

A "Blessing" Hand Gesture in Images of Deities and Kings in the Arts of Bactria and Gandhāra (2nd Century B.C.E.–1st Century C.E.): The Sign of the Horns

H.-P. Francfort

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A "Blessing" Hand Gesture in Images of Deities and Kings in the Arts of Bactria and Gandhāra (2nd Century B.C.E.–1st Century C.E.): The Sign of the Horns¹

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In religious and dynastic imagery the gestures performed by the characters with their hands are of primary importance. The position of the hands and of the fingers often has a particular significance. In our domain, two main gestures, frequently described as "blessing gestures," are especially important and have received attention. One is the hand with the first and middle fingers raised, with the ring and little fingers bent and the thumb over them, similar to the benedictio latina or to the gesture of the Sabazian Hand. Regarding the second gesture of blessing, which is the subject of this article, C. Bromberg published an article devoted to "An Iranian Gesture at Miran," where "the forefinger and the little finger are extended and the middle and ring fingers folded under."2 Beside Miran and Sassanian examples, this scholar brings to the picture some Gandhāran stone reliefs of stair risers depicting the same gesture but of an earlier date; we shall come to them below. Our purpose here is to add some precise details on this divine and royal gesture, to propose an extension of the occurrences of its representations and to suggest an interpretation leading to the question of the possible heroization/deification of sovereigns. We concentrate here on the Graeco-Bactrian, Indo-Greek and Indo-Scythian periods only.³

The gesture on which we focus is a version of the one studied by C. Bromberg, but appearing at an earlier date, from its beginnings in Central Asia, in Bactria in the 2nd century B.C.E. to the early Kushan period in the second half of the 1st

century C.E. This gesture can be called "the sign of horns," and it has a long history in the arts, starting from Greek classical art.⁴ As we shall see, its possible meanings changed in time and place, but a polysemy must be considered throughout time. One of the first occurrences is the gesture of Nemesis on an Athenian amphora in Berlin;⁵ beside Etruscan paintings, another well-known example appears in a Pompei wall-painting representing a theater performance.⁶ In a remarkable study of a representation of this gesture in a painting of Fra Filippo Lippi in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (Portrait of a Woman with a Man at a Casement, about 1440–1444), J. Russel Sale collected the ancient representation of the *mano* cornuta (or "horned hand") in Antiquity (since the 6th century B.C.E), in the Middle Ages and in Byzantium.⁷ His enquiry leads him to conclude that the gesture is one of fertility and procreation in many cases, including the specific case of the man facing the woman in Lippi's work, and many other occurrences, including satyrs represented in Antiquity.⁸

With such variations of meanings, polysemy and ambiguity in recognizing this gesture, we shall nevertheless proceed with new artefacts and a new examination of old ones in order to search the representations of the *mano cornuta* gesture and approach its meaning(s). We begin with clear representations of this gesture, performed by the Greek goddess Tyche in Bactria, and by aquatic deities in Gandhāra reliefs. Secondly, we shall tackle the images on coins, with some difficulties in identification due to their small size but nevertheless allowing the introduction of new interpretations. Finally, we conclude with a reflection on the history, function and meaning of the *mano cornuta* in Bactria and Gandhāra and in the larger context of the sovereigns' power and their possible heroization/deification.

1. Observations in Bactria and Gandhāra

a. Tyche on the Amyntas Double Decadrachms and on the Emblema of the Gilded Silver al-Sabah Bowl

The most ancient representations of the mano cornuta in our area of study appear on Graeco-Bactrian and Indo-Greek coins, in any case after the conquest of NW India by the Graeco-Bactrians of Demetrios I and Eucratides, around 180 B.C.E. It is perfectly recognizable on three double decadrachms minted by King Amyntas Nikator around 95-90 B.C.E., the largest coins produced in Antiquity (fig. 1 [= table 2, no. 13]).⁹ They were discovered with the Qunduz treasure, in north Afghanistan, probably at Khisht Tepe, on the southern bank of the Oxus west of Qunduz. Along with two coins representing on the reverse Zeus on a throne, three represent Tyche also enthroned. Zeus Nikephoros holds a scepter and a palm in his left hand.

On her coins Tyche, also enthroned, wears a chiton and himation, a *calathos*¹⁰ on her head; in her left hand she holds a cornucopia from which spring ears of corn and fruits. She makes a "blessing gesture," the "horns sign," with her right hand: the position of the fingers is visible and perfectly clear.11 Curiel and Fussman observe that "Par ailleurs, la Tychè n'est pas couronnée de tours, et ne doit donc pas être nécessairement interprétée comme une Tychè poliade, mais peut représenter la Tychè du roi ou du Royaume." In a first approach, briefly, Zeus signifies victory and power, and Tyche abundance and prosperity, both concepts important for dynasties and kingdoms. We shall see below the possible meanings of Tyche in our area.

A remarkable recently published representation of Tyche appears on an *emblema* on a gilded Graeco-Bactrian silver bowl of the al-Sabah collection in the Dar Museum, Kuwait (fig. 2a).¹² Dated from the third to the mid-second century B.C.E., the goddess is reclining or seated, dressed in a chiton tied under her breast, her himation falling in elaborate folds and covering her head. She has no *calathos* mural crown, and her hair is shown falling loosely over her shoulders. A foot and small sandal are visible beneath the dress. She is seated in a natural landscape indicated by small dots (rocks/vegetation) and two finely engraved flowers near the knee.13 In her left hand, arm and shoulder, she holds a cornucopia richly ornamented in six registers of ornaments and geometrized petals, out of which spring four round fruits, one bunch of grapes (?) and one lanceolate ear. Her right arm is outstretched, her hand making the sign of the horns clearly visible on figures 2a and 2b, but not mentioned by the author of the catalog,¹⁴ who correctly insists on the continuity of the image of Tyche in Gandhāra in later times, continued by the images of Ardoxšo and Hārīthī that figure good fortune, money, wealth and progeny.¹⁵ In any case, the horns sign made by Tyche is of considerable significance, along with the cornucopia. As we shall see, in the context of the old Hellenized and Parthian worlds, the Graeco-Bactrian and Indo-Greek concept and the image of Tyche seem more complex and ambiguous. Before proceeding, however, we must look at some other clear representations of the horns gesture.

b. Gandhāran Reliefs with Aquatic Divinities and Paddles

As noticed by C. Bromberg,¹⁶ Gandhāran stair riser reliefs present aquatic male deities and male images with outstretched hands that make the mano cornuta. A deeply carved example in The Metropolitan Museum of Art¹⁷ shows between two Corinthian columns six bearded male figures standing in various poses, each dressed in a skirt in the shape of leaves, exhibiting sculptural muscles and holding a paddle (oar) in his left hand (fig. 3). The first figure at the right supports a dolphin in his raised right hand. This, plus the oars, a smooth transition between the leaves and the torso indicating the physical continuity of the body and the absence of clothing [places them in the category of aquatic deities (more than marine figures, or boatmen). Characteristically, the third figure from the left, standing in an elegant contrapposto and looking at the next figure at his left, makes the gesture of mano cornuta with his



Fig. 1. Enthroned Tyche with cornucopia, performing *mano cornuta* gesture. Amyntas double decadrachm from the Qunduz hoard. National Museum of Afghanistan Kabul. Courtesy Osmund Bopearachchi.





Fig. 2b. Detail of hand.

Fig. 2a. Seated Tyche holding cornucopia, performing *mano cornuta* gesture. Coll. Al-Sabah, Dar Museum, Kuwait, LNS 1223 M. Courtesy Dar Museum.



Fig. 3. Gandhāra relief depicting aquatic deities. The Metropolitan Museum, New York. MetDP138046, Rogers Fund, 1913, accession n° 13.96.21.



Fig. 4. Gandhāra relief depicting aquatic deities. British Museum, London. https://www.britishmuseum.org/ collection/object/A_1889-1016-1; 1889,1016.1.

raised right hand. The second figure at the right may begin the same gesture in the direction of the dolphin holder, but this is not absolutely clear. However, nothing distinguishes any of them from the others in the row.

A second relief of the same sort is held by the British Museum (fig. 4).¹⁸ The composition of the panel, six athletic-looking men shown between Corinthian columns, also depicts bearded aquatic deities, with leaves as a skirt and body part, who hold oars, in a vivid composition. But here the dolphin is held in the hand of the second figure from the right. The first on the right, the third and prob-

ably the fifth make the horns sign with their right hands. Again, it is not visible whether the sign is intended for the other aquatic deities of the frieze, or for a viewer. Apparently each signmaker is turned towards the next deity on his right. Therefore, it seems to be an internal gesture and pose, in a row of beings who seem to be equivalent to each other except for the dolphin holder.

On a third analogous relief from Buner, in the Victoria and Albert Museum, men and women are depicted in typically Greek fashion, as in many Gandhāran drinking scenes à *la grecque* (fig. 5).¹⁹ On the left, a bearded male in a short



Fig. 5. Gandhāra relief depicting a conversation and drinking scene. Victoria and Albert Museum, London. Given by Professor Benjamin Rowland Museum, no. IS.3-1971 (06/06/2011).



Fig. 6. Gandhāra relief depicting Indo-Scythian men. Formerly in the Peshawar Museum. After Bromberg 1991, p. 50, fig. 9; Marshall 1960, fig. 46.

tunic presents a cantharus to a woman who is dressed in chiton and himation and wears a collar and a spiraled bracelet. On her right, another bearded male shown in a short tunic, his right arm naked, clearly addresses the gesture of *mano cornuta* to the woman on the right. He holds a long leaf (not a palm) resembling the *Asplenium scolopendrium var. scolopendrium* or other similar fern of wet, aquatic milieus.

The woman is dressed in chiton and himation and wears a collar, perhaps a torque, and a spiraled bracelet. The male on her right presents her with a goblet on a foot of typically Gandhāran shape. At the right of the composition, another woman also dressed à *la grecque*, wrapped in her himation with her right hand near the collar and neck, is seen in frontal view, like some divine or Buddha figures on coins and sculpture; she also holds a large fern leaf in her left hand. The male fern holder may represent a water and vegetation genius in a more Greek type of representation than the above paddle holders, close to a satyr image, as is the female fern holder in a hieratic, possibly divine, posture.²⁰

The fourth and last of our reliefs in this category once belonged to the Peshawar Museum and is apparently now in the Karachi National Museum, Pakistan (fig. 6).²¹ It represents, in the same sort of composition, six males (three bearded and three shaved) dressed in Scythian garb of tunic,



Fig. 7. Gold ornament representing an aquatic deity. Tillya Tepa. Kabul National Museum of Afghanistan. After Sarianidi 1985, pl. 86, p. 146.

trousers attached to the ankles and a pointed cap; they each hold a long sword attached to a belt with their left hand. These figures are probably Indo-Scythian warriors. The two on the left and the one on the right of the row have their right hands in a relaxed position. The three others make the gesture of *mano cornuta*, the third and the fourth from the left facing each other, while the fifth faces the last one on the right. Again, it is a mutual "blessing," except for the two on the left of the panel. What are warriors, not identified as divine beings, doing making this gesture here?

In sum, the Gandhāran reliefs just described exhibit anthropomorphic beings making the horns sign: clearly identified aquatic deities, a male being in a short tunic holding a large fern, probably an evocation of waters and vegetation, and warriors who are not immediately understandable in relation to the *mano cornuta*. These Gandhāran reliefs can be dated to the 1st–2nd centuries c.E. Moreover, the aquatic deities relate to similar

beings, for instance the one on the seven gold plaques from burial no. 1 of Tillya Tepa (Bactria), 1st century C.E. (fig. 7).²² They represent the torso of a water deity who holds an oar in his right hand and displays the head of a dolphin on one shoulder; ferns appear from behind his shoulders, and the lower part of his torso ends in ferns (As*plenium scolopendrium?*) above waves (figured schematically by a frieze of posts). We are on safe ground here with water deities, but the short tunics of the beings holding ferns on the Gandhāran reliefs are not so easy to interpret, except perhaps by looking at their ears that are pointed, as in drinking scenes of Gandhāran art.²³ That gives to such attendants the character of beings close to the satyrs of Greek mythology, eventually expanded in Central Asia (Tillya Tepa again), and in such a case, the link with ferns seems more natural and logical. In brief, the aquatic deities and the quasi-satyrs, as representing the waters and the vegetation growth, appear in functional



Fig. 8. Tetradrachm of Demetrios I with enthroned Tyche holding cornucopia and anguiped under the seat. British Museum 1874,0716.230_1613561252.

continuity with Tyche. We shall see more about the aquatic aspect of Tyche below. However, the Scythian warriors of the Gandhara relief do not fit well with this scheme if the *mano cornuta* is not a hierarchical sign of respect as proposed by C. Bromberg, or a gesture specific to deities, and consequently to heroized/deified rulers (see below). The date of the Gandharan reliefs is later than the al-Sabah emblema and the Amyntas coins, and this could be the reason for a possible change in the use and meaning of the mano cor*nuta* horns sign. More investigation is required. We will now see, with the help of coins, if some consistency can be found at a greater scale. But before this, more words are necessary on the iconographic relationships between Tyche and aquatic deities.

2. Tyche and the Aquatic Deities: Some Iconographic Connections

Naturally, one has to begin by referring to the renowned Tyche of Antioch by Eutychides of Sycione, a pupil of Lysippus, who elaborated this image in bronze in the early third century B.C.E. The goddess is represented seated on a rock, wearing a mural crown and holding ears of grain in her right hand; at her feet there appears the torso of a swimming male figure, the river Orontes, flowing at Antioch. Many copies are known, from those in the Vatican Museum to smaller ones produced in

the Hellenized East: small statuettes, figurines, on lamps and on coins. Important for us here is the association of Tyche with waters (here, the Orontes) and fertility (here, ears of grain). The mural crown is significant for a city such as Antioch. However, in our domain Tyche often holds a cornucopia, symbol of fertility, and frequently wears a *calathos* or *polos*, a headdress for goddesses, related to fertility (*calathos*).²⁴ Beside cities (Antioch, Alexandria and many others) presenting Tyche as a poliad goddess, the Hellenistic monarchies also made frequent use of Tyche's image.

In a recent study of the coinage of Andragoras, satrap of Parthia around the middle of the 3rd century, Olivier Bordeaux reviews the evidence for images of Tyche in the Seleucid and Parthian worlds in Bactria and Central Asia.²⁵ He correctly points out that the crenelated mural crown refers to the poliad goddesses but possibly also to royal Tyches, following suggestions made by Paul Bernard: the mural crown indicates a poliad (or royal) fortune, while the cornucopia designates destiny and prosperity.²⁶

In the Seleucid world, a Tyche appears on a bronze coin, ca. 275–164 B.C.E., from Seleucia on the Tigris during the reign of Antiochos IV Epiphanes: she is standing, wears a *polos* and holds a cornucopia with protruding ears of grain.²⁷ The enthroned Tyche emerges on coins of Demetrios (161–150), on which she holds a short scepter in her right hand and a cornucopia in her left (fig. 8).²⁸ Demetrios II (1 45–141) minted similar types

with an enthroned Tyche holding a scepter and cornucopia.²⁹ Drawing on iconographic elements, we can focus our attention on the aquatic being supporting the throne of the goddess: it is a winged anguiped monster. In our perspective, it symbolizes the waters, perhaps the Tigris in the Seleucia emissions, being an equivalent of the swimming fluvial deities seen at the feet of the Eutychides statue and copies. These motives, connected with Tyche or an "Oriental goddess," continue under the Parthian rule, adding more complexity in the combination of iconographic elements: Tyche standing or seated, wearing various headgear or polos, holding Nike, scepter, cornucopia, palm and rudder, with her seat supported by an aquatic monster. In this perspective, some coins minted by Maues and Azes I are especially interesting, also in relation to the aquatic deities of our Gandhāran reliefs (see below). The obverse represents Poseidon holding a trident, a foot on the shoulders of the bust of a swimming being, actually of a river god analogous to the Orontes of Antioch, but representing a local river or depicting the horned water deity Achelous.³⁰

The Parthian Tyche has attracted the attention of scholars in recent years. Sinisi wrote an important article, again separating the "polyad" deity from the "fertility" aspects, and searching for Oriental correspondences with the Mesopotamian goddess Nana and other goddesses.³¹ In a more recent detailed study, U. Ellerbrock attempts to trace the history of Tyche among the Parthians in three chronological phases.³²

In the first period (247–171 B.C.E.) the coins make no reference to deities; in the second (171– 51 B.C.E.) a "Hellenistic Tyche" appears, subsequently surviving the death of Mithridates I for 20 years; the third phase (70 B.C.E.–51 C.E.) sees a "Graeco-Parthian Tyche" that is syncretic, transferring divine glory and fortune, or khvarnah,³³ to the king, a Zoroastrian idea; after 51 C.E., the type is purely Parthian. This scholar presents an enthroned Tyche holding a cornucopia and crowned by the Nike standing on her right hand, during phase II;³⁴ the aquatic monster is present. In Hellenistic Central Asia, beside the al-Sabah objects seen above and the possible Aï Khanoum Tyche, we must also mention a bronze statuette from Bactria shown holding a cornucopia, her right hand missing.³⁵ This is not much, and the painting of a mural headdress of Sroš (?) in Chorasmia adds no more than an interesting item.³⁶ But no enthroned Tyche. If we want to find one contemporary with our images, we must mention the seated stone statuette of Sirkap (Taxila) found by Marshall, possibly contemporary with the aquatic deities reliefs seen above: she wears a squat *calathos* and holds a cornucopia in her left hand while her right hand, as on the relief in the Victoria and Albert Museum, is wrapped in her himation.³⁷ The corpus is actually limited,³⁸ and, before proceeding further with the *mano cornuta*, our Ariadne thread, I propose a brief outline of the concept and cult of Tyche in the Graeco-Roman world and in our areas, before returning to images.

The Cult of Tyche in the Graeco-Roman World, Central Asia, and Gandhara

There is necessarily a relationship between the diffusion of the images we consider here, adopted especially on coinages, and the concept of Tyche or Fortuna in Central Asia and Gandhāra in general and notably in relation to the royal ideology. Many studies have been devoted to Tyche since Allegre, who collected all available evidence.³⁹ Since then, the religious and political conceptions have been restudied, relying mainly on Polybius and Plutarch, and we have nothing to add to these publications.⁴⁰ However, independently from the iconographic point of view and that of the arts, the Hellenistic conception of Tyche/Fortuna and the ideas prevailing in Rome during the wars with the Seleucids and the Parthians perhaps may have played a role. In this respect, the elite group in Rome known as "the circle of the Scipios" should be recalled.⁴¹ and we have to remember that a number of Seleucid and Parthian princes, heirs, were hostages in Rome. This was precisely the case of Antiochos IV, Demetrios I and others.⁴² The two Seleucid kings just mentioned are precisely those who introduced the images of enthroned Tyche with cornucopia and aquatic deity supporting the throne in their coinage in Seleucia on the Tigris.43 In short, the idea of the uncertainty of destiny, especially appropriate for pretenders to thrones, prevails, while fertility, abundancy, bounty are crucial for the dynasty and the kingdom that rely on water and plants, especially when artificial irrigation provides bounty, such as is the case in Mesopotamia (Seleucia on the Tigris) in Parthia and in Bactria (see Aï Khanoum).⁴⁴ We can now consider the conditions of Oriental politics, international relationships in the context of the campaigns of Antiochos III the Great, his Anabasis and the long siege of Bactra, of the projects of Antiochos IV Epiphanes and his links with Timarchus, satrap of Media and usurper, but also their possible relations with Eucratides of Bactria.

Therefore, even if we do not go beyond coincidences and simultaneity, the advent in Bactria of the images and concepts related to Tyche does not look odd during the second half of the 2nd century B.C.E. The most striking example is given by the mention of Tyche in a Graeco-Bactrian dedicatory inscription to Hestia, allegedly discovered near Kulyab (Tajikistan), not far from Aï Khanoum.⁴⁵ This inscription mentions Euthydemus I of Bactria as protected by Hestia, "with the help of the divine Tyche,"46 when he and his son Demetrios, "glorious winner," resisted for two years when besieged by Antiochos III in Bactra. Demetrios, the future Demetrios I, also conducted conquest expeditions to India. This mention of Tyche is extremely important in the perspective of the conquest of India and of the rivalry with Eucratides I, by its date and by the fact that the first receives a dedication to Tyche in Bactria, while the second minted coins with Tyche, but in Kapisa. The persistence of relations and of "cultural" exchanges after the fall of the Greek kingdoms, especially in NW India but also in Bactria,⁴⁷ allows the transplantation, implantation and transformation of the concept of Tyche and of its iconography, notably monetary, beginning with Eucratides I.48

3. The *Mano Cornuta* Gesture on Coins: Graeco-Bactrian, Indo-Greek, Indo-Scythian and Indo-Parthian

Now we come to the most problematic part of our study, an extension of the iconography of the horns sign to more coins. What about the possible connections between the "blessing gesture" of *mano cornuta* and Tyche, the aquatic deities, the bounty of cornucopia and the ruling dynasties? Although this gesture, in the examined group of images, seems to be performed only by the Bactrian Tyche and the Gandhāran aquatic deities, we shall suggest that it actually was much more widespread among the Indo-Greek and Indo-Scythian coinages, that is, it was made by gods and by kings.

The proper identification of the position of the fingers on coins is both complex and rare. However, in some cases, it is perfectly possible to recognize the mano cornuta. In other cases, the "caliper" shape made by the fingers represents a schematization of the fingers' position that certainly is not compatible with other hand gestures. In a third group of cases, it is simply not possible to identify the form of mano cornuta, but then we shall propose identifying this gesture, some gesture (?) or some artefact, such as "a torque" (see below). Why not simply, for the sake of "objectivity," refrain from trying to identify gestures and limit the descriptions to the usual formulas, i.e. "blessing gesture" or more simply "gesture?" The reason is simple: we consider that the iconic representations of goddesses or the queens or kings, whether images of presentation or images of action, would never be pictured by artists showing them making an indefinite "gesture" or a generic "blessing gesture" or a meaningless "outstretched hand." It is similar to the hands of the same deities and kings holding or exhibiting "something" definite with precision, on coins as well as on other kinds of representations. The figures never hold just "a thing" or simply "an object" but a precise attribute, some being attached to only one divine being. Indeed, they may hold Nike (meaning victory), a crown (victory/ kingship), a scepter (kingship), a palm (victory), a weapon (whip, spear, shield, sword, armor, standard, etc.), a caduceus (Hermes) or a cornucopia (fortune, fertility), etc. For these reasons, we consider that the generic "gesture" or "blessing gesture," except when we can propose something clearly identified, is nonexistent. However, we understand that numismatists, occupied by matters other than iconography, have not often paid attention to the details of one hand. Here, in fact, we proceed by a generalization of the mano cornuta to a number of coins. Realistically, a dose of uncertainty is there, due to the small size of the images and to the schematization, resulting in the misunderstanding of the gesture by the die engravers, who may have made or replaced the (forgotten?) gesture with an artefact, mostly in later cases, or a consequence of the poor conservation of the coins or finally our own limits of recognizing one or another gesture. Finally, beside the pictorial identification, the consistency of the corpus of identifications and interpretations will be to some extent the best test, without hiding difficulties and possible inconsistencies. But we shall reach the conclusion that in royal iconography on coins in our area gods and kings don't just wave hands as if saying "Hi folks!"; they don't gesticulate haphazardly at random. For this purpose, all the possible types of coins that represent a deity or a mortal making the *mano cornuta* gesture, whether silver or bronze, round or square, with Greek or Indian legends, were collected. Thirty-four types of coins were identified, and a table was put together that will now be explained and commented on.

Table of Icongraphic Types (see figs. pp. 68–70)

Ashmus (Ashmolean Museum, Oxford); BN (Bibliothèque Nationale de Frence); BM (British Museum); CNG (Classical Numismatic Group)

- Ol-Antimachos_II_upload.wikimedia.orgwikipediacommonsee5 Coin_of_Antimachus_II.jpguselang=fr
- 02-Eucratides_httpcatalogue.bnf.frark12148cb41759119q_BN_[Monnaie__Bronze_Incertain_Bactriane_[...] Eucratide_I_btv1b8510786h_2
- 03-Plato_Qunduz_plXXXIII
- 04-Agathocleia_1238852001_BM_Museum number_1888,1208.265
- 05-Philoxenos_BN_[Monnaie__Bronze_Incertain_Bactriane_[...]Philoxène_(roi_btv1b85112366_1
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- 11-Menander-II_guerrier_Coinindia_MIG0253-673.10_coinindia.com/galleries-menander2.html
- 12-Menander-II_CNG_86000438
- 13-Amyntas_Tychè Amyntas DSC03972_courtesy Osmund Bopearachchi
- 14-Amyntas_Ashmol_51999rf
- 15-Machene_BN_[Monnaie_Tétradrachme_Argent_Taxila_[...] Machéné_ Autorité_btv1b8511557d
- 16-Maues_BN_[Monnaie_Tétradrachme_Argent_Taxila_[...]Maues_(btv1b8511562q_1
- 17-Maues_BN_[Monnaie_Drachme_Argent_Taxila_[. . .]Maues_[btv1b8511565z_1
- 18-Maues_CNG_75000673
- 19-Hermaios_BN_[Monnaie_Drachme_Argent_Incertain_[. . .]Hermaios_[0090-0070_btv1b8511311q_2
- 20-Telephos_CNG_81000698
- 21-Hippostratos_Ashmol_45473rf

Table of Icongraphic Types and Plates-(continued) (see figs. pp. 68-70)

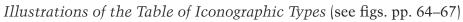
Ashmus (Ashmolean Museum, Oxford); BN (Bibliothèque Nationale de Frence); BM (British Museum); CNG (Classical Numismatic Group)

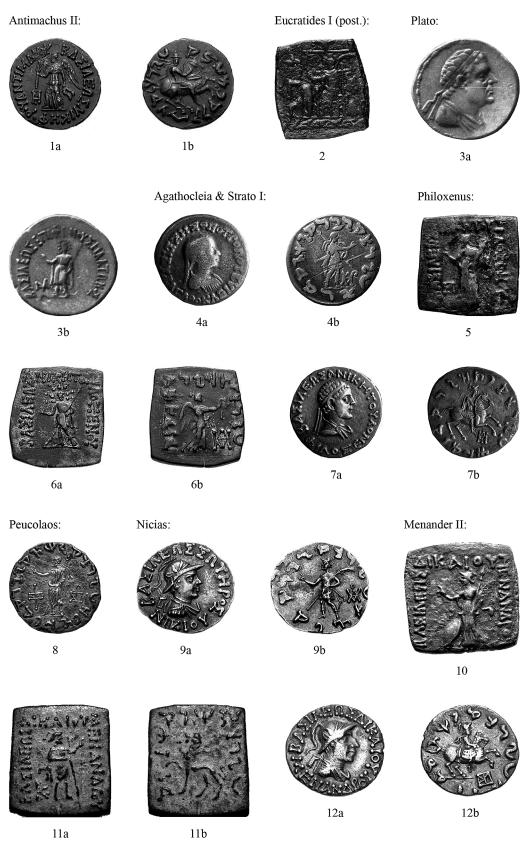
- 22a_Hippostratos_num-org_1981.159.7.rev.noscale
- 22b-Hippostratus_1981.159.7.obv.noscale
- 23-Hippostratos_CNG_Inc. http://www.cngcoins.com, CC BY-SA 3.0, https://www.cngcoins.com, CC BY-SA 3.0, https://www.cngcoins.com//cc BY-SA 3.0, https://www.cngcoins
- 24-rev_Azes_I_BN_[Monnaie_Drachme_Argent_Taxila_[...]btv1b85117736_2
- 25a-obverse-Azes_II_BN_[Monnaie_Bronze_Taxila_Indo[. . .]btv1b85117877_1
- 25b-reverse-Azes_II_BN_[Monnaie_Bronze_Taxila_Indo_[...]btv1b85117877_2
- 26-rev_Azes_II_BN_[Monnaie_Bronze_Taxila_Indo_[...]btv1b8511792j_2
- 27-rev_Azes_II_BN_[Monnaie_Tétradrachme_Argent_Taxila_[...]btv1b85117699_2
- 28a-obv_Azes_II_BN_[Monnaie_Tétradrachme_Argent_Taxila_[. . .]btv1b8511731v_1
- 28b-rev_Azes_II_[Monnaie_Tétradrachme_Argent_Taxila_[. . .]btv1b8511731v_2
- 29a-obv_Azes_II_BN_[Monnaie_Bronze_Taxila_Indo_[. . .]btv1b8511753f_1
- 29b-rev_Azes_II_[Monnaie_Bronze_Taxila_Indo_[. . .]btv1b8511753f_2
- 30-Spalirizes_Ind-Ox_118
- 31a-Vonones_Spalahores_obverse_Ashmolean_66285of
- 31b-Vonones_Spalahores_reverse_Ashmolean_66285rf
- 32-Gondophares_Ind-Ox_128
- 33-Abdagases
- 34-Mao-014.B.Simon0013

			.					
So	Sovereign	Date	Type: script	Obverse	Reverse	Left hand	Series OB 1991	Reterences
-	Antimachos II	165–162 aC	King riding: Ind	Nike palm, crown	King riding	Horse's bridle	Ag série 1 indian	Horse's bridle Ag série I indian OB 1991, p. 196–197, 1998, 396–413, Bordeaux 2018, p. 141: dates
5	Eucratides I and 171–145 aC posthum	171–145 aC	Tyche enthroned (City Kapisa ?)	King's bust	Poliad deity	Palm	Bze Série 24	OB 1991, p. 216; pl. 22; 1998, 610–611
3	Plato	145–140 aC	Helios: Gr	King's bust	Helios radiate standing	Scepter	Série 4 Ag tetradr attic	OB 1991, p. 221; pl. 24 ; Qunduz n° 389
4	Agathocleia Strato	135–125 aC	King standing (or Ares?): Ind	Queen's bust	King armed and armored	Spear and shield	Séries 1, 2	OB 1991, p. 251; pl. 34, 35
5	Philoxenos	100–95 aC	Tyche standing: Gr	Tyche	Zebu	Cornucopia	Série 10	OB 1991, p. 293; pl. 44; 1998, 1199–1214
9	Philoxenos	Id.	Helios: Gr	Helios	Nike crown, palm	Scepter	Série 12	OB 1991, p. 294; pl. 44
\sim	Philoxenos	Id.	King riding: Gr or Ind	King's portrait or bust with spear and aegidis	King (or deity) armored riding	Horse's bridle Séries 1 to 9	Séries 1 to 9	OB, p. 294; pl. 43, 44; 1998, 1163–1192; Ind-Ox, n° 103, 104
∞	Peucolaos	90 aC	Zeus standing: Ind	King's bust	Zeus standing	Scepter	Série 1 Ag indian	Série 1 Ag indian OB 1991, p. 209; pl. 48
6	Nicias	90–85 aC	King standing: Ind King's bust	l King's bust	King standing	Palm	Séries 2, 3 Ag indian	OB 1991, p. 311; pl. 49; 1998, 1264–1265
11	10 Menander II 11 Menander II	90-85 aC Id	Athena: Gr King standing: Gr	Athena Armed warrior	Lion seated Lion standing	Palm, spear Sword	Série 5, 6 Série 7 Bronze	OB 1991 p. 314; pl. 49 Thid
12		.bl	King riding: Ind		Armed warrior	Horse's bridle Bronze	Bronze	Bactr-Tapr, p. 487, n° 2; 1998, 1266–1268
13	Amyntas	95-90 aC	Tyche enthroned: Gr	King's bust	Tyche enthroned	Cornucopia	Série 2, Double decadr attic	OB 1991, p. 303 ; pl. 46 ; Qunduz, n° 621-623
14	Amyntas	Id.	Athena: Ind	Bust Zeus- Mithra	Athena standing	Shield, spear	Série 14 Bronze	OB 1991, p. 303; pl. 47; 1998, 1250–1253
15	15 Maues and Ma- chene	90-70 aC	Tyche enthroned (queen?): Gr	Tyche (queen?) enthroned	Zeus Nicephoros Scepter	Scepter	Silver	Ind-Ox, n° 115; Fröhlich sér. 1, pl.5
16	16 Maues	Id.	Zeus standing: Gr	c Zeus standing	Nike holding crown	Scepter	Silver	Ind-Ox, n° 116 ; Fröhlich série 2
17	17 Maues	Id.	Tyche enthroned: Gr	Tyche en- throned	Zeus Nikephoros	د.	Silver	McDowall 2007, 9.51, 9.52

Table of Icongraphic Types and Plates

Fröhlich sér. 3, McDowall 2007 9.49 9.50	 10- OB 1991, p. 326, 327, 330, 333, 335, 337, 5-22 338, 343; pl. 52 to 60; 1998, 1324– 1515; Ind-Ox, n°108–109 	OB 1991, p. 344; pl. 60	dian OB 1991, p. 356; pl. 64; 1998, 1614–1621; 2020, cat. n° 28	OB, p. 360; pl. 66; 1998, 1643–1645 Ind-Ox, n° 113	OB, pl. 65	Fröhlich, sér. 1	Ind-Ox, n° 124; Fröhlich, 318	Fröhlich, n° 375, 377	McDowall 2007, 9.61	Fröhlich, sér. 6-8, 10-17, pl. 15–18 Fröhlich, pl. 18, 19	Ind-Ox, n° 118, p. 141	Senior ISCH: 66.2	Ind-Ox, n° 128; Fröhlich, sér. 5, 6, pl. 25	Fröhlich, sér.3–5, p. 131 Rosenfield, p. 75, 77, 80, 96, coins n° 31, 52, 61, 70, 90, 100, 101, 102, 105,112, 115, 116, 123, 124, 180
Silver	Séries 1-5, 7, 10- 15, 12, 16-22	Série 2 bze	Série 1, 2 indian	Série 12	e Série 7	Silver	Bronze	Bronze	Bronze	Bronze Sér. 19–21.	24 Bze Bronze	Bronze	Bronze	Bronze Gold
Scepter	Scepter	Scepter	Cornucopia	Palm	Horse's bridle Série 7	Scepter	Caduceus	Cornucopia	Trident	Shield, spear Caducens	Scepter	Shield, spear Bronze	Scepter / trident	Scepter
Gods in chariot Zeus enthroned	Zeus / Mithra enthroned radiate or not	Zeus enthroned Man with spear "extend- ing right arm"	Tyche with polos Cornucopia standing	Tyche with crown stand- ing	King armored riding	Nike with palm and crown	Hermès standing caduceus	Tyche standing cornucopia	Zeus standing (Shiva/Posei- don?)	King on horse Athena standing King seated less Hermes standing	Zeus enthroned	Athena standing	Zeus standing/ Shiva	Zeus standing Deities and attributes
Gods in chariot	King's bust	Zeus enthroned	King's bust	Anguiped hold- ing dolphin and oar	King's bust	r Zeus standing	Tyche en- throned	King on horse	King on horse	King on horse King seated legs	crossed King walking	Heracles crown- ing himself	Kij	Horseman King
Zeus enthroned: Ind	Zeus (Mithra) enthroned radiate: Gr or Ind	Zeus enthroned: Gr	Tyche standing: Ind	Tyche standing: Ind	King riding: Gr	Zeus standing: Gr (torque?)	Tyche enthroned: Gr	Tyche standing: Ind	Zeus: Ind (Shiva/ Poseidon?)	Athena: Ind Hermes: Ind	Zeus enthroned: Ind	Athena: Ind	Zeus standing: Gr or Ind	Horseman + Zeus Selene, Mao, Helios, Mi- iro Pharro, Asheikhsho
Id.	90-70 aC /10 aC-20 pC	75-70 aC	65–55 aC	Id.	Id.	55–35 aC /58–12 aC	30 aC–20 pC	Id.	Id.	Id.	ca. 70 aC	80–50 aC	20–50 pC	60–80pC 127–153 pC
18 Maues	19 Hermaios and posthumus	20 Telephos	21 Hippostratos	22 Hippostratos	23 Hippostratos	24 Azes I	25 Azes II	26 Azes II	27 Azes II	28 Azes II 29 Azes II	30 Spalirizes	31 Spalahores- Vonones	32 Gondophares	33 Abdagazes 34 Kanishka I and Huvishka





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Illustrations of the Table of Iconographic Types (see figs. pp. 64–67)

Amyntas:

Maues & Machene:



14



15

Maues:





18a



18b

Hippostratos:



Hermaios (post.):

19



20a



20b



21

Azes I:



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Illustrations of the Table of Iconographic Types—(continued) (see figs. pp. 64–67)



Preliminary Remarks on the Titles of Columns of Table of Iconographic Types (pp. 64–67)

- When not mentioned, the deity or king performing the gesture is standing;
- Gesture identified here was represented on coins of 19 *sovereigns* before the Kushans (plus perhaps Kujula Kadphises enthroned and Heraos drachmas?) in approximately a series of 32 types without taking into account some nuances or details that are not relevant;
- The *sovereign's name* is indicated in the first column, in approximate chronological order, from Antimachos II (165–62 в.с.е.) to Kushan kings, just mentioned but not studied, the types being different;
- The *date* column gives the reigns of the sovereigns and relies principally on the works of Osmund Bopearachchi (1991; 2020);
- The *type* column mentions the being making the gesture, either deity or mortal (or possibly heroized/deified mortal), his posture, standing (the default posture), enthroned or riding; the *script* is given in order to visualize the coins users/readers' cultural community (see below);
- The *obverse* column gives more precisions on the being gesturing (if on obverse) or on the type of obverse (if the gesturing being is on reverse);
- The *reverse* column gives the type represented, whether or not it is making the gesture;
- The *left-hand* column (since the gesture is always systematically made by the right hand) indicates the action performed, or the device held, by the being displaying the gesture;
- The *series OB 1991* column mentions the most detailed of catalogues and study of the Cabinet des Médailles of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France by Osmund Bopearachchi;
- The *references* column cites works by Osmund Bopearachchi 1991; 1998; Bactr-Tapr = From Bactria to Taprobane (Bopearachchi 2015); Ind-Ox = the From Indus to Oxus catalogue (Bopearachchi, Landes and Sachs 2003); the catalogues by Christine Fröhlich (Fröhlich 2008); R. C. Senior (Senior 2001; 2006); J. Rosenfield (Rosenfield 1967); J. Mac Dowall (Mac Dowall 2007); see also bibliography and abbreviations.

Commentary on the Table (observations according to enlarged images)

The coins on which the gesture is best recognizable by the position of the fingers are the following

nos.: 4- Agathocleia (king armored); 5- Philoxenos (Tyche); 7- Philoxenos (king riding) "caliper hand" deliberately made visible, not holding reins, separated from the bridle; 8- Peucolaos (Zeus) with thumb, index and little finger visible as on Amyntas coins; 10- Menander II (Athena); 16- Maues (Zeus and scepter), three fingers visible like Peucolaos; 19- Hermaios (enthroned Zeus) three fingers visible; 22- Hippostratos (crowned Tyche palm) "caliper hand" with anguiped holding dolphin and rudder; 23- Hippostratos extended fingers visible, the hand above reins while on other types the hand is clearly holding the reins while on; 24- Azes (Zeus) "caliper hand"; 27- Azes II (Zeus, trident) "caliper hand." The "caliper hand" is, I propose, a schematization by die engravers of the mano cornuta represented in small format (or less understood by the engravers?); thus I suggest here to consider them as a version of the mano cornuta gesture. On the other coins, the gesture can be identified with a minimum of effort, if it is agreed, as said above, that deities and sovereigns do not gesticulate at random. However, there are some admittedly doubtful cases. Let us have now some more detailed discussions on the gesture's representations on coins, with additional observations, and considering possible variants and alternatives.

- Azilises coins (57–35 B.C.) are completely unclear, either a variant of the gesture, or simply an outstretched hand or a torque; they are not included in our table;
- 2- Eucratides I; 13- Amyntas; 15- Maues and Machene; 17- Maues; 24- Azes II: in our view, on these coins, Tyche is making the *mano cornuta* gesture whether holding a cornucopia or not (different point of view in Senior, vol. I, p. 158);
- 5- Philoxenos; 21–22- Hippostratos; 25- Azes II: in our view it is NOT a "deity standing left with torque and cornucopia" (Senior, vol. I, p. 158) but rather Tyche, standing with cornucopia and making the *mano cornuta*;
- 7- Philoxenos: the armored and helmeted king riding a prancing horse is extremely important. His right arm is extended and his hand, depicted above the reins, is not guiding the horse but clearly making the *mano cornuta*. The left hand, not visible, holds the reins (but on Hermaios and Calliope coins, the horseman holds the reins; he does not perform the horns sign);
- 10- Menander II; 14- Amyntas; 27- Azes II; 30-Spalahores-Vonones, do not simply figure an "arm raised" (Senior, vol. I, p. 160), but Athena

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performs the horns gesture;

- 14- Amyntas: Senior (vol. I, p. 158) considers that "she holds her right hand out in a sign of benediction, but on the following Indo-Scythian coins this has been translated into her holding a torque as on the Zeus types. . ."; but here we consider that, with few possible exceptions where a torque (or whatever?) actually appears, the "torque" in question is simply the *mano cornuta* represented in the "caliper hand" form, its schematic version;
- 15- Maues and Machene: the "deity enthroned" with mural crown raises the important question related to the status of the queen (Senior, vol. I, p. 158); could it be a queen or a possibly heroized/deified queen? Bopearachchi and Sachs (Ind-Ox, p. 140, no. 115), compared to the Ptolemaic queens, and an identification of the queen with the goddess; Di Castro also suggests the Parthian favorite and Queen Musa;⁴⁹ the side with the Gr legend could be the reverse (see also below);
- 16- Maues: Senior (vol. I, p. 149), who remarks on a hand gesture similar to Peucolaos and sees "a 'C'-shaped torque." However, perhaps not all are torques, or the torque could be a misunderstanding of the horns gesture? A problem arises with the torque having balls visible: is it a special gesture of investiture, a reinterpretation of the horns gesture or an imitation of the crowns brought by Nike? We cannot decide;
- 19- Other types, of Hermaios with Calliope (Ind-Ox, no. 107), depict the horseman NOT performing the gesture, but simply grasping the bridle of the prancing horse;
- 22- Hippostratos: issues of this type associates an anguiped holding a dolphin and oar with a Tyche making the horns gesture; we can compare it with the anguiped holding a dolphin and oar at Tillya Tepa and with Gandhāra reliefs with water deities (see above);
- 23- Hippostratos: on this issue the armored king makes the gesture, hand extended above the head of the horse; the horse stands or walks; however, on other types the riding king holds the reins, the horse is prancing (OB 1991, series 3 to 6), similar to Hermaios and Calliope reverses, not making the *mano cornuta* gesture;
- 24- Azes I: Zeus standing, Gr legend, seems on some issues to hold a torque (Senior, vol. I, p. 149). But perhaps not all hold torque, or the "torque"

could be a misunderstanding of the horns gesture (?). Interestingly, some torques seem to have balls visible, depicting a peculiar artifact;

- 27: Azes II: Zeus (Śiva /Poseidon), but we do not see a torque, or, once more, not all are torques (Senior, vol. I, p. 150) but rather it could be the gesture in "caliper hand," the schematic version of the *mano cornuta*;
- 28: Azes II: definitely depicts the gesture, not a torque (*contra* Senior);
- 34: Kushan coins of Kanishka and Huvishka are mentioned simply because the horns gesture can perhaps continue, not performed by gods or kings but only by gods on reverses, though apparently not by the standing or seated Tychetype goddesses such as Ardoxšo or Hārītī.
- At the end of these brief comments, if the reader follows our hypothesis of an extensive use of the *mano cornuta* among Indo-Greek and Indo-Scythian coins by deities and sovereigns, we may add some synthetic comments. They are based on our table and used for comparisons in the study of epithets and epicleses of the same kings by Callataÿ and Lorber.⁵⁰

Synthetic Comments on the Table

The beings making the gesture are divine: Zeus = 10; Tyche = 9; King = 6; Athena = 3; Helios = 2; Hermes = 2.

The posture of the being making the gesture: they are generally standing, but some are enthroned, such as Tyche (= 5) and Zeus (= 4); we must also mention the king on horseback (= 4) and the king standing (= 3).

In sum, Tyche appears second, just after the images of Zeus. Similarly, she is with Zeus the only deity to sit on a throne, of a Greek type. Kings in general are armored and helmeted, whether standing or riding, and represent, because of the gesture they perform, some divine posture or supernatural power (see below their possible heroization/deification). This importance is totally supported by the evidence from Seleucia on the Tigris analyzed by P. Iossif.⁵¹ Collecting the representations of deities on coins and seals of the city, he remarks that Tyche is poorly represented on the obverse of coins, but that she is the third most popular on the reverse of coins and the second most popular on seals. That fits with our observations of the mano cornuta as

a gesture apparently expressing a divine power provided by some Olympians (Zeus or Athena, principally); but to this group Tyche and the sovereigns were aggregated.

We can also mention, in relation to iconography, the bounty and good sovereign epithets on coins of the kings proclaiming to be favored by the gods, and favoring their country and people by this power. The epithets of the kings listed in our table (but not only on the types with mano cornuta) are the following: epiphanous sôteros (Plato I, Peucolaos), theotropou (Agathocleia, Machene), epiphanous (Plato), evergetou (Telephos), sôteros (Strato I, Nicias, Hermaios, Hippostratos), megalou sôteros (Hippostratos), dikaiou (Menandros II), dikaiou kai sôteros (Strato I). It is different from the power and political epithets also expressed, such as the kings in our table (but not necessarily exhibiting the mano cornuta): nikephorou (Antimachos II), aniketou (Philoxenos), nikatoros (Amyntas), megalou/megas (Eucratides I), basileos basileon megalou (Spalirizes, Maues, Azes, Azilizes). The "religious" or "moral" epicleses (even if in reality they are also obviously political) are in greater number than those signifying simply power, military-political (8/5); however, if *dikaios* is considered as belonging to military/political expression of power, the numbers are almost equal.

Gesture and script can be either Indian (= 17) or Greek (= 15). We may therefore suppose that the representation of the mano cornuta gesture is almost equally intended for the Indian and Greek readers and users of the coins. Epicleses and epithets exist in the Indian language, written in kharosthī, whether they were inspired by Greek originals or not. We may mention, among the kings of our table (who do not necessarily make the mano cornuta) the following formulae:⁵² Maharajasa apadihatasa "Great king invincible" (Philoxenos); Maharajasa jayadharasa "Great king victorious" (Amyntas); Maharajasa tratarasa "Savior" (Agathocleia and Strato, Nicias, Hermaios and Calliope); Maharajasa tratarasa jayamtasa "Great king savior conqueror" (Hippostratos); Maharajasa tratarasa dhramikasa "Great king savior follower of the dharma" (Agathocleia and Strato); Maharajasa dhramikasa "Great king follower of the dharma" (Menander II); Maharajasa dhramikasa tratarasa "Great king follower of the dharma savior" (Peucolaos). All that possibly indicates shared cultural concepts (see below). Indo-Scythians (Maues, Azes, Azilises) use also *basileos basileou megalou* "Great king of kings," in the old political tradition going back to the Achaemenids.

Sôter in various forms deserves some attention. It is used by six of our kings. Sôter (σωτήρ) was especially important from the time of the Diadochs, among the Lagids and of course the Seleucids (Antiochos I, Demetrios I). In Bactria it concerns major kings, such as Diodotos I (Diodotos II was theos-according to Holt 1999, p. 97f.), and Euthydemos I was also theos but only on later commemorative coins struck by Agathocles or Antimachos. However, it was used by Menander I in India. The exact meaning of the term is difficult to grasp beyond "savior." It could concern salvation for the kingdom (?) from military and political enemies but also from natural calamities or from spiritual disasters. In any case, as we shall see below, it appears not to be foreign to the question of possible heroization/deification of sovereigns.

According to Callataÿ and Lorber,⁵³ the royal epithets appear on coins in large number in the second half of the 2nd century, and so does our gesture. In regard to Graeco-Bactrians and Indo-Greeks, "sôter" is especially important, appearing 18 times ("dikaios" appears 9 times).⁵⁴ But actually no regularity is discernible that connects the coins exhibiting the horns gesture and any specific epithet. On the other hand, it is interesting to repeat the great importance of Tyche, present almost as frequently as Zeus. Zeus is also represented on an Indo-Scythian seal of the 1st century in the Cabinet des Médailles in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France (Paris), holding a scepter and extending an arm apparently with two fingers outstretched, possibly our gesture (fig. 9).55 By frequency of appearance there follows the images of the king standing or riding and then Athena, as we have seen. Regarding this goddess, we can establish a parallel with two engraved gems from Tillya Tepa on which the goddess is depicted with outstretched arm and hand, and in one case possibly making the mano cornuta gesture. (fig. 10).56

Heroization/deification of Sovereigns

The representation of the helmeted and armored king making the gesture of the horns sign while riding or standing is especially important, too,



Fig. 9. Seal representing Zeus with extended hand gesture. Bibliothèque Nationale Paris Cabinet des Médailles. After Bopearachchi et al., Ind-Ox, no. 144.

in the perspective of a possible heroization/ deification of sovereigns, beside the inscribed epithets.⁵⁷A similar armored standing soldier/ king is represented on a pair of gold pendants from Tillya Tepa, holding a spear and a shield, and wearing a helmet and a diadem (fig. 11). He is shown within a decorative frame representing a dragon, plants and birds, shaping a sort of *naiskos*.⁵⁸ Various attempts have been made to identify this soldier with a king, Ares or Alexander the Great.⁵⁹

If we consider the goddesses on other plaques that are also represented in three-storey frames shaping a pseudo-*naiskos* at Tillya Tepa,⁶⁰ and if we remember that a warrior figure with shield, sword and spear is also represented on some coins of Kujula Kadphises (fig. 12)⁶¹ that have been compared with our plaque with "a Greek soldier" from Tillya Tepa, the "soldier" actually appears as a king, recognized as a "possible deified king."⁶²



Fig. 10. Seal representing Athena with extended hand gesture. Tillya Tepa. Kabul National Museum of Afghanistan. After Sarianidi 1985, pl. 108, p. 168.

Without exception the anthropomorphic beings of the gold pendants and plaques of Tillya Tepa are systematically of divine character. We see Aphrodite, Psyche, Erotes, Master of Dragons, Artemis or Nana, water deities or Nike, enforcing the possibility of recognizing a representation of a heroized/deified king in this "Macedonian soldier."

In our table of coin iconography, some armored helmeted "kings" making the horns gesture appear on the reverse of coins on which the obverse represents the bust of the king, i.e. they appear at the place of the usual representations of deities, therefore perhaps being kings possibly heroized/ deified, or representing the "heroization/deification" of their fathers or of an ancestor? We can remark that some bronze coins of Kujula Kadphises imitate Augustan issues: on the reverse they represent him, the first Kushan emperor, seated on a folding chair (sella curulis), and on the obverse a portrait type copying the Roman emperor deified or to be deified (Divus Augustus) with an extended arm and outstretched hand/fingers; however, except in some exemplars where



Fig. 11. Plaque with Greek armored king possibly deified. Tillya Tepa, Kabul National Museum of Afghanistan. After Sarianidi 1985, pl. 82, p. 141.



Fig. 12. Bronze coin of Kujula Kadphises with Greek armored king. After Rosenfield, 1967, coin no. 8.

two fingers seem visibly extended,⁶³ the details of the fingers are generally unclear.

The question here is of the heroization/deification of kings: if the kings in military dress make the *mano cornuta* gesture, the gesture of Zeus, Tyche, Athena and other gods, it becomes possible to consider their possible heroization/ deification, in relation to the images of some Kujula Kadphises bronze coins (as soldier and enthroned), and to the Tillya Tepa plaque. Such are the soldiers shown standing on the reverse of the king's bust: 4- Agathocleia-Straton (*soteros*); 9-Nicias (*soteros*); 12- Menander II (*dikaiou*); or riding on the reverse of kings' busts: 7- Philoxenos (*aniketou*); 23- Hippostratos (*megalou soteros*). If the possible heroization/deification of kings appears to be a widespread idea in the period under consideration, it remains nevertheless poorly understood by scholars in the various regions here considered, regarding its relationship to the Seleucid or, less probably, the Roman variants of "deification" that are better known from texts.



Fig. 13. Philoxenos on prancing horse performing the *mano cornuta*. British Museum London. wikipedia.orgwikiPhiloxenusAnicetus #mediaFilePhiloxenusCoin2.JPG.

In any case, the Greek legends (*theos*) of coinages proclaim the deification of some sovereigns, beginning with Antimachos I (and retrospectively on commemorative later coins).⁶⁴ For the Indian legends the situation is more complicated (see below). They look very important, being used by Agathocleia and Strato (our no. 4) and by Machene and Maues (our no. 14), but, as seen above, its exact meaning is not totally clear. Nevertheless, their coins and the epithet *theotropos* are especially noteworthy in a study on heroization/ deification, even if it is not decisive, the meaning being possibly "turning towards god" and not definitely "of divine character."⁶⁵

We examine, beside the Seleucid coins, the coinage of Graeco-Bactrian and Indo-Greek kings, but not only our selected *mano cornuta* coins; we can observe that *theos* was used by Diodotos I and II, Agathocles I (commemorative coins) and Antimachos I, who also used *sôteros*. Then, among Indo-Greeks, *theos* is not in use, but only *sôteros* as the closest to a proximity with the divine world, with *theotropos* for two queens. The Indian legends and epithets never use the equivalent of *theos* before the Kushans, as far as I know, but largely mint their legends with the kharoṣṭhī epithet equivalent of *sôteros*: *tratarasa*.⁶⁶

If we consider the armored riding sovereigns, they look very different from the obverses of Indo-Scythian coins with cataphractarii;⁶⁷ they make the horns sign gesture (fig. 13). Then is it possible to see the making of this sign as a possible mark of heroization/deification? It is so in the cases of: 1- Antimachos II (*nikephorou*); 7- Philoxenos (*aniketou*); 12- Menander II (*dikaiou*); 23- Hippostratos (*megalou soteros*); 33- Abdagazes. We have suggested recently with examples that their representation as riders in arms, helmeted and armored, could have been inspired and influenced by the battle customs of the steppe warriors populations that arrived in Bactria, i.e. the Saka heavy armored cavalry and the Yuezhi.⁶⁸

On our coins, because of the gesture of fingers, we are perhaps not facing simply a version of the king's representation (eventually repeating the bust portrait in a redundant image) but possibly a heroized/deified image, but we must also think of a possible assimilation to or representation of a riding god. Is that possible in our area? We know that riding gods existed in Thracia, Anatolia and in Danubian areas. But they also existed in Palmyra, generally in Syria, and specifically in the steppic areas near Emese, with representations of gods or heroes riding.⁶⁹

The social and religious contexts in our domain are favorable for representations of gods on horseback, or associated with horses. This is visible in the iconography of the Kushan period, and in some Iranian texts. But this will require a special study.

From all of our observations, we may suggest that the expression of the power of sovereigns and dynasties on coins changed at some moment around the middle of the second century B.C.E. with a large use of epicleses, a clear manifestation of a divine element inherent in this power, in our case the mano cornuta divine gesture. It is known in many cultures that the good sovereign brings prosperity and fertility to the people and the country, in the West and in the East, and therefore Tyche and related deities also appear with the horns gesture. This transformation process was also visible for example at Aï Khanoum, with its manifold links with India before 145 B.C.E.: the Agathocles coins and many objects from India during the reign of Eucratides I.⁷⁰ Nevertheless, a strong influence of Scythian, Iranian and Indian religions(s) in broad sense, seems probable. In this respect, the possible divine armored rider of the Indo-Greeks and Indo-Scythians, whether a deified king, or an ancestor, is another manifestation of these changes towards a specific more steppe "Oriental" branch of the transformations of the Hellenic traditions, including religion and the conception of royal power. This demonstrates the heuristic potential of iconographic coin analyses, beside numismatics, for the understanding of the history of civilization when texts are lacking, as is the case in our region.

After this review, what about Miran, and more? The gesture of the busts in the Miran garland, if not transformed by Stein's modifications of the photo, is performed by beings inside the vegetation (again the vegetation and aquatic deities?), and the same seems also to appear on the Kanishka reliquary, but here the gesture is unclear, as fingers are not discernible.⁷¹ Who are these busts? The context is Gandhāran, not Iranian, and the composition is religious, but the gesture may have evolved from a gesture of power and fertility towards a different use and signification, i.e. transformed into a gesture of respect from an inferior to a superior or a divine being, here the Buddha. And the same appears in Sassanid court monumental arts, as observed by C. Bromberg. However, if the gesture is properly identified at Miran, and in spite of an earlier date of the paintings in the 1st century that was recently proposed,⁷² it is not impossible that some of the beings appearing as busts in the Buddhist garlands represent some transformed form of the aquatic/ vegetation deities, in a different artistic and cultural context. We will not decide here.

Altogether, our purpose was to suggest some reflections on the history of a divine and wellidentified royal gesture, the horns sign, or mano cornuta. This fingers gesture is especially performed by Tyche, on Amyntas coins and the al-Sabah emblema, but also by aquatic/vegetation deities on Gandhāran reliefs. Then we have proposed an extension of the corpus by using monetary iconography, and we have identified this gesture performed by gods, above all Zeus, Tyche and Athena but also by queens and armored kings. More than simply using Hellenistic or Kushan information, we concentrated mainly on the Graeco-Bactrian, Indo-Greek and Indo-Scythian periods evidence. Finally, we have suggested an interpretation, connected with ideas of fertility, power and prosperity, that leads to the question of the possible heroization/deification of some armored sovereigns, some riding horses, who appropriated this divine gesture, identifying themselves with gods, in a cultural context basically Greek, Indian and Iranian but

strongly influenced by the steppe Scythian (or Saka/Yuezhi) tradition.

Notes

1. I would like to express my warmest thanks to C. Bromberg, J. Zailo, O. Bopearchchi, O. Bordeaux and S. Kaoukji, who helped me improve this article, but all opinions expressed and all mistakes are mine, of course. Ed: Thanks also to Russell Harris, multilingual scholar and editor at the Institute of Ismaili Studies, London, for his consult regarding images.

2. Bromberg 1991: 50–51, nn. 25–26; C. Bromberg dates the examples given in this article to the 3rd century, but we must precise here that not only the Gandhāran stair risers but also the Miran representations are earlier (see Francfort: 2014).

3. We stop with the Indo-Parthians and just give some information on Kujula Kadphises and later. For a recent synthesis of the period considered here, beautifully illustrated, see the work of Osmund Bopearachchi (2020), especially pp. 1–70.

4. For an overview of the sign of horns, "les cornes" (Fr) or mano cornuta (It) and its complexity and variety of meanings (apotropaic, prophylactic, conjuration, blessing, fertility, irony, etc.) see: Carénini 1991, and especially for its uses in the Neapolitan region since Roman times and during history (Calabro 2013; De Jorio 1832 [2002] and Mertzani 2018a; b). Again, it must not be confused with the benedictio latina, and not with the simple hand showing the palm in the Roman East (Rosenthal-Heginbottom 2016) but was known by the Parthians, and of course it cannot be identified with the "devil horns" of rock music concerts. We can also mention that the Karana mudrā is quite similar, except for the position of one finger, but all its representations are of later dates than the examples we study here. The Iranian gestures of respect and submission towards higher rank beings are different; they have been studied by Choksy 1992 and in other articles.

5. See for an image: Classical Art Research Center, Oxford: 215552, ATHENIAN, Berlin, Antikensammlung, Berlin, Schloss Charlottenburg, 30036. Earlier attempts regarding Egyptian art are not convincing: (Wainwright 1961).

6. Supposedly with a conjuration purpose: Carénini 1991.

7. Sale 2016, with a number of relevant remarks and illustrations.

8. Ibid.: 74: "... to celebrate and protect from the evil eye the reproductive powers of the figure represented" with phallic symbolism in those cases. For our purpose and our period, the satyr on a 40–80 c.e. lamp of the Ashmolean Museum (fig. 5 and n. 41 with other examples) is especially important.

9. Curiel and Fussman 1965: 65–67, pl. LIII, 621– 23; Bopearachchi 2020: cat. no. 26. In the treasure, beside some Alexander, Seleucid and Graeco-Bactrian coins, a great number of coins are of the latest Greek rulers of Bactria, or Indo-Greeks minting for Bactria, as well as imitations by "Saka-Yuezhi": Eucratides I and II, Heliocles, some Lysias, Theophilos, Antialcidas, Plato, Archebios, Philoxenos and Hermaios.

10. Here I shall not differentiate between *calathos* and *polos* for the cylindrical headdress of goddesses; since the use in the literature generally fluctuates, I will use both terms.

11. Bopearachchi 2020: 60, cat. no. 26 with an excellent image: the corn ears and fruits are visible emerging from the cornucopia, and the feet of the throne exhibit molding profiles similar to the real ones discovered at Aï Khanoum and Nisa, while the throne of Zeus is represented with different, no less Greek, moldings (Curiel and Fussman 1965: nos. 619–20). On Hellenistic types of the profiles of throne legs at Aï Khanoum and Nisa, see Bernard 1970; Manassero 2018.

12. Carter, Harper and Meyers 2015: 126–29; the *emblema* is 12.3 cm in diameter. The bowl possibly comes from a cache near Nahrin in Bactria (Afghanistan) with other objects.

13. We can mention here that some silverwares of this region (Bactria-Gandhāra) depict important goddesses in landscapes with little flowers that are rarely mentioned, for instance: the Aï Khanoum Cybele plaque (Cambon and Jarrige 2006: no. 23) or the Miho bowl (Catalogue 2002: no. 114).

14. Neither Carter 2015 nor Bopearachchi 2020 mention the *mano cornuta* gesture made by the deity. Carter states that: "Her lower right arm, which is tridimensional, was broken off completely, but has recently been reattached. Its socket contains a cylindrical support. The delicate fingers are now bent out of shape but may have shown a gesture of benevolence." This is precisely the horned sign, and we have no reason to think that the restorers created such a gesture purely artificially. An examination of the details shows that the fingers were originally bent in this way. I thank the Dar Museum and Ms. S. Kaoukji warmly for her help in providing the close views.

15. Carter 2015, p. 128, writes about the possibility of a local Bactrian goddess of good fortune before the arrival of the Greeks but focuses on the Kushan and Indian successors. Apparently, a vegetation, water and fertility goddess had existed in Bactria since the Bronze Age and in the Iron Age and Achaemenid periods. I proposed to identify her with the goddess Wakhshu (Francfort 2012).

16. Bromberg 1991: 50, figs. 8 and 9.

17. MetDP138046, Rogers Fund 1913, accession number: 13.96.21; Bromberg 1991: 50, fig. 8.

18. https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/ object/A_1889-1016-1; 1889,1016.1. See the excellent article of J. Boardman (Errington and Cribb 1992: no. 129, pp. 126–27). The gesture was noticed by Sir John Marshall, who asked Alfred Foucher about its significance in a personal letter of June 6 1952 (see A. Fenet, 2009, "Lettre(s) d'Ajanta . . . et d'ailleurs: les correspondances d'Alfred Foucher," in Bouddhismes d'Asie Monuments et Littératures: Journée d'étude en hommage à Alfred Foucher (1868-1952) réunie le vendredi 14 décembre 2007 à l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres (Palais de l'Institut de France), ed. P.-S. Filliozat et J. Leclant, fig. 5, p. 89: photo of the letter (Paris).

19. V&A Museum: Given by Professor Benjamin Rowland, Museum no. IS.3-1971 (06/06/2011); Errington and Cribb 1992: no. 130, pp. 127–28 and color ill. p. 25.

20. I draw attention to the similarity of guise of the Aï Khanoum Cybele on the plaque of the temple with niches and on Agathocles coins: Francfort 2012: 125–27, figs. 21, 22; the analogy of the *polos* headdresses with the Aï Khanoum Cybele is pointed out by M. Carter (2015: 150, n. 1) apropos the no. 30 of her catalogue, a "female bust" (Tyche) *emblema*.

21. Bromberg 1991: 50, fig. 9; Marshall 1960, fig. 46. 22. Sarianidi 1985 (burial 1): cat. 1.1, p. 226, ill. 86, man with a dolphin.

23. Galli 2011: 310–16 and figs. 13–18 (including our V&A relief) interprets the bestial pointed ears as indicating satyrs who take part in bacchanals along with maenads (?), but in a policed way searching to display the urbanity and Hellenization via theatrical compositions. We recall the satyrs making the mano cornuta in Greek art (see above). Bernard and Bopearachchi 2002: 171, fig. 17 and no. 87 just speak of "élégantes à la mode grecque." Boardman (in Errington and Cribb 1992: 128-29) carefully comments on the reliefs with couples and consorts, with fine comparative studies and concludes that "they precede, if by little, in style, subject and date, reliefs with explicit Buddhist iconography." Here we refer not to social questions but only to artistic traditions and to a probable popular mythology, absent in the texts and in the most explicit arts.

24. In this paper we subsume under "Tyche" the "Oriental goddesses" wearing the *polos* (or mural crown) and cornucopia (or palm for instance), whether standing or seated.

25. Bordeaux 2020, especially pp. 102–9 and figs 12–17; Bordeaux 2018: 135–36.

26. P. Bernard, (in Bernard, Pinault and Rougemont 2004: 344, n. 271), gives a list of Tyches by Indo-Greeks and Indo-Scythians, following Bopearachchi 1991 and Senior 2001: 68. Ibid.: 104, nn. 136–37 for mural crowns, noting also the Bactrian Hellenistic bust of an

emblema in the al-Sabah collection (Carter 2015: cat. no. 30, pp. 150–53), where the *calathos* is ornamented with three stepped merlons and arrow-shaped decor (similar to brick merlons from Aï Khanoum and Nisa to Surkh Kotal) that could be named a Greek Tyche, or Cybele, proposing parallels in Aï Khanoum with the Cybele plaque and the clay mold of an *emblema* from the same sanctuary.

27. Le Rider 1965: 139, pl. XXVI, 305; see also pl. XLVII, 536–72 without *polos*.

28. Ibid: 141, pl. XXVII a-s, XXVIII a-f; in Seleucia on the Tigris, with various obverses, in different denominations, with variants.

29. Ibid.: 150s.; pl. XXIX S-T; XXX A-C.

30. Bopearachchi 1991: 135; Fröhlich 2009, 62, and fig. 3 (Azes I) where the river god possesses horns on his head, recalling the images of Achelous, the Greek waters and rivers god; on the reverse of the Maues and Azes I coins appear what is called a vakhshi, a kind of vegetation female deity surrounded by vegetation (vines?): water and vegetation (for a good image see fig. 1 at: www.carc.ox.ac.uk/GandharaConnections (see Bhandare, gallery coin no.1). Regarding Poseidon in Bactria, if he is not a transitional figure announcing Šiva (as proposed by Fröhlich and others), it could be, as suggested by F. Holt (Holt 2005), Poseidon Hippios, therefore "explaining" the god related with horses in a world where cavalry played a major role in battles. But there could be also that Poseidon was the god of the "sea, earthquakes and horses" (Paus. 7.21.7), and that Achelous was also equated with the primordial Ocean, or all rivers and waters, the underground waters, in relationship with the nymphs. Waters, on the obverse, and vegetation, on the reverse? Achelous is represented in Bactria at Takht-i Sangin (Litvinskij, 2001: figs. 73-74; Litvinskij and Pichikian 1995), in the Mir Zakah 2 treasury as a finial of rhyton (Catalogue, 2002, no. 119), and at Nisa in the same position (Pappalardo, 2010: pls. 1-2), rhyton no. 2, also in Chorasmia (Vajnberg, 2004: 151 s.). For Achelous and Gopatshah, its local equivalent in Central Asia: Francfort 2012: 117-21, 127-28; Bogomolov 2008.

31. Sinisi 2008 does not insist on the Indo-Greek or Indo-Scythian images but jumps to Kushan iconography; he proposes (n. 5) that the aquatic monster could be a Nereid; we have here a different point of view. The distinction made by Le Rider between Tyche and an Oriental goddess is mentioned (see above) but not commented on. The supposed assimilation with Nana is commonly suggested in the literature but evidence is lacking.

32. Ellerbrock 2013.

33. I use here the written form of the author, but others can be seen in publications, notably $x^varenah$, and the form *farnah*. The idea of $x^varenah$ is widely used by archaeologists and art historians of Central

Asia to "identify" various animals or composite beings, flying or terrestrial.

34. Ibid.: figs. 4–6: coins of Phraates II, Artabanus I and Mithradates II.

35. Errington and Cribb 1992: no. 111, pp. 108–9, called by J. Boardman a "goddess" with a possible identification as a Harītī and comparison in Gandhāran art, in stone reliefs; but there is also a silver repoussé cup (ibid.: no. 97, pp. 91–94) where a standing statue of the goddess crowned with a *polos* is shown in a sacro-idyllic landscape sacrificing with a phiale, holding a patera and a rich cornucopia.

36. Betts et al. 2012; Minardi 2020; Grenet and Minardi 2021.

37. Marshall 1951, II: 699–700 (H. Hargreaves); III: pl. 211, no.1, 1st cent. c.e. according to the authors. See above for standing "hieratic" female deities, so wrapped: Cybele of Aï Khanoum, Agathocles coins, Tyche of Swat, fern holder on our V&A relief. (This list is not exhaustive.) All except the last wear a *calathos*.

38. See also the remarks of Chr. Fröhlich on Tyche (Fröhlich 2009: 63–65).

39. Allègre 1889.

40. Becchi 2010; Brouwer 2011; Frazier and Leão 2010; Guelfucci 2010; Hau 2011.

41. Erskine 2016; Grimal 1953; Grimal 1975; Zetzel 1972, not only Cicero but also Polybius was a "member" of this literary circle.

42. We can recall Queen Musa, a slave given by Augustus to Phraataces (Phraate IV) who became his favorite (Strugnell 2008); Phraates IV is an important king for Central Asia, as seen from the presence of his coins and countermarked coins in Bactria; he fled to the Indo-Scythians during a civil war.

43. On images of Tyche on bullae of Seleucia on the Tigris, see Bollati 2003.

44. On the popularity of the Tyche images and statues in the Hellenized East, see for instance: Almasri et al. 2017; Matheson and Pollitt 1994; in our area see: Callieri 1997; Di Castro 2012; Pirazzoli-t'Serstevens 1994: figure on a Loulan textile and Rowland 1966; also the clay statue of Tepe Shotor in Hadda: Bopearachchi 2020: cat. no. 55: 3d–4th cent. c.e., with a strongly preserved Hellenistic flavor (*chiton, himation,* cornucopia).

45. Rougemont and Bernard 2012: no. 151, pp. 255-58.

46. Ibid.: n. 870; P. Bernard considered that the Tyche is not the poliad deity, or the personal genius attached to individuals or families but the higher principle presiding over the destiny of history and ruling its course (Bernard, Pinault and Rougemont 2004: 343).

47. Francfort 2020.

48. It is more probable that the two al-Sabah *emblemata* with Tyche mentioned above are to be dated

from the late 3rd to (mid-)2nd, not earlier in the 3rd century.

49. Di Castro 2017: 41–42.

50. Callataÿ and Lorber 2011.

51. Iossif 2014.

52. After Bopearachchi 1991: 389.

53. Callataÿ and Lorber 2011: 419–25 insist on Graeco-Bactrian innovations and monotony but also on Antiochos IV "theos epiphanes" and the circulation of his coins to the East; p. 428.

54. Ibid.: 446–49, the part of the table relevant for our coins.

55. Bopearachchi, Landes and Sachs 2003: 153, no. 144: G. Fussman (Fussman 1972.4: 27–28) proposes the 1st century B.C.E., and parallels with Zeus on the obverse of coins of Azilizes, Gondophares and Abdagases (see our types 27 and 32); an inscription in Kharoṣṭhī reads *Puñamatasa* "à la pensée pure."

56. Sarianidi 1985 (burial 2): cat. 2.1, p. 168, ill. 108, Athena; another seal also with Athena extending her arm (burial 3): cat. 3.73: p. 127, ill. 73, but the side of the seal is worn; among the amulets in the shape of hands found in burial 6, it is possible that a *mano cornuta* is present, but the publications are not accurate enough to ascertain it.

57. We use heroization/deification without trying to differentiate between them since for our region and period we have no data in order to distinguish clearly between the Hellenistic deified sovereigns and queens, for instance the royal cult of the Seleucids, with moreover the possible Iranian and Scythian "deification" of living kings, dead sovereigns or ancestors and the less probable in our area Roman post-mortem apotheosis of emperors.

58. Sarianidi 1985: burial/cat. 3.1, p. 236; ills. 81-84.

59. Abdullaev 2017, for a recent attempt for Alexander, with discussion and earlier bibliography.

60. Sarianidi 1985: burial 2, no. 7, p. 231, ills. 44–47 (master of dragons, male or female deity with crenelated crown); burial 6, no. 4, pp. 254–55, ills. 48–50 (mistress of animals).

61. Francfort 2011: 292 for the Tillya Tepa plaque and the Kujula Kadphises coin with a representation of a similar soldier, see following note.

62. Ibid.: 292–95, fig. 12, especially n. 77 about a possible heroization/deification of this "soldier" that is reproduced here, to be completed by the following note "studies have been devoted to this question; the texts, epigraphy and numismatics (with epithet/s of *theos*) are indeed abundant" Chr. Sachs (Bopearachchi, Landes and Sachs 2003), no. 150, p. 174: coins of Kujula Kadphises ca 30–80 p.C. (*Devaputrasa Kujula Kara Kapasa Mahatagasa rajathiraja*) and inscriptions of Kushans as at Mat in Mathura (*Maharaja rajatiraja devaputra*); at Surkh Kotal, *bago-pouro* and *bagashao*; Rosenfield (1967: 203) seeks the origin of the formula on the side of Western Asia, the Parthians, the Seleucids, the

Lagids and even the Romans. Let us recall here: Antimachos I *theos* [see the parchments of Bactria mentioning this sovereign (Rougemont and Bernard 2012: nos. 92, 93, pp. 192–94) with uncertainties about the date, and identification of the second Antimachos mentioned, who is perhaps our no. 2 here, Antimachos II, Antiochos II *theos*, Antiochos I of Commagene deified by his mother, a Seleucid, of the lineage of Alexander (?) while, on the paternal side, he claims Darius the Great, and established a cult (50 a.C.): βασιλεὺς μέγας Ἀντίοχος θεὸς Δίκαιος Ἐπιφανὴς Φιλορώμαιος καὶ Φιλέλλην.

The Macedonian soldier from TTP grave no. 3 is close to the coins of KujulaKadphises mentioned above; moreover, he is a king, recognizable byribbons (?) which can represent his diadem and his belt sign of power; moreover, he is represented in a frame in a "naiskos," like the figures of all the other plates of this set, which all carry divine effigies. In the Rabatak inscription (Afghan Bactria), Kanishka calls himself "god" and "son of god," and "he establishes a cult (128 p.C.)." In short, Kujula Kadphises is "son of god" while Kanishka proclaims himself "righteous, just, autocrat, god, worthy of worship" (Sims-Williams 2008 [2004]).

63. See the bronze coin of Kujula Kadphises with an Augustan obverse and a seated king with an extended hand gesture. Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, (www.carc.ox.ac.uk/GandharaConnections [see Bhandare, gallery coin no.14]).

64. Theos was used first by Antimachos I among Graeco-Bactrian sovereigns: Bernard and Rapin 1994: 274; Euthydemos I is theos on commemorative coins only (I am grateful to Olivier Bordeaux for these precisions). There are a great number of studies devoted to the various aspects of Hellenistic and Seleucid deification, see previous note above (Caneva 2016; Caneva 2020; Caneva and Paul 2013; Iossif et al. 2011), but we cannot enter this subject here. On deification of kings in our domain, among the Parthians and the Indo-Greeks, see Bopearachchi 1990a; Dąbrowa 2014; 2015; 2017; Falk 2019; Invernizzi 2011a; Olbrycht 2016. Rosenfield (1967: 202-8) made an important review of deification from Seleucids to Antimachos I, the Fratadara and the Kushans, using also textual evidence and relevant comparisons with Rome and Commagene; however, as was usual at his time, he considered ceremonies, attitudes and representations in light of their "frontality," as did for instance Schlumberger (Schlumberger 1960a; b) but did not consider to a substantial degree hand gestures in the perspective of possible deification.

65. A specific article was devoted by G. Le Rider to Queen Machene (with Maues) and Queen Calliope (with Straton) (Le Rider, 1967).

66. Bopearachchi 1991: 387-89.

67. Bopearachchi 2003: 18–54 on the Bara hoard with a great number of Hermaios and Indo-Scythian coins, on which on the obverse the armored king stretches

out his hand but is always shown holding weapons; see also Bopearachchi and Sachs 2001.

68. Francfort 2020: 22-25.

69. Rivault 2018; Sartre-Fauriat 2012; Seyrig 1949. A. Sartre-Fauriat expresses, à propos the Syrian relief, important nuances about heroization and deification at a regional and local scale: "Mais contrairement aux stèles de Palmyrène, d'Apamène ou d'Émésène, Manémos, en l'honneur duquel est effectuée l'offrande de l'encens sur la stèle du Musée de Lyon, n'est pas qualifié de dieu, mais de 'héros' ce qui conduit à penser que l'on est en présence de quelque chose d'un peu différent car ce mot n'apparaît jamais sur les stèles de la Palmyrène du Nord-Ouest ni à Palmyre même. Certes, il n'est pas exclu que nous ayons là le premier témoignage d'une de ces multiples divinités locales ou génies propres à une tribu, un clan ou un individu . . . On pourrait envisager dès lors que l'on est plutôt en présence d'un mortel héroïsé après sa mort, survenue peut-être lors d'un combat."

70. Francfort 2021, in press, with bibliography.

71. Errington and Cribb 1992: no. 193, pp. 193–97: cast of the Kanishka reliquary and drawing p. 195; see also on its date Errington 2005.

72. Francfort 2014: the painting is dated to the 1st century; the beings in the garland are compared with the similar small personages of the Khalchayan monument.

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