cap with a top-knot. Around his head he wears a diadem and its extremities are represented to the right of the head. He wears tight trousers or pantaloons and a caftan. On the caftan are represented two different belts: one is for tightening the caftan and the other is for hanging a sword. Furthermore, he wears both a large and small mantle (paludamentum), whose two extremities are floating in the wind. The paludamentum is connected by two round clasps or medallions around the neck. The drapery of these garments is schematized. He wears large boots and both feet are represented horizontally in perfect profile. From his right shoulder emerges a flame. Greek legend in Kushan language begins at seven o'clock and runs clockwise: ΠΑΟΝΑΝΟ-ΠΑΟΚΑΝΗΠΚΙΚΟΠΑΝΟ.

Reverse (Fig. 2)

Buddha Shakyamuni clothed in monastic garment (sanghāṭi) is standing facing with right hand raised in reassuring pose (abhaya-mudrā) and left hand grasping the hem of the garment. On the palm of the right hand is engraved a ring which signifies a wheel. He is nimbate and haloed. The nimbus is double-circled and the halo is elliptical (boat-shaped). His eyebrows are thick, straight and horizontally represented. His eyes are wide open and represented by rings. He wears a big moustache and his ears are elongated. There is a large protuberance (uṣṇīṣa) on the head. The hair of the head proper is represented by straight thick lines and that of the uṣṇīṣa by small balls which means the snail-shell curls typical of the Buddha's hair. Both feet are represented quite roughly in perfect profile. To the left is a horizontal Greek legend: BODDO, and to the right the ordinary monogram of Kanishka I on his coinage.

In addition to the above description, the author would like to stress the fact that there is an oval-shaped depression to the left of the double-nimbus. This is something like a mark impressed by the die. The same kind of depression is observed on the gold dinar of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts (Fig. 3). The fact that these two dinars share the same design is beyond any doubt, therefore
this depressed mark proves that they are coined by the same die.

**Provenance**

According to the information which the author got from the antique dealer who brought this gold dinar to Japan, this piece was formerly owned by a private collector in Lahore or Rawalpindi. As for its find spot, there is no information at all as is always the case with the Gandharan pieces unearthed by clandestine diggers. Among three gold dinars already mentioned, that owned by British Museum (Fig. 4) was excavated from Ahin Posh\(^7\) near Jellalabad in East Afghanistan, but the sites of the other two pieces are not clear. It cannot be ascertained whether this piece was found in Afghanistan or Pakistan. Furthermore, the place where this coin was minted cannot be clarified but most probably this was issued at the main mint of Kanishka I, that of Purusapura (modern Peshawar), one of the Kushan capitals allegedly founded by Kanishka I.

**Metrology**

The gold coins of Kanishka I are composed by the so-called dinars\(^8\) weighing 8.03gr. and a quarter dinar weighing 2.01gr. The double-dinars weighing 16.07gr. are attested only by those issued by Wema Kadphises, immediate predecessor of Kanishka I. The weight of our piece is just 7.98gr. and therefore it is almost preserved in mint condition.

**Palaeography**

The letters of the gold coins of Kanishka I are Greek and the language is Kushan or Iranian. In addition to the Greek alphabets, Sha (ﾟ) is added. Each of the Greek letters are more or less transformed. As for N, there are four letters in this inscription but there are two kinds of shapes (N, ⅈ). The first, second and fourth N take the proper shape but the third one takes a different form. The latter form is apparently wrong. However, in the relevant inscription of the dinar of British Museum (Fig. 5) this incorrect form is not employed. The author cannot clarify convincingly the reason why this inscriptive anomaly took place. This might have been a careless mistake on the part of the die-engraver. However, we should admit the fact that this incorrect form of N was admitted as an official letter by two Kushan kings.

According to R. Göbl’s palaeographical study\(^9\) of the Greek letters which appear on the Kushan gold coins, these kinds of wrong forms were employed by Kanishka I and Huvishka. The proper form N is one of the earliest Kushan forms and employed for the first time by Kanishka I and later only by Hu-
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As far as the forms of N are concerned, R. Göbl clarified the existence of sixty-eight different shapes. According to his chronological arrangement of these letter forms, the proper N is the second form while the deformed N is either seventh or seventeenth. The shape of this incorrect N resembles the latter more than the former, although the latter belongs only to the inscription of Huvishka. Therefore, if we follow R. Göbl's chronology, the shape of the incorrect N of our dinar might be classified as belonging to the comparatively late phase of Kanishka I's Greek-lettered coin legends. It is almost probable that the date of the inscription of our dinar is later than that of British Museum object (Fig. 5) from the palaeographical viewpoint.

Another peculiar feature of the obverse inscription can be observed in two letters struck around ten o'clock. Letters Π and A of the second PA of PAONAPPAO are conjunct to each other just like a ligature. The same feature is observed in the Greek-lettered inscription of the quarter dinar of the Bibliothèque Nationale (Fig. 6), according to the plate published by G. Fussman and also in that of the dinar of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts (Fig. 3). This feature is quite unique and rare as far as the Greek inscription on the obverse of Kanishka I's gold dinars is concerned. According to the catalogue of the Kushan Coins by R. Göbl, the same feature is seen on several coins (obv.). As this feature is rather exceptional, it is highly probable that the dies of the coins with this special feature were made by the same die-engraver or designed by the same person.

Next, how about the relationship of these two dinars (Figs. 2, 3) to the quarter dinar? The general designs of these three gold coins are almost the same. So, it might be possible to maintain that the obverse and reverse dies of the quarter dinar were made by the same die-engraver as those of the dinar. However, if we compare the shapes of Ns (obv.) of both coins, we can easily see that their forms are quite different from each other. The Ns of the quarter dinar are more deformed than those of the dinars. That form belongs to the eighth type of R. Göbl's arrangement of the Greek letters, and is used by Kanishka I and Huvishka. Several variations of this irregular shape were employed more by Huvishka than by Kanishka I. Therefore, it might be possible to conclude following G. Fussman that the die-engraver of the obverse of the quarter dinar is different from that of the dinar. Then again, it is also probable that the same die-engraver made both obverse dies and that
he employed the simplified or more developed type for the quarter dinar due to some unspecified reason when he was ordered to make the obverse die of the quarter dinar some time after he had made that of the dinar. Therefore, the author should like to leave this problem unsolved, for there existed several shapes of N in the Kushan period and the die-engraver or die-designer could have had the chance to select one of them.

2. Iconographical Investigation

In the following the author attempts to comment on some details of the figures such as the king's cap, sword pommel, *paludamentum* and the wart on the cheek on the obverse and double nimbus and hair-style of the head and *uṣṇīṣa* of the Buddha on the reverse.

**Obverse** (Fig. 1)

1. Cap (crown)

Kanishka I and other Kushan kings are represented wearing various kinds of caps on the obverse. The cap of this dinar corresponds to type 2 of J. M. Rosenfield's classification.\(^{(13)}\) However, his drawing is not correct because he made it from an incomplete coin image. According to R. Göbl's classification\(^{(14)}\) of the Kushan caps, our cap corresponds to his type IV-1. However, his drawing does not represent the crest of the cap correctly. Furthermore, our cap corresponds to either type 10 or 11 of E. Zeimal's classification,\(^{(15)}\) but his drawing is incorrect. The cap represented on our new material is complete, therefore we can know its original shape. According to our observation, the crest seems to be composed of several flower (lotus) petals. This crest ornament foreshadows the bulbous one of the Kushano-Sasanian kings such as Peroz and Bahram.\(^{(16)}\)

2. Sword pommel.

One of the peculiarities of the Kushan kings' sword represented on the coins is seen in the shape of the pommel. Although it is not shown clearly in our dinar, the pommel is usually represented as being curved. The same curved pommel is also seen in the swords carried by several deities represented on the reverse of coins issued by Kanishka I and Huvishka. This is also the case with the sword represented on the red-stone image of Kanishka I excavated from Māt in Mathurā.\(^{(17)}\) The pommel of the latter (Fig. 7) is shaped as a bird's head (eagle). On the other hand, the Kushan swords carried by Kushan
soldiers and nobles represented on the Gandharan Buddhist reliefs have no such curved pommel. Therefore, we can conclude that the curved pommel has a distinguished meaning and was allowed only for the sword of the King of Kings (shaonanoshao). It might have been one of the symbols of divine kingship, xuwarnah or of victory.

As for the origin of this curved pommel, it is well known that it originated in West Asia (Assyria) and was transmitted to the Greek and Scythian worlds. The Roman emperors in the third century also had a sword of this type while the Bactrian Iranians came to know of it through Sarmatians from the Scythians of the Northern Black Sea coast. Its earliest example hitherto unearthed in Bactria is that of Ares represented on golden plaques excavated from a tomb of Tillya-Tepe (first half of the first century A.D.) in northern Afghanistan.

Therefore, the design of the curved pommel of the above-mentioned sword of Kanishka might have followed that of Ares of Tillya-Tepe of Bactria from where the Kushans migrated to Pakistan and India. This kind of curved or zoomorphic pommel was inherited by the Sogdians as G. Fussman observed, and we can see several examples on the wall paintings of Pyanjikent and on the terracotta plaques from Bia Naiman’s ossuary (7–8th centuries). Furthermore, we can see the same kind of curved pommel on the princely figure painted on the ceiling of the niche of the 35m Buddha, Bamyan. In addition to these, the Roman emperors such as Gordian and Phillip Arab defeated by the Sasanian king Shahpur I (241–271) who are represented on the rock-cut victory reliefs of the latter at Naqsh-i Rustam and Bishapur are portrayed as carrying a sword with this kind of pommel.

3. paludamentum

This Roman small mantle or scarf was also known in the Roman empire as sagum but the Kushan small mantle inherited the Greek chlamys which had been used by the Bactrian Greek kings as is attested by their busts represented on the Greco-Bactrian and Indo-Greek coins. The sagum worn by the Roman soldiers was called paludamentum when it was worn by the commander-in-chief, and it became the special garment of the Roman emperor. Therefore it was regarded as a symbol of the sovereign. In the Kushan realm, the so-called paludamentum might have had the same symbolic meaning as in Rome, and was worn by the Kushan kings from Wema Kadphises to Vasudeva represented on the Kushan coins. Furthermore, a Kushan kingly person wearing paludamentum
is represented on a Gandharan Buddhist relief (Fig. 8) depicting the donations of the Buddha’s alms-bowl by four Lokapalas. However, it is not represented on the statues of Wema Kadphises, Kanishka I and Huvishka excavated from either Māt in Mathurā or Surkh Kotal in northern Afghanistan. The reason why this kind of dichotomy took place cannot be solved by the author at the present moment.

In addition to these, some Kushan deities represented on the reverse of the Kushan coins are depicted as wearing paludamentum and the Sasanian kings represented on the rock-cut reliefs(27) also wear paludamentum.

4. Wart.

There is a ring-shaped mark on the cheek of Kanishka. J. M. Rosenfield(28) regards this mark as a wart symbolizing a kind of inherited imperfection, a dynastic lakshana, a sign of legitimacy. However, R. Göbl(29) doubts his interpretation and regards it as Wangenarbe. Furthermore, R. Ghirshman(30) relates that mark to a similar mark on the cheek of Parthian couples represented on a bronze buckle allegedly unearthed from Kerman in the Iranian Plateau. It is well known that similar marks are represented on the heads of several Parthian kings (Fig. 9) from the first century B.C. to the first century A.D. As for the Parthian marks, W. Wrote observes as follows.(31)

“A peculiarity of many Parthian portrait-heads remains to be noticed, namely, the occurrence of a wart on the king’s forehead or temple. It is first seen on the head of Orodes I, and afterwards on the head of his son Phraates IV. It is found on many later kings, so that it seems to have been regarded as a distinctive peculiarity, like the anchor which was supposed to appear by nature on the thigh of the genuine descendants of Seleucus Nikator. In the case of Gotarzes, a lock of hair seems to take the place of the wart that characterizes his rival Vardanes I.”

The transformation of the wart into a lock of hair reminds us of the same change of the Buddha’s ūrṇā from wart of small ball to snail-shell curl (Fig. 10).(32)

The author believes W. Wrote and J. M. Rosenfield and regards these kinds of facial marks as having a special symbolic meaning and originating from the Iranian nomads’ belief in the incarnate xvarnah, just as the anchor was regarded as a symbol of the legitimate kingship of the Seleucid kings. The author has already published an article(33) in which he tried to prove that this facial mark symbolised the legitimate kingship (xvarnah, farnah, farn) and is
related intimately to the Buddhist ārāṇa on the forehead of the Buddha and Bodhisattva images, therefore in this paper restricts himself only to mentioning something about the direct origin of the Kushan ring or disk mark on the cheek.

As far as the author’s knowledge goes, there are several finds dating from the pre-Kushana period on which a similar mark is observed. Among them, the recently found small bronze coins of Gondophares (Indo-Parthian king, first half of the first century A.D.) should be mentioned. These coins were recently studied by J. Cribb(34) and this year a big hoard of them was brought once to Japan and the author was given an opportunity to examine them. According to the author’s investigation of the hoard, the interpretation and drawings of the coins presented by J. Cribb proved to be correct. On one type(35) of Gondophares' coins the king’s bust is represented with a wart on the right cheek.

Another find is an ivory plaque allegedly unearthed from Taxila (Sirkap), on which is engraved a Yakshini (Fig. 11). On the forehead between the eyebrows of this figurine is incised a ring mark. This object might date from the same Indo-Parthian period as that of Gondophares’ coins.

These two objects apparently lead to the Parthians who lived on the Iranian Plateau and their facial marks seem to be related to the wart on the forehead or temple of the Parthian kings.

On the other hand, two quite interesting gold materials were excavated from Bactria, mother land of the Kushans. These are finds from the Kushan or other Iranian tombs of Tillya-tepe (North Afghanistan).(36) One is a gold pendant representing the Bactrian Aphrodite and the other a pair of gold pendants representing a (Kushan) ruler and dragons. On the forehead of both figures is engraved a ring mark just like that of the Yakshinī (Fig. 11). These facial marks are in the opinion of the author nothing but the two-dimensional representation of wart or protuberance and are the forerunners of the Kushan King’s wart on the cheek.

Reverse

1. Double nimbus

The most peculiar feature of the Buddha figure on the reverse which distinguishes this piece from that of British Museum (Fig. 3) is the double-circled nimbus around the head of the Buddha. As for the halo decorating the body of the Buddha, most of the Gandharan Buddha images lack this ornament, but there are few Buddha images with a halo (Fig. 12).

As for the reason why the double-circled nimbus is adopted for this image,
we should search for that answer in the bigger Gandharan Buddha images, for no double-circled nimbus is attested in the images of deities represented on the reverse of the coins of Kanishka I. In other works, this double-circled nimbus must have been copied from the then extant Buddha image. If we look at the catalogues of Gandharan sculptures,\(^{(37)}\) we can easily find the same type of Buddha’s nimbus on many schist Buddha images both free-standing and in relief. As far as the author’s inquiry goes, the double-circled nimbus is most frequently attested in the Buddha images which were excavated in Dir and Swat.\(^{(38)}\) The Buddha images with a double-circled nimbus are in most cases represented on the reliefs, but on the bigger free-standing ones, the circular space between the double circles is decorated with a triangular pattern or lotus petals. G. Fussman\(^{(39)}\) seems to relate this decoration to the double-circled nimbus, but the example which he cites seems to date from a fairly late period in spite of his argument for dating it from the pre-Kanishka period (Wema Kadphises’ reign) on a palaeographical basis. In the opinion of the present author, the decoration on the nimbus reflects a more advanced stage than that of the plain nimbus, and consequently it is highly problematic to relate the origin of the double-circled nimbus to such a decorative nimbus rather than to an undecorated plain one.

### 2. Hair-style of head and usṇīṣa

As is already mentioned, the Buddha image of this dinar has a big usṇīṣa and its hair is composed of small balls. These small balls are arranged in two lines: on the lower are five balls (one is destroyed), on the upper four.

As for the usṇīṣa of the Buddha image represented on the dinar of British Museum (Fig. 4), J. Cribb\(^{(40)}\) observes that his hair is depicted with tight curls but he does not give the number of the curls. However, according to the drawing of that image published in his paper, the upper number of the curls seems to be four while that of the lower six. As for the numbers of the curls of the Buddha image of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts (Fig. 3), they completely correspond with those of our specimen, according to his drawing of the piece.

With regard to the Buddha image of the Bibliothèque Nationale (Fig. 6), G. Fussman does not mention the number of curls, but according to the figure published by him and also to the present author’s personal investigation\(^{(41)}\) of the piece, the upper row of the hair is composed of two balls while the lower is composed of three.

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Relying on these four pieces, the hair-style of the ushṇīṣa of the Buddha is represented by small balls which are nothing but an abbreviated depiction of the so-called snail-shell curls of the schist Gandharan Buddha head.

Next how about the hair-style of the Buddha head proper? According to J. Cribb's observation[^42] of the British Museum piece (Fig. 4), the hair is dressed and drawn in straight lines. The same is true with our piece and the hair is depicted by eight or nine straight lines and arranged completely symmetrically. The symmetrical depiction of the hair must correspond with the hair-style of the schist Gandharan Buddha image, but the straight lines cannot be identified with any particular arrangement of the hair, for these nine straight vertical lines must be a simplified version of the more complicated hair-style of the Buddha image in schist.

As for the hair-style of the quarter dinar Buddha image, the hair is indicated by six slanting lines also arranged symmetrically.

In addition to these, there are many bronze coins of Kanishka I on which is depicted a standing Buddha image[^43] but the hair-style of the Buddha on bronze coins is not clear in most of the cases. On one of them, the straight vertical lines are clearly observed, but the ushṇīṣa is always blurred with the result that it is impossible to know whether the hair-style of the ushṇīṣa is depicted by the snail shell curls or by others.

According to the above observations, it is clear that the most important feature of the hair-style of the Buddha's head and ushṇīṣa on the gold coins of Kanishka I is the intentional combination of the symmetrical arrangement of the snail-shell curls and straight lines. This point is overlooked by J. Cribb and G. Fussman therefore, in the next chapter, the author attempts to evaluate this feature.

3. **Comparison with the Gandharan schist Buddha Image**

When we look at the heads of the Gandharan Buddha images, we notice that there are several types of hair-style with regard to the heads and ushṇīṣas.

However, in this chapter the author restricts himself to the types of hair-style of the Buddha which seem to correspond with that of the Buddha image on the gold coin of Kanishka I. According to the author's investigations of the Buddha heads, there are three main types of hair-style which must have been used as a model for the hair-style of the Buddha on the coins concerned.
Type 1 (Fig. 13)

The hair-style of this type consists of the curled (not snail-shell curls) usṇīṣa and of the wavy lined hair of the head proper. The curls or coiled hair of this usṇīṣa reminds us of the small balls (granulation) of those of the Buddha on Kanishka I’s coins (Figs. 2, 6), but we cannot be sure whether they were the model for the latter. Furthermore, it is also doubtful whether the wavy hair was schematized into the straight lines or not. We can cite several examples of this type.\(^{44}\) Furthermore, we can divide this type into two sub-types in accordance with the types of the curls of the usṇīṣa: in some examples the curls of the usṇīṣa are not complete snail-shell ones, while in others the curls are complete snail-shell ones.

Type 2 (Fig. 14)

The hair-style of this type consists of the snail-shell curled usṇīṣa and of wavy hair plaited symmetrically. The typical example of this type might be that owned by the Museum für Indische Kunst, Berlin.\(^{45}\) On the head of this Buddha, the hair of the usṇīṣa is clearly distinguished by a string from the hair of the head proper and the usṇīṣa consists of two lines of snail-shell curls. Moreover, the number of snail-shell curls appears to be five (above) and six (below), and these numbers do not correspond exactly to those of the usṇīṣa of the Buddha on Kanishka I’s coins. However we might say that the usṇīṣa of the schist head bears quite a resemblance to that of the coins.

There are several examples of this type,\(^{46}\) and in the case of the smaller relief, the wavy plaited hair is simplified and represented by something like straight lines, not by arcs. Therefore, from the typological viewpoint, this type is more similar to that of the hair-style of the Buddha on Kanishka I’s coins than the first type.

Type 3 (Fig. 15)

The hairdo of this type consists of the so-called ladder-mode of the head proper and of the snail shell curled usṇīṣa. The typical example of this type is that of the schist seated Buddha in the collection of the Cleveland Museum of Art,\(^{47}\) and there are several similar ones.\(^{48}\) This hair-style is beyond doubt comparatively later from the typological viewpoint.

If we try to represent this type on a coin of smaller area, the snail-shell curls are likely to be represented by granulation (small balls) and the ladder-mode must be the straight vertical lines. Therefore, from the typological viewpoint, this type is almost the same as that of the Buddha on Kanishka I’s coins.
Above, we attempted to correlate the hair-style of the usṇīṣa and the head proper of Gandharan Buddha images to that of the Kanishka coin Buddhas relying on a typological comparison, but at the present stage of our knowledge, it is almost impossible to identify the original model type among these three possible types.

4. So-called Kanishka Reliquary

One of the fundamental materials for the chronology of Gandharan art was the bronze reliquary excavated from Shah-ji-ki-dhēri at Peshawar (Fig. 16). This reliquary is inscribed with the Kharoshṭhi mentioning Kanishka's name and was excavated archaeologically from the so-called Kanishka Stūpa, therefore many scholars regarded this as having been made and deposited by order of Kanishka I and consequently as reflecting the artistic condition of Gandhara during the reign of this king. Scholars differ from one another in their estimation. A. Foucher(49) regarded this as reflecting the degenerated phase while van Lohuizen-de Leeuw(50) regarded it as reflecting the primitive one. The estimation hitherto published relies on stylistic and typological methods, but no one except J. Cribb(51) compares the Buddha images on this reliquary with those of the standing Buddha images on the Kanishka I gold coins. However, J. Cribb's comparison is not sufficient, because he does not pay attention to the peculiar hair-style of the Buddha images on Kanishka I's coins.

If we look at the several Buddha images of this reliquary, the hair-style of the head proper consists of vertical straight lines almost similar to those of the Buddha heads on Kanishka I's coins. On the contrary, the hair-style of the usṇīṣa of the Buddha heads of this reliquary seems to be vertical straight lines according to K. W. Dobbins' observation(52) and not to be snail-shell curls such as those of the Buddha's usṇīṣa on Kanishka I's coins. The present author could not obtain access to examine the original reliquary with his own eyes (Peshawar Museum exhibits only its cast copy), therefore examined the photographs hitherto published. Although all the photographs are not good for verifying the details of the usṇīṣa, as far as can be judged from the pictures, the opinion of Dobbins is correct and that of M. L. D'Ancona(53) is wrong. The latter regards the hair-style of the usṇīṣa as being snail-shaped, but the snail-shells cannot be observed.(54)

Therefore, if Dobbins's observation is to be followed, the hair-style of the...
usṣīṣa on the Kanishka Reliquary does not correspond to that on Kanishka I’s coins. This means that the model of the big Buddha image in schist which was used for the Kanishka Reliquary is different from that for the Kanishka coins.

Are we to be allowed to suppose relying on this fact that the coin engraver chose his model freely and the maker of this reliquary had the freedom to choose another? If this surmise proves correct, we have no scientific basis to argue against the conclusion that the Kanishka Reliquary is contemporary with the gold coins of Kanishka I with the standing Buddha images.

However, if we are assured that the Buddha model for the coins was one of the famous ones as G. Fussman supposes, and was sanctioned by Kanishka I, it is highly probable that the maker of the Kanishka Reliquary followed the same model or relevant image. Furthermore, when any one makes a cultic image, the iconographical details are quite important, and much attention should be paid to them. The so-called usṣīṣa of the Gandharan Buddha images was regarded as one of the Thirty-Two Great Marks of the Buddha in particular. Therefore, none of the sculptors or donors could be indifferent to the type and meaning of the usṣīṣa.

As for the meaning of the usṣīṣa, several interpretations are proposed, but the typological development of the usṣīṣa is more important to this paper. A. Foucher has already demonstrated the transformation of the hair-style of the Buddha (I, II, p. 701) from the Greek wavy hair to snail-shell curls, and explained that the typological transformation of the Gandharan usṣīṣa was due to a compromise between canonical prescriptions and Gandharan sculptural tradition. Although his reasoning as to why this change took place cannot be accepted, the typological development or transformation of the usṣīṣa is almost tenable. The hair-style of the usṣīṣa followed the development of the hair as described above, and consequently the snail-shell curled usṣīṣa is principally posterior to the Greek wavy one. Therefore, the usṣīṣa style of the Shākyamuni on Kanishka I’s gold coins shows a comparatively developed stage. On the contrary, that of the seated Buddha of the Kanishka Reliquary is not at all snail-shell curled. The hair of the usṣīṣa is the same as that of the head proper and is represented by straight vertical lines. It is a quite difficult matter as to whether the hair-style on Kanishka I’s coins is anterior to that on the Kanishka Reliquary, but it is clear that they belong to different types. So, from the typological viewpoint of the usṣīṣa-hair, we might be allowed to conclude that the seated Buddhas on the Kanishka Reliquary are not related at all to the
Buddha images on Kanishka I's gold coins. This fact might lead us to reject the theory that the Kanishka Reliquary was made by order of Kanishka I after he became King of Kings of the Kushans.

This conclusion might be further reinforced by the fact that there is no wart on the face of the Kushan prince on this reliquary. As was already stated (above pp. 138–39), the wart is part of the royal regalia and represented on the face of Kanishka I and Huvishka. The Kushan prince on this reliquary is bigger than the images of the Kushan Kings on coins, therefore if this Kushan prince represented Kanishka I, his wart would have been engraved on his face, for there is no difficulty in representing the wart there. But as far as I know, this symbol is lacking from the face of this Kushan prince. This fact corroborates N. G. Majumdar's view that the so-called Kanishka I on the body of this reliquary is not Kanishka I.

The above numismatic investigation seems to compel us not to relate the Kanishka Reliquary to Kanishka I's own donation to the stūpa, though we must admit that it does not necessarily exclude the possibility that this reliquary was produced by others during the reign of Kanishka I.

**Concluding Remarks**

Above the author attempted to clarify the numismatic and art-historical importance of this new dinar of Kanishka I. Relying upon that observation and the coin itself, we might say that one of the prevailing types of the Buddha images during Kanishka I's reign is the one with wide-open eyes, a moustache and a snail-shell curled usnīṣa. These iconographical peculiarities might make a great contribution to the study of the chronology of the Gandharan Buddha images.

**Notes**


Tanabe, op. cit., pl. II-1.


(10) Ibidem, pls. pl. 8-68, 69. 70.


(14) R. Göbl, op. cit., 1984, pl. IV (Kronen).


(20) V. Sarianidi, L’Or de la.

(21) Gi Fussman, op. cit., p. 158.


(23) J. Hackin, A. Godard, Les Antiquités Bouddhiques de Bamiyan, Paris et Bruxelles, 1928, fig. 6, pl. XXII.


R. Göbl, Der Triumph des sasaniden Sahpuhr über Cordian, Philippus und Valerianus, Wien, 1974, pl. I.

(25) P. Gardner, op. cit., pls. II-XV.


(27) L. Vanden Berghe, Reliefs Rupestres de L’Iran Ancien, Bruxelles, 1984, pls. 18 ff.


(29) R. Göbl, op. cit., 1984, p. 34.


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29-67 (in Japanese), also refer to my forthcoming paper (note 32).


(35) Ibidem, fig. 33.

(36) V. Sarianidi, _op. cit._, pls. 99, 44–47.


(38) D. Faccenna, _Scultures of the Sacred Area of Buktara I_ (Sweit, w. Pakistan), pts. 2, 3, Rome, 1962, 1964.


(40) J. Cribb, _op. cit._, 1985, p. 64.

(41) December, 1986 at the Coin Department, Bibliothèque Nationale, thanks to Dr. Irene Aghion.

(42) J. Cribb, _op. cit._, 1985, fig. 9, I (A).

(43) K. Tanabe, _op. cit._, 1974, pl. I, also refer to J. Cribb, 1985, fig. 10, ID 1.

(44) H. Ingholt, _op. cit._, pls. XII–3, XIII–1, XVII–2, 4, figs. 196, 206, 209, 215, etc..


(46) H. Ingholt, _op. cit._, figs. 115, 198, 199.

(47) S. J. Czuma, _Kushan Sculptures: Images from Early India_, Cleveland, 1985, p. 197, pl. 108.

(48) H. Ingholt, _op. cit._, pl. XXI–2, figs. 201, 228, 256, 519, 523, etc.

(49) A. Foucher, _Art Gréco-Bouddhique du Gandhara_, Paris, t. II (1918), pp. 546–47.


(54) Mr. Ershad Zamir of the Peshawar Museum and my friend Mr. T. Kaku examined the reliquary together on my behalf.


J. N. Banerjea, “Uṣṇīṣa-śrātakatā(ā mahāpuruṇa-lakṣaṇa) in the early Buddhist images of India”, _The Indian Historical Quarterly_, vol. 3 (1931), pp. 499–514.

R. Chanda, “The hair and the Uṣṇīṣa on the head of the Buddha and the jinas”, _ibidem_ pp. 669–73.


(57) A. Foucher, _op. cit._, pp. 295, 701.

Fig. 1. Gold dinar of Kanishka I, obv., Private collection, Japan

Fig. 2. Gold dinar of Kanishka I, rev., Private collection, Japan

Fig. 3. Gold dinar of Kanishka I, rev., The Boston Museum of Fine Arts

Fig. 4. Gold dinar of Kanishka I, rev., British Museum

Fig. 5. Gold dinar of Kanishka I, obv., British Museum

Fig. 6. A quarter dinar of Kanishka I, rev., Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, Fussman, 1982, Fig. 1
Fig. 7. Sword of Kanishka I (detail), The Mathurā Museum

Fig. 8. Donation of alms-bowl to the Buddha (detail), Gandhara, Private collection, Japan

Fig. 9. Tetradrachm of Phraates IV, author's collection

Fig. 10. Stucco head of the Buddha, Gandhara, Private collection, Japan
Fig. 11. Yakshini, ivory plaque, Pakistan, Private collection, Japan

Fig. 12. The Preaching Buddha and Worshippers, Gandhara, Private collection, Japan

Fig. 13. The Buddha head, Gandhara, The National Museum, New Delhi

Fig. 14. The Buddha head, Gandhara, The Museum für Indische Kunst Berlin, Härtel, 1984, pl. 25
Fig. 15. The Buddha head (detail), The Cleveland Museum of Art, Czuma, 1985, pl. 108.

Fig. 16. The Kanishka Reliquary, The Peshawar Museum, Dobbins, 1968, Fig. 7.