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of the Archer Type

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Attribution of the Nameless Coins of the Archer Type

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Abstract: This paper seeks to reattribute the so-called ‘Nameless’ coins of the Archer type, hitherto assumed to be Gupta issues, to the Huns. These do not give the ruler’s name on the obverse as do almost all other Archer type coins. At present, they are most plausibly attributed to the Gupta king Budhagupta, on account of their use of the epithet *śrī vikrama* on the reverse, an epithet used also by Budhagupta. The reattribution is inspired by the discovery of a Nameless coin that bears the epithet *śrī prakāśa*, the epithet used by the Hun king Toramāṇa on his Horseman Lion-slayer coins. The paper shows that the Nameless coins, including the *śrī prakāśa* coin, share strong stylistic similarities with one another which differentiates them from attributable Gupta coins. Thus a strong case can be made that all the Nameless coins are Hun issues.

A LONG-STANDING problem in Gupta numismatics is the attribution of coins of the late period Archer type which do not feature the king’s name. Almost all coins of the Archer type carry a shortened version of the king’s name in a vertical format somewhere on the obverse. For example, the coins of Samudragupta feature the legend *samudra*, the coins of Candragupta II bear the legend *candra*. Normally, this name is under the left arm, but sometimes it is in the right or even left field. The only exceptions are a few coins of Kumāragupta I, which do not have the name under the arm but can be identified by the king’s epithet *śrī mahendra* on the reverse,² and the late period coins which are the subject of this paper. These coins are not attributable since they do not carry a name vertically on the obverse, for which reason I prefer to call them the ‘Nameless’ coins. The obverse circular legend is typically off the flan (and remains unread), and the epithet on the reverse does not identify the king. On almost all such coins the epithet is *śrī vikrama*, the epithet used by Candragupta

¹ Boston University (email: ptandon@bu.edu). I wish to thank Shailen Bhandare, Pratipal Bhatia, John Deyell, Ellen Raven and an anonymous referee for helpful discussions and comments and Ellen for sharing images from the DINARA database. Early versions of this paper were presented at the Seventh Annual Seminar in Central Asian and Middle Eastern Numismatics in Memoriam Boris Kochnev, Hofstra University, 14 March 2015, and the XV International Numismatic Congress, Taormina, Sicily, 21 September 2015. The main elements of the paper were also presented as part of a talk entitled ‘Evidence of the Hūṇa incursion into the Gupta Empire’ at the International Seminar on Gupta Archaeology, Numismatics, Literature and Epigraphy, Nagpur, January 2016. Financial support of a Neil Kreitman grant from the Royal Numismatic Society is gratefully acknowledged. The paper was finally written while I was a Fulbright-Nehru Scholar at the Indian Institute of Research in Numismatic Studies in early 2016. The support of Fulbright and IIRNS is gratefully acknowledged.

² For examples, see John Allan, *A Catalogue of the Indian Coins in the British Museum: Coins of the Gupta Dynasties and of Sasanka, King of Gauda* (London, 1914), plate 12, no. 6, and A.S. Altekar, *The Coinage of the Gupta Empire* (Varanasi, 1957), plate 10, nos 7–10.

II, Candragupta III, and Budhagupta. On a few rare coins the epithet is *parākrama*. Although this epithet was used by Samudragupta, the coins are too heavy (over 9 grams) to allow an attribution to that king. Thus the attribution of these coins also escapes us.

Auction catalogues usually attribute these coins to Purugupta or Budhagupta. On my last visit to the British Museum in August 2015, they were attributed to Budhagupta in the Museum's trays. The reasons for making these attributions will be spelled out in detail in what follows. We will see that there is no substantial basis for an attribution to Purugupta and that the attribution to Budhagupta also is not convincing.

This paper will make a radical new proposal: that the Nameless coins are not Gupta coins, but were issued by a branch of the Alchon Huns which included the kings Toramāṇa and Mihirakula. The proximate impetus for this suggestion is the discovery of a Nameless coin in the Lucknow Museum (accession no. 11626) with close stylistic affinity to all other Nameless coins, which carries the epithet *śrī prakāśa* on the reverse. Given the recent discovery that the presumed Gupta king Prakāśāditya was in fact the Hun king Toramāṇa,³ it seems virtually certain that the *śrī prakāśa* coin from the Lucknow Museum can also be attributed to him.⁴ By extension, on grounds of the close stylistic similarity of other Nameless coins with the *śrī prakāśa* coin, it seems reasonable to suppose that the other Nameless coins are also Hun issues. Literary and find spot evidence, although scant, seems to be consistent with this conclusion.

A typical Nameless type coin is shown in Figure 1. The right field under the king's arm does not feature a legend, nor is there space further to the right outside the bow to allow any legend to be present there either. The reverse epithet on this and most other coins is *śrī vikrama*. The coins conform to the heavy weight of what some call the late Gupta *suvarṇa* standard.



Fig. 1. A typical Nameless coin, 9.33 grams (Tandon collection no. 597.4) (2x)

³ See Pankaj Tandon, 'The identity of Prakāśāditya', *JRAS* 25, 4 (October 2015), pp. 647–68.

⁴ After I saw the coin at the Lucknow Museum and realized its importance, I discovered that it had previously been published by B.N. Mukherjee, who also concluded that it was issued by the same king who issued the Prakāśāditya gold coins. He did not connect it to the Nameless coins. B.N. Mukherjee: 'Communication: 3. An interesting gold coin', *Journal of the Asiatic Society* (Calcutta), 27, 3 (1985), pp. 140–1.

Previous attributions

When Gupta coins were first being classified in the nineteenth century, all coins with the reverse legend *śrī vikrama* were assigned, quite understandably, to Candragupta II. Obviously that included the Nameless coins. For example, in his Indian Museum Catalogue,⁵ Smith classified five heavy-weight Archer coins carrying the reverse epithet *śrī vikrama* to Candragupta II, calling them variety β, a type similar to his variety α (the usual Archer type) but with a weight ‘exceeding 140 grains (suvarṇa)’. Coins 30–32 (his sub-variety 1) carried the name *candra* or an indistinct name under the arm and need not concern us here.⁶ But coins 33 and 34 (sub-variety 2) did not feature a name under the arm and had weights of 142.1 grains (= 9.21 grams) and 146.2 grains (= 9.47 grams). Clearly these are too heavy to be coins of Candragupta II and that attribution has long since been disregarded.

This cannot be said about the attribution made by Allan in his British Museum Catalogue, who attributed the coins to Puragupta, as he spelled the name.⁷ His entry for Puragupta lists four coins, one (Var. α) with the name *pura* under the arm, and three (all in Var. β) without any name.⁸ Of the three Nameless coins, two were in the British Museum’s collection and one in the Burn collection. Because of the persistence of this attribution in the imagination of many even today, it is worth quoting Allan’s entire discussion on the matter:

We are now able to attribute coins to Puragupta with certainty; they are all of the Archer type, and closely resemble in style Skandagupta’s heavier issues. The specimen illustrated on **Pl. XXI. 24** has been in the British Museum since 1893 as a coin of Candragupta II, an attribution based on the reverse legend *Śrī-Vikramah*; the second specimen (**Pl. XXI. 25**) was recently acquired. The weights of these specimens (142.7 and 141.4 grains respectively) [= 9.25 and 9.16 grams] rendered their attribution to Candragupta II improbable, and the evidence of style suggested Skandagupta; the question whether these coins [footnote: I. M. Cat., i, p. 107, nos. 33 and 34, must now also be ascribed to Puragupta.] and a third in Mr. Burn’s collection were to be attributed to Skandagupta or, as we suspected, to Puragupta was settled when we found in Dr. Hoey’s collection a similar coin with the reverse legend *Śrī-Vikramah*, and the name *Pura* beneath the l. arm (**Pl. XXI. 23**). The coins may therefore be divided into two varieties according as they bear the name or not.⁹

To summarize: Allan attributed the Nameless coins to Puragupta because he thought he had found a coin with the name *pura* under the arm which also (like the Nameless coins) had the epithet *śrī vikrama* on the reverse. Otherwise, he thought they should perhaps be attributed to Skandagupta on grounds of stylistic similarity.

⁵ Vincent A. Smith, *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum Calcutta* (Oxford, 1906), pp. 106–7 and plate 15, no. 13.

⁶ They were apparently coins of Candragupta III and Budhagupta.

⁷ Allan spelled the name Puragupta, although we now know that the correct spelling is Purugupta.

⁸ Allan, *Indian Coins in the British Museum*, pp. 134–5.

⁹ Allan, *ibid.*, p. cii.

Unfortunately, Allan's reasoning met with a serious barrier. The Hoey coin, which is now in the British Museum and is illustrated in Figure 2, turned out to be a coin not of Purugupta, but rather of Budhagupta.¹⁰ The reading of the name under the arm as *budha* instead of *pura* was first pointed out by S. K. Saraswati.¹¹ Although this view was initially controversial, subsequent discoveries of additional coins that clearly read *budha* have made it a widely accepted revision of Allan's reading. Given that the named coin was no longer Purugupta's, there seems to be no logical reason to suppose that the Nameless coins are his either. Therefore, the attribution of the Nameless coins to Purugupta, which persists in many quarters, is completely untenable. It stems from reading Allan's suggested identification without any knowledge of the subsequent literature around his classification.



Fig. 2. The Hoey coin, attributed originally to Purugupta, but later to Budhagupta¹² (2x)

The logical consequence of the reassignment of Allan's Purugupta coin to Budhagupta would be to reassign the Nameless coins to Budhagupta. This is the approach taken by Altekar, in his comprehensive catalogue of Gupta coinage. Noting that the Nameless coins 'show a general resemblance to the coins of Budhagupta in type, size and weight', he concludes that 'it is likely that they may have been issued by the same ruler'.¹³ However, he expresses some reservations, saying that we 'cannot ... altogether exclude the possibility of the coins without the name Budha on the obverse and with the *biruda Vikrama* on the reverse being issued by a hither-to unknown Gupta emperor of the fifth or the early sixth century A.D'. But he concludes his discussion with the statement that it is 'best to assume that the heavy weight Archer type coins with the legend Vikrama on the reverse were issued by Budhagupta, who is now definitely known to have adopted that epithet'.

P.L. Gupta follows Altekar's lead explicitly. In the catalogue of coins at Bharat Kala Bhavan, he reviews how the Nameless coins were thought to be coins of Candragupta II, then assigned to Purugupta by Allan, but then tentatively reassigned by Altekar to Budhagupta. He concludes: 'At present, they are taken to be coins of Budhagupta'.¹⁴ By his hesitant wording, Gupta seems to leave the door open for a reattribution, as did Altekar.

¹⁰ In what follows, I am relying on the summary discussion provided by Parameshwari Lal Gupta, *The Imperial Guptas I* (Varanasi, 1974), pp. 346–9.

¹¹ S.K. Saraswati, 'A gold coin of Budhagupta', *Indian Culture*, I (iv), pp. 691–2.

¹² Photo © The Trustees of the British Museum.

¹³ Altekar, *Coinage of the Gupta Empire*, p. 276.

¹⁴ Parameshwari Lal Gupta and Sarojini Srivastava, *Gupta Gold Coins in Bharat Kala Bhavan* (Varanasi, 1981), p. 23.

Are the Nameless coins issues of Budhagupta? They are of the correct weight, and most of them bear the epithet *śrī vikrama* on the reverse, as do the coins of Budhagupta. These two points are the total case for the attribution which, lacking any other information, might be considered a reasonable choice. Against this, however, must be placed the observation that the Nameless coins are stylistically distinct from any of the named coins of Budhagupta and, indeed, from any other Gupta coins. The stylistic differences will become apparent in the discussion that follows. If the coins were of Budhagupta, they would form a completely distinct group from his other coins, perhaps because they were made at a different mint. No later Gupta coins show any affiliation with these coins which would imply that this separate mint of Budhagupta did not mint coins for any of his successors. Further, the attribution to Budhagupta is based largely on the use of the epithet *śrī vikrama*. We now know, however, of Nameless coins with the epithets *śrī prakāśa* and *parākrama*. If only the *śrī vikrama* coins are Budhagupta's, who issued the *śrī prakāśa* and *parākrama* coins? These objections make the attribution of the Nameless coins to Budhagupta highly questionable. The *śrī prakāśa* coin provides crucial new information which will yield an alternative, and much more convincing, attribution.

The śrī prakāśa coin (Fig. 3)

The *śrī prakāśa* coin looks very like most other Nameless coins, with a nimbate king standing in the usual Archer pose on the obverse and on the reverse a nimbate goddess Lakṣmī seated facing on a lotus, holding a lotus and a diadem. The one difference is the reverse legend, which distinctly reads *śrī prakāśa* instead of the usual *śrī vikrama*. In light of the recent finding that the horse-rider lion-slayer coins with the reverse legend *śrī prakāśaditya* are the coins of the Hun king Toramāṇa, it seems safe to attribute the *śrī prakāśa* coin also to him.¹⁵ Thus at least this one Nameless coin can quite convincingly be regarded as a Hun issue.¹⁶



Fig. 3. The *śrī prakāśa* coin, Lucknow Museum (accession no. 11626)
Wt 9.402 g; diam. 20 mm; die axis 12 o'clock (2x)

¹⁵ Recall (footnote 4 above) that B.N. Mukherjee had also argued for the *śrī prakāśa* coin to have been issued by Prakāśaditya.

¹⁶ Some might argue that an alternative possible assignment of the *śrī prakāśa* coin would be to the Aulikara king Prakāśadharman, who, according to the Risthal Inscription, defeated Toramāṇa. I will consider (and reject) this possibility below.



Fig. 4. Comparing the *śrī prakāśa* coin with other Nameless coins and with Gupta coins¹⁷ (1.5x)

The *śrī prakāśa* coin closely resembles in style all other Nameless coins and is quite distinct in many respects from the coins of Budhagupta and the other late Gupta rulers. I include among the Nameless coins the two known coins with the reverse legend *parākrama* which are also not yet properly attributed. In what follows, I will consider several different aspects of the design or style of the coins in order to

¹⁷ Coin (b) Classical Numismatic Gallery (Ahmedabad), Auction 20 (12 April 2015), lot 127; coins (g) and (h) © The Trustees of the British Museum, photos, courtesy Joe Cribb. Other photos by the author.

show that the Nameless coins form a separate and homogenous group with many common elements distinct from all other Gupta coins. Figure 4 shows eight coins to illustrate the various points to be made. There are four Nameless coins, including the *śrī prakāśa* coin, a *parākrama* coin, and two of the more common *śrī vikrama* coins. Also shown are four Gupta coins, one of Kumāragupta II, two of Budhagupta (since he is the prime candidate to whom these coins might otherwise be attributed), and one of Vainyagupta. These were the three kings who probably ruled immediately after Skandagupta, so their coins are roughly contemporary with the Nameless coins. A detailed discussion of the differences between these two groups of coins follows.

Figure of the king (Figure 4).

In the nameless coins, the figure of the king is rather stiff and lacks the greater naturalism seen on the Gupta coins. There tends to be less sway in the body and the legs are more or less parallel to one another, making the king look as if he is standing at attention. The Gupta coins show the legs more spread, the body has more sway and the king looks like he is at greater ease. The coins in Figure 4 illustrate the difference quite vividly.

Dhoti (Figure 5).

The Nameless coins show the king's *dhoti* with a series of horizontal parallel lines that, once again, look very artificial. When the Gupta coins show some lines on the *dhoti* they do not stretch all the way across the legs, are drawn at an oblique angle and look much more naturalistic. The shape of the *dhoti* is also quite different, as we see in Figure 5. All details are from the same coins as in Figure 4.

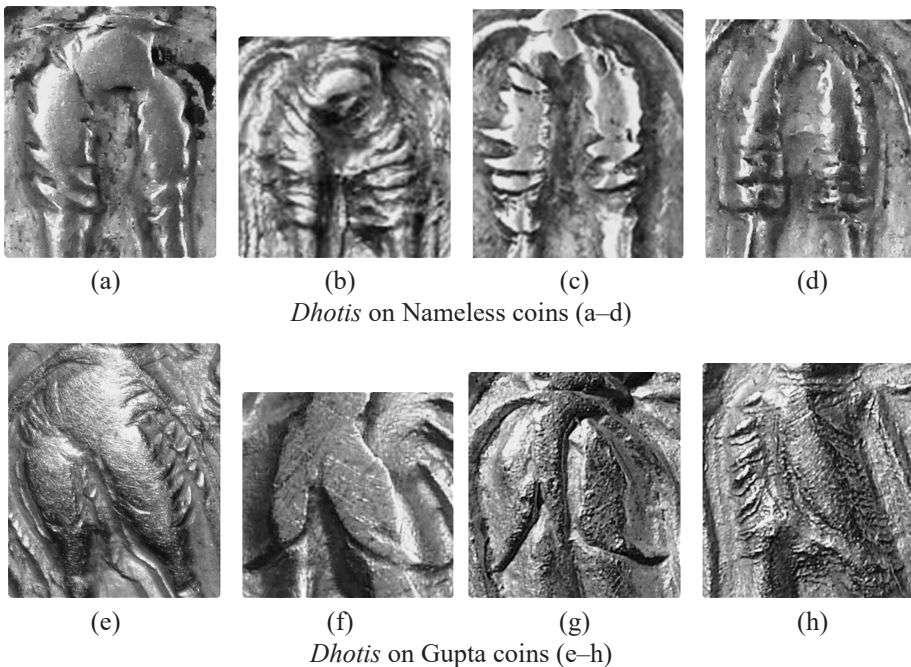


Fig. 5. Comparing Nameless and Gupta coins: *dhotis*

Sash and loop (Figure 6).

The Nameless coins all show the king wearing a sash, a length of which hangs parallel to the outline of his lower garment. There is always a prominent loop to indicate a sash knot. This design feature may have been borrowed from the coins of Kumāragupta II and is seen on all Nameless coins. The knot of course should be at the waist, as seen on the coin of Kumāragupta II (Figure 6e), but on most Nameless coins it has migrated to somewhere along the length of sash which is hanging down. The loop is seen on a very few coins of Skandagupta and quite regularly on coins of Kumāragupta II; it is never seen on coins of Budhagupta or any of the other later Gupta rulers, as is clearly demonstrated by the examples in Figure 6. This suggests the possibility that the model for the design of the Nameless coins was a coin of Kumāragupta II. The loop in the sash is one of the diagnostic features of the Nameless type.

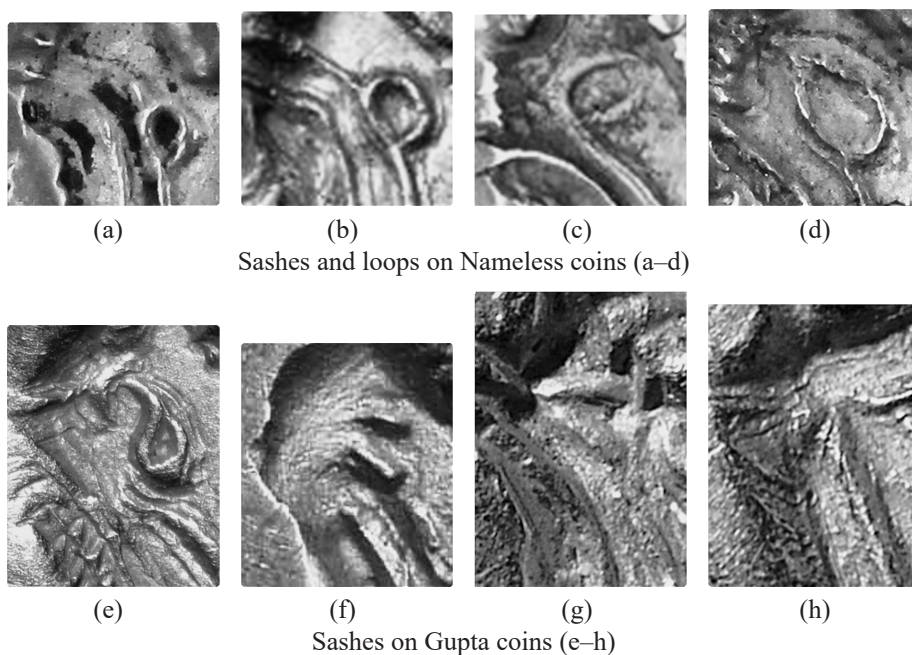
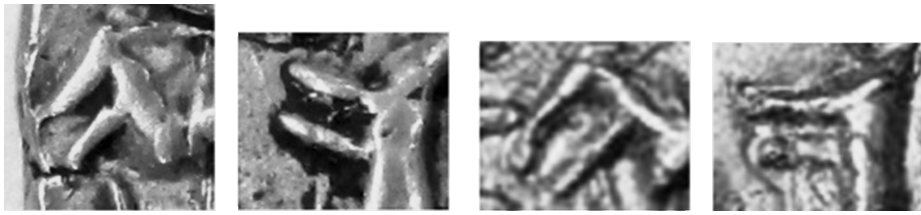


Fig. 6. Comparing Nameless and Gupta coins: sashes

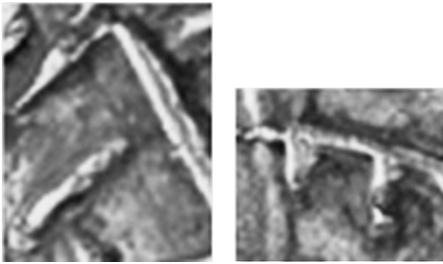
The king's hands (Figure 7).

The hands, and more specifically the fingers, of the king are usually represented by two parallel lines, somewhat like the jaws of a vice. This is another example of the way in which the king's figure on the Nameless coins is very stiff and unnatural. On Gupta coins, the king's fingers are normally longer and are more curved.



(a)

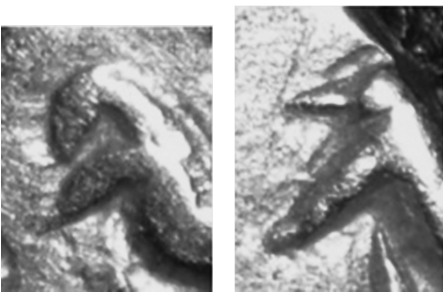
(b)



(c)

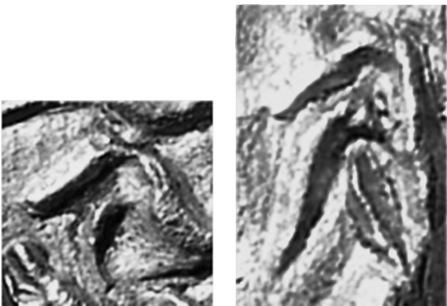
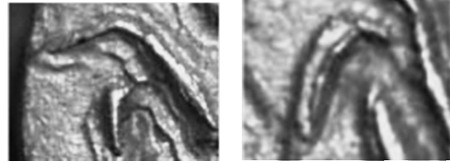
(d)

Hands on Nameless coins (a-d)



(e)

(f)



(g)

(h)

Hands on Gupta coins (e-h)

Fig. 7. Comparing Nameless and Gupta coins: hands

Lakshmi's hair (Figure 8).

Another signature feature of the Nameless coins is their rendition of Lakshmi's hair on the reverse. The hair is rendered almost like a hat, with a long, near-horizontal section looking like a hat-brim, with a vertical section sticking up in the middle. Figure 8 shows that such a rendition is never seen on Gupta coins. This feature serves as a second very clear and significant distinguishing feature of the Nameless coins from all other Archer type coins.

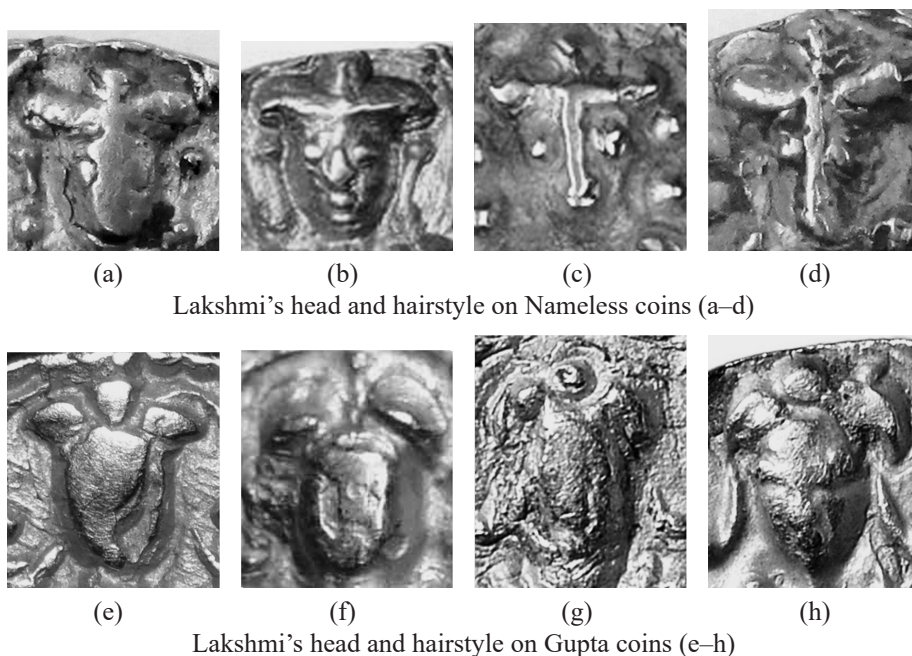


Fig. 8. Comparing Nameless and Gupta coins: Lakshmi's hairstyle

The series of stylistic features discussed above serves to suggest strongly that the Nameless coins form a distinct group from all other Archer type coins. If they are attributed to Budhagupta, one would have to posit a mint separate from the rest of his (named) issues where they were struck. More important, we would expect them to have some successors in the coinage of Vainyagupta or later Gupta kings, which is not the case. We would also be left with the need to explain the *śrī prakāśa* and *parākrama* coins. Why would Budhagupta issue coins with these different epithets?

It is difficult to make a case for any other Gupta king to have issued these coins. Stylistically, the Nameless coins are very different from all other Gupta coins. Further, each of the known Gupta kings had his own distinct epithet and there is no reason to expect that coins with any other epithets would be issued. Manufacturing some new, unknown Gupta kings seems to be a far-fetched and perilous course to take. For example, in a post on his Facebook page,¹⁸ Sanjeev Kumar assigned the *parākrama*

¹⁸ <https://www.facebook.com/shivlee.kumargupta>, posted on 8 February 2014. After this paper was written, Kumar published a catalogue of Gupta coins, in which he once again attributed the *parākrama* coins to a Samudragupta II (see Sanjeev Kumar, *Treasures of the Gupta Empire* (Shivlee Trust, 2017),

coins to a king named Samudragupta II. It is not clear what the justification for such an attribution would be, unless reference is being made to a king of that name posited by P.L. Gupta on the basis of a heavy weight coin with the obverse legend *samudra* in the Lucknow Museum.¹⁹ I have examined that coin (Figure 9) and feel that it is probably a modern forgery. In any case, it does not bear a stylistic affinity to the Nameless coins with the *parākrama* legend, so this attribution seems highly unlikely. Given that there are Nameless coins with three different epithets, we would need to propose the existence of three other Gupta kings of whom we have no other knowledge. This seems problematic to say the least.



Fig. 9. Heavy weight (8.78 g) *samudra* coin (Lucknow Museum no. 11402), a probable modern forgery (2x)

The case for the Nameless coins to be Hun issues

The most immediate argument for attributing the Nameless coins to the Huns is that the *śrī prakāśa* coin is surely a coin of Toramāṇa. Not only is the epithet on the coin the same as the one Toramāṇa used on the Prakāśaditya coins, it is to be expected that he would have issued Archer type coins, since they were the canonical Gupta coin type. The letter forms on the two coins are also virtually identical.

We know that Toramāṇa issued silver and copper coins modelled on Gupta prototypes. Toramāṇa issued silver coins based on the Gupta *madhyadeśa* type, with a portrait head on the obverse and a peacock surrounded by a legend in Brāhmī on the reverse. Figure 10 shows a coin of Budhagupta of this type with a Toramāṇa coin which imitates it. We see that the execution of the Toramāṇa coin is much cruder and the head faces left rather than right, but otherwise it is a close imitation, with virtually the same legend other than the king's name.²⁰ These coins are generally found in Mālwa, which is probably where they were struck.

p. 96). There is some confusion on this attribution. On page 379, Kumar attributes the coins to the Huns. He had seen my presentation on this point at a conference in Nagpur in early 2016 and appears to have changed his mind.

¹⁹ Gupta and Srivastava, *Gupta Gold Coins*, p. 2.

²⁰ The legend on the Budhagupta coin is *vijitāvaniravanipati śrī budhagupta divaṃ jayati*, while that on the Toramāṇa coin is *vijitāvaniravanipati śrī toramāṇa divaṃ jayati*.



Fig. 10. Silver coins of Budhagupta (left) and Toramāṇa (right)²¹ (2x)

Toramāṇa also issued copper coins resembling Gupta prototypes. The first coin in Figure 11 shows a copper coin of Candragupta II, which features a head left and a reverse which is divided into two parts by a horizontal line. The upper register displays an image of Garuḍa and the lower register contains the king's name, *candragupta*. The second coin shows a copper coin of Toramāṇa which has virtually the same design. The bust of the king on the obverse faces right rather than left, but the reverse has the same structure of two registers formed by a separating line, with the upper register displaying a dynastic symbol (here a solar disc or wheel) and the lower register containing the king's name, here shortened to *tora*. Both reverses feature dotted borders. This Toramāṇa type and similar Gupta coins using the same basic format and with the obverse head facing right have been found in the excavations at Sanghol,²² and therefore it is likely that they were struck in that area. Thus Toramāṇa imitated Gupta copper coins as he imitated the silver coins. In both cases, the design closely followed the Gupta format.



Fig. 11. Copper coins of Candragupta II (left) and Toramāṇa (right)²³ (2x)

Would Toramāṇa not then have issued gold coins on the Gupta model as well? Indeed, given what we know about the copper and silver issues, it would be surprising if he did not. And, were he to issue gold coins on the Gupta model, would he not issue Archer type coins, the most common and pervasive type of Gupta gold coin? Thus, attributing the *śrī prakāśa* coin to Toramāṇa seems the obvious thing to do.

The next question to ask is, how do we attribute the Nameless coins with the *śrī vikrama* and *parākrama* legends? As I have argued in the previous section, these coins are stylistically very similar to the *śrī prakāśa* coin, and indeed form a highly homogenous group of coins quite distinct from Gupta coins. Therefore a Hun origin,

²¹ The Budhagupta coin is from the Shivlee collection, photo courtesy Sanjeev Kumar; the Toramāṇa coin is from the British Museum, photo, courtesy Shailen Bhandare.

²² See G.B. Sharma, *Coins, Seals and Sealings from Sanghol* (Chandigarh, 1986).

²³ First coin, British Museum, photo courtesy Joe Cribb; second coin Tandon collection (no. 663.21, Göbl 120). Göbl references here and in what follows are to the coin numbers from Robert Göbl, *Dokumente zur Geschichte der Iranischen Hunnen in Baktrien und Indien* (Wiesbaden, 1967).

for these coins also, seems very plausible. We know that Toramāṇa was not the only Hun king to have issued coins on the Gupta model; several other Hun kings also issued copper coins based on the Gupta design, and we also know that Mihirakula, who is known from the Gwalior inscription to have been Toramāṇa’s son, issued copper coins too in roughly a Gupta idiom. It therefore seems quite likely that one or more of these Hun kings may have issued Archer type gold coins as well.

Apart from the coin type illustrated in Figure 11, there are also somewhat cruder copper coins on the same pattern in which the epithet *śrī prakāśāditya* is substituted for the short form name *tora* (Figure 12a). These were probably also issued by Toramāṇa although that identification is not important to the argument; undoubtedly these were Hunnic issues. Other coins belonging to the same series have the legends *śrī uditāditya* and *śrī vaysāra* or *śrī vaysīra* (Figure 12b and 12c). Figure 12d illustrates a copper coin of Mihirakula, which has a somewhat modified design. The bust right on the obverse is accompanied by a legend in Brāhmī reading *śrī mihiragula*. The reverse features a bull left, perhaps standing on a ground line which serves as the divider between the two registers of the coin; the legend below reads *jayatu vriṣa*. Any or all of these issuers of Gupta style coppers could have struck Archer type gold coins and could therefore be the issuers of some of the Nameless coins. Thus in principle it would not be difficult to see that three different Hun kings issued gold coins of the Archer type, i.e., the Nameless coins.



Fig. 12. More Hun copper coins²⁴ (2x)

One natural question to ask in this context is, where are the Nameless coins found? If they were found, for example, in Bengal, we would have to conclude that they are probably not Hun issues, because it is very unlikely that the Huns ever advanced that far east. Unfortunately, we have little solid hoard evidence on find spots, particularly because the Nameless coins have not been seen as a separate category worth recording. Nevertheless, what little evidence we have is consistent with a Hun

²⁴All coins are from the British Museum, photos courtesy Joe Cribb. Coin (a) is an example of Göbl 128, coin (b) of Göbl 127, coin (c) of Göbl 130 and coin (d) of Göbl 152.

origin. In her reconstruction of the well-known Kalighat hoard, which was found in Bengal in 1783,²⁵ Majumdar reports no Nameless coins. Likewise, in his report on the Murshidabad hoard found in Bangladesh in 2013, Karan Singh reports no Nameless coins.²⁶ Further, knowledgeable sources in the trade say that the Nameless coins are found almost exclusively in eastern Uttar Pradesh (UP), particularly around the area of Varanasi. These sources say that the two *parākrama* coins were found in a hoard uncovered in Chandauli, a town near Varanasi, along with other Nameless coins and some Gupta coins.

There are no inscriptions or other archaeological evidence to confirm that the Huns ever advanced as far east as eastern Uttar Pradesh. A sealing of Toramāṇa, though, and another with the legend *hūṅnarāja*, which may also be his but in any case is obviously Hunnic, have been found in Kauśāmbī, and Thaplyal has argued convincingly that at least the Toramāṇa sealing was made there rather than brought from elsewhere.²⁷ Also, certain barbed arrowheads of Hun type were found in the excavations at Kauśāmbī. While arrowheads could certainly travel long distances, their presence, in combination with the sealing, further corroborates the presence of the Huns in that city. It is quite plausible, therefore, that they may have advanced as far as eastern Uttar Pradesh. After all, Varanasi is only 133 kilometres (83 miles) from Kauśāmbī, while Kauśāmbī is about 530 kilometres (330 miles) from Eran, where there is an inscription of Toramāṇa.

The map (Figure 13) indicates places with known Hun connections. Given the wide area over which these places are spread, the extension of their sphere of activity to the area of Varanasi does not seem far-fetched.

One more piece of circumstantial evidence on the find spots of the Nameless coins is that, while the Uttar Pradesh State Museums (Lucknow and Mathura) possess eight Nameless coins in their collections (including the *śrī prakāśa* coin), the state museum of Bihar, the Patna Museum, has none. Although this does not prove anything, it does reinforce the suggestion that the coins are found in Uttar Pradesh but not further east, thereby strengthening the case for the coins to be Hun, and not Gupta, issues. Had they been Gupta issues, there would be no reason not to find them in Bihar.

There is also some limited literary evidence that would support the notion of a Hun presence in the Varanasi area. Before we can explore this we need to digress to discuss late Gupta chronology, which is currently under question. In particular, since the literary evidence involves the identification of the king Bālāditya in the account of Xuanzang²⁸ with the Gupta king who issued coins with the epithet *bālāditya*, we need to explore views that would deny such an identification.

²⁵ Susmita Basu Majumdar, *Kalighat Hoard: The First Gupta Coin Hoard from India* (Kolkata, 2014).

²⁶ Karan Singh, 'The Murshidabad hoard of Gupta coins', *JONS* 221 (Autumn 2014), pp. 22–5. Ranvijay Singh, a well-known coin dealer from Lucknow, has challenged Karan Singh's reconstruction of the hoard. He says he saw the whole hoard when it first came to the market, and its composition was different from that reported by Karan though Ranvijay also reported that it did not contain any Nameless coins.

²⁷ The legend *toramāṇa* is struck on top of the seal of the Ghoshitārāma monastery, which was located and has been found in that city. See K.K. Thaplyal, *Studies in Ancient Indian Seals* (Lucknow, 1972), pp. 61–2. I am indebted to Professor Thaplyal for bringing this seal to my attention.

²⁸ Samuel Beal: *Si-Yu-Ki: Buddhist Records of the Western World, by Hiuen Tsiang*. 2 vols. Translated by Samuel Beal, London: 1884. Reprint: Delhi, Oriental Books Reprint Corporation, 1969. Available online at: <https://archive.org/details/siyukibuddhistre01hsuoft>.

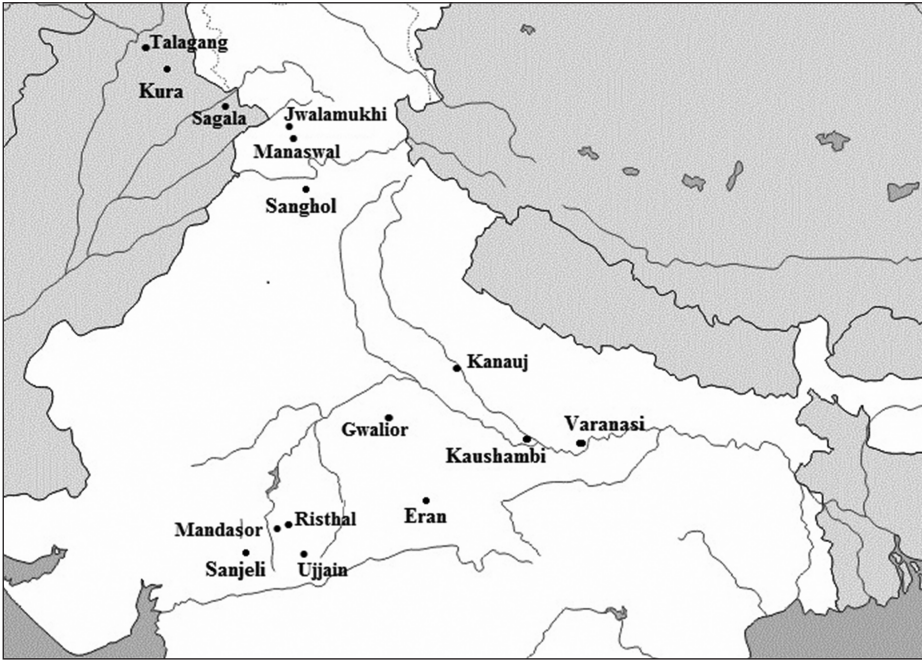


Fig. 13. Map of places with Hun connections

Digression on late Gupta chronology

In order to keep this digression as brief as possible, I will focus only on the chronology following Kumāragupta I. In his 2012 survey of Gupta political history, Thaplyal presents four possible chronologies after Kumāragupta I, citing different authors, but without deciding which he prefers.²⁹ This list does not include all the chronologies which have been proposed! For example, in a 2005 paper,³⁰ Willis presented the following chronology:

1. Kumāragupta I (c.415–47)
2. Ghaṭotkacagupta (c.448–55)
3. Skandagupta (c.456–67)
4. Narasimhagupta (c.467–74 ?)
5. Kumāragupta II (c.474–6)
6. Budhagupta (c.477–88)
7. Vainyagupta (c.508)
8. Viṣṇugupta (c.515 ?)

Since there are no inscriptions or seals that yield dates for Narasimhagupta, Willis forces him into the gap between the last known date of Skandagupta and the only known date of Kumāragupta II. He entirely denies the existence of a Kumāragupta III, since there is no independent verification that such a king existed. Willis insists

²⁹ Kiran Kumar Thaplyal, *The Imperial Guptas: A Political History* (New Delhi, 2012), pp. 407–14.

³⁰ Michael Willis, ‘Later Gupta history: inscriptions, coins and historical ideology’, *JRAS*³ 15, 2 (July 2005), p. 135.

that the Kumāragupta named in a Sarnath Buddha image inscription dated Gupta Era (GE) 154 (AD 473–4) is the same as the Kumāragupta named as the son of Narasiṃhagupta in the Bhitārī billon seal and on clay sealings found at Nalanda. That is why Narasiṃhagupta needs to be squeezed into the few years between Skandagupta and the date on the Sarnath Buddha image. If Narasiṃhagupta should be dated this early, he could not possibly be the king named Bālāditya in the account of Xuanzang.

The trouble with Willis's chronology is that it is based entirely on the inscriptions and pays no attention to the details of the numismatic evidence which have troubled previous scholars. He offers no explanation for the existence of two entirely different styles and fabrics of coins issued by a king or kings named Kumāra, nor does he take into account that the coins of Narasiṃhagupta clearly follow those of the first Kumāra (Kumāragupta II) and deteriorate into a series that undoubtedly precedes the very base and degenerate coins of the second Kumāra (Kumāragupta III), who in turn must closely precede Viṣṇugupta. He was led by a similar lack of attention to the coin evidence to propose that Kumāragupta I's brother Ghaṭotkacagupta preceded Skandagupta, an impossibility given that the *ghaṭo* coin he cited was obviously issued after Skandagupta's reign; it is too heavy and large to have been issued prior to it.³¹

Willis asserts that the 'existence or otherwise of the three Kumāraguptas rests on the idea that Narasiṃhagupta Bālāditya, known from coins and seals, is the same person as Bālāditya, the ardent Buddhist king who opposed Mihirakula according to Xuan Zang'. This is not really true. While some may find this idea attractive, the real reason to posit the existence of three Kumāraguptas, expressly laid out in a 1950 paper by P.L. Gupta and discussed at length in his comprehensive survey of Gupta political history,³² is to best explain the evidence of the coins. Kumāragupta I is well-attested and non-controversial; the key question is whether there was only one Kumāragupta after Skandagupta or were there two? There are two quite distinct coin series, each issued by a Kumāragupta; one is of finer style and higher gold content than the coins of Narasiṃhagupta, while the other is of cruder style and lower gold content.



(a) Kumāragupta II

(b) Kumāragupta III

Fig. 14. Coins of Kumāragupta II and Kumāragupta III (2x)

³¹ I have discussed this issue in detail in my paper 'The succession after Kumāragupta I', *JRAS* 24, 4 (October 2014), pp. 557–72.

³² See Gupta, *Imperial Guptas*, pp. 179–82.

Figure 14 illustrates examples of each series. The difference in fineness of style is so obvious it hardly requires comment. Allan, in his British Museum catalogue, assigned both of these series of coins to Kumāragupta II.³³ But, as pointed out by several authors and discussed in detail by Gupta, this attribution is untenable. Gupta points out that the coins suggest the following chronology, based on the weights and gold content of the coins:³⁴

Table 1. P.L. Gupta’s estimates of coin weights and gold content, by ruler (Arranged in the chronological order presented by Gupta)

<i>King</i>	<i>Wt. in grains</i>	<i>Wt. in grams</i>	<i>Gold %</i>
Kumāra Gupta II (Allan’s Class I)	139.0 – 143.0	9.01 – 9.27	79%
Budha Gupta	141.4 – 144.5	9.16 – 9.36	77% – 72%
Vainya Gupta	144.5 – 148.0	9.36 – 9.59	72%
Narasimha Gupta (Class I)	144.5 – 148.0	9.36 – 9.59	70%
Narasimha Gupta (Class II)	143.5 – 147.0	9.30 – 9.53	54%
Kumāra Gupta III (Allan’s Class II)	147.0 – 148.1	9.53 – 9.60	54%
Viṣṇu Gupta	149.0 – 150.0	9.66 – 9.72	43%

While studying the coins at the Uttar Pradesh State Museums, I measured the specific gravity (SG) of all the 330 Gupta gold coins in the Museums’ collections and found a similar pattern for the coins of the later Guptas. The average weight of the coins tends to rise in the sequence presented above, while the SG tends to fall. That data for the later Gupta kings is presented in Table 2. The data for the Horseman coins of Toramāṇa (Prakāśāditya) and the Nameless coins in the UP Museum collections is also included in the Table. I argued above that, on stylistic considerations, it was likely that a coin of Kumāragupta II served as a model for the Nameless coins, which were therefore in all probability contemporary with or closely follow the coins of Budhagupta. The metrological data in the Table seems consistent with this.

Table 2. Weights and specific gravities (SG) of the coins of the Later Guptas in the Uttar Pradesh State Museums (Arranged in roughly chronological order)

<i>King</i>	<i>Number of coins</i>	<i>Avg. wt.</i>	<i>Wt. range</i>	<i>Avg. SG</i>	<i>SG range</i>
Kumāragupta II	4	9.084	8.947 – 9.282	14.993	14.748 – 15.175
Budhagupta	1	9.415	9.415 – 9.415	15.114	15.114 – 15.114
Nameless Archer	8	9.286	9.005 – 9.402	14.640	13.357 – 15.097
Prakāśāditya	5	9.304	9.107 – 9.423	14.455	14.030 – 14.915
Narasimhagupta	7	9.413	9.299 – 9.549	13.401	11.676 – 15.019
Kumāragupta III	1	9.435	9.435 – 9.435	12.389	12.389 – 12.389
Viṣṇugupta	2	9.585	9.560 – 9.610	11.852	11.593 – 12.111

The same chronology is obtained if we use stylistic considerations to arrange the coins in order. In particular, the two Kumāraguptas sandwich Narasimhagupta. Thus Narasimhagupta ruled after Kumāragupta II and this chronology allows us to identify the Bālāditya in the account of Xuanzang with the Gupta king who issued coins with

³³ Allan, *Indian Coins in the British Museum*, pp. 140–3.

³⁴ Table from Gupta, *Imperial Guptas*, p. 181, except column of weights in grams added for clarity.

the epithet *bālāditya*. This identification becomes possible not because of the desire to make this connection, but because of the physical evidence of the coins.³⁵ The Kumāragupta named in the Sarnath Buddha image inscription dated GE 154 (AD 473–4) is Kumāragupta II and the Kumāragupta named as the son of Narasimhagupta in the Bhitārī billon seal and on the Nalanda clay sealings is Kumāragupta III. Narasimhagupta therefore can be the same king who issued coins with the epithet *bālāditya* and also the Bālāditya, a contemporary of Mihirakula, in the account of Xuanzang.

Literary evidence on find spots

We return now to a consideration of the literary evidence which accounts for the possible discovery of Hun coins in eastern Uttar Pradesh. In his account of Indian history, Xuanzang reported in great detail on the interaction between Mihirakula and the king of Magadha, Bālāditya. He reported that Bālāditya, on hearing of Mihirakula's cruelty toward the Buddhist monks, 'strictly guarded the frontiers of his kingdom and refused to pay tribute. Then Ta-tsu (Mihirakula) raised an army to punish his rebellion'.³⁶ Xuanzang goes on to report how Bālāditya hid himself on an island in the face of the Hun invasion but was then able to ambush the Hun detachment and take Mihirakula prisoner. This supports the possibility that Mihirakula, at least, made an expedition into Magadha, the modern state of Bihar, which is even further east than Uttar Pradesh.

Although historians do not regard Xuanzang as very reliable on all points, the coin evidence would certainly be consistent with this account. Further, there is one other piece of literary evidence that would support Xuanzang's account: he said Bālāditya 'refused to pay tribute' and that Mihirakula wanted to punish 'his rebellion'. This would mean that the Gupta Empire at the time was feudatory to the Huns and was therefore required to pay tribute and that a refusal to do so constituted a rebellion. How did that come to be? There is no inscriptional evidence on the matter but the *Mañjuśrī-mūlakalpa* perhaps provides a clue.³⁷ In Jayaswal's reading and interpretation, the text tells us that a great king from the west with the initial H (Hūṇa?) or A (Alchon?) occupied the banks of the Ganges in the east and installed a Kshatriya boy as king in Nandapura. Having done that, he *retired to Vārāṇasī* (emphasis added), soon after which he fell ill. He installed his son Graha as king and died thereafter. Jayaswal suggests that the great king from the west was Toramāṇa, that his son Graha (meaning planet) was Mihirakula³⁸ and that the text records an episode in which Toramāṇa subdued the Guptas from his base in Varanasi, died there, and was succeeded by his son Mihirakula. P.L. Gupta appears to endorse this interpretation, saying that 'these passages probably refer to the Hūṇa invasion, which we know took place in the later Gupta period'.³⁹

Most historians do not regard Xuanzang's accounts and those of the *Mañjuśrī-mūlakalpa* as reliable, and we therefore have to approach them with caution. However, in this particular case, the two accounts are complementary and therefore

³⁵ Willis cites other 'problems' with this chronology, none of which stand up to scrutiny, but this is not the place to address them; I will do so in a subsequent paper.

³⁶ The discussion here is based on the summary in Gupta, *Imperial Guptas*, pp. 159–61.

³⁷ The following discussion is based upon the summary in P.L. Gupta, *Imperial Guptas*, pp. 126–8.

³⁸ The sun is considered a planet in the ancient Indian astronomical system.

³⁹ Gupta, *Imperial Guptas*, p. 128.

mutually reinforcing, since the *Mañjuśrī-mūlakalpa* asserts that the Guptas became feudatories of the Huns following the latter's war of conquest and Xuanzang discusses Bālāditya's refusal to pay tribute. Further, these two mutually reinforcing literary accounts are supported by the known Hun presence not far away in Kauśāmbī. Now, they are further supported by the numismatic evidence of the Gupta-style Hun coins, said to be found in the Varanasi area. Of course, these two literary accounts may not be independent of one another; they may simply represent a single tradition. The important point is that this tradition is consistent with the coin evidence pointing to a Hun presence in eastern Uttar Pradesh.

The information on the find spots of the Nameless coins being in eastern Uttar Pradesh, and the supporting literary accounts, also sheds light on one other aspect of this attribution. Some might propose that the Nameless coins might have been issued by the Aulīkaras. We know from the Risthal inscription that the Aulīkara king Prakāśadharman had defeated Toramāṇa. Might he have felt powerful enough to issue gold coins and the *śrī prakāśa* coin be his? We cannot rule out this possibility, although it would be highly speculative. There is no indication that Prakāśadharman ever engaged in an extended campaign outside the Aulīkara domains and therefore it is unlikely that he would have issued coins that are found in eastern UP. Besides, there is little evidence that the Aulīkaras were issuing coins on the Gupta model. The only coins tentatively attributed to them at this time are certain lead coins with a conch shell on one side and the legend *jitam bhagavata padmanabhena* (Figure 15), some anepigraphic lead coins of similar fabric, and a few tiny copper coins also found in Mandasor.⁴⁰ The third coin in Figure 15 is a small copper coin (0.78 gram), apparently found in Mandasor, bearing the legend *śrī mahārāja naravama*. Naravarman is known from several inscriptions from Mandasor, but this may be his first known coin and the first coin to name an Aulīkara king. These coins provide no support to the idea that the Aulīkaras would have produced Gupta style gold coins.



Fig. 15. Aulīkara coins⁴¹ (2x)

⁴⁰ I thank Shailen Bhandare for sharing his insights and opinions on Aulīkara coins. The tentative attribution of these coins to the Aulīkaras was expressed in a private email.

⁴¹ First coin, Pieper collection, photo courtesy Wilfried Pieper; drawing of first coin kindly provided by Wilfried; third coin, photo courtesy Shailen Bhandare.

By contrast, we know that Toramāṇa issued Gupta style coins using the epithet Prakāśāditya and that one Nameless coin uses the epithet Prakāśā. It seems very plausible that the Nameless coins are therefore Hun issues.

Similarly, in case some might wonder if the Nameless coins might have been issued by the Vākātakas, who also grew in power towards the end of the Gupta period, this is also highly unlikely. The Vākātakas, like the Aulīkaras, seem to have issued very little coinage; what they did was mostly in copper and lead. The coins do not show any Gupta influence. The coinage has been surveyed by Kulkarni and the interested reader is referred to his paper.⁴²

In summary, I believe a strong case can be made that all of the Nameless coins, regardless of the epithet used on the reverse, were Hun issues. This conclusion is consistent with the find spots, it makes eminent sense in light of the rest of the Hun coinage, and there is a direct connection of the *śrī prakāśa* coin to Toramāṇa. It is virtually certain that they were not Gupta issues, given the stylistic differences with all confirmed Gupta coins, the likely authorship of the *śrī prakāśa* coin by Toramāṇa, the close stylistic similarities among the coins of the group, and the localisation of the find spots to eastern Uttar Pradesh.

Dating and Further attributions

There is a widespread belief, although not a complete consensus, that Mihirakula commenced his reign around the year AD 515. This date was first proposed by Fleet in 1886,⁴³ and has been widely accepted since then.⁴⁴ The basic argument stems from three inscriptions. The Gwalior Fort inscription was inscribed in the year 15 of Mihirakula's reign. The Mandasor column inscription of the Aulīkara king Yaśodharman, which is undated, tells us that he defeated Mihirakula. Finally, another inscription of Yaśodharman in Mandasor gives us a date of AD 532–3. Since both inscriptions of Yaśodharman were carved by the same scribe Govinda, we can suggest they were inscribed at around the same time. Thus the defeat of Mihirakula by Yaśodharman must have occurred around the year 530. Finally, Fleet also suggested the Gwalior Fort inscription was probably inscribed 'near the end of his Indian career' 'considering all that he did subsequently in Kaśmīr and Gāndhāra'. Therefore, he concluded, the Gwalior inscription must have been inscribed around 530 and so the reign must have begun around 515.

Although I see some logical problems with this argument, a reassessment of this date, given the range of authorities who have accepted it, is far beyond the scope of this paper. In any case, a mild support for it has emerged since Fleet's time in the form of the Risthal inscription, dated to the year 515, which tells us about the victory of Prakāśadharman, presumably Yaśodharman's father, over Toramāṇa. Salomon has

⁴² Prashant Kulkarni, 'Coins of the Vākātakas, *Numismatic Digest* 25–26 (2001–02), pp. 65–79.

⁴³ J.F. Fleet, 'The history and date of Mihirakula', *Indian Antiquary* 15 (September 1886), pp. 245–52.

⁴⁴ The date is accepted by, among others, Ghirshman (1948), Göbl (1967), Thakur (1967), Biswas (1973) and Grenet (2002). For a brief review and complete references, see Gudrun Melzer (in collaboration with Lore Sander), 'A copper scroll inscription from the time of the Alchon Huns', in Jens Braarvig (ed.), *Manuscripts in the Schøyen Collection, III: Buddhist Manuscripts* (Oslo, 2006), p. 261.

argued that this inscription proves that Toramāṇa was still alive in 515.⁴⁵ This can be questioned since the inscription is to mark the dedication of a temple and the construction of a water tank, events that may have occurred well after the battle against Toramāṇa, which may have been Prakāśadharman's greatest achievement and may have occurred some years previously. Nevertheless, we are probably not too far off the correct date if we take 515 for the year when Toramāṇa died and Mihirakula began his reign.

If the accounts of the *Mañjuśrī-mūlakalpa* and Xuanzang are accepted, those two events took place in the Varanasi area. We may then presume that the conflict between Mihirakula and Bālāditya took place shortly thereafter, perhaps sometime between 515 and 520. At the end of that conflict the Huns were expelled from the area and the production of the Nameless coins would have ceased. That production would have started some time during the earlier part of the sixth century, once Toramāṇa commenced his campaign in the Gupta heartland. This gives us a time frame for the dating of the Nameless coins of sometime between 500 and 520. This agrees with the evidence from the coins that they were produced perhaps after the reign of Budhagupta.

In terms of specific attributions, naturally the *śrī prakāśa* coin would be attributed to Toramāṇa. We would also like to know who issued the other coins, particularly the *parākrama* coins. Sanjeev Kumar published one of these coins and asserted that it was an issue of Skandagupta, who he believed was identical with Purugupta.⁴⁶ It is not clear that this attribution is well-founded. The coin shows little relationship to the coins of Skandagupta and most authors believe that Skandagupta and Purugupta were half-brothers and not the same person.⁴⁷ Kumar has since informed me that he has abandoned this attribution but did not have another one to offer.⁴⁸ At present no other proposal for the issuer of these coins has been made. Leaving aside the evidence of Xuanzang, the candidates for issuing the Nameless coins include Toramāṇa, who surely issued a relatively large number of coins, either of the other issuers of the Gupta-style coppers known from the Punjab area, Uditāditya and Vaysīra, and Mihirakula.

If we accept the account of Xuanzang there appear to be three possible kings who issued the Nameless coins: Toramāṇa, Mihirakula and Mihirakula's unnamed brother with whom, we are told, Mihirakula left his army when he went in pursuit of Bālāditya. This brother could be the previously mentioned Uditāditya (more likely, considering the solar-themed name) or Vaysīra, or we simply don't know his name.

It would be tempting to speculate that the *parākrama* coins may have been issued by Mihirakula. In this context, the circumstances of their discovery, as related by Ranvijay Singh, the Lucknow dealer, are very interesting albeit impossible to

⁴⁵ Richard Salomon, 'New inscriptional evidence for the history of the Aulikaras of Mandasor', *Indo-Iranian Journal*. 32 (1989), pp. 1–36.

⁴⁶ Sanjeev Kumar, 'New discoveries and varieties in Gupta coinage', *JONS* 204 (Summer 2010), pp. 21–2.

⁴⁷ See the detailed discussion on this issue in my paper 'The succession after Kumāragupta I', *op.cit.*

⁴⁸ Private email. Although in 2014 he asserted that it was an issue of a king he called Samudragupta II; see footnote 17 above and the discussion around that.

substantiate. According to Mr. Singh, the *parākrama* coins were found as part of a large hoard of approximately one thousand gold coins in the district of Chandauli, near Varanasi. He said that he had heard that jewellery was also found in the treasure, but he had not seen any of it. There were coins of every Gupta king from Samudragupta to Budhagupta, plus the the *parākrama* coins and about 25 other Nameless coins of the *śrī vikrama* type. If this is true, the hoard may have been a treasury, possibly of the Hun king, perhaps buried during the turmoil surrounding the conflict between Mihirakula and Bālāditya. The Gupta coins may have been loot or tribute from the time Toramāṇa attacked and defeated the Gupta army, and the Nameless coins would have been the product of the Hun mint in the area. The discovery of such a hoard in the Varanasi area would constitute a further piece of information in support of the story about Mihirakula and Bālāditya suggested by the accounts of the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* and Xuanzang, since that turmoil could account for the burial of a hoard of this kind.

The two *parākrama* coins whose images I have seen seem to be in mint condition suggesting they may have been struck shortly before the hoard was buried.⁴⁹ We do not know whether they were struck by Mihirakula or by his brother. An added problem is that this discussion is based on information of a very informal nature. If the description of the hoard by Ranvijay Singh is at all true, the excavation of the hoard under proper archaeological conditions would have been of immense historical value, and it is indeed a tremendous loss that such a controlled excavation did not take place.

Conclusion

In the present state of our knowledge, attributions of specific coins, other than the *śrī prakāśa* coin, must remain speculative. The main purpose of this paper is to suggest that the Nameless coins were most probably Hun issues. The main argument justifying this suggestion has two components: (i) the Nameless coins form a stylistic group distinct from other Archer type coins, and (ii) one of the Nameless coins, with the legend *śrī prakāśa*, is probably an issue of Toramāṇa. This leads to the natural conclusion that the Nameless coins were all Hun issues. It appears likely that the Nameless coins were issued by at least three separate kings (because they feature three different royal epithets); while there are no candidate Gupta kings to assign the coins to, there are several suitable Hun kings. Finally, the accounts of the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* and Xuanzang seem to support this conclusion. I would therefore argue that the Nameless coins should be removed from the list of issues of the Gupta kings and reassigned to the Huns.

⁴⁹ It is possible that the coin illustrated in Figure 1, which I acquired in 2006, and is also in close to mint condition, came from the same hoard.

