



ORIENTAL NUMISMATIC SOCIETY

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Annual Subscription:
£15, H.Fl. 45, FF 150, \$30.

NEWSLETTER

No. 162

Winter 2000

ONS News

ONS Website

A reminder that the ONS Website can be found at
<http://www.onsnumis.org>

The site contains a full index of newsletter contents which members may find useful.

From the Editor

Published with this newsletter is a supplement comprising a paper by Dr Luke Treadwell entitled "The chronology of the pre-reform copper coinage of early Islamic Syria".

Annual General Meeting

This year's Annual General Meeting will take place on Saturday 3 June 2000 at the Cumberland Hotel, Marble Arch, London in a room adjacent to the Cumberland Coin Fair being held on that day. The business of the meeting will be:

- To receive the Council's report on the activities of the Society during the previous year;
- To receive and consider the Society's accounts for the previous year;
- To consider and discuss any points raised either in writing to the Secretary, Peter Smith, no later than one month prior to the meeting or by members present on the day.

After the meeting there will be some talks the details of which have yet to be determined. For more information please refer to the ONS website or contact the Secretary at the address above. All members are invited to attend.

Cologne

Nineteen ONS members from Germany, Netherlands and Austria met on Saturday 6 November last in the Römisch-Germanisches Museum, Cologne for a meeting of the Indian coin collector circle.

Mr Bartonischek opened the meeting by handing out a printed version of Dr Pieper's paper given the previous year entitled *Early India from the Indus civilisation to Ashoka*, and gave a brief resume of the circle's history. Jan Lingen, with the help of a slide display, gave a report on his journey to Pakistan. He also showed some of the coins and forgeries depicted in the slides. After lunch, Jan Lingen showed a couple of recently published books about excavations in Sri Lanka, and about Taxila, and Mr Bartonischek did the same for a book about Akbar. Mr Hüther showed an unpublished medal that was probably struck in Madras around 1807 in the style of the pagodas. Jan Lingen led a discussion about coin auctions on the Internet, eg on the eBay site.

The next meeting of the group was fixed for Saturday 4 November 2000, 09.30, in the same location, with a social gathering the previous evening at 18.00 in the Hotel Mondial,

Prost-Stube. For more information please contact Nikolaus Gankse, Kreuzerstraße 2, 50672 Cologne, Germany; fax ++49 221 95 1495 7.

Fifth Arab-Byzantine Forum at ANS

On Saturday, 13 November 1999, specialists in the coinage of the eastern Mediterranean in the seventh century gathered again to discuss the humble little copper coins with images of Byzantine emperors and Greek inscriptions that were issued by the Arabs, or under Arab rule, or imported into Arab Muslim territory, or somehow have some connection with the Arabs or the late Roman Empire. In fact, the most interesting of these coins are often those with the most mysterious origins. The meeting was once again organized by Charles Karukstis, whose help and support are greatly appreciated. The Oriental Numismatic Society is co-sponsor of the meeting.

Nine of the thirteen participants gave papers or informal presentations, and all participated in the lively discussions. The meeting began at 10:00 after coffee, doughnuts, and warm-up conversation. The more formal presentations were:

Cécile Morrisson. *Anomalous Byzantine coins and Arab Byzantine issues in Northern Syrian excavations*
Charles Karukstis. *Meshorer's 'Enigmatic Coin' Revisited*
Henri Pottier. *Heavy anomalous folles in the name of Heraclius issued in Syria during the Persian war (610-630)* (read by Cécile Morrisson)

Peter Lampinen. *Anomalous Arab-Byzantine material in the Caesariyya Museum*

Clive Foss. *Some anomalous Arab-Byzantine coins*
Harry Bone. *On variations in the weight and diameter of the Standing Caliph coppers*

Before lunch, Michael Bates read a series of e-mail communications from Lutz Ilisch of Tübingen University suggesting a classification of Byzantine and Arab-Byzantine issues by physical fabric. Jay Galst showed slides of recent acquisitions and other remarkable coins in his collection, and Emmett McDonald brought some actual three-dimensional examples for display. Dr. Chase Robinson, an Oxford lecturer now at the Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, concluded the meeting with brief remarks from the point of view of a non-numismatist historian. Others present at the meeting were Gordon Frost, Eric Ivison, William J. Leitold, David Olster, and Lawrence Silbert.

London

Seventh Century Syrian Numismatic Round Table

The next study day will be held at the British Museum, Department of Coins and Medals, on Saturday 4 March 2000 from 10.30, with coffee available at 10.00. The programme will be as follows:

Andrew Oddy: *The earliest Arab gold revisited*
 Hugh Kennedy: *Coinage and military salaries in the Umayyad period*
 Luke Treadwell: *Caliph Orans, Standing Caliph: Mihrab and Anazah – the figural coinage of the early Marwanid period*
 Marcus Phillips: *Tabariya and pseudo-Tabariya*
 Julian Raby: *Umayyad coins and glass pilgrim vessels from Jerusalem*
 Venetia Porter: *Early Islamic lead seals in the British Museum*
 Tony Goodwin: *Focus on the mint of Baalbek*
 Charles Karukstis: *A note on Heraclius' Cypriote mint and its imitations.*

The day is scheduled to finish around 16.30, with a break for lunch around 13.00. There will be an administrative charge of £2. For more information please contact Tony Goodwin, tel: ++44 1273 493611; e-mail agoodwin@mcmail.com

Joe Cribb will be giving a talk at the Royal Numismatic Society on 21 March 2000 entitled *Gold coinage in pre-Islamic Bengal – rewriting history*. The meeting starts at 17.30 at the Society of Antiquaries, Burlington House, Piccadilly, London WC1.

Other London dates for your diary are:

- **Saturday 25 March** a general member's meeting at the Coin and Medal Department, British Museum, commencing 11.00
 - **Saturday 7 October** a general member's meeting, same venue, commencing 11.00
- And an Indian Coin Study Day early December, topic and date yet to be fixed. Additional details will be posted to the ONS website in due course.

Other News

The American Numismatic Society in Crisis

By Stuart D. Sears

The American Numismatic Society has undertaken draconian cutbacks in recent months and committed itself to an expensive move to downtown Manhattan in an effort to re-invent itself as a public museum of money. These actions have come as a shock to many ANS members who have supported the institution for many years but only learned in the last few months of the very serious financial problems facing it and the philosophical revision of its mission. Members are confused and angry as they question the judgment and, in some matters, the competence of its counselors.

The cutbacks, decided last November by ANS president Donald Partrick and executive director Ute Wartenberg, have dramatically re-structured the Society. The cuts eliminated the position of editor Marie H. Martin and reduced the number of security guards. The Society's five curators were offered "buy-out" retirement packages. At the time of writing, Carmen F. Arnold-Biuchi, the Margaret Thompson Curator of Greek Coins; William E. Metcalf, Chief Curator and Curator of Roman and Byzantine Coins; and Alan M. Stahl, Curator of Medieval Coins and Medals have resigned. John M. Kleeberg, Curator of Modern Coins and Currency and Michael L. Bates, Curator of Islamic coins, so far remain. The position of

Assistant Director, moreover, had already been eliminated earlier this year as Wartenberg succeeded long-time director Leslie A. Elam after his retirement. The Society, in addition, is now closed at week-ends.

Behind these cuts lay daunting financial problems. In a budget of two million dollars, a deficit of nine-hundred thousand was predicted for the coming year. The Society's endowment stands at only 12 million dollars. The cutbacks will reduce the deficit to perhaps five-hundred thousand dollars. At a time when the Society is planning a very expensive move to a location in downtown Manhattan, some would argue that the cuts were regrettable but necessary.

Partrick and Wartenberg claimed in separate statements that they simply acted according to the wishes of the Society's Council. The Council voted unanimously in its October meeting to reduce the Society's operating costs for the coming year, including reductions in its staff, but left the details to the President and the Executive Director to determine. Only two members of the approximately 17 member Council have offered any further information. Their statements point in very different directions.

Council member Jere Bacharach, Director of the Henry M. Jackson School of International Studies at the University of Washington, said that the Council had long ago begun to envision a different kind of Society. The Society has faced chronic financial problems since as long ago as 1976.

The Council thus decided in 1993 that it would cease to exist in the not-so-distant future if it could not appeal to a larger audience and attract new funding. The Society needed to become a museum devoted to the general public rather than the specialized public of collectors and scholars. Moving to a new site with greater space and public access than the Society's current location at Audubon Place in upper Manhattan was deemed essential. With this in mind, Council members explored establishing links with other institutions such as the New York Historical Society in New York and the Franklin Institute in Philadelphia. In 1998, the Council decided to purchase and renovate a former bank building at 140 Williams St. in downtown Manhattan. Financial pressures mounted, however, forcing difficult and immediate choices. The Council decided that curators were more easily replaced than rare coins and books and, thus, chose to protect the Society's collections and library, and to cut many of its curators. The lay-off of curators was unfortunate. The New Society, in any case, would need a different kind of curator, one whose primary duties would be to prepare exhibits and educate the general public. They would not have the same academic stature as the then current staff. The Society offered retirement packages to its curators comparable in structure to those offered to faculty staff in a "buy-out" at UCLA some years ago.

Council member Martha L. Carter remembers the sequence of events differently. She chastised the Society for its extremely ineffective efforts in recent years at financial development. "Some of this," she claimed, "may not have been entirely accidental. By 'downsizing' the ANS due to purported fiscal necessity, it would be possible to rebuild it in a different mould." She claims, moreover, that only a very few Council members were fully informed in advance of what the cuts were all about. The only discussion she knew of was in a conference call some weeks before the Council's October meeting between Dr. Wartenberg, then Council president Arthur Houghton, then president-elect Partrick and her, chair of the Personnel Committee. In the conversation, she received a verbal outline for drastic reductions in personnel at the new address. She opposed it and, when it failed to surface at the October meeting, assumed that it had been discarded. She resigned in November when it turned out otherwise.

Some inkling of the shape of the new Society may be gleaned from recent statements of Partrick, Wartenberg and Bacharach, though none of these changes were ever discussed with the membership openly. The professional staff will be reduced to two curators who would oversee the collections, plus the executive director to assist where appropriate. In addition,

they should organize public exhibitions and give public lectures more frequently than they do currently. Some editing would be outsourced as would all photography and financial development. A collections manager might be hired to let members view the Society's coins. Scholars might have access to the collections and library, and publish in the Society's journal but the Society itself would no longer be a source of significant expertise.

These changes, however, may bankrupt the Society. The new property cost the Society 7.8 million dollars. Basic renovations will cost another 10 million dollars. Interior design, fixtures, a lecture hall and other necessities are not included but will eventually cost around 5 million dollars. Cost overruns will probably make the price tag much higher. The total may reach 23 to 28 million dollars approximately twice its current endowment. One Council member who supports the move called it "a gamble, albeit a necessary one."

The Society's members have so far vigorously condemned and challenged what they consider the arbitrary and reckless policies and actions of the Council. As Carol Bier, Curator at The Textile Museum, wrote, "Curators are to a museum what a faculty is to the university...the value of coins as historical and cultural documents depends on scholarship." The Society has one of the foremost collections of coins in the world but without curators, the public has little basis of appreciating them. Scholars have little reason to maintain their association. No one knows how many e-mails and letters reached the Society during the first month or so. The decision by Partrick and Wartenberg to respond to these complaints via a website, however, suggests that they were numerous.

Some members have taken steps to coordinate opposition to the Council. Among other efforts, Fellow Jane D. Evans of Temple University, a Graduate Seminar alumna, has created a listserve for those wishing to sign up (ansalumni@listserv.temple.edu) to keep people informed of what is going on. Fellow James H. Schwartz of Columbia University organized a petition asking the Council to place a one-year moratorium on the cuts and the move downtown. Approximately 90 of the 193 Society Fellows gave him their support in the span of only a few weeks at the end of December and the beginning of January. Many Associate members also sent him their approval. When Partrick and Wartenberg rejected member demands at a special meeting convened on January 15th, Schwartz submitted his proxies with a letter to the attorney general of New York State asking for legal action against the Council (Paula Gellman, Esq., Office of the NY State Attorney General, Charities Bureau, 120 Broadway, New York, NY 10271-0332 USA). The Council will have its first meeting in March since the crisis began. Letters to the Society (The American Numismatic Society, Broadway at 155th St., New York, NY 10032 USA) and the possibility of legal action may convince Council members to postpone the imminent move and begin a long overdue dialogue with its members.

Many members, in addition, have demonstrated their concern and commitment by giving to restricted endowments. These endowments require the Society to spend on curators - not a new building. One immediate effect of the letters and e-mails to the Society in November and December was the creation of the current campaign for a position in Islamic Numismatics. The Islamic collection at the Society is especially strong. Its reputation depends to a large extent on the scholarship of Dr. Michael L. Bates and his illustrious predecessor George C. Miles. Each of these curators have played a critical role in the development of historians, art historians and archaeologists in North America through their participation in the Graduate Summer Seminar, and have generously shared their expertise with numismatists all over the world through lectures, articles, correspondence and consultations.

The campaign for the Curatorial Chair in Islamic Numismatics has taken the Council by surprise. After only two months, the campaign has reached approximately \$87,000. The

goal is 2 million dollars. The campaign has two funds. The first, Fund A, is for current general expenditures in Islamic Numismatics. This allows the current curator, Michael L. Bates, to continue serving the Society. The second fund, Fund B, intends to build an endowment. Cheques sent to the Society should specify to which fund they should be credited. In spite of all the missteps taken by the Council over the past decade, this is an important opportunity for numismatists everywhere to guarantee the highest level of expertise in Islamic numismatics for decades to come. And when contributors send their contributions, they should let the Society know what they think about the changes taking place.

Auction News

Sotheby's has recently launched its Internet site www.sothebys.amazon.com in collaboration with Amazon.com. The site will focus on coins, stamps, sports and Hollywood memorabilia and other collectibles, as well as general art, antiques, books and jewelry. Each lot will be authenticated and guaranteed by experts, fully described and accompanied by colour illustrations. Estimated prices are given. Lots are offered over a stated time period and the system is programmed to award the lots at one bid over whatever else may have been left on the lot by other bidders. Information is also given relating to the anticipated shipping costs for each lot, both within the UK and abroad. Each lot is subject to a 10% buyer's premium. For more information please contact Tom Eden, Coin and Medal Department, Sotheby's, 334-35 New Bond Street, London W1A 2AA; tel ++44 20 7293 5000; fax ++44 20 7293 5989.

NEW YORK - Islamic coins, notably Umayyad Dirhams, saw strong prices in Dmitry Markov Coins & Medals' Mail-Bid Auction # 7. The sale, which numbered over 800 lots (ancient, Islamic, European and Russian coinage), ended Sept. 29-30, 1999, and realised a total of \$525,373. The total estimate was \$496,575.

At over 100 lots, Islamic coins made up one-eighth of the sale. "It was a solid section of very good collector material," said Markov, "and I was especially pleased with the results. It mirrors the rising level of interest in the coinage of the Islamic world."

It also proved a positive barometer that the trend of strong prices and high interest for rare early Islamic material continues. Most indicative of this in the sale was an important collection of Umayyad Dirhams, with most coins selling at or over estimate. Heated activity was evident both from collectors in the Middle East and the Gulf region and more locally. For example: An extremely rare Bahrusir mint Dirham of Hijra 97 in EF (lot 301) sold for \$8,500 (\$1,000 over estimate). A Maysan mint Dirham, AH 96 (lot 294) in Choice VF fetched \$2,450, a little over 20 percent above estimate. An al-Andalus mint Dirham, AH 111 extra circle variety (lot 307), unlisted in Walker, in About EF, realized \$1,800, nearly double its estimate. And a Bihqubadh al-Asfal mint Dirham of Hijra 90 in EF (lot 283) sold for \$6,600, 10 percent over estimate.

Coins of other Islamic dynasties in gold, silver, and copper, both the rare and more common material, also performed well. Although hammer-pricewise, Umayyad coins still largely reign supreme. The highlight of the 'Abbasid lots was a Dirham of Ramhormuz, AH 135, an apparently unpublished piece. Tiesenhausen and, more recently, Album both record AH 134 as the only year of 'Abbasid issuance for this mint. Grading Choice EF, the coin bought \$700, slightly under estimate.

Naming the engraver in tiny letters (a rare occurrence in Islamic coinage), a Great Seljuq Dinar of Shiraz AH 484 citing the Governor Khutlugh Beg sold for \$725, nearly double estimate. While an anonymous Dinar of Sabzewar issued by Berke during the Mongol civil war realized its estimate of \$500. Unlike the Semerech'e (Jety-Su) hoard specimens, this coin clearly shows its mint, and was issued during a Kipchak

incursion into Ilkhan territory.

For more information, visit the Dmitry Markov website: www.russian-coins.net; or contact: Dmitry Markov Coins & Medals, P.O. Box 950, New York, NY 10272; tel. 718-332-4248, fax: 718-332-8676, e-mail: markov@banet.net

New and Recent Publications

- Biswas, Arun Kumar and Biswas, Sulekha: *Minerals and Metals in Ancient India*, two volumes, 850 pp, 60 coloured photographs, maps etc, ISBN 81-246-0048-1, published by D.K.Printworld (P) Ltd, "Sri Kunj", F-52 Bali Nagar, New Delhi - 110 015, India, tel: ++91 11 546 6019; fax ++91 11 546 5926; e-mail dkprint@4mis.com "This publication tells the story of minerals and metals in ancient India, surveying the entire sprawl of the old-world India. Volume 1 unravels the mysteries of 'archaeomaterials' - with scientific enquiry into production modes and use of minerals, and kindred artefacts. Volume 2 studies the indigenous literary sources - chronologically marshalling over 3000 years of Sanskrit writings".
- Jain, Rekha: *Ancient Indian Coinage: a systematic study of money economy from janapada period to the early medieval period (600 BC to AD 1200)*. 247 pp, 50 figures of coins, map etc, ISBN 81-246 0051-1 (hard-back) US\$ 23.30; ISBN 81-246-0052-X (paper back) US\$ 11.70, from the same publishers as above. "This book investigates the evolution of ancient India's money economy in terms of its 'coinage' through six successive periods - from the Janapadas to the pre-medieval - which span nearly two millennia. The author has considered a whole variety of coins to try to establish linkages between ancient coins and their references in Vedic / Buddhist / Jaina texts etc."
- Reissued by the same publishers is John Garrett's *A Classical Dictionary of India*, 717 pp, ISBN 81-246-0128-3 (US\$ 23.30). "With its lucidly written accounts of varying lengths, the dictionary attempts to unfold all that anyone would want to know about Vedic/post-Vedic/classical India: its religions, mythology, pantheonic/ legendary personages, schools of philosophy, sacred and secular texts, arts, antiquities, sciences, geography, rituals, customs etc. ; and these, besides English equivalents, contain definitions of myriad Indic, largely Sanskrit, terms."
- Scott Semans reports that Krause Publications is about to release *Chinese Cash: Identification and Price Guide* by David Jen. It is a type catalogue with rubbing illustrations, cross-references to Schjoth and Fisher's *Ding*, and prices in two grades. Most importantly, there is a great deal of text: historical information, rarity notes, collector tips. He has not seen enough of the book yet to be certain that it is a complete replacement for FD, but he believes that Schjoth is now obsolete. At 352 pages 8-1/2 x 11" it is a large book (soft cover only). List price is \$42.95. Scott gets his direct from the printer and will ship immediately (1/00). VISA/MC accepted. All prices POSTPAID.USA \$37.50 CANADA \$40.00 WORLD \$41.50 Book Rate / Surface. Free shipping on other titles shipped same time.
- Orlando Tsai: *An Illustration of Chinese Ancient Coins* Expanded 2nd ed of 1973 work: cat. numbers, rubbings, prices, some English, 1999, hc, 610p. \$33.50
- John Kallman: *Military Tokens and Chits of China, Korea and Taiwan*. Paper, metal & plastic monies of U.S. bases 182p, spiral, 1999 \$21.00
- Scott Semans has a new address: PO. Box 2347 Issaquah, WA 98027-1016 Tel: ++1 425-369-1725; FAX ++1 425-369-1726
- Ali Rajabli: *Numizmatika Azerbaijan* (Numismatics of Azerbaijan) in Russian, Baku, Publishing House "Elm ve Hayat", 1997, 232 p. Photos.
- Glen Shake (PO Box 75013, Allen, TX 75002-0560; e-mail ipp@ticnet.com): *Coins of the Khazar Empire*. The author comments: "This book answers scepticism that the empire did not exist. Using coins, numismatic books and papers by numismatic researchers and orientalists, the author provides the locations and types of coins minted by the Khazars that are in major museums and collections in Europe. The book uses information from the Royal Coin Cabinet Collection in Stockholm, Sweden. It also uses a photo of a Khazar type coin from Tübingen University and lists coins in the extensive Viking Collection that are catalogued as coins of the Khazars. Gert Rispling of Sweden provided a die-chain analysis technique he developed for identifying Islamic imitations struck by the Khazars and Volga Bulgars while Steve Album also provided valuable assistance.. It will be the first book that focuses on the Subject of Khazar coins to be published in the Western World. The book will be shipped by Feb 15th. Price is \$15 US plus shipping. Payment via International money order. Price for ONS readers \$12 plus shipping. Standard discount to booksellers.
- The Chinese University Press was established in 1977 as the publishing house of the Chinese University of Hong Kong. It publishes more than 40 new books a year ranging from Chinese literature, art, history, philosophy, archaeology, to sociology, economics, law, management and the sciences. It also publishes multi-media publications. The Press has recently issued its year 2000 *Catalogue for new and forthcoming academic titles*. For further information about this or the 800 titles already published please contact The Chinese University Press, The Chinese University of Hong Kong, Sha Tin, New Territories, Hong Kong. Tel ++852 2609-6508; fax ++852 2603-7355; e-mail cup@cuhk.edu.hk ; web site: www.cuhk.edu.hk/cupress
- *Coin Finds in Armenia*. The first volume on coin finds in Armenia (antiquity) was published in January 2000 and included Greek, Roman, Parthian, early Sasanian and similar coins. The second volume is now in print. The volume comprises two parts: one deals with coins finds (Greek, Roman, Parthian, Armenian, Sasanian, Byzantine, Islamic, mainly 4th-13th century AD) from the mediaeval capital of Armenia, Duin. The other part contains an inventory of Sasanian and Byzantine coins found in Armenia (hoards and single finds). This volume will be available in April this year and can be ordered from <http://www.cultura-net.com/moneta> Information received from Georges Depeyrot, Centre de recherches historiques, 54 Boulevard Raspail, 75006 Paris, France. E-mail: Depeyrot@ehess.fr

Lists Received

1. Stephen Album (PO Box 7386, Santa Rosa, Calif. 95407, USA; tel ++1 707-539-2120; fax ++1 707-539-3348; e-mail album@sonic.net) list number 156 (September 1999) and 157 (January 2000)
2. Persic Gallery (PO Box 10317, Torrance, CA 90505, USA; tel ++1 310 326 8866; fax ++1 310 326 5618; e-mail persic@msn.com) list 48 (September 1999) of Islamic, Central Asian and Indian coinage.
3. Scott Cordry (PO Box 9828, San Diego, CA 92169, USA; tel ++1 619 272 9440; fax ++1 619 272 9441) list 115 (December 1999).
4. Scott Semans (PO Box 22849, Seattle, WA 98122, USA; tel ++1 206 322 4180; fax ++1 206 322 9126; e-mail Ssemans@aol.com) list 61 of coins of the world.
5. Randy Weir Numismatics Ltd. (PO Box 64577, Unionville, Ontario, Canada L3R 0M9; tel ++1 905 830 1588; fax ++1 905 830 1129) October 1999 price list of coins of the world, including oriental.
6. Galerie Antiker Kunst (N & Dr S Simonian GmbH, Oberstrasse 110, D-20149 Hamburg, Germany; tel: ++ 49 40 455060; fax ++49 40 448244) list of Islamic and oriental coins, December 1999
7. Poinson Numismatique I4, rue des Francs Bourgeois, 67000 Strasbourg, France; tel ++33 3 88 321050; fax ++33 3 88 750114) fixed price list 44 (October 1999).
8. Jean Elsen (Tervurenlaan 65, B-1040 Brussel, Belgium; Tel ++32 2 734 6356; fax ++32 2 735 7778; e-mail numismatique@elsen.be ; website www.elsen.be) list 207, Jan-Feb 2000, includes various oriental coins and is prefaced by the first part of a report in French by Guy Graff on a hoard of post-Mauryan, Indo-Greek, Indo-Scythian, Indo-Parthian and mainly Kushan coins issued in the Indo-Afghan area between 185-350 AD.

Reviews

The Price Guide to Coins of Kutch State

92 pages, soft cover

Author: Rohit Damji Shah

Publishers: Reesha Books International, P O Box 700370, San Jose, CA 95170-0370, USA

Distributors in India: Damji R. Shah, A-22 Tarabaug Estate, Charni Road, Mumbai 400 004

Price: INR 250; US\$ 10

Reviewed by Shailendra Bhandare

Amongst the Coinages of Indian Princely States, the coins of Kutch stand out because of certain qualities. Unlike the coins of most of the States, the Kutch issues are more 'streamlined' in a Numismatic sense. The state had one of the longest survived coinages having a distinct identity from the early 16th century extending down to its accession to the Indian dominion in 1948. The other characteristic that adds to the collectibility of Kutch coins is their metrological and denominational structure. It affords easy means to classify the coins and facilitates an organized approach to collecting them. This denominational structure is unique to the Gujarat region. It is essentially bimetallic with the copper coins based on the multiples and divisions of a 'Dokdo' (plural 'Dokda' or 'Dokdas') and silver 'Kori'. 24 Dokdas went for a Kori. Half a Dokdo was called a 'Trambiyo' and 1½ Dokdas a 'Dhinglo'. The largest silver denomination in modern times was a 'Panchio' equivalent to five Koris.

In the past the coins of Kutch have been extensively studied. The last comprehensive monograph to appear on the theme was "Das Geld von Kutch" by Norbert Bartonischek, which rather unfortunately, is in German, depriving the general Indian collectors of the wealth of information that it has in store. To the Indian collectors Richard Bright's "Coinage of Kutch" (1975) still remains to be a source book

despite its inadequacies. The "(Standard Reference Guide to) South Asian Coins and Paper Money" by Krause-Mishler Publications that revolutionized the collecting scene in India gives a fair listing of Kutch coins. But new discoveries made in aftermath of the publication of 'South Asian Coins...' make it imperative that Kutch listings should be revised and reclassified. This is especially true for the early coins of Kutch, those struck before the State came under British subordination.

Rohit Shah, the son of well-known Mumbai-based coin dealer Damji Shah, has accomplished the task to a laudable extent. He has endeavoured to author the small book under review that has immense potential from the viewpoint of a collector. The appreciable features of the book include its manageable size (a distinct advantage over Bartonischek) and a user-friendly layout. Coins are listed as per, the denomination, dates, rarity (indicated by a code), Notes (remarks) and the Price. A 'Check-box' has also been provided against each entry so that a collector may use the listings as personal checklists. A unique serial number accompanies each entry, and a coin in each type is illustrated in black and white.

The book opens with a preface that explains the *raison d'être* for its publication in modest and unpretentious words. The preface clearly denotes that the aim of the publication is 'to accurately present the scarcity information for Kutch coins with realistic Market prices'. To accomplish these tasks, Rohit Shah follows a philosophy that has been explained in a note entitled 'Valuation'. This section acquaints the reader with hazards involved in pricing of Indian coins especially in a 'thin market' as that for Kutch issues. It goes on to explain the basis on which the task has been undertaken. However, Rohit Shah's main contribution lies in the scheme that he follows to present the 'scarcity information' in a systematic form - by treating it in form of 'Rarity codes'. Although the codes for rarity such as 'Scarce' and 'Rare' (in three degrees - R, RR and RRR; exceptionally rare coins have been categorized with the code XR) have been employed with the usual qualitative approach, there is innovation in creating a category for 'Collector's Fancy'. This remark annotates coins with die varieties such as date errors and strike errors which according to the author, are priced depending on an 'individual collector's obsession'. What is meant is the importance in varying degrees that an individual collector may attach to these anomalies. As a result there are no indications given in the column, denoting price for coins with this remark. Although advantages of such a system may be debated upon it certainly tries to ward the ordinary collector away from racketeering of price, which usually happens in case of such anomalies, by keeping the expert opinion ambiguous. Similar to these coins, those that are exceptionally rare also have no price indications given, simply because of the fact that their rarity precludes them from labeling with any price as such. Coins in this category are mainly 'Museum pieces' that are known in very scant numbers, such as the famous portrait issues of Khengarji III. The second innovation Rohit Shah has adopted is to create a category called 'better than common'. This includes coins that have dates that are sought after by type collectors. He doesn't however explain the reasons that make these dates desirable. But he makes the underlying principle in his evaluations in this case very clear by stating that he attributes a greater importance to a rare type from the valuation point of view, than to a rare date, 'unless it has historic significance'. It would have been worthwhile to know which are the dates that become desirable for a collector and under what historical significance, by adding a small note in the respective column. Other desirable elements that should have been included in book are a transliteration table for the Persian legends and a brief note on the prototypes of Kutch coins, the coin types of the Gujarat Sultans from which they are derived.

The prices given seem to be realistic, true to the aims stated in the preface. They would serve as a good basic reference for both buying and selling. They have mainly been

culled out of research and market surveys based on information from various dealers. Therefore, even though the prices are quoted as 'guidelines', there is a sense of accountability in them.

The listings as per individual rulers follow the section entitled 'Valuation'. In each case a portrait of the monarch has been shown adding to the visual qualities. The images of the coins are of a much better quality than that one is accustomed to see in Indian publications. Minor classification parameters such as execution of certain letters, positioning of legends and occurrence of differentiating marks have been delineated either in the 'Notes' column or by arrows accompanying the illustrations. This proves helpful for the collectors who are not familiar with these details, especially the scripts. A very important aspect of the listings is that they make the collector aware of an impending danger – modern forgeries. This is accomplished by putting a remark in the 'Notes' column as 'forgeries exist'. In the recent past it has been noticed in the Indian market that there is a growing trend in producing forgeries. Even more alarming is the fact that the forgers are intelligent enough to create fantasies. As regards the Kutch issues, modern forgeries are largely confined to the rare machine-struck issues of the state and include the gold issues of Pragmalji II, and the silver and gold issues of Vijayarajji and his successor Madansinghji. Sporadic instances of alterations to dates and restrikes of the rarer varieties are also known. Although the issues of the latter rulers are appropriately remarked, there are no annotations accompanying Pragmalji II's issues.

After the listings certain useful appendices have been incorporated. These include a table on the metrology and denominational structure of the Kutch coins with notes on nomenclature, a Vikram Samvat - AD dates cross-reference and most curiously, an appendix with graphs demonstrating the increase in prices of selected Kutch coins (in India) over the past twenty years. This is based on the values at which the coins were sold twenty years back and those existing today – but any intermediary market trends have been ignored. While the first two appendices are indispensable for any collector of Kutch coins, the third, with the percentage increase figures boldly displayed against each category, is obviously a marketing gimmick. It could have been either done away with, or presented after a more scientific and systematic analysis of the market prices and trends prevalent in the past twenty or so years.

As far as reporting new and important varieties and types is concerned, Rohit does a remarkable job. The first listing comprises the anonymous issues, with the title 'Shri Jam' or 'Shri Jamji' and legends derived from the coins of Mahmud bin Latif, attributed to Khengarji-I. These are less known as such and it would have been beneficial to state briefly the reason for their attribution. The attribution is based on the historical observation that a scion of the Jadeja Rajput family ruling in Sindh with the title 'Jam' established himself in Kutch and sought ratification from Sultan Mahmud bin Latif of Gujarat. A second scion of the same family later settled in Kathiawad and sought a similar ratification from Sultan Muzaffar. While the first scion went on to found the Jadeja dynasty of Kutch, the second is credited with founding the lineage of Jamnagar (Nawanagar) state. Mahmud bin Latif's ratification of the Kutch family is the reason why the early coins with the title 'Jam' should be attributed to Kutch, while issues with the same title but in the name of Muzaffar are attributed to Nawanagar.

Other new and important coins include the hitherto unknown Kori of Bharmalji I (1586-1632 AD) in the name of Mahmud bin Latif and a complete range of issues, from Trambiyo (1/2 Dokdo) to a Kori, of the same ruler in the name of Jahangir. On pages 41-42, one can find interesting varieties of Koris of Desalji II (1819-1861 AD), most of which have not been distinguished as such before. Amongst modern coins of Kutch, a half Kori of Pragmalji II (1861-1875) with his title 'Bahadur' in the center and the unique Mohur and half Mohur of Khengarji III (1876-1942) deserve a special mention. Other

previously published, nevertheless interesting, rarities that have featured in the listings are the Kori of Lakhpatji (1752-1761) with the couplet of Ahmed Shah Durrani on reverse and the rare silver issues of the penultimate ruler Vijayarajji (1942-1948).

In general, the book provides a very good outline of the Kutch coinage. It is apparent that Rohit Shah sees collectors as his target audience. It can be said without hesitation that they will indeed find the book to be a handy source of reference and useful as a checklist. However those who want to know more about Kutch and its coinage will have to turn to a more comprehensive monograph as that of Bartonitschek¹. But the merit of the book lies in the fact that it has paved a new way in Indian Numismatic publications by being an almanac on a very interesting coinage and a subject otherwise neglected. It is expected that this trend will pick up and more books in such a collector-friendly form will be published on other coinages and themes in Indian Numismatics. Rohit Shah deserves to be congratulated on his maiden effort.

1. Bartonitschek, Norbert: *Das Geld von Kutch*, 1995, published by the author, Stolberg, Germany

RUHUNA, An Ancient Civilisation Re-Visited. Numismatic and Archaeological evidence in Inland and Maritime Trade, by Osmund Bopearachchi & Rajah M. Wickremesinhe. Colombo, 1999. 145 p.; 43 plates; 30 cm. ISBN 955-96816-0-5. Price: US\$ 75,=. Postage & packing to Europe (air mail) US\$ 6,= and North America US\$ 8,=.

Available from: Lake House Book Shop, 100 Sri Chittampalam A. Gardener Mawatha, Colombo 2, Sri Lanka. E-mail: bookshop@sri.lanka.net

The present book is in the tradition of two earlier publications of Osmund Bopearachchi as co-author, viz.: Pre-Kushana Coins in Pakistan with Aman ur Rahman (1995) and Ancient Indian Coins with Wilfried Pieper (1998). The present publication is based on coins, seals, sealings, moulds, intaglios and other antiquities from the collection of Rajah M. Wickremesinhe. The importance of the publication lies in the fact that all the published artefacts come from the area of Tissamaharama of ancient Ruhuna on the south-eastern part of the island. This, together with the results from the scientific, archaeological excavations carried out by the French Mission of Archaeological Co-operation in Sri Lanka makes this publication of foremost importance. Nowadays the main reason for visitors to come to Tissamaharama is the Yala West National Park, but the antiquity of the place goes back to the 3rd century BC.

The fact that the artefacts from this area were collected systematically and over a long period makes this collection very important, particular the coins of a lead alloy, with an early Brahmi inscription, and which are brought to light in this publication for the first time. On the basis of the palaeography, these early inscribed coins may be attributed to the 2nd century BC. No such inscribed coins were known or published from the island, nor from the Indian sub-continent. These coins bear legends of personal names in the Sinhala-Prakrit language written in early Brahmi.

On a visit to the Island during the winter-season of 1994/95, I obtained a similar coin in Colombo. It took me some years to get the inscription translated and with the help of Chandrika N. Jayasinghe (Dep. of Archaeology, Colombo), Osmund Bopearachchi, F.R. Allchin (Emeritus Reader in Indian Studies University of Cambridge) and particular Prof. Harry Falk (Institut für Indische Philologie und Kunstgeschichte, Berlin), I finally succeeded in getting the inscription deciphered. As it is a variety not published in the present publication I have illustrated it below.



Legend: Gahapati-Utara-puta-Tisha
Translation: of Tissa son of Gahapati (householder) Utara.
Weight: 3,65 gm.

During the same winter-season of 1994/95 I also went to India to attend the 4th International Colloquium at the Indian Institute for Research in Numismatic Studies at Nashik. On my way to Nashik I visited Goa and from a dealer in Mapusa I obtained an old inscribed coin which now has also turned out to be from Huruna. The coin is cast from the same mould as the coin published and illustrated by the authors as E 12. Moreover it is, as far as I know, the first of its kind found in a non-Ceylonese context. As the present coin is slightly better preserved than the one published I take the opportunity to illustrate the piece here too. Again Prof. Harry Falk was kind enough to get the inscription read for this piece too.



Legend: Gaha[pa]ti-Guta-puta-Gutaha, with Shanka (?) and trisul in the centre.

Translation: of Gutta (skt. Gupta), son of the Gahapati (householder) Gutta.

Weight: 5,27 gm.

Besides the "A - inscribed coins", the following subjects are covered in the book:

- B-Inscribed coin mould
- C-Inscribed seals
- D-Inscribed sealings
- E-Uncertain inscribed coins
- F-Uninscribed coins
- G-Coins of foreign origin
- H-Local coins
- I-Money boxes and coin hoards
- J-Seals
- K-Sealings
- L-Moulds
- M-Lead objects
- N-Miscellaneous objects
- O-Intaglios
- P-Beads

A seven-page conclusion finalises the text, followed by a catalogue of hundreds of objects, most of which have never been published before. As the photographs are sometimes missing sufficient detail, most of the objects are catalogued by excellent eye-copy drawings prepared by Wielfried Pieper. The book is completed by a table of Brahmi Script in Ceylon used from 3rd century BC to 1st century AD, an extensive bibliography, as well as a few maps.

It hardly needs me to say that the book is an important publication written by the foremost authority in this field, Prof. Osmund Boppearachchi, director French Mission of Archaeological Co-operation in Sri Lanka, Professor habilité, University of Paris IV-Sorbonne and Senior Researcher of the French National Centre for Scientific Research. The book provides the state of the art of what is presently known on the early coinage of Sri Lanka as well as on other subjects, which is largely missing in the well-known book of W.H. Codrington, *Ceylon Coins and Currency* (Colombo, 1924). Since the publication of Codrington's book an extensive amount of archaeological and numismatic research has been undertaken much of which has not so far been properly and scientifically published. This publication fills, to some

extent, this gap and ought, in my opinion, to be on the shelves of everyone who, either professionally or privately, is interested in the archaeological and numismatic history of South-Asia.

Jan Lingen.

THE MEXICAN PIECES OF EIGHT REALES and their domination in South East Asia; an historic survey of more than three centuries of a trading coin, by J. Busschers, Driebergen (Netherlands)1999, 155 pages, A4. Spiral bound (ISBN 90-805431-1-X) price NLG 38.= + H&P; hard bound (ISBN 90-805431-2-8) NLG 75.= + H&P.

H&P: Netherlands NLG 7.=; Europe NLG 11.=; world wide NLG 19.=.

Available from: Mr. J. Busschers, Park Sparrendaal 144, 3971 SW Driebergen, Netherlands.

E-mail: jbussche@wxs.nl

The Spanish-American eight real represents, no-doubt, the most widely used international trade coin. The denomination of the real finds its origin in Europe, but with the discovery by the middle of the 16th century of the rich silver deposits in Mexico and somewhat later in Potosi, in present Bolivia, the international flow of precious metals changed entirely.

At the same time, considerable silver deposits were also found in Central Europe, which led to the introduction of the taler, a silver coin of almost equal value to the Spanish eight real piece.

The hegemony of the gold currency for payment of large trade transactions of capital goods was soon overtaken by silver currency of equivalent value to the former gold currency. By the end of the 16th century large silver coins of approximately 27 to 30 grams largely took over the role of gold.

The present publication provides a most interesting survey of the history of the eight real pieces, their minting in Spanish America and the coin's dominant role in South East Asian trade. Economic and nautical aspects are discussed as well as events in Europe that influenced those developments.

An attempt has also been made to obtain an impression of the volume of reals despatched to South East Asia. The survey has been compiled using presently available printed information from all kinds of sources. As a rule, these sources of information are often restricted to a particular area, period or subject. Moreover the information derived from the various sources is sometimes also conflicting. The author of the present publication has tried to define how the various elements inter-relate, and to compile an overview of the global history of the most important trade coin, which in due course became known as the Spanish dollar.

Particularly for trade purposes, this denomination was also adopted by many other nations, including the United States of America, and as such its legacy continues.

The book covers the period from the 16th to the 20th century and starts with an overview of the relevant data for Europe, America and Asia. The textual part of it is divided into chapters for each successive centuries, viz. 16th, 17th, 18th, 19th and 20th century. An appendix and bibliography completes the textual part. The publication is illustrated throughout with excellent photographs and various diagrams and a number of tables. A supplement of 42 fine plates of photographs of about 90 coins completes the book. The photographs have been arranged in chronological order, and are accompanied by brief descriptive texts. In order to facilitate detailed reproduction, and to show the beauty of the coins, they have been enlarged 1.75 times the actual size.

It is, as far I know, the first time that an integral publication has appeared of the world's most important trade coin. The prime importance of this trade coin in Asia and the many Asian derivations of this denomination will make this publication of interest to many.

Jan Lingen.

A DIE FOR IMITATION OF UMAYYAD DINARS FOUND IN INDIA

By Shailendra Bhandare and Stefan Heidemann

Finds of Islamic coin dies are noteworthy and Bacharach and Awad analysed in 1973 all material known to them¹. Lately an article by K. Khromov in ONS newsletter no. 157, reported a die that seems to have been employed for striking crude imitations of 'Abbasid Dirhams and which was found in the Caucasus area. It is even more interesting to note a find that is distant from the Islamic heartland.

The die being reported hereunder existed in the collection of P. G. Bhargave, a coin collector from Nasik, India². He procured it as a surface find in the ancient village of Prakashe, district Dhule, Maharashtra State. The village is located about 450 km northeastward of Bombay and is situated on the banks of the river Tapi. Remains of archaeological interest lay strewn all over the village and the mounds adjoining the river deserve urgent archaeological attention., apart from preliminary explorations, however, no attempts at an extensive excavation have been made. The explorations have indicated that the antiquity of Prakashe stretches back to the Chalcolithic period (c. 800 BC) and the village survived as a prosperous township until c. AD 1500. The location of Prakashe on the river gives it direct estuarine access to the Arabian Sea. In fact the port of Surat is located at the mouth of the same river that flows past Prakashe. It is believed that Prakashe lay on the ancient trade route from Bharuch to Paithan, and a pass named 'Kondai Bari' that links the South Gujarat plateau to the highlands of North Maharashtra is located quite close to it. The village therefore had a considerable commercial importance.



The die may be described as follows on the basis of photographs: Brass, height 36 mm; diameter 28 mm; diameter of the engraved coin 19 mm. The edges of the upper side are smoothed. This upper side was obviously not treated with hammer strokes and shows no signs of wear; there are traces of casting still visible. On one of its edges (facets), the die has a neat arabesque design engraved in the metal, which is very unusual for a die in actual use. If it ever served to strike coins, it can be seen as an obverse die, set in an anvil. The arabesque probably served as an alignment tool when the die was set in the anvil. This can be inferred from the position of the inscriptions on the die, which is correctly aligned only when the facet with the arabesque is at 180 degrees.

An Umayyad Dinar served as a model for this die. The inscription may generally be said to have been carefully cut. However, the errors, omissions and misrepresentations that have crept in suggest that the engraver must have been unfamiliar with

Arabic (Kufic) script. The three-lined inscription in the centre is engraved retrograde, as one would expect for a die. However, the marginal inscriptions have been cut in the positive as the engraver saw it on the coin. This is evident from the *dāl*-like characters. The marginal legend is extremely corrupt. Between 2 and 4 o'clock, either '*ashara wa-mi'a*' or '*ishrīna wa-mi'a*' seems to be the model for engraving. In an attempt to ascertain what the model was for the immediately preceding group of corrupt characters between 5 and 4 o'clock, the numbers *ihda*, *arba*, *sab*, and *tis* can be probably excluded because the endings of Arabic characters suggestive of these numbers would have left identifiable traces even in a corrupt rendering. It therefore seems possible that the date of the model would have been one between AH 112 and AH 128, corresponding to AD 730-1 and AD 745-6.

The examination indicates that the die is equipment intended to create imitations. It would be interesting to propose a theory for its encounterance in India. Finds of gold coins of middle-eastern origin are not scarce in India. Mitchiner in his latest monograph on Indian tokens³ lists such finds from numismatic literature as well as their occurrence in the trade. Many of them pertain to the Umayyad dynasty, and most of them are from South India. These coins weighed in the vicinity of 4 g and therefore fitted very well with the currency standards prevalent in South India, which survived on gold pagodas (Hons) weighing 3.8-4.2 g. As such there was no need for their conversion into a local currency and they had no problem in circulating freely. Their appearance was entirely different from the indigenous coins. Perhaps this added to their novelty. Indeed, many coins found today often have two holes pierced into them. This indicates that they were used for jewellery purposes. Apart from their aesthetic utility, the tradition prevented their disappearance into general circulation and the person wearing such jewellery often saw it as a means of saving. The popularity of these coins must have contributed to the practice of them being imitated, and it is very likely that the die described above must have been used for such a purpose.

It would not be inappropriate at this juncture to put down some thoughts about the import of Islamic coins into pre-Islamic India. As stated above the coins did not require a conversion and, as such, must have provided an affordable exchange medium for the Trans-Arabian sea trade. The Arabs established themselves in Sind in the middle of the 8th century under Muḥammad ibn Qāsim. Subsequently, governors representing the Umayyad and later 'Abbasid Caliphs in Baghdād ruled Sind till the 11th century AD. The establishment of an Arab sway in Sind must have had a considerable impact on the trade between the Arabian Sea and entrepôts situated in Gujarat and Konkan on the Western Coast of India. It is interesting to note that the date of the coin that acted as a model for this die is not far removed from the establishment of Arab rule in Sind. It can be therefore envisaged that a steady flow of Middle-eastern gold had begun to flow towards the Western Indian coast in these years. The intended purpose of the die also indicates the level of popularity these arcane coins reached soon after their arrival in India. This is partly because there was a gap in indigenous gold coins in the 8th-9th centuries and the demand for foreign gold must have been high. In the wake of this fact it is possible to believe that the die could also have been intended to produce imitative dinars for currency use., Judging by the logic involved, however, it is more probable for it to be the equipment of a jeweller.

The Arab coins reaching India gradually tended to move southwards, because that was the region where they fitted into the currency system and proved to be a profitable exchange medium. The location of the find-spot of the die, as described earlier, is on the trade route leading from Bharuch on the west coast to the highlands of Maharashtra and thence to the urban centres situated further south in the Deccan.

It is interesting to note in this respect that the traders from the Islamic empire actually established trading colonies or outposts on the Western Coast. Further, evidence points out to their involvement in the feudal hierarchy under the Rashtrakutas in the Deccan. As traders, they were regarded in high esteem by the Indian Monarchs. A few copper plate inscriptions conferring civil and judicial indemnities upon Muslim colonies are known. The earliest of these is the Chinchini Copper plate of Rashtrakuta Indra III, dated *shake* 848 (926 AD)⁴. The exact location of the colony mentioned in the inscription has been a source of some debate. Nevertheless there is general agreement that it was located on the western coast.

The name of the feudal lord in this colony has been mentioned as 'Madhumati', a rather strange Sankritisation of the Arabic name 'Muhammad'. Other names finding mention in these grants include 'Sahariyhar', standing for the Persian name 'Shahryār' and 'Sugatipa', whose linguistic equivalent either in Arabic or Persian can not be ascertained. The origin of all these individuals from the Islamic empire is established by their Sanskrit addressal as 'Tājik', which is derived from the Persian word *tāzī* for an Arab. Although the copper plates postdate the reconstructed date on the die under discussion by a couple of centuries, the establishment of Arab-Persian colonies on the Western Indian coast is of considerable importance to understand the theme of mediaeval trans-Arabian Sea trade in its entirety. Hence the inclusion of this reference.

1. Bacharach, J.L. and Awad, H.E.: "The problem of Obverse and Reverse in Islamic Numismatics", *Numismatic Chronicle* 7th series 13 (1973), pp. 183-191, provides a list of known mediaeval Islamic coins dies.
2. The present whereabouts of the die cannot be ascertained with satisfaction. It was photographed while in the possession of Mr Bhargave. The authors are grateful to Mr Bhargave for allowing the to document the die.
3. Michael Mitchiner: *Indian Tokens: popular Religious & Secular Art from the ancient period to the present day* (Sanderstead 1998), Chapter "Foreign gold coins from Southern India: Roman Byzantine and early Islamic", pp. 35-38.
4. *Epigraphia India*, vol. 32, 1957-58, pp. 45-55.

On the Attribution of the Anonymous Chaghatayid Coins minted in 726-727 AH

by Michael Fedorov

In 726-727 AG (8.12.1325 – 16.11.1327) in the Chaghatayid state, three types of anonymous silver coins were minted which differed from one another by mottoes and *nishans* (special signs).

Type 1. - Dinars

Obverse: within a border of 4 circles (which are, starting from the innermost: 2 solid line, 1 beaded, 1 solid line):

لا عمارة / الا بالعدل

Between lines 1 and 2 can be seen a *nishan* (fig. 1.2)

Reverse: within a border as on the obverse:

سكة بلدة / محفو طة / سمرقند

Underneath is an arabesque (fig 1.8) and above, another arabesque (fig 1.10).

In the middle of the field is the Chaghatayid tamgha (fig. 1.7)

Type 1 - Dirhems

Obverse: لا عمارة / الا بالعدل

Between lines 1 and 2 is a *nishan* (fig. 1.2)

Reverse: سكة / سمرقند / قند / ٧٢٦

In the middle of the field is the Chaghatayid tamgha (fig. 1.7).

Silver dinars of type 1 were minted in Samarqand in 726 AH¹. Silver dirhems of type 1 were also minted in Samarqand. One has the date 726, another 727 AH². But in the second case it is a muling of dies of two years: an obverse of 726 and reverse of 727 AH. It was not uncommon for Chaghatayid mints to use dies of different years for minting a coin. This is a nuisance if one is trying to establish the exact date for the striking of each of the tree types of anonymous coins of 726-727 AH. Below, there is a striking example of a Samarqand dinar which has 727 on the obverse and 726 on the reverse.

Type 2 – Dinars – Variant A

Obverse: within octogram: عمارة الدين / مبنية بالعدل

Between lines 1 and 2 is a *nishan* (fig. 1.2). Above and beneath the motto there is an arabesque (fig. 1.11).

Reverse: within a border of 2 solid-line circles with 1 beaded circle in between:

سكة بلدة / محفو طة / سمرقند / ٧٢٦

In the middle of the field is the Chaghatayid tamgha (fig. 1.7).

The reading of the word of the motto posed difficulties and it has been read in different ways by M. E. Masson in 1959³, and by G.M.Kurpalidis and S.B. Pevzner in 1985⁴. Eventually it was read correctly in 1997 as مبنية by Dr Lutz Ilisch (University of Tübingen), whose assistance I gratefully record here.

Type 2 – Dinars - Variant B

Obverse: within a border of 2 solid-line circles with 1 beaded circle in between:

عمارة الدين / مبنية بالعدل / ٧٢٧

Between lines 1 and 2 is a *nishan* (fig. 1.3). Above the motto is an arabesque (fig. 1.9).

Reverse: within a border as on the obverse:

سكة بلدة / محفو طة / سمرقند

In the middle of the field is the Chaghatayid tamgha. (fig. 1.7). On some coins the date was not put on the reverse, or maybe has not survived; on other coins there is an arabesque instead of the date (fig. 1.8).

There is also an interesting muled dinar⁵ comprising an obverse die of 727 AH type 2 and a reverse die of 726 AH type 2.

Obverse: within a border of 2 solid-line circles with 1 beaded circle in between:

عمارة الدين / مبنية بالعدل / ٧٢٧

Between lines 1 and 2 there is a *nishan* (fig. 1.2). Above the motto is an arabesque (fig. 1.9).

Reverse: within a border as on the obverse:

سكة بلدة / محفو طة / سمرقند / ٧٢٦

In the middle of the field is the Chaghatayid tamgha.
Silver dinars of type 2 were minted in Samarqand in 726 and 727 AH⁶.

Type 3 – Dinars

Obverse: within ornamented or plain sixfoil:

العدل و الملك / توامان
Between lines 1 and 2 is a *nishan* (fig. 1.4, 5, 6). On the coins of Bukhara 727 AH⁷ outside the sixfoil is the date-formula:

[في؟] / سنة / سبع / و عشر / ين / و / سبعمان
On the coins of Bukhara 731 and Tirmidh 727, 731, 732 AH the date is written in ciphers and placed inside the sixfoil under the motto.

Reverse: within eight(?)foil: سكة / دار / ضرب / بجارا
سكة / مدينة / الرجالة / ترمذ
or

In the middle of the field is the Chaghatayid tamgha.

Type 3 – Dirhams

Obverse: العدل و الملك / توامان
Between lines 1 and 2 is a *nishan* (fig. 1.4). On the coins of Tirmidh and Almāligh, dates are in the second line after the motto: 727 and 73(1?) AH.

Reverse: سكة / بخا / را / سكة / سمر / قند
سكة / مدينة / الرجال / ترمذ
or

The coin of Almāligh differs slightly:

سكة / [سنة؟] / بلدة / المالخ
On the coins of Samarqand and Bukhārā the dates are under the mint-name: Samarqand – 726; Bukhārā – 726, 728 AH.

Silver dinars of type 3 were minted in Bukhārā in 727, 731 AH and in Tirmidh in 727, 731, 732 AH⁸. Dirhams of type 3 were minted in Samarqand 726; Bukhārā 726, 728; Tirmidh 727 and Almāligh 73(1?) AH⁹. But coins with date 726 are mules struck with a die with an obsolete date. Since 1880 these anonymous coins have been published by several scholars, who attributed them to various Chaghatayid rulers. In 1880, W. Tiesenhausen¹⁰ published a dirham of type 1, minted in 726 AH in Samarqand and attributed it to Tarmāshīrīn. He read the motto as لاهارة الابالعدل but wrote that his colleague V. Rosen recommended him to read the second word as عمارة. The reading offered by V. Rosen was later accepted by other scholars of the 19th and 20th centuries. So the motto is translated as “There is no Creation/Building but with/by Justice”.

In 1891 E.E. Oliver published dinars of type 2 and 3 but, due to the bad state of preservation of the coins, he misread the mint-name on the type 1 coins and misinterpreted the type 3 ones¹¹. On the coins of type 2 was engraved the epithet of Samarqand محفظة “guarded”. But on the coin Nr. 31, published by E.E. Oliver, the mint-name Samarqand had not survived and of the epithet only the first 4 letters had survived, which E. E. Oliver misread as محمو (Maḥmū) and decided that the coin in question was minted in Maḥmūdābād. He provided an illustration of a *nishan*, which allows us to attribute the dinar quite unmistakably to the type 2 anonymous coins minted in Samarqand in 726-727 AH. The dinar, published by E.E. Oliver, was minted in (7)27 AH. Due to the bad state of preservation of 2 coins (Nr. 30), E. E. Oliver misread the word توامان from the motto العدل و الملك بو ايان (“Justice and Power are Twins”) for the name بو ايان (Buāyān) and considered it possible to attribute them to Amīr Bāyān Selduz, who usurped power in Mawarannahr after Būyān Qulī Khān was murdered in 760 AH. The usurper was killed circa 764 AH by Tughlaq Tīmūr Khān (ruler of Eastern Turkistan). Probably influenced by this attribution, E.E. Oliver read the date on the coin of Tirmidh as “764” (on the coin of Bukhārā the date had not survived). He also provided an illustration of *nishans*, which

allow us to attribute the dinars quite unmistakably to the type 3 anonymous coins minted in Samarqand starting 727 AH. It is not uncommon on Chaghatayid coins for the numeral ٢ “2” to be engraved retrograde so that when struck it looks like ٦ “6”. But in that case the date would be 724, which is impossible because in 724 AH the coins in Mawarannahr were minted by Kebek Khān. Provided the digit “4” was read correctly the date might be only “734”. In 1957 M.E. Masson was the first to attribute anonymous dirhems of type 1, “which, judging by the distinctiveness of the dividing *nishan* did not belong to the mintage of Tarmāshīrīn but was not similar to types of Kebek coins” to the time of the short reign of two sons of Duva Khān: Ilchikdai and Duva Tīmūr, which took place between the reigns of Kebek and Tarmāshīrīn¹². He considered that such coins were minted by Duva-Tīmūr. This attribution was based on his erroneous conclusion that early coins of Tarmāshīrīn repeated the motto لا عمارة / الابالعدل. He wrote: “Since early coins of Tarmāshīrīn from our hoard repeat this motto, it is quite natural to suppose that it was borrowed from the latest preceding ruler and that all nine Samarqand dirhams with their specific tamgha (i.e. *nishan* - M. F.) belong to Duva-khān¹³. But I cannot accept this argument. Tarmāshīrīn could as well have borrowed the motto, which had caught his fancy, not necessary from the previous but next previous ruler or some other predecessor. Also there is no reason to attribute the coins with the motto لا بالعدل / لا عمارة to the early mintage of Tarmāshīrīn, because there is no name or *laqab* of Tarmāshīrīn on them and they were minted in 726 AH.

I believe that coins with the motto لا عمارة / الابالعدل do belong to Ilchikdai, who was already dead when a short reign of Duva-Tīmūr started in 726 AH, and the coins of 726-727 Samarqand with the specific *nishan* (fig. 1.2, 3) and another specific motto عمارة الدين / مبنية بالعدل do belong to Duva-Tīmūr, the immediate predecessor of Tarmāshīrīn, the whose reign started in 727 and not in 726. As to the coins of 726 AH with *nishan*, which M.E. Masson attributed to Tarmāshīrīn, there are some differences between the *nishan* (fig. 1.1) of the coins with the motto لا عمارة / الابالعدل and *nishan* of the coins, which undoubtedly belong to Tarmāshīrīn (fig. 1.4, 5, 6). The latter had 3 dots on the tips of the “wings” and also some other differences. And if on the coins which M.E. Masson published there were no such differences, the use of an old die dated “726” together with a die dated “727” is certain. All the more so, as we have seen above, there is a dinar of Samarqand with date “727” on the obverse and “726” on the reverse.

In 1959 M.E. Masson¹⁴ published a dinar of type 2 and wrote that the *nishan* (fig. 1.2, 3) on this coin “is typical for the Samarqand mintage of Tarmāshīrīn”. He also misread the word عمارة الدين / مبنية بالعدل in the motto (“Building of Faith is founded on Justice”) as صيني (porcelain, porcelain vessel) and translated the motto as “Tolerance of Faith in the porcelain vessel of Justice”. But all of the coins undoubtedly belonging to Tarmāshīrīn and minted in 727-731 AH have quite another motto (العدل و الملك / توامان) and *nishan* (fig. 1.4, 5, 6). Neither the motto nor *nishan* of type 2 coins are connected implicitly with the reign of Tarmāshīrīn.

Although M.E. Masson called the *nishan* (fig. 1.2, 3) as “typical for Samarqand mintage of the time of Tarmāshīrīn”¹⁴, in his article about the Tallas hoard of 14th century Chaghatayid coins he was more cautious. He did not mention any “special Samarqand *nishan* of Tarmāshīrīn’s time” and placed in the table of *nishans* quite another *nishan* for Tarmāshīrīn, which was actually to be

found on his coins of Samarqand, Tirmidh and Bukhārā minted in 727-731 AH¹⁵. In fact the *nishan* in question is only typical for the mintage of 726-727 in Samarqand and not for the time of Tarmāshīrīn's reign.

It is a nuisance that among dirhams of type 1 and 3 there are several coins, minted from dies of different years (obverse of 726 and reverse of 727 or obverse of 727 and reverse of 726 AH), a circumstance that considerably distorts the real picture. Fortunately dinars of types 1, 2 and 3 allow us to establish the real sequence of types. It is as follows: the latest coins of Kebek were minted in 726 AH, then follow coins of type 1 minted in 726 AH, then follow coins of type 2 minted in 726-727 AH, then follow coins of type 3 minted in 727-731 AH.

And so the anonymous coins with the motto *لا عمارة / الا بالعدل* (*nishan* 1.1) were minted in 726 AH by Ilchikdai, who died in the same year, coins with the motto *عمارة الدين / مينة بالعدل* (*nishan* 1.2, 3) were minted in 726-727 AH by Duwa-Tīmūr and coins with the motto *والملك / توامان العدل* (*nishans* 1.3, 4, 5) were minted in 727-731 AH by Tarmāshīrīn.

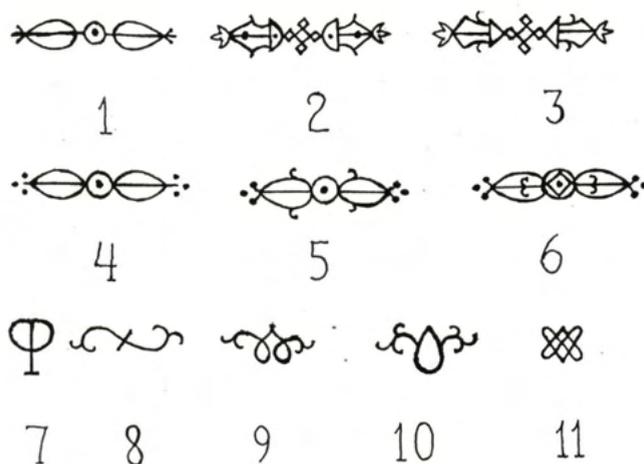
Around the year 1321 AD Kebek carried out a monetary reform. Anonymous silver dirhams (weight about 2 g), which appeared as a result of the monetary reform carried out in 1270 by the muslim merchant Mas'ūd-bek, the vicegerent of the then Chaghatayid khans, were removed from circulation and new dirhems (weight about 1.4 g) and dinars (equal to 6 dirhems) were minted. Another innovation was that Kebek placed his name and title on the coins (he was the first of the Chaghatayid khans to do so). It is strange, though, that his three successors Ilchikdai, Duwa-Tīmūr and Tarmāshīrīn reverted to minting anonymous coins. But starting with 731 AH the name and title of Tarmāshīrīn appeared on coins. It looks, however, as if that was not his initiative. Sanjar, son of Tarmāshīrīn was made vicegerent of Samarqand. E.E. Oliver considered that it was because Tarmāshīrīn, at that time, was waging war in India¹⁶. In 731 AH Sanjar minted dinars in Samarqand with the full title and name of his father and his own name and title:

سنجر خان بن ترماشيرين خان السلطان العدل
علا الدنيا و الد بن خلد الله ملكه

Later the name and full title of Tarmāshīrīn appeared on the coins of his other mints such as Bukhārā (73... AH), Tirmidh (734 AH), Otrār (732 A1-I). After that all Chaghatayid khans placed their name and titles on the coins.

1. The Hoard from North Kirghizstan (Kirghiz State History Museum. Bishkek); V.P. Shchekin: *Klad serebryanykh dinarovi dirkhemov Chagataidov XIV v.*, Epigrafiika Vostoka, tom XXIII, 1985, p. 60 Nr. 1.
2. M. E. Masson: *Istoricheskii etyud po numizmatike Dzhagataidov (Po povody Talasskogok/ada monet XIV v.)*, Trudy Sredneaziatskogo Gosudarstvennogo Universiteta, Arkheologiya Srednei Azii, IV, Tashkent 1957, p. 49 Nr. 13, p. 50 Nr. 17.
3. M. E. Masson: *Serebryanye monety XIV v. iz pogrebenii mogil'nika v basseine reki Nury*, Trudy Instituta istorii, arkheologii i etnografii AN Kaz. SSR, tom 7, 1959, p. 264.
4. V. P. Shchekin: *Klad...*, p. 60.
5. The Hoard from North Kirghizstan.
6. The Hoard from North Kirghizstan; V. P. Shchekin: *Klad...*, p. 60 Nr. 3-7.
7. The Hoard from North Kirghizstan; V. P. Shchekin: *Klad...*, p. 60 Nr. 8.

8. The Hoard from North Kirghizstan.
9. The Hoard from North Kirghizstan; M. E. Masson: *Istoricheskii...*, p. 49 Nr. 14; p.50 Nr. 18-19.
10. W. Tiesenhausen: Notice sur une collection de monnaies orientales de M. le comte S Stroganoff Sanct Peterburg 1880, p. 25.
11. E. E. Oliver: *The coins of Chaghatay Mughals*, Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, vol. LX, part 1, Calcutta 1891, p. 16 Nr. 30, 31.
12. M. E. Masson: *Istoricheskii...*, p. 95-96.
13. Op. cit. p. 96.
14. M. E. Masson: *Serebryanye...*, p. 262.
15. M. E. Masson: *Istoricheskii...*, p. 74 Nr. VI.
16. E. E. Oliver: *The Chaghatay Mughals*, Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, New series, vol. 20, London 1888, p. 113.
17. The Hoard from North Kirghizstan.



A rare fals of AH 401 struck at Īlāq (new data about the "Dihqāns of Īlāq" Dynasty).

By Michael Fedorov

Īlāq was a mediaeval province in the valley of the river Angren (now part of Tashkent oblast in the Uzbek Republic). Muslim geographers of the 9th and 10th centuries wrote that Īlāq was famous for its rich silver mines and had 17 towns. Archaeologists discovered that many of them were connected with the mining industry. The old capital of Īlāq was Tūnket but in the 11th century the town of Nauket gradually grew more important and prosperous. Another big town was Tukket¹.

Dihqāns were a hereditary landowning aristocracy, which formed a ruling class before the Arab invasion of Central Asia. According to V. V. Bartold, the kings of Central Asian states were not absolute monarchs, as was the case with Sasanian shahs of Iran. In Central Asia kings were "first among their peers" and were often called "dihqāns". The Arab invasion dealt dihqāns a hard blow. Some perished, others lost part of their estates, confiscated by Arab invaders, who also forced them out of governing the country. But because of their vast land property, dihqāns retained economic power. When the 'Abbāsids started their struggle against the

Umayyads, they made dihqāns their allies. Having come to power, the 'Abbāsids admitted dihqāns to state service. It was not fortuitous that the first states of Iran and Central Asia (those of the Ṭahirids and the Sāmānids) that were independent of the Arab Caliphate were created by descendants of dihqāns who converted to Islam and went to serve the caliphs. The new aristocracy of the Sāmānid state (Sāmānids themselves included), seeking to secure and strengthen their position, tried by any means to acquire land property buying it from old dihqān families who had fallen into decline. Thus Sāmānid warlord Alptegin, who rose from the ranks of the *ghulams* (slaves used as warriors), possessed 500 villages. The loss of land property could not but weaken dihqānry, nevertheless even on the eve of the fall of the Sāmānids many dihqān families were still very powerful. Some of them ruled semi-independent principalities at the frontiers of the Sāmānid state. The Dihqāns of Īlāq family, though, was not among them, but Arab geographer al-Muqaddasi (circa 985) wrote about the "mighty Dihqān of Īlāq" and the anonymous author of "Hudūd al-'Ālam" (circa 982-983) added that in ancient times ancestors of the Dihqān of Īlāq were ruling this country².

That was why the Dihqān of Īlāq considered the Qarakhānids, who started the conquest of the Sāmānid state, as liberators. When, in 382/992, Boghra Khān Hārūn had conquered Bukhārā, the capital of the Sāmānids, the Dihqān of Īlāq, Maṣṣūr b. Aḥmad, started to mint in Īlāq falūs in his name mentioning Boghra Khān as suzerain. Maṣṣūr b. Aḥmad became the first of the semi-independent dynasty of the Dihqāns of Īlāq, who minted coins in Īlāq as vassals of the Qarakhānids. Illness forced Boghra Khān to leave Bukhārā. He died on the way to his capital Balāsāghūn. Sāmānid emir Nūḥ II returned to Bukhārā. Maṣṣūr b. Aḥmad stopped minting coins in Īlāq. In 386/996 a new Qarakhānid invasion followed. According to the peace treaty, the Sāmānids ceded to the Qarakhānids lands to the east of the Qatwan steppe (which was situated east of Samarqand). Īlāq came under the sway of the Qarakhānids³.

In 386/996 Maṣṣūr b. Aḥmad minted falūs in Īlāq on which he acknowledged himself as vassal of the Qarakhānids. The feudal hierarchy was three-staged: Qarakhāqān (supreme suzerain), Muḥammad b. 'Alī (immediate suzerain) and Maṣṣūr b. Aḥmad (vassal). Apart from the privilege of being mentioned on the coins of Īlāq, those suzerains were entitled to have some part of taxes collected there. In 387/997 falūs were minted in Īlāq mentioning "Dihqān al-Jalīl" and his Qarakhānid suzerains: Qarakhāqān (supreme suzerain) and either Muḥammad b. 'Alī or his brother Aḥmad b. 'Alī (immediate suzerain). In 388/998 on the falūs of Īlāq were mentioned "Dihqān al-Jalīl" (or simply "Dihqān") and his Qarakhānid suzerains: "Qarakhāqān" (or simply "Khān") and 'Aḥmad b. 'Alī⁴.

In 389/999 on the coins of Īlāq were mentioned Maṣṣūr b. Aḥmad (Dihqān of Īlāq) and his Qarakhānid suzerain Aḥmad b. 'Alī. Also "Īlek al-'Ādil" (Naṣr b. 'Alī, brother of Aḥmad b. 'Alī) and a certain Sa'īd were mentioned. Coins of AH 390 from Īlāq are not yet known. In 391-393/1000-1003 on the falūs of Īlāq were mentioned Muḥammad b. Maṣṣūr (second Dihqān of Īlāq, son of Maṣṣūr b. Aḥmad) and his Qarakhānid suzerain Aḥmad b. 'Alī⁵. On the falūs of AH 387-393 of Īlāq the *kunia* Abā (or Bā) Ṣalīḥ was also mentioned. I considered that this was a coin of Muḥammad b. Maṣṣūr but E. A. Davidovich and B. D. Kochnev considered that this *kunia* belonged to some other person⁶. It is interesting that at some time during 393/1002-1003 and in 394/1003-1004 falūs were minted without mentioning the Dihqān

of Īlāq. But in 395/1004-1005 falūs mentioning "Dihqān al-Jalīl Muḥammad b. Maṣṣūr" and his Qarakhānid suzerain Aḥmad b. 'Alī were again minted. Moreover in Nauket (which was the biggest town of Īlāq) in the same year, AH 395, dirhams were minted mentioning Muḥammad b. Maṣṣūr and his suzerain "Naṣīr al-Ḥaqq" (i.e. Aḥmad b. 'Alī). That was (so far) the first and only time when a member of the Dihqāns of Īlāq dynasty minted silver coins. Coins of 396-397/1005-1007 Īlāq are not known. But in 398/1007-1008 falūs were minted in Īlāq mentioning the anonymous "Dihqān al-Jalīl", supreme suzerain "Quṭb al-Daula wa Naṣr al-Milla" (i.e. Aḥmad b. 'Alī) and a certain Bakr b. al-Ḥasan. It is not clear who that "Dihqān al-Jalīl" was: Muḥammad b. Maṣṣūr or his son Salar b. Muḥammad, because in 399/1008-1009 falūs were minted in Īlāq mentioning "Dihqān al-Jalīl Abū Shujā' Salar b. Muḥammad" and his suzerain "Quṭb al-Daula wa Naṣr al-Milla". In 400/1009-1010 falūs were minted in Īlāq without mentioning anyone from the Dihqāns of Īlāq. Thus the latest coins mentioning the Dihqāns of Īlāq were falūs minted in Īlāq in AH 399.

Shortly before I left Kirghizstan in 1996 I had discovered in the collection of a Bishkek antique dealer a rare (and maybe unique) fals minted in Īlāq in 401/1010-1011, which mentioned Dihqān Maṣṣūr b. Aḥmad again.

Īlāq. 401/1010-1011. Diameter 27x25.5 mm.

Obverse. Triangle-like cartouche with circle inscribed in it. Within the circle:

لله / محمد / رسول الله

On the sides of the cartouche within the second circle:

لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له

Circular legend:

بسم الله ضرير بهذا الفلوس

بايلاق سنة احد . . . و اربع مئة

Margin: a solid-line circle (inner) and a circle made of short radial notches (outer).

Reverse. Square cartouche in eightfoil. Eightfoil in double circle.

Within cartouche:

منصوردهقان/محمد/بن

Circular legend:

مما امر به الامير السيد الجليل

احمد بن على ايده الله

Margin: double circle.

And so on this fals Dihqān Muḥammad b. Maṣṣūr was mentioned again together with his Qarakhānid suzerain Aḥmad b. 'Alī.

Since on the Īlāq fals of AH 399 there was mention of "Dihqān al-Jalīl Salar b. Muḥammad" (son of Muḥammad b. Maṣṣūr) it could mean three things: 1 Muḥammad b. Maṣṣūr died; 2 Muḥammad b. Maṣṣūr was dismissed by his Qarakhānid suzerain, who handed Īlāq over to Salar b. Muḥammad; 3 Muḥammad b. Maṣṣūr went to serve his Qarakhānid suzerain in some other place and passed Īlāq to his son. The fact that Muḥammad b. Maṣṣūr appeared in AH 401 on the falūs of Īlāq again, speaks in favour of the latter. But his rule there was short.

In 401-402/1010-1012 an internecine war broke out between Tonga Khān Aḥmad b. 'Alī and his brother Īlek Naṣr b. 'Alī. In AH 401 in Tūnket (the capital of Īlāq) dirhams⁸ were minted mentioning "Sana al-Daula Ārslāntegin" (Muḥammad b. 'Alī) and his suzerain "Mu'ayyad al-'Adl" (Īlek Naṣr b. 'Alī). This dirhem shows that the third of the brothers, Muḥammad, took sides with Īlek Naṣr and that the allies conquered Īlāq, which had been under the sway of Aḥmad b. 'Alī at least since 387/997⁹. Coins of AM 402 of Īlāq are not known but in 403/1012-1013 falūs were minted in Īlāq mentioning "Sana al-Daula" (Muḥammad b. 'Alī) and his suzerain "Mu'ayyad al-'Adl Īlek Naṣr b. 'Alī"¹⁰.

After the death of Naṣr b. 'Alī, Īlāq returned under the sway of

Aḥmad b. Alī but it did not result in the restoration of the Dihqāns of Īlāq. In 404-405/1013-1015 coins in Īlāq were minted in the name of Muḥammad b. 'Alī: in AH 404 mentioning his suzerain "Quṭb al-Daula Khāqān" (Aḥmad b. 'Alī) and in AH 405 without mentioning his suzerain. But Muḥammad b. 'Alī was to share Īlāq with another Qarakhānid. In the same year, AH 404-405, in Tūnket (the capital of Īlāq) coins were minted by a certain Jaghrategin mentioning "Nāṣir al-Ḥaqq Khān" (Aḥmad b. 'Alī) as his suzerain¹¹.

Thus, according to the coins of Īlāq minted at the end of the 10th, beginning of the 11th century., there was a semi-independent dynasty of the Dihqāns of Īlāq comprising at least three members: Maṣṣūr b. Aḥmad, Muḥammad b. Maṣṣūr and Salar b. Muḥammad. It existed for at least 20 years (382-402/992-1011).

1. Belenitskii A. M., Bentovich I.B., Bol'shakov O.G. *Srednevekovyi gorod Srednei Azii*, Leningrad, 1973, pp. 200-201.
2. Fedorov M. N. "K voprosu ob istoncheskikh sud'bakh dikhkanstva pn Karakhanidakh (po dannym numizmatiki)", *Soveiskaiia arkhologiiia*, 1, 1975, pp. 109-111; "Ob odnoi gruppe Karakhanidskikh monet 388-404 gg. kh", *epigrafika Vosioka, XX 1971*, pp. 85-89.
3. Fedorov M. N. "K voprosu...", p.114.
4. Kochnev B. D. "Svod nadpisei na karakhanidskikh monetakh: antroponimy i titulira (chast' I)", *Vostochnoe istoricheskoe istochnikovedenie i spetsial'nye istoricheskie distsipliny*, 4, 1995, p. 295, Nr. 29, 42; p. 206, Nr. 43, 44, 56; p. 207, Nr. 57-59.
5. Op. cit. p. 208, Nr.73-74; p. 210, Nr. 108.
6. Fedorov M. N. "K voprosu...", p. 15; Davidovich E. A. "O monetakh dikhkanov Ilaka kontsa X-nachala XI v. (i metode ikh interpretatsii M. N. Fedorovym)", *Drevnost' i srednevekov'e narodov Srednei Azii*, Moskva, 1987, p. 91; Kochnev B. D. "Shash (Chach) i Ilak pri Karakhanidakh (po numizmaticheskim dannym)", *Drevniata i srednevekovaiia kul'tura Chacha*, Tashkent, 1979, pp. 119-122.
7. Kochnev B. D. "Svod...", p. 211, Nr. 118-119; p. 213, Nr. 144; p. 216, Nr. 188; p. 218, Nr. 207, p. 219, Nr. 225.
8. Op. cit. p. 222, Nr. 278.
9. Fedorov M. N. "Politicheskaiia istoriia Karakhanidov v kontse X-nachale XI v. (Karakhanidskie monety kak istoricheskii istochnik)", *Numizmatika i epigrafika*, X, 1972, pp. 151-152.
10. Kochnev B. D. "Svod...", p. 225, Nr. 310.
11. Op. cit. p. 227, Nr. 337-341; p. 229, Nr. 368.

Seventh Century Islamic Countermarks from Syria

By Tony Goodwin

This article gives an update to the provisional list of countermarks published in ONS Occasional Paper no. 28 1993 and summarises the results of examining some 103 coins with reasonably clear countermarks, plus a similar number where they could not be precisely identified. Most of these are from private collections or were seen in trade. There are a few examples in the ANS collection, but the only significant group in a museum collection seems to be that in the Israel Museum in Jerusalem, and I am most grateful to Haim Gitler for allowing me every facility to study it.

A small proportion of the extensive series of pseudo-Byzantine coins¹ produced in the newly conquered areas of Syria and Palestine in the mid 7th century bear countermarks. These can take the form of a monogram /geometric design (prefixed A in the Table), an Arabic word (B) or, occasionally, an animal (C). Many

of the countermarks are also sometimes found struck on regular Byzantine folles of Constans II (641-668), and a few are found on regular Arab-Byzantine coins.

The data recorded is summarised in the table, which gives a drawing of each countermark, with details of the types of coin on which it is found struck. Any published examples are indicated in the notes, and types which are illustrated with a photograph are marked with an asterisk. The following general observations can be made:

1. The vast majority of countermarks are applied consistently to the reverse of the coin, although in a few cases the preference is for the obverse. With the exception of A2, which is semicircular, all are circular and are generally around 5 or 6 mm. in diameter.
2. With the exception of the two Ludd countermarks (B1a and B1b), countermarks are applied singly. At Ludd two countermarks occur on around half the examples recorded, and, in one case, three. In some cases the 2 countermarks seem to be from different dies, but in others they appear to be the same.
3. I can suggest no entirely satisfactory reading for any of the Byzantine style monograms. A7 may well be Theodore. In the case of A3, the presumption must be some variant of Constantine, Constans etc. (either a personal or city name is a possibility). A9 is a quite complex Byzantine-style monogram which clearly contains the Greek letters Π, Α, Λ, Ρ, Κ, Χ and possibly Γ, Ι or Τ as well. The dies are very lightly engraved and consequently A9 is difficult to photograph, but the drawing can be regarded as accurate. The final "monogram", A13, strongly resembles the uncial "m" with two dots within it which is found on a few pseudo-Byzantine coins and Arab-Byzantine coins.
4. Of the Arabic words the following are certain:- B2, *lillāh*- "for god" and B6, *ṭayyib* "good". B1a, *Ludd* and B1b, *bi-Ludd* must be regarded as almost certain, although other readings are of course possible. B3, 4 and 5 have sometimes been interpreted as *jā'iz* or *ṭayyib*, but close study makes this appear unlikely. The other suggested readings for Arabic words must be regarded as extremely speculative, and there is even the remote possibility that one or more is Syriac rather than Arabic.
5. Unfortunately accurate find spots are not known for any of the coins, but A4, A9 and B1b are all very well represented in the Israel Museum, and all their examples are from a collection formed locally. For each of these countermarks a few other examples have been recorded which were acquired in Israel, but none with a Syrian provenance. Therefore a Palestinian origin for these can reasonably be concluded. One of the examples of B2a was said to have been found as part of a hoard near Hama in Syria and, in several other case, coins were from parcels which are believed to have originated in Syria. No coins are known to have come from Byzantine controlled areas such as Turkey or Cyprus.
6. A12 is smaller than the other countermarks, and is similar to examples with a single Greek letter found on post-reform coins.
7. One example of C2 is on a coin which also has a Ludd countermark. There are also animal countermarks which appear on large module folles of Heraclius and earlier emperors, but they are presumably of a rather earlier date than the 2 types listed here.

Do these results give any further insight into the purpose or date of the countermarks? The most likely purpose remains the validation of coins to circulate within a particular city, but the practice must have been short lived and by no means universal,

judging by the very small percentage of countermarked coins. Generally speaking there is no clear tendency for countermarked coins to be cruder than average or in any other way suspect to the local population, and therefore particularly requiring validation.

So far as dating is concerned the results are perhaps a little more helpful. The sample of 104 coins is sufficiently large to be statistically significant, and comprises 1% Heraclius, 15.5% Constans II, 71% pseudo-Byzantine and 12.5% Arab-Byzantine. Only three types of Arab-Byzantine coins are represented²:- the Damascus standing emperor type with Graeco-Latin legends, W7 ff.³, the Emesa standing emperor type, W27 ff., and the mintless standing emperor type with the legend *al wafā lillāh*, e.g. W ANS.9. This suggests a date for most of the countermarks in a period from a few years before to shortly after the introduction of the mainstream Arab-Byzantine coinage. The hoard of 298 Byzantine and pseudo-Byzantine coins published recently by Phillips and Goodwin⁴ contained no Arab-Byzantine coins, and only one countermarked coin, and was provisionally dated at around 660 AD. In the light of the above analysis, this hoard may reasonably be supposed to date from early in the period of countermarking. The absence of any countermarks on the most abundant Arab-Byzantine coin, the imperial bust type of Emesa, W57 ff.⁵, may be significant, as overstrike evidence suggests that this appeared late in the series. Further research to increase the sample size should enable more definite conclusions to be drawn, and confirm whether the three types of countermarked Arab-Byzantine coins are indeed early examples of this series.

Of course we cannot be sure that all the countermarks served

the same purpose or were applied at the same period, but, with the exception of A 12, I am inclined to believe that they form a coherent group. Certainly there is no case for believing that the Byzantine style monograms should be attributed to Byzantine authorities, given that the Arab conquest was complete before all but one of the 104 coins was struck.

Clearly more research is required, and I would very much appreciate details of countermarked coins or suggestions for the readings of any of the undeciphered countermarks.

1. I have used the term "pseudo-Byzantine" in this article in preference to "Arab imitations".
2. I have not included the Arab-Byzantine coins of Jerash, which are often countermarked "tayyib", in this survey because these larger countermarks, which were possibly applied to the majority of these rare coins, do not appear to fit into the series dealt with here.
3. References for Arab-Byzantine coins are to Walker's *A Catalogue of the Arab-Byzantine and Post-reform Umayyad Coins*, and for Byzantine coins to Hahn's *Moneta Imperii Byzantini*.
4. Phillips and Goodwin-"A seventh century Syrian hoard of Byzantine and imitative copper coins.", NC 1997.
5. Like the standing emperor coins of Emesa these sometimes exhibit very small punch marks in the form of a star, crescent or circle, but these are probably mint control marks of some sort rather than countermarks.

TABLE OF COUNTERMARKS

Countermark	No. recorded (see Note)	Obv/rev	Notes
A1* 	1xB, 5xP	rev	Hahn MIB Km.4. (Pl.30)
A2* 	2xB	obv	Hahn MIB Km. 3. (Pl.30)
A3* 	2xP, 6xAB	obv	Presumably Constantine or Constans. Found mainly on the standing emperor Arab- Byzantine coins of Emesa (Walker). Hahn MIB Km. 2 (Pl.30).
A4 	1xB, 8xP	rev	INJ.10 Pl.4, no.6. 6 examples in Israel Museum
A5a* 	2xP	rev	
A5b* 	1xAB	obv	Could be part of an Arabic word
A6 	2xP	obv	Album-"Islamic conquerors adopted local Byzantine coinage", Fig1, Celator Vol. 2 No4.
A7 	2xP	both	Theodore?
A8 	1xP	rev	Unpublished ANS 1967.110.7
A9* 	8xP, 1xB, 1xAB	rev	Three examples in Israel Museum.

Countermark	No. recorded (see Note)	Obv/rev	Notes
A10*  ?	2xAB	both	Both examples, on standing emperor coins of Emesa are rather unclear. One countermarked both sides
A11* 	2xB	both	Details incomplete
A12 	1xP, 1xAB	rev	Slightly smaller than usual countermarks
A13 	1xP	rev	
B1a 	2xP, 2xB	rev	LD- Ludd. Some examples countermarked 2 or 3 times
B1b* 	16xP	rev	BLD- bi Ludd. Qedar, INJ8, Pl.25, no.2. 9 in Israel Museum. Some countermarked twice. Some With 1 or 2 dots below the letters.
B2a* 	2xP, 2xB	rev	lillah
B2b* 	1xB	rev	lillah
B3* 	5xP, 1xAB	both	Jayyid?? Khaled?? Example illustrated has B4 on obv.
B4* 	4xP, 1xAB	both	ONS occ. Paper 28, fig.22
B5* 	1xP, 2xB	both	Normally on rev.
B6 	6xP	both	Jayyid?? Khaled?? ONS occ. paper 28, fig.24
B7a 	2xB	rev	Tayyib. NC 1997, Phillips and Goodwin (Pl.20)
B7b 	1xP	obv	Tayyib
B8 	1xP, 1xB	rev	Halab??
C1 	2xP	rev	insect?
C2 	2xP	rev	bull's head

Note: P - pseudo-Byzantine
B - regular Byzantine
AB - Arab-Byzantine



A1



A2

Constans II MIB166



A3

Arab-Byzantine, Emesa W27ff



A5a



A5b



A9



A10

Arab-Byzantine, Emesa, W 27ff



A11

Constans II, MIB175



B1b



B2a



B2b

Constans II, MIB162



B3.B4



B4



B5

All coins are pseudo-Byzantine unless otherwise stated.
Coins are illustrated approximately twice actual size

A Rare Tartar-Genoese Copper Coin

By Konstantin Khromov



fig. 1

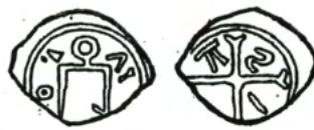


fig. 2

In my collection there is a rare copper coin (fig. 1) found at Stary Qrim in the Crimea. Coins similar to this one have in the past been attributed and published by Iliescu. They have generally been found within the area of the Danube and Dniester estuaries. Iliescu dated them to the period between 1310 and 1375 AD and he suggested that they were struck at the town of Vicinia. At the same time, he left that attribution open to discussion. Figure 2 is a drawing of one of these coins made by Giuseppe Lunardi¹. The specimen in my collection is in a better state of preservation though even that one does not have the complete design on it. It does, however, enable me to refine the attribution somewhat.

1. There are no Arabic legends on the coin. It is more likely to be a Latin legend rather like those on the Tartar coin types struck at the end of the 13th – beginning of the 14th centuries and containing the name of the town where they were minted. There is also a possibility that the characters to the left of the tamgha are two Arabic numerals – residues of the date (07, ie 707 AH), while those on the right are the remains or first two letters of the mint-town, in Latin.
2. In dating this type of coins one has to take into account the practice of using a tamgha as a major component in Golden Horde coins. A tamgha of the sort that appears on the coins discussed here appeared on the coins of the Tartars from around 1270 AD and they exist in different varieties until 1325 AD, after which date they disappear from the coins. The closest version of the tamgha corresponding to that on the above coins is found on dirhams of 707 AH (1307 AD), copper falūs after 706 AH, minted at Qrim by Toqtū Khān and on copper falūs of Özbek Khān also minted at Qrim with dates before 725 AH (1325 AD).

In terms of style, weight, design and production method, these coins fit in with this period and I would date them to between 1305 and 1325 AD. Thus I would describe the coins as follows:

Ae follari, Genoese colony of Vicinia(?) 1305 – 1325 AD. Obverse: in the centre – the tamgha of the Batu family; to the left and right, fragments of a Latin legend of 4-6 letters. All within a circle.

Reverse: a cross of Lorraine within a circle; between the rays are four Latin letters imitating the year of minting.

1. Giuseppe Lunardi: *Atti della societa ligure di stori Patria*. "Le monete delle colonie Genovesi", Genoa 1980

Ottoman Coins Struck at the Fortress of Dhi Marmar in the Yemen

By V. Popp, D. Nauta and H. Wilski

During recent years, as a result of coin finds, a number of Ottoman mints in the Yemen have been rediscovered. Many articles concerning Ottoman coins from the Yemen, some with previously unknown mint names, have by now been published¹⁻⁴. The present article deals with yet another mint. It describes a number of coins

from Dhi Marmar near San'a', bringing to ten the total of documented Ottoman mints in the Yemen.

The fortress of Dhi Marmar is described as⁶:

ذبي مرممر :

حصن تاريخي شهير بالشمال الشرقي من صنعاء بمسافة ١٨ كيلو متر، وهو مركز وادي السير الذي يشتهر بثروته الزراعية، ويرتفع الحصن عن سطح البحر بنحو ٢٥٤٧ مترا، كما أنه الحد الفاصل بين "الغراس" و "السير" من الغرب، وبين "الغراس" و "زجان" من الشمال، وقد ورد اسمه في عدد من النقوش القديمة، ويرجع تاريخ تدهم الحصن إلى السنة ١٥٨٣م حيث هدمه والي اليمن العثماني ليبنى بحجار مدينة جديدة

Dhi Marmar:

Famous historical fortress to the north-east of San'a' at 18 km distance. It is the centre of Wadi al-Sirr [the Secret Valley] which is famous for its agricultural resources. The fortress is situated at 2457 m above sea level. It is on the borderline between al-Ghiras and al-Sirr to the west, and between al-Ghiras and Zajjan to the north. Its name can be found in some old inscriptions and according to history the fortress was destroyed in the year 1583 AD [991AH]. Thus its destruction took place during the Ottoman occupation of the Yemen to use its blocks to build a new town.

This description of Dhi Marmar by Ibrahim Ahmed al-Maqhafi may be supplemented by a short note: Dhi Marmar was a large and impressive fortress on a steep cliff-top, dating back to pre-Islamic times. Its name means "the one of alabaster", which refers to the nearby gypsum and alabaster deposits which for centuries have been quarried by the Yemenis. To the present day, the gypsum is being burned to produce lime used for whitewashing and waterproofing their houses; the translucent alabaster used to be cut into large, thin slabs to make window panes before glass panes became common. Situated 18 km to the north-east of San'a', the fortress guarded access to the capital from that direction, similar to the fortress of Kawkaban to the north-west of San'a'. Prior to the Ottoman occupation of the Yemen, Dhi Marmar fortress had frequently changed hands between local rival contenders for the Imamate. It was conquered by the Ottomans in the reign of Sulayman I, probably around 954 AH /1547 AD, when they conquered San'a'. It is assumed that the silver coins described below were minted on the occasion of the first Ottoman conquest, as was often their habit.

So far, three silver coins are known with the inscription: *sultān sulaimān bin selīm khān* on the obverse (Table 1, coins 1-3). Coins 1 and 2 have the same design. The obverse

of both coins is struck from the same die. However, this cannot be seen very easily, since in the case of coin 1, the die was very worn. The reverses of these two coins have been minted from different dies. Coin 3 is similar to 1 and 2, but the sign in the centre of both sides of these coins, somewhat resembling an eye, is missing on coin 3.

Coin 4 shows a different design: the title on the obverse reads *sultān sulaimān bin sultān selīm khān*. Unfortunately, on this single specimen, the name *selīm* in the last line is missing. Only part of the letter *lām* can be faintly made out.

All coins discussed here are silver coins and all of them show the year of accession, 926 AH. Thus the actual year of minting (and of the conquest of the fortress) remains unknown. Details of these

four coins are listed in Table 1 below. The coins are shown in Figs 1-4.

Table 1. Silver coins minted in Dhi Marmar

Coin No.	Weight g	Diameter mm	Reference
1	0.545	15.0-16.3	private coll.
2	0.660	14.2-15.5	H.W.
3	0.57	14.0-14.5	D.N.
4	0.765	16.0-16.5	V.P.

In addition to these coins one more silver coin minted in Dhi Marmar has been recently published by Suchý in 1996, with however only the following information: "Uthmani of Sultan Sulayman, date missing"⁷.

So far only one copper coin with the inscription *dhi marmar* on one side is known⁵. The other side of the coin bears a hexagram rather similar to the one found on the Ottoman coins of Malhaz. Although the writing of the name Dhi Marmar appears rather peculiar, there is little doubt about its correctness. Dr G.-R. Puin of Saarbrücken University has kindly confirmed this reading. However, since the coin is not dated, it is not possible to attribute it to Ottoman provenance with certainty. The coin is shown in Fig. 5. Details of this copper coin are in Table 2 below.

Table 2. Copper coin minted in Dhi Marmar

Coin No.	Weight g	Diameter mm	Reference
5	1.497	12.5-14.2	D.N.

Note: * The details published here were originally brought to the attention of the public in 1993 in two separate contributions to the 1st International Numismatic Symposium in Istanbul. The actual publication of the proceedings of this symposium was delayed to 1999, and appeared in an edition limited to 85 copies only⁵. The authors therefore deemed it useful to publish this information in a joint and updated article according to the present state of knowledge, in the hope that it will be available to a wider audience.

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4. Nauta, D., ONS Newsletter, No. 137 (1993); 138 (1993); 139 (1994); 140 (1994); 146 (1995); 153 (1997).
5. *Türk Nümismatik Derneği, 1 Uluslararası Nümismatik Sempozyumu Bildirileri* The Notes of 1st International Numismatic Symposium 9-10.XI.1993, Istanbul 1999, p. 199, 224.
6. al-Maqhafi, Ibrahim Ahmed, *Mu'jam al-buldan wa'l-qaba'il al-yamaniyya*, San'a' 1988, p.255.
7. Suchý, V., *Bülten, Türk Nümismatik Derneği* 33-34, 61 (1996).



1



2



3



4

The following drawings show the coins enlarged 2 X. The photographs are also on the scale 2:1.



Obverse
سلطان [ن]
سليمان
بن سليم
خان



Reverse
عز نصره [ره]
ضرب في [في؟]
نمرم [ر]
سنة
٩٢٦

Coin no. 1, enlarged twice



Obverse
سلطان [ن]
سل- [يمان]
بن سليم
خان



Reverse
عز نصره
ضرب في
نمرم [ر]
سنة
[٩٢]٦

Coin no. 2, enlarged twice



Obverse
سل [طان]
سل- [ليمان]
بن سليم
خان



Reverse
عز [نصره]
ضرب في
نمرم
سنة
٩٢٦

Coin no. 3. It has no sign in the center



Obverse
سلطان سليمان
سلطان خان
بن



Reverse
عز نصره
[ضرب]
نمرم
سنة
[٩٢]٦

Coin no. 4. Only the "lam"
of the name "selim" can be seen

A Very Large Hoard of countermarked coins Discovered

By S.K. Kofopoulos and H. Wilski

Introduction

In the year 1880 AD all copper coins were withdrawn from circulation within the Ottoman Empire. Since no new coins were minted, a considerable lack of small change occurred. In order to overcome the shortage of small coins many Greek communities bought the demonetised copper coins from scrap dealers and countermarked them. These countermarked coins were then distributed by the communities or the Greek Orthodox Church to the public in exchange for silver or gold coins. In this way small coins of constant purchasing power were produced. So far some hundred countermarks of this type are known as well with Greek as with Arabic letters, and also a number of hoards of such coins has been published¹. Below another such hoard is described, in fact the largest one ever found, beginning of 1997 in (or near) Agiasos, Lesbos (Greece) a hoard of Ottoman copper coins of the 19th century was discovered which was hidden below the surface of the earth. All coins were countermarked. The owner of the hoard said that the coins had been in a sack which crumbled during salvage. Most coins had a green patina and many showed also a thin layer of yellow-brown clay, which could easily be washed away. A really thorough study of the hoard was not possible, neither in 1997 (by S.K.K.) nor by a second effort in 1999 (by H.W.). But the following could be determined: The hoard in question, containing 2349 coins, is by far the largest hoard of countermarked Ottoman copper coins ever found - and at the same time the most uninteresting one. The hoard only contained 10 and 20 para coins of the sultans 'Abd al-Mejid (1255-1277 AH; 1839-1861 AD) and 'Abd al-'Aziz (1277-1293 AH; 1861-1876 AD), all minted in Constantinople, with few exceptions. All coins were countermarked on the obverse (the side with the tughra) with a small incuse tughra, A T-01¹. By close examination of the 20 para coins it was found out that the coins were always countermarked on the obverse without any exception. Countermarks on the reverse ("the wrong side") never occurred.

The hoard consisted of the following coins:

1721 10 para coins countermarked with tughra A T-01

621 20 para coins countermarked with tughra A T-01

7 20 para coins with tughra A T-01 and A 30-01

Yunda on the obverse.

2349 countermarked coins in all.

Among the 10 para coins there were at least 2 coins minted in Egypt, one of the year 1255-15 and one from 1277-4. The combination A T-01 tughra with A 30-01 Yunda has not so far been known. It appears here for the first time and that on 20 para coins. This is small wonder since the island of Yunda was part of the Midilli sancak and there were close connections between both islands. Other combinations of Yunda with countermarks from Lesbos are well known. Coins with the countermark A T-01 tughra have been found several times on Lesbos. Also combinations of this mark with others from Lesbos are known. Therefore it is likely that the tughra countermark originates from Lesbos, although it has not been possible yet to associate it with a specific village or town. Since the big hoard was found in (or near) Agiasos it seems to be obvious that the tughra countermark originates in that village. But

unfortunately, there are no essential hints that could confirm this assumption. Many other assumptions may be possible but no evidence could be found so far. Thus the origin of the tughra countermark remains an enigma. For comparison a list of all coin hoards found so far is attached (for details see (1)).

Large hoards of countermarked Ottoman copper coins

A hoard from Thasos acquired in July 1968 and published in 1971 by Hadziotis:

699 coins with countermarks from Thasos.

A hoard from "Northern Greece" acquired in Kavala in 1971 and published in 1972 by Hadziotis:

796 coins countermarked with G 1-26 ΑΓ+K or G 16-20 Π+K.

A hoard bought in Athens (origin unknown) in 1972 and published in the same year by Hadziotis:

1360 coins countermarked with G 1-06 ff "A" or G N-07 "6".

A hoard of about 1000 5 para coins bought in an antique shop in Rhodes in 1976 and published in 1990 by Roudometof:

207 5 para coins with different countermarks.

The content of the poor-box of a church in Agiasos, Lesbos from 1912, published in 1993 by Wilski:

251 coins with different countermarks.

A hoard of 10 and 20 para coins found in 1997 in or near Agiasos, Lesbos (this paper):

2349 coins countermarked with A T-01 tughra.

Literature

1. H. Wilski, *Countermarks on Ottoman Coin*, Gütersloh, Germany 1995



Fig.1 Four 20 para coins (of 'Abd al-Mejid) of the hoard countermarked with A T-01 tughra and A 30-01 Yunda on the obverse. Enlarged 1.31 x.

Numismatic Vestiges of Shah Jahān's Campaign in the Deccan

By Shailendra Bhandare

At the turn of 16th century Deccan rested in hands of the five 'Deccani' Sultanates in which the Bahmanid Kingdom of Gulbarga was fragmented. These were the Nizāmshāhī of Aḥmadnagar, the 'Ādilshāhī of Bijāpūr, the Qutbshāhī of Golkonda, the 'Imādshāhī of Berar and the Barīdshāhī of Bīdār. The rules and extents of the two last named sultanates were short lived – they were soon assimilated by the Nizāmshāhī and the 'Ādilshāhī kingdoms. Mughal contact with these sultanates came about when a scion of the Nizāmshāhī family named Burhān pleaded to Akbar for assistance against the misrule of two successive sultans, Ḥusain and Murtaḍa. (c.1590 AD) Akbar obliged and Burhān was installed on the Nizāmshāhī throne under Mughal patronage. However, the vassal soon asserted himself and in 1595, Akbar dispatched his son Murād against Aḥmadnagar. A treaty followed and the northern half of Deccan constituted by the province of Berar was ceded to the Mughals. This was the beginning of the protracted rivalry between the Deccani sultanates and the Mughals. It reached its culmination in 1687-88 AD when Aurangzeb sacked the 'Ādilshāhī and the Qutbshāhī kingdoms, the longest lived among the Deccani sultanates.

However, it took several campaigns for the Mughals to assume control over the region. The first of these was, as described, under Murād. Dānyāl, the other son of Akbar, undertook a second campaign in Akbar's reign. The rise of Malik 'Ambar, an able minister at the Nizāmshāhī court, gave the kingdom a much-desired breathing space. He managed to consolidate the unity of other Deccani sultanates against the Mughals and soon wrested back much of the territory ceded in Akbar's reign. This infuriated Jahāngīr, who had now succeeded Akbar at Āgra. After several futile attempts to bring Malik 'Ambar to heel, Prince Khurram, the future Shāh Jahān, headed the first successful campaign under Jahāngīr. It resulted in bringing back important towns in the region such as Aḥmadnagar, Fateḥnagar, Jālna, Burhānpūr and Zafarnagar to the Mughal domain. Khurram's rebellion in 1622-1626 and Malik's offer of refuge to the rebellious prince gave another lease of life to the beleaguered Nizāmshāhī kingdom. But Malik 'Ambar died in 1626 AD. Jahāngīr's death in 1627 and subsequent accession of Khurram as Shāh Jahān in 1628 changed the equations altogether.

Soon after his accession, Shāh Jahān found the Nizāmshāhī court in turmoil. Faṭḥ Khān, the son of Malik 'Ambar had now assumed charge as the Chief Executive. He however lacked his father's diplomatic skills, vision and forbearance. His relations with the reigning Sultan, Murtaḍa Nizām Shāh II, were far from cordial. Murtaḍa ultimately managed to imprison him. Shāh Jahān now looked to the Nizāmshāhī territory as a prospective constituent of his empire and a foothold for future expansion in the Deccan. Khān Jahān Lodhī, the Afghan subahdar of the Deccan under the Mughals rebelled against Shāh Jahān to side with Murtaḍa II. This incidence afforded Shāh Jahān the opportunity he was waiting for – to interfere in the Deccani affairs afresh. It marked the beginning of a protracted campaign that lasted for almost 7 years (c. 1630-1637) and ended in the assimilation of the Nizāmshāhī kingdom into the Mughal Empire. Shāh Jahān executed the campaign with great enthusiasm under the command of various generals. He stationed himself at Burhānpūr, the bridgehead to the Deccan, to keep a close watch on the situation. This paper deals with the numismatic vestiges of this historically significant campaign.

The Mughals opened mints at some of the important towns almost as soon as they were acquired. Although this had a ceremonial significance, rooted in the Islamic concepts of *Khuṭba* and *Sikka*, an economic necessity cannot be ruled out for the operations of these mints. The terrain that Mughals acquired is the Marathwada area of Maharashtra constituted today by the districts of Aurangābād, Jālna, Beed, Nanded, Latur and 'Usmanābād. This area was wrecked by successive campaigns between the Nizāmshāhī, the 'Ādilshāhī and the Mughal powers. Recurrent famines had also aggravated the situation. In this view it was necessary for the Mughals to attain some degree of monetisation to create a stable administration and to ensure proper revenue flows. Opening a mint at some of the newly acquired places fulfilled the immediate need for these conditions. The first of these places was Dhārūr, which was renamed Fateḥabad.

Dhārūr was a town of strategic importance situated on a trade route that traversed the Balaghat hills towards Telingāna (presently Andhra Pradesh). Shāh Jahān invested it under the command of 'Azam Khān (also known as Iradat Khān) whom he appointed the subahdar of the Deccan in place of the rebel Khān Jahān Lodhī. The objectives were twofold – to check the rebel's moves and to wrest Nizāmshāhī territory. After a brief but bloody encounter the garrison commander, Sidi Salīm, surrendered the fortress of Dhārūr to the Mughals.

The silver coinage struck at Dhārūr comprises kalima type rupees, where the mintname is placed below the kalima on the reverse with its epithet 'Fateḥabad'. The name of the place itself, however, is spelled rather erroneously as 'Dārūr' and not 'Dhārūr'. Amjad Ali published a copper coin minted in the name of Shāh Jahān in the Numismatic Digest (vol. VIII, 1984). He read the mintname on it as 'Junnar'. However, in a note to the editor in the subsequent issue of the Digest, Prashant Kulkarni rectified it to 'Dhārūr'. It is worth illustrating this rare and important coin again. I illustrate another specimen from the cabinet of Mr Pradeep Sohoni here, which may be described as follows:



Obv: The legend *fī shahūr sanah...* (= 'In the months of the year...') with chronological detail following the word *sanah* truncated. The letter 'ye' in 'fi' forms the divider in its majhool form.

Rev: The legend *shāh jahān / darb dhārūr* in two lines. The letter 'be' in 'darb' forms the divider.

The legend on the reverse is spelt in the correct form of the place name as 'Dhārūr' and not 'Dārūr' as is seen on the silver rupees. The obverse legend demonstrates the link of this coin type with that of the Nizāmshāhī coins. The weight also conforms to the Nizāmshāhī standard. The Mughal coin therefore shows a direct type-succession from the Nizāmshāhī copper issues. Such a type-succession has been earlier observed for the coins of Aḥmadnagar mint in the names of Jahāngīr and Shāh Jahān. However it should be noted that Dhārūr was never a Nizāmshāhī mint. In the light of this

fact, the type-succession clearly demonstrates the economic necessities involved in operating the mint as discussed before.

After Dhārūr, the Mughal armies laid siege to Parenda. The fort was of significant strategic importance and regarded almost as a secondary capital of the Nizāmshāhī Sultanate. At this time one of the prominent generals of the tormented kingdom named Mukarrab Khān sought assistance from the neighbouring 'Ādilshāhī Sultanate. He managed to persuade the 'Ādilshāh's statesmen Khawas Khān and Ranadullāh Khān and secured their help against the advancing Mughals. As a result, even after repeated assaults and plunder, the Mughals could not outmanoeuvre the combined armies of the Deccani sultanates. 'Azam Khān retreated to Dhārūr and there was a brief pause in the campaign.

The next fortress to fall to the Mughals was Qandhār situated to the south of Dhārūr. Shāh Jahān had dispatched another wing of troops under Nāsir Khān towards Telingāna as part of his strategy against the Nizāmshāhī kingdom. He besieged Qandhār, which was garrisoned under Sarfārāz Khān representing the Nizāmshāhī and 'Ādilshāhī combine. The Mughals secured a breach in the walls of the fort after the successful use of mines and, ultimately on 7th May 1631, Qandhār fell to them.

Ken Wiggins discussed the Mughal issues of Qandhār (Deccan) in ONS newsletter 76 (1982). Although the names are pronounced differently, there exists no difference in the spelling of the word 'Qandhār' for the fort located in the Deccan and its more famous namesake, the city in Afghanistan. In the light of this fact it was obvious that the issues of Qandhār (Deccan) were confused with those of Qandhār (Afghanistan). But Wiggins demonstrated convincingly from the historical fact that Qandhār in Afghanistan had been under Persian occupation during the period indicated by the dates on some 'Qandhār' issues, and as such they should be attributed to the Qandhār in the Deccan. The rupees of Qandhār (Deccan) are known in two types – the kalima type without the caliph names and the square enclosure type. As both the types have been discussed and illustrated by Wiggins in detail, they have not been re-illustrated here.

There were two other important forts in the vicinity of Dhārūr and Qandhār. They were Ausā and Udgīr. The conquest of these two forts would ensure complete Mughal control over the Balaghat ranges. However, political events in 1632-1635 delayed the campaign. The reigning Nizāmshāhī sultan, Murtaḍa II, released Faṭḥ Khān, the son of Malik 'Ambar and reinstated him as Chief Executive (Vakeel) of the Nizāmshāhī court, at the behest of his wife. This led to disastrous consequences. Firstly, it estranged Mukarrab Khān from the Nizāmshāhī cause. He deserted to the Mughals. Faṭḥ Khān took advantage of the confusion in the aftermath of Mukarrab Khān's departure and managed to imprison Murtaḍa II. He then cajoled Shāh Jahān to grant him certain favours, which were agreed upon by Shāh Jahān provided the sultan was eliminated. Faṭḥ Khān executed Murtaḍa II and set a minor named Ḥusain on the Nizāmshāhī throne. He also accepted Mughal tutelage and surrendered Daulatābād to the Mughals. Satisfied to some extent by these gestures, Shāh Jahān left Burhānpūr on 6 March 1632 and proceeded towards the north. Another reason for his departure was the death of his beloved wife, Mumtāz Maḥal, an event that resulted in the construction of the Taj Maḥal.

However, it was soon realised that the situation in the Deccan was far from satisfactory. Faṭḥ Khān and other statesmen of the Nizāmshāhī regime were not trustworthy. Shahajī Bhosle, the father of Shivājī, was the most prominent amongst the other influential

personages. He was irked by Faṭḥ Khān's allegiance to the Mughals. He contacted Ranadullh Khān and Morar Jagdeo, two elder statesmen at the Bījāpūr court and sought to resurrect the old alliance with the 'Ādilshāhī sultanate. His efforts met with success and the combined armies marched on Daulatābād. Shāh Jahān caught an early wind of these developments and appointed a senior general named Mahābat Khān as the subahdar of the Deccan. The Emperor also entrusted him with the responsibility of counteracting the allies' moves to safeguard Mughal interests. Mahābat Khān opened the campaign afresh with the capture of Galna, an important hill-fort in Khāndesh. Further, after a prolonged campaign he was successful in checking the advance of the combined armies of Shahajī and Morar Jagdeo and secured control over Daulatābād again (17 June 1633).

Soon afterwards Mahābat Khān marched towards 'Zafarnagar'. This town seems to be first brought under Mughal control during Shāh Jahān's campaign as a prince under Jahāngīr, as indicated by the rupees struck there in Jahāngīr's name. In all probability it was in Mughal hands when the campaign began. Rupees in the name of Shāh Jahān are also well known. However, the place has never been satisfactorily located. References to it indicate that it was certainly located in Marathwada. It is usually mentioned in conjunction with Daulatābād. An important clue is afforded by a reference that Mahābat Khān 'created garrisons at Zafarnagar, Jālnapūr, Beed and Shāhgarḥ to secure a line of communication between Parenda and Burhānpūr'. It is obvious that the name as it occurs on coins and documents is Islamicised and it is conceivable that the original name of the town must have been different. It is equally possible that a new town named 'Zafarnagar' was founded under the Mughals in the region. But the important historical link to ascertain whether the name was changed or a new town founded, and if so when, is still missing. Unless that is found, the location of Zafarnagar will remain a mystery.

No copper coin of Zafarnagar is hitherto known. I publish here a coin from the collection of Mr. J. P. Goenka which may be described as under (enlarged twice actual size) –



Obv: *shāh jahān* in the top line. The bottom line and the divider are too truncated to read. Alternatively the top line can be read as *shāh jahānī* with the 'ī' of *jahānī* forming the divider in its majhūl form.

Rev: The top line can not be deciphered satisfactorily. Remnants of the word on the right indicate that it may represent *khurram*. The bottom line clearly reads *zafarnagar*. The mint-indicator *darb* is truncated beyond restoration.

If this coin does indeed bear the word *khurram* - and it is indeed difficult to ascertain if it does - it assumes a great significance as the first known copper issue in the pre-accession name of Shāh Jahān. The fact that its weight corresponds to the Nizāmshāhī standard indicates that in all probability it was struck during the campaign under discussion to fulfil immediate needs for small change, during a period so short as not to allow imposition of

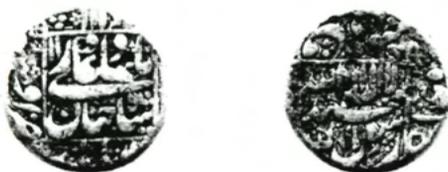
the Mughal *dam* standard. In the wake of this observation it would not be unreasonable to believe the word to be *khurram*, because, chronologically, the accession of Shāh Jahān (1628) and the period of the campaign are not far removed (beginning 1630). Therefore it can be envisaged that the pre-accession name still lingered in public memory sufficient for a royal addressal.

After the fall of Daulatābād, Faṭḥ Khān visited Āgra and accepted Mughal suzerainty. The centre of political activities in the Deccan shifted to Parenda as far as the Nizāmshāhī partisans were concerned. The chief amongst these was Shahajī Bhosle who retained his influence on the region around Pūne and Konkan. He made a passionate effort to keep the Nizāmshāhī cause alive by becoming the third king-maker for the dynasty after Malik ‘Ambar and Faṭḥ Khān. A minor was installed on a makeshift throne at Parenda and Shahajī became his regent. Meanwhile, the Mughals under Mahābat Khān attempted to win over Parenda, but met with a disastrous result. The Emperor chastised Mahābat Khān. The insult emotionally disturbed the Khān to such an extent that he died soon afterwards.

Shāh Jahān then decided to take the matters under close surveillance and travelled once again to the Deccan. He crossed the River Narmada on 4 January 1636 and reached Burhānpūr. He then proceeded to Daulatābād where Khān Zamān the son of the late Mahābat Khān received him. At Daulatābād, Shāh Jahān chalked out the strategy that would bring the Deccan hostilities to an end. He grouped his army into three sections – the first was sent to counteract Shahajī to the west of regions under his influence, i.e. around Aḥmadnagar. The second was despatched to the east, towards Junnar and Nasik. The third was despatched towards Dhārūr and Qandhār to keep a watchful eye on the region where frontiers of the Mughal, ‘Ādilshāhī and Quṭbshāhī domains met. This wing also had the additional responsibilities of winning over Udgīr and Ausā, the two strongholds remaining with Nizāmshāhī partisans in that region. After delineating the strategy, Shāh Jahān entrusted the command of this last phase of the campaign to his son Aurangzeb, who was appointed the viceroy for the Deccan. This was his first tenure as viceroy for the region.

The army sent towards Qandhār was led by Khān Daurān. He mediated a truce with the ‘Ādilshāhī statesmen and then decided to invest Udgīr and Ausā. The walls of Udgīr were blown up using mines (17 August 1636) and then the commander was coerced into negotiations. The same tactics were employed at Ausā, and the commander named Bhojrāj surrendered it to the Mughals. This completed the Mughal conquest of one of the strategic regions in the erstwhile Nizāmshāhī territory, namely the Balaghat ranges.

Both these forts have been known as mints for the later Mughals. However, no coins of either Ausā or Udgīr for the pre-Aurangzeb epoch are known. I publish hereunder a unique rupee from the J. P. Goenka collection in the name of Shāh Jahān bearing the mintname Ausā. The coin may be described as follows -



Wt: 11.27 gms

Obv: The Kalima within a rectangle and names of the four Caliphs around – only those of Abū Bakr and ‘Alī seen partially, the rest truncated,

Rev: *bādshāh ghāzī / shājahān* in two lines within a rectangle. The regnal year shown by figures ‘11’ after *ghāzī* in the top line. The area outside the rectangle has *shihāb al-dīn* (partially seen) on the top and traces of *sāhib qirān thānī* at the bottom. The left margin bears the mintname as *darb ausā*.

The regnal year 11 indicates that the coin was struck in 1638-39, i.e. about a year after the Mughals took Ausā. As it does not bear a date immediate to the event, it shows that this issue, is not a ceremonial strike to commemorate the capture of Ausā. It also demonstrates the fact that economic factors such as a need for monetisation of the newly acquired regions were the driving force in the operation of these mints.

Mention of three more mints should be made in the epilogue. These are Aurangābād, Aurangnagar and Golkonda. Aurangābād was the name given by Aurangzeb to the town of Faṭḥnagar situated in the vicinity of Daulatābād, when he besieged it in AH 1048. Rare coins bearing this mintname are known in silver and gold. A gold mohur is illustrated in the Bahrain Monetary Agency’s coffee-table publication and another was offered for sale in Taisei-Baldwin coin auction 16, February 1994, lot 616. a silver coin of this type is illustrated here.



The gold issues of Aurangnagar in the name of Shāh Jahān have been discussed in detail by Goron (ONS newsletter 156. 1998). This name was given to the hill fort near Mulher (dist. Nasik. Maharashtra) when it was captured by the Mughals in 1636. as part of their Deccan campaign. Golkonda was still under the control of the Quṭbshāhī dynasty, in fact the capital of the realm, when the coins in the name of Shāh Jahān were struck there. Shāh Jahān threatened the sultanate for two reasons. The Quṭb Shāhī sultans were ardent Shiites and incorporated the name of the Shāh of Persia in the *khūba* read within their domains. Both these facts irked Shāh Jahān who was a Sunni. In 1626. a minor named ‘Abd Allāh succeeded to the Quṭbshahi throne at Golkonda. Soon afterwards the march of the Mughals against the Nizāmshāhī sultanate and capture of frontier towns such as Qandhār put the Quṭbshāhī kingdom in a precarious position. The kingdom was prosperous, deriving wealth from the important diamond mines in its territories that yielded beauties such as the Koh-i-Noor. It had managed to ward off the Mughal danger by periodic gifts and tributes. But as Shāh Jahān imagined the riches of Golkonda, he turned avaricious. He was not content with a tribute and wanted more from Golkonda. The relations between these two kingdoms were based on Mughal intimidation and Quṭbshāhī submission.

In 1636, after his return to the Deccan for the second time, Shāh Jahān sent an emissary to Golkonda and warned against the Shiite domination of the religious scene there. He claimed that in his capacity as the Emperor it was his divine right to check infidelity vested in faiths such as Shiism. He also made the sultan aware that he could not profess dual allegiance – both to the Mughal Emperor and to the Shāh of Persia. The sultan, ‘Abd Allāh Quṭb Shāh, called

a meeting of the Islamic religious council (the 'Ulema) of Golkonda. The members of this council ruled unanimously that the demands of the Emperor should be immediately acceded to in order to avoid the Mughal menace. 'Abd Allāh agreed to Shāh Jahān's demands when he sent a written consent to his emissary on 26 May 1636. The first clause in this agreement read that the *khutba* would be read in Shāh Jahān's name, that it would also include reference to the four caliphs in conformity with Sunnī tradition and coins would be struck in the Emperor's name.

These coins are distinctly of two types. Those in the type with a rectangular enclosure, similar to that of Ausā illustrated above, are exceedingly rare and were struck soon after the agreement as seen from their chronological details. Sheetal Bhatt (Numismatic Studies, volume 2, 1992) published the silver rupees of this type. The gold coins are not published in detail. However a solitary specimen is illustrated in a large coffee-table book about the Numismatic History of Bahrain, published by the Bahrain Monetary Agency.

The second campaign against the Quṭbshāhī kingdom was headed by Aurangzeb as the viceroy in the Deccan. He attacked Golkonda on 6 February 1656. 'Abd Allāh Quṭb Shāh made frantic appeals to Shāh Jahān to command his son to retreat. Finally the siege was called off in March 1656, much against Aurangzeb's wishes. It left an interesting numismatic vestige – the Quṭbshāh struck anonymous copper coins at Haiderābād with an inscription referring to the Mughal invasion. The legend on these coins reads *khutama b'il khair wa'l-sa'āda*, meaning 'It ultimately ended auspiciously and in good time'.

I am grateful to M/s. J. P. Goenka and Pradeep Sohoni for providing me with coins from their collections in order to illustrate and publish them for this paper. The historical references in the paper have been taken from 'The History of Shahjehan of Delhi' by Prof. B. P. Saxena.

So-called Paliakatten, VOC rupees 'struck' at the Coromandel coast of India.

By Jan Lingem

The attribution of the silver rupees, which reportedly were struck at Paliakate (modern Pulicat) as well as at Negapatnam, have been shrouded in mystery up till now. A recent acquisition of a rupee in the name of the Mughal emperor Muhammad Shah (AH1131-1161; AD 1719-1748) may serve as a key to the attribution.

In the Yearbook for the years 1934 and 1935 of the Royal Dutch Numismatic Society, Scholten extensively describes the coinage of the United East India Company which was struck in Southern India on the coasts of Coromandel, Madura and Malabar. In this very detailed study he refers to records and other references that rupees might have been struck at Paliakate as well as at Negapatnam.

About the middle of the 17th century the Persian silver *abbasis* and *mahmudis* were much in demand by the Company at their factories in Southern India and in Ceylon and were imported in large quantities from Persia. A curious detail is that the majority of the *abbasis* and *mahmudis* bear mint names, like Yerevan, Tabriz and Tiflis, places which are located in the southern Caucasus, an area of old, inhabited by Armenians. Armenian traders were well represented in India and they maintained close relations with the merchants of the VOC and they probably acted as intermediaries for the supply of those coins.

Besides the Persian *abbasi*, the rupee of Surat was generally used in the 17th and the beginning of the 18th century as the trade coin par excellence by the Company. The Surat rupee was used by the Company to such an extent that when they obtained the minting right in 1747 on the island of Java they adopted a type of coin which was equal in weight and fineness to the Surat rupee. Earlier, by notification of 17 August 1693, Surat rupees were countermarked with a symbol of a horseman riding to the left.

At Colombo, which was captured from the Portuguese in 1656, Indo-Portuguese silver coinage was kept in circulation, but, in accordance with the decision of the Council of Galle of 19 April 1655, the silver *tangas* and double *tangas* were countermarked with the VOC monogram with a C above it. This measure was introduced to prevent counterfeit Indo-Portuguese money from circulating. Persian *abbasis* and *mahmudis* were similarly countermarked at Colombo as well as at Paliakate. The countermarking of these coins was a measure to prevent the private import of this obviously profitable trade.

In accordance with the notice of 23 October / 8 November 1660 all the Indo-Portuguese money was declared bullion and not current any more on the island. The same also applied to all other Indian coins, including rupees, *abbasis* and such coins, unless they were marked with the bale-mark of the Company.

Before 1656, Paliakate is considered to be the only factory where countermarking might have taken place (Negapatnam and Tuticorin were taken in 1658) and an additional indication, such as was later on applied at Colombo, was not required. The C for Colombo above the VOC-monogram might have been inspired by the idea of differentiating it from Paliakate which came under the Government of Coromandel., unlike Ceylon, which formed its own Government.



Shah 'Abbas II (AH 1052-1077; AD 1642-1666)
Abbasi of 4 shahi (7.31 g) mint: Tiflis AH 1067
C/m by the VOC at Paliakate (Rf. Sch. 1205)



Shah 'Abbas II (AH 1052-1077; AD 1642-1666)
Abbasi of 4 shahi (7.35 g) mint: Shamakha
C/m by the VOC at Colombo (Rf. Sch.1285)

We know from the publications of Tavernier, who made several journies to India, that besides abbasis and mahmudis, rupees, too, were countermarked at Paliakate. His voyages are published in several languages., for example in the supplement to the Dutch translation of 1682 "Afbeeldsels der Goude, Silvere en Kopere Stukken en der Schulpen and Amandelen die in geheel Asia voor Munt ganbaar zijn" (Illustrations of the gold, silver and copper pieces, as well as shells and almonds which are current for money in the whole of Asia). On page 189 of this edition, Tavernier mentions: "No.5 and No.6 is a silver rupee which the Dutch get struck at Paliakate. It is of the same weight as the other rupees of the great Moghul and the kings of Golkonda and of Bijapur. One side shows the mark of the Dutch Company to differentiate them from the other rupees. The silver rupees, however, are less in demand than the gold pagodas of the Company, which are preferred above those of the local rulers. If one has to pay a large amount in these silver rupees a 0,5% will be lost on it, despite that the silver is of the same fineness as that of others."



The illustration provided by Tavernier shows a Mughal rupee with a retrograde inscription. When the illustration is reversed one recognises clearly a rupee in the name of the

Great-Mughal Aurangzeb Alamgir (AH1068-1118;AD 1658-1707) with the mint name Surat. The artist who manufactured the woodcuts for the illustrations, probably had difficulty in cutting the exotic symbols in retrograde. The less foreign monogram of the VOC did not present difficulties, but the Persian script was probably copied the same way in which Tavernier had sketched it and consequently the script appears retrograde after printing.

Scholten describes this rupee under no. 1206§. With the §-symbol he indicated that such a coin had not been found thus far. Since the publication of Scholten (1951, Dutch edition; 1953, English edition) a few of these extremely rare coins have surfaced. The rupees comply with Tavernier's description and are struck at Surat in the name of the Mughal Emperor Aurangzeb 'Alamgir. The rupees thus countermarked were usually referred to as "Paliakatten".



Aurangzeb 'Alamgir (AH 1068-1118; AD 1658-1707)
Rupee (11.50 g), mint: Surat, AH 1075/Ry.5 (1662/3)
Countermarked by the VOC at Paliakate (Sch.1206)

That this countermark was not applied at Colombo may be concluded by a similar rupee of the same regnal year but with the VOC-monogram with a C above. This rupee is missing in Scholten's book, however. According to the notice of 1660 it was to be expected that such a rupee would surface one day and indeed it has.



Aurangzeb 'Alamgir (AH 1068-1118; AD 1658-1707)
Rupee (11.52 g), mint: Surat, AH 1073/Ry.5 (1662/3)
Countermarked by the VOC at Colombo (Sch.---)

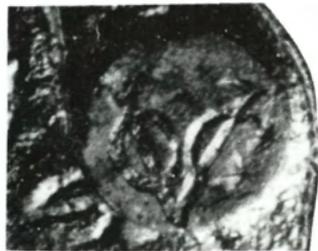
These rupees which, according to the records, were 'struck' at Paliakate, must be regarded as identical with the VOC-countermarked Surat rupees.

After about 1690, mention is made that rupees were struck at Negapatnam. In letters sent from Coromandel to Batavia (20.8.1726, 17.5.1727) they are described as rupees "van den nieuwen Paliacatsen stempel" (of the new Pulicat stamp) or "Nieuwe Chromandelsche Ropij" (New Cormandel rupee). A rupee of this description has not been met with or recognised as such, until recently, when I observed a rupee in the auction catalogue of Noble Numismatics which attracted my attention.



Muhammad Shah (AH 1131-1161; AD 1719-1748)
Rupee (11.05 g), mint: Surat, AH 1132/Ry. Ahd
(1719/1720)

Countermarked by the Company at Negapatnam with the "new Pulicat die"



Detail of the previous rupee showing the countermark 6 times actual size

The rupee is struck at Surat in the name of the Mughal Emperor Muhammad Shah (AH 1131-1161; AD 1719-1748) and is dated AH 1132/Ry.1 (3.11.1719 – 7.2.1720). To judge from its patina the coin may have been recovered from a shipwreck. The countermark on this coin shows a nicely engraved VOC monogram, in contrast to the much more crudely cut monogram on the earlier rupees and abbas of Paliakate. This may be the reason for the description of the "new Pulicat stamp". The indication "new" would probably also indicate "improved" and this is obvious from the carefully cut VOC monogram. The authenticity of the countermark is unquestionable and must have been applied in or after 1720. This matches very well with the report in the letters of 1726 and 1727 that rupees were struck at Negapatnam with the new Pulicat die or stamp. The rupee published herewith must doubtlessly be an example of this issue.

In 1662 half of the minting privilege was obtained by the VOC from the nayak of Tanjore. Half of the minting privilege implies that the profit of the mint would be shared equally between the Nayak and the Company. In 1676 the agreement was renewed. On this occasion, however, reference is made only to the minting of fanams and pagodas.

After 1690, when Negapatnam became the headquarters of the Coromandel coast, the minting activities moved from Paliakate to Negapatnam, certainly when it came to the minting of precious metals. The countermarking of Surat rupees, previously done at Paliakate, continued at least until the first quarter of the 18th. century at Negapatnam.

On the 27 June 1743 a new agreement was made with the Nayak of Tanjore by which the "Honourable Company was allowed to strike Negapatnam-, Porto Novo- and star-pagodas and various types of fanams, as well as Arkat- and all kinds of other rupees".

The Company at least made use of this agreement by getting pagodas struck at Negapatnam. From 1747 onwards the new Negapatnam pagoda of the Porto Novo type was introduced, which on the 8 March 1747 was declared current on the island of Ceylon. Whether star-pagodas, rupees of Arkat-type or similar other rupees were struck by the Company, in compliance with the agreement of 1743, is still an unanswered question.

Conclusions

With reasonable certainty it can be stated that the rupees 'struck' at Paliakate were Surat rupees countermarked with the VOC-monogram. This activity continued at Negapatnam after it became the headquarters of the Coromandel coast and the mint activities at Paliakate had ceased, particularly for precious metals. The practice of

countermarking Surat rupees continued at least up to c. 1720 / 1730 at Negapatnam, but now with the improved "new Pulicat stamp".

With this, it is hoped that another minor part of the proverbial jigsaw puzzle of the mint activities of the Dutch East India Company on the coasts of Southern India, has fallen into place

1. C.Scholten, Munten der Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie, *Jaarboek van het Koninklijk Nederlands Genootschap voor Munt- en Penningkunde 1934 (48-123) en 1935 (1-91)*.
2. C. Scholten, *The Coins of the Dutch Overseas Territories, (1601-1948, Amsterdam 1953, Sch. 16*.
3. L. Hovey, *Ceylonees Plakkaatboek*, 2 vols., Hilversum 1991, (60-61).
4. Supplement to Dutch translation by J.H. Glazemaker of "Les Six Voyages de Jean-Batiste Tavernier" (original ed. 1676, *Afbeeldsels der Goude, Silvere en Kopere Stukken en de Schulpen en Amandelen, die in geheel Asia voor Munt gangbaar zijn*, Amsterdam 1682 (281-307).
5. C. Scholten (1935), 35.
6. Noble Numismatics Pty. Ltd, Sydney, Australia. Sale No. 60 (21-23/4/1999) lot 4714.
7. F.W. Stapel. *Corpus Diplomaticum Neerlandico-Indicum*, vol. 5 (1726-1752), The Hague 1938, 354-355.
8. Hovey, 544.

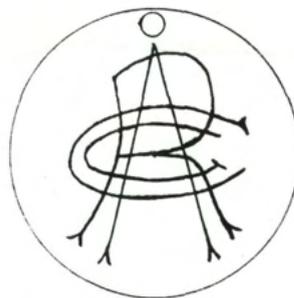
Catalogue of British India Passes, Tickets, Checks and Tokens By Bob Puddester

Part VIII – ACCOUNTANT GENERAL TOKENS

The Illustrative drawings in this article are derived from crude sketches made in the Calcutta and Bombay Mints during research visits in the 1980s. The diameter is correct unless otherwise noted, but other details are not to scale and are approximate. These drawings emphasise those points necessary to ensure recognition but are not so complete as to depict every detail. If edge type is known it is noted. The numbering system follows the book *Catalogue of British India Historical Medals*; these checks, passes, tickets and tokens will eventually be incorporated in a new edition.

993.2 ACCOUNTANT GENERAL TOKENS

993.2.19 ACCOUNTANT GENERAL CENTRAL REVENUES



Obverse: Large stylised interwoven: **AGCR**

Reverse: Around top half of border: ACCOUNTANT GENERAL

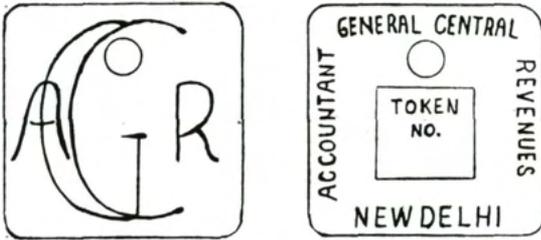
Around bottom half of border:

• CENTRAL REVENUES •

In upper half of centre area: TOKEN N^o

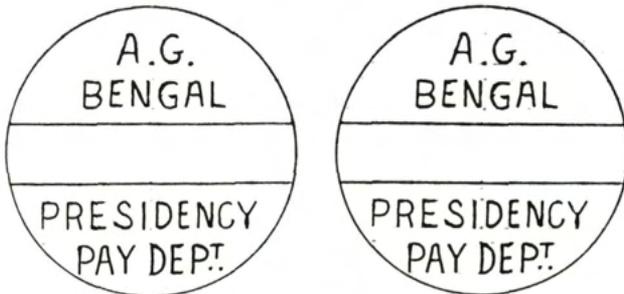
Diameter: 38 mm Metal: brass Edge: grained
Round. Small hole at top centre. First issue 1921.
Calcutta Mint

993.2.2 ACCOUNTANT GENERAL CENTRAL REVENUES
- NEW DELHI



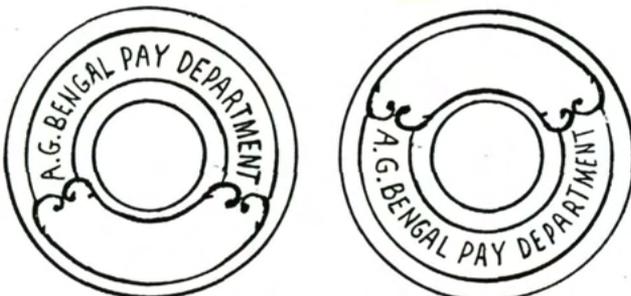
Obverse: large stylised **AGCR**
Reverse: Along left border: ACCOUNTANT
 Around top border: GENERAL CENTRAL
 Along right border: REVENUES
 At bottom: NEW DELHI
 Diameter: 31 mm Metal: brass
 Square with rounded corners. Holed below top centre.
 First issue: 28 May 1937. Calcutta Mint.

993.2.3 ACCOUNTANT GENERAL - BENGAL -
PRESIDENCY PAY DEPARTMENT



Obverse: Centre of token is divided by two horizontal lines. Above top line in two lines:
 A.G. / BENGAL
 Below bottom line in two lines:
 PRESIDENCY / PAY DEPT.
Reverse: same as above
 Diameter: 38 mm Metal: brass
 Round. No hole. Calcutta Mint

993.2.4 ACCOUNTANT GENERAL - BENGAL - PAY
DEPARTMENT



Obverse: Around upper border clockwise:
 A.G. BENGAL PAY DEPARTMENT
 Usually a number impressed within a scroll
 at bottom.
Reverse: Same as obverse except reversed with

legend counter-clockwise around lower
 border and scroll and numbers at top.
 Diameter: 38 mm Metal: brass
 Round. Large centre hole of 15 mm. First issue 1909.
 Calcutta Mint.

993.2.5 ACCOUNTANT GENERAL - PUNJAB - PAY
DEPARTMENT

Obverse: same as 993.2.4 except PUNJAB in place of
 BENGAL
Reverse: same as 993.2.4 except PUNJAB in place of
 Bengal
 Diameter: 38 mm Metal: brass
 Round. Large central hole 15 mm. First issue 1920.
 Calcutta Mint

993.2.6 ACCOUNTANT GENERAL - NABHA STATE PAY
DEPARTMENT

Obverse: Same as 993.2.4 except NABHA STATE
 in place of BENGAL and DEPT in place of
 DEPARTMENT
Reverse: Same as 993.2.4 but text as obverse this
 token.
 Diameter: 38 mm Metal: brass
 Round. Large centre hole 15 mm. Order completed by
 mint in January 1925. Sent to the A.G. Nabha State in
 April 1925. Calcutta Mint.

993.2.7 ACCOUNTANT GENERAL - EASTERN BENGAL
& ASSAM



Obverse: Around top border:
 ACCOUNTANT GENERAL
 Around bottom border:
 • EASTERN BENGAL & ASSAM •
Reverse: Blank
 Diameter: 38 mm Metal: brass
 Round. Hole starts 7 mm from top. Calcutta Mint.

993.2.8 ACCOUNTANT GENERAL - BURMA



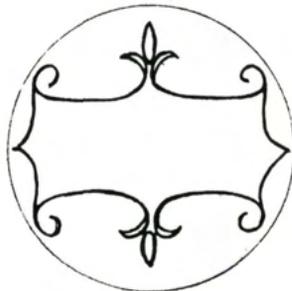
Obverse: Around border: ACCOUNTANT GENERAL
 ✦ BURMA ✦
Reverse: Blank

Diameter: 38 mm Metal: copper
Round. Hole starts 9 mm from top. Issued in 1898, 1937 and again in 1940. Calcutta Mint.

993.2.9 OFFICE OF THE ACCOUNTANT GENERAL – SAURASHTRA

Obverse: Same as 993.2.8 except no hole and legend:
OFFICE OF THE ACCOUNTANT
GENERAL + SAURASHTRA +
Reverse: Blank
Diameter: 35 mm Metal: unknown
Round. No hole. Bombay Mint.

993.2.10 ACCOUNTANT GENERAL – BENGAL – PENSIONS



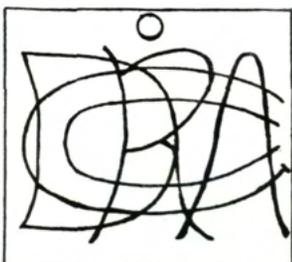
Obverse: Around upper border: ACCOUNTANT
GENERAL
At bottom: + BENGAL +
On wide band in centre: PENSIONS
Reverse: Elaborate scroll filling most of token
Diameter: 38 mm Metal: brass
Round. No hole. Calcutta Mint

993.2.11 ACCOUNTANT GENERAL FOOD RELIEF – NEW DELHI



Obverse: Along top border in large letters: **DAG**
In bottom left corner: **F**
In bottom right corner: **R**
Reverse: Same as obverse
Diameter: 32 mm Metal: brass
Square with slightly rounded coners. Centre hole.
Calcutta Mint.

993.2.12 DEPUTY ACCOUNTANT GENERAL – CENTRAL REVENUES – DELHI



Obverse: Very stylised **DAGCR**, filling almost the entire obverse
Reverse: In centre a 12 mm square with: **TOKEN N°**
At top left corner: **D**, below hole at top: **A**
At top right corner: **G**, in centre of left border: **R**
On bottom border: **DEHLI**
Diameter: 38 x 34 mm Metal: brass
Rectangular. Hole at top centre. Issue date unknown.
Destroyed 28 April 1938. Calcutta Mint.

993.2.13 DEPUTY ACCOUNTANT GENERAL – INDUSTRIES & SUPPLIES – BOMBAY



Obverse: Around top half of border:
DY. ACCOUNTANT GENERAL
At bottom: + BOMBAY +
In centre near top: INDUSTRIES, near
Bottom in two lines: AND SUPPLIES
Reverse: Blank
Diameter: 31 mm Metal: unknown
Octagonal. No hole. Bombay mint.

993.2.14 DEPUTY ACCOUNTANT GENERAL – POSTS & TELEGRAPHS POSTAL BRANCH – CALCUTTA

Obverse: Same as 993.2.4 but text:
D.A.G.P. & T., P.B., CALCUTTA
Reverse: Same as 993.2.4 but text as obverse of this
Token.
Diameter: 38 mm M: cupro-nickel
Round. Hole in centre 15 mm. First issue 18 June
1926. Defaced 18 February 1937. Calcutta Mint.

993.2.15 DEPUTY ACCOUNTANT GENERAL – POSTS & TELEGRAPHS – DELHI

Obverse: Same as 993.2.4 but text:
D.A.G.P.T., DELHI
Reverse: Same as 993.2.4 but text as obverse of this
Token.
Diameter: 39 mm Metal: cupro-nickel
Round. Hole in centre 15 mm. First issued 9 September
1926. Defaced 9 April 1937. Calcutta Mint.

993.2.16 DEPUTY ACCOUNTANT GENERAL – POST & TELEGRAPHS – NAGPUR

Obverse: Same as 993.2.4 but text:
D.A.G.P. & T., NAGPUR
Reverse: Same as 993.2.4 but text as obverse of this
Token
Diameter: 39 mm Metal: Cupro-nickel
Round. Hole in centre 15 mm. First issue 6 November
1926. Defaced 24 April 1937. Calcutta Mint.

993.2.17 DEPUTY ACCOUNTANT GENERAL – POSTS & TELEGRAPHS – MADRAS

Obverse: Same as 993.2.4 but text
D.A.G.P. & T., MADRAS
Reverse: Same as 993.2.4 but text as obverse of this
token.
Diameter: 39 mm M: cupro-nickel
Round. Hole in centre 15 mm. First issue 12
November 1926. Defaced 21 April 1938. Calcutta Mint.

993.2.18 DEPUTY ACCOUNTANT GENERAL – POSTS & TELEGRAPH BRANCH – CALCUTTA

Obverse: Same as 993.2.4 but text:
D.A.G. TELEGRAPHS. CALCUTTA
Reverse: Same as 993.2.4 but text as obverse of this token.
Diameter: 39 mm Metal: Cupro-nickel
Round. Hole in centre 15 mm. First issue 14 May 1928. Destroyed 20 April 1938. Calcutta Mint.

One would expect to find a number impressed on practically all of these tokens. While the mintage is not known, it must have been fairly small as the tokens listed seldom turn up. Additions to this trial listing or information from members about their use would be very welcome.

References:

1. Calcutta and Bombay Mint records.

Gold Coins of the Hangal Kadamaba Ruler Shantivarman (1075-1094 AD) in the Name of the Western Chalukya Ruler Jayasimha II Jagadekamalla

By Dr. Nupam Mahajan

Recently, I had an opportunity to study a parcel consisting of 14 gold coins of the Kadamba dynasty of Hangal or Hanungal, who rose to prominence in southern India in the tenth century AD. All 14 coins of this hoard are practically identical, minted in typical south Indian fabric. These are gold punch-marked coins with nine distinct punches on the obverse and with one punch on the reverse (figure 1). The punch used on the reverse was often struck in such a way that it is hardly visible on most coins, thus giving this series the appearance of being uniface. The arrangement of symbols punched on this coin consists of a central punch mark representing figure of monkey god, Hanumana, running to right and four backward looking lions (the dynastic emblem of the Kadamba family^{1,2,3}) at the cardinal points around the central punch mark. The two prominent punch marks create two *Shri* letters in Telugu-Kanarese script which denote Laxmi, goddess of wealth. The eighth punch mark creates a triangular motif³ and the ninth punch mark represents a Telugu-Kanarese inscription on these coins, which reads *JaGaDa* (figure 2). As already known in the case of the Kadambas, the weight of these coins was maintained with remarkable accuracy and all the coins weighed between 3.40 to 3.51 gms. Even though all the coins in this hoard were almost identical in their overall appearance, number of punches, arrangement and weight, one coin in the hoard, shown in figure 1, had one extra legend replacing the spearhead symbol. The legend on this coin was engraved in Telugu-Kanarese script, and reads *TiVaRa* శ్రీ శ్రీ



A gold coin of very similar fabric has been described earlier which also had a Hanumana in the centre and a part of a legend in Telugu-Kanarese which read *SuGa*⁵. Interestingly, this coin was described as being of 120 grains or approximately 7.76 gms in weight while all the coins in the hoard under discussion here are much lighter (~3.45 gms). The author could not attribute this coin, a double pagoda to any specific ruler because of the incomplete legend on the coin⁵.

Different branches of the Kadamba family ruled parts of modern Karnataka, Goa and Maharashtra states of southern India from the fourth to the middle of the fourteenth century AD. Epigraphic records confirm the existence of at least four Kadamba families, the Kadamabas of Goa, Hangal, Belur and Vijayanti or Banavasi. The early rulers of this dynasty established themselves at Banavasi in 345 AD and ruled as independent rulers for more than two centuries. In 607 AD, the Chalukyas of Vatapi (Badami) sacked Banavasi and the Kadamba kingdom was incorporated into the expanding Chalukyan empire. But the Kadambas rose again when Chatta Deva re-established himself at Banavasi in 980 AD as a feudatory of the Western Chalukyas^{2,3}. The successors of Chatta Deva occupied both Banavasi and Hangal and are known as the Kadambas of Hangal. Later Kadamba rulers continued to pay nominal allegiance to any dominant power in south India and thus maintained their independent existence till the 14th century when the kingdom was finally incorporated into the Vijayanagar empire.

The Kadambas had established a distinct monetary system where specific attribution was possible because of the presence of the name or the title of the ruler and specific dynastic symbols on the coins, i.e. either a lion or Hanumana. The Kadamba rulers of Goa minted coins depicting a finely executed portrait of a lion on the obverse while the Kadambas of Hangal minted coins showing the monkey god, Hanumana and artistic scrollwork on the reverse. Based on the presence of a popular Hindu god, Hanumana on the obverse, this hoard can be conveniently attributed to the Hangal branch of the Kadamba dynasty.

Gold punch-marked coins were first introduced in south India in the seventh century AD by the Eastern Chalukya ruler, Pulakeshi II. These gold punch-marked coins of 3.5 to 4 gms were later reintroduced by Jayasimha II Jagadekamalla (1015-1042 AD), a king of the Western Chalukya dynasty (Chalukyas of Kalyana) which were used by various kingdoms of south India, including those who acknowledged the suzerainty of the Chalukyas. All the coins in this hoard have a Telugu-Kanarese legend which reads *JaGa* or *JaGaDa*. Jayasimha II Jagadekamalla assumed the title of Jagadeva, the lord of the world⁴. The attribution of his coinage was possible due to the presence of legends like *Sri Jayadeva*, *Sri Jagadeka*, *Jagadeka*, *Jagadeva* or *Jaya*, on those coins¹. Some coins of Jayasimha depict a triangular motif which is identified as a 'spearhead'^{1,4}, and which is identical to the triangular motif depicted on the coins under discussion here. Could this be a Western Chalukyan coin minted by Jayasimha II Jagadekamalla? Most likely not, for the obvious presence of the dynastic symbol of the Kadambas in the centre of all the coins. So, who minted these coins? The coins shown in figure 1 provide us with the name of the possible ruler. A grandson of Chatta Deva, Shantivarman is known to have ruled from 1075 to 1094 AD from his capital Hangal^{2,3}. The legend in figure 1 partially reads his name Shan(TiVaRa)ma, thus providing us with the much needed evidence.

As the Kadambas were known to be feudatories of the Chalukyas, this hoard may well consist of coins struck by the Kadamba ruler of Hangal, Shantivarman, in the name of the Western Chalukyan ruler, Jayasimha II Jagadekamalla, thus acknowledging his suzerainty.

1. Chattopadhyaya, B.: *Coins and Currency System in South India*, New Delhi, 1977
2. Mitchiner, M.: *Oriental Coins and their Values*, III, Non-Islamic States & Western Colonies, London, 1979
3. Mitchiner, M.: *The Coinage and History of South India*, Karnataka-Andhra, London, 1998
4. Mahajan, N.P.: "A Gold Coin, Bhairava-gadyana, of the Western Chalukya Ruler Jayasimha II Jagadekamalla, *ON S Newsletter* 160, 1999
5. Dikshit M.G.: "Some Coin Coins of the Kadambas of Goa", *JNSI*, Vol. XI, p. 88-92, 1949
6. My thanks are due to my wife Dr. Kiran for her help in deciphering the Kanarese legends on the coins and to Mr. S.G. Dhopate for his comments on the manuscript.

A Review of the Rare "Da Zhong" and "Hung Wu" coins with the character "Jing" on the reverse

by Gilbert Tan and Dr Wu Xiankang

The immense difficulties faced in collecting the "Da Zhong" and "Hung Wu" reign-title coins of the first Ming emperor, Zhu Yuan Zhang, is well acknowledged by the Chinese coin collecting community. Even after years of painstaking search and expenditure, two of China's greatest collectors, Zhang Su Xun and Chen Ren Tao still did not manage to complete the entire series of both these reign titles although they had amassed the most complete collection of ancient Chinese cash coins during their era (1920 - 1950). This is not surprising, since out of the 9 coin-issuing provinces each casting 5 different denominations (and thus sizes) of coins each bearing the same provincial mintmark, certain pieces are not known to exist, although rightfully (or logically), they should have been made, leaving it as a continuing mystery to the coin-collecting world. What the author endeavours to do in the light of an ailing Chinese cash coin market crippled by the presence of accursed forgers is to shed some light onto the true status of the rare pieces of both the above two reign-titles that bear the mintmark "jing" on the reverse. Any comments or additional information are always welcome.

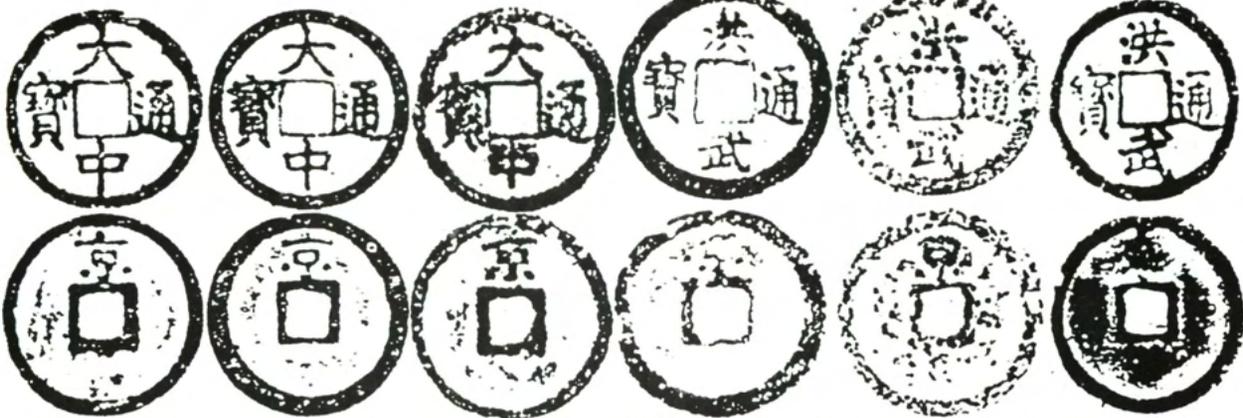
The "Da Zhong" and "Hung Wu" coins bearing the "jing" mintmark were made during the transition period between the fall of the Yuan (1280 - 1368 AD) and the dawn of the Ming (1368 - 1644 AD) Dynasties by the Board of Public Works at the Capital City of Ying Tian Fu (present day Nanjing). The most common of the 5 denominations is the 10-cash with the rest ranging in rarity level from scarce to ultra-rare (or even not sighted to date). The 5-cash denomination is the next most common but is still not an easy coin to get. The 3-cash pieces are quite rare with the Hung Wu piece being just that little bit rarer than its Da Zhong counterpart. The real kingpins are the 2-cash and 1-cash pieces, which really are the main focus of this article.

There are presently only 3 known pieces of the Da Zhong 2-cash with the "jing" mintmark. One was owned by Zhang Su Xun (Rubbing A) and depicted in "Li Dai Gu Qian Tu Suo" written by Ding Fu Pao, another (Rubbing B) is depicted in "Jian Ming Qian Bi Ci Dian" by Sun Zhong Hui et al. The third (Rubbing C) was seen by the author in recent years and although the rubbing was not expertly done, it is still obvious that the calligraphic style of the obverse of the three coins is identical. However, the "jing" character differed in style amongst the three.

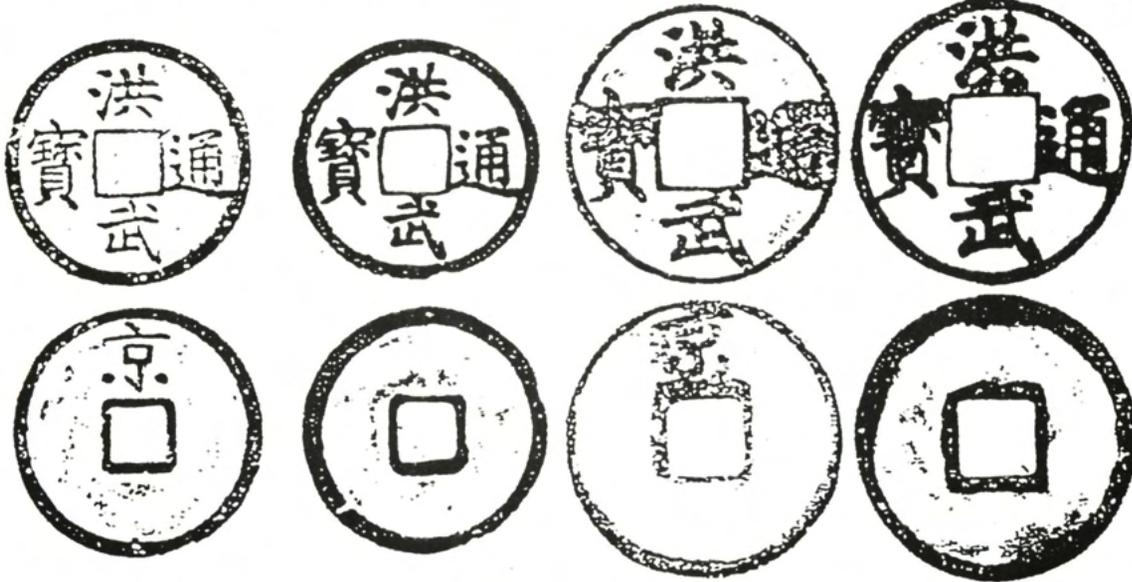
The past numismatic works have never shown any 2-cash coin for the Hung Wu with the "jing" mintmark. The patriarch Ma Ding Xiang of Shanghai was the first to point out the irregularity in the piece depicted in the book "Li Dai Gu Qian Tu Suo". The reverse of the depicted coin was actually the reverse of the Rubbing A piece for Da Zhong. It is really doubtful if any 2-cash piece had ever been seen then. Sun Zhong Hui in his "Qian Bi Jian Shang" shows Rubbing D, but the reverse "jing" character can hardly be discerned. The author came across the Rubbing E piece recently and made a hasty rubbing. The calligraphic style of the obverse is markedly different from the more common pieces such as the ones with the following on the reverse; "er qian" denoting two-cash (or candareen) denomination, "zhe" for Chekiang Province, "yu" for Honan Province, and "er fu" for Fukien Province. Even for the rarer pieces with "pei ping" for Pei Ping Fu or present day Beijing, "gui er" for Guilin in Kwangsi Province and "er" for Hupei Province, the calligraphy is different. Even compared with the exceedingly rare "guang er" for Canton in Kwangtung Province or the "ji" for Shantung Province, there are differences. The most common fakes that appear every now and then are the "er fu", "pei ping", "gui er", "er", "guang er", "ji" and "jing" pieces. The popular method is to utilize the very common "er qian" and "zhe" pieces by first removing the reverse characters and thereafter adding on the rare mintmark.

For the discerning collector, there is no problem telling a fake from the real thing as the collector can recognize the unique calligraphy of the obverse which corresponds to each mintmark. However, in recent years, forgers have upped the ante and are now able to create fully fledged fakes that even have a very good obverse. This has been particularly true for the fakes that are heavily patinated to feign authenticity. Nevertheless, the Rubbing E piece has a distinctively different obverse writing style from the more common two-cash Hung Wu pieces. A browse of the Japanese book "Toa Shensi" revealed the Rubbing F piece which is supposedly a blank reverse two-cash of Hung Wu but whose obverse calligraphic style is identical to the Rubbing E one. There is a faint image resembling that of a "jing" character on the top of the reverse supported mainly by the top dot which touches the outer rim and the bottom hook which touches the inner rim. However, with the very raised field on the reverse, we will still assume it to be blank as very often, Ming Hung Wu coins appear to have a character on the reverse but yet it does not seem very obvious. The Japanese refer to these as coins "with the reverse character removed" as the reverse character appears to have been intentionally removed before casting and only the "residue" is left.

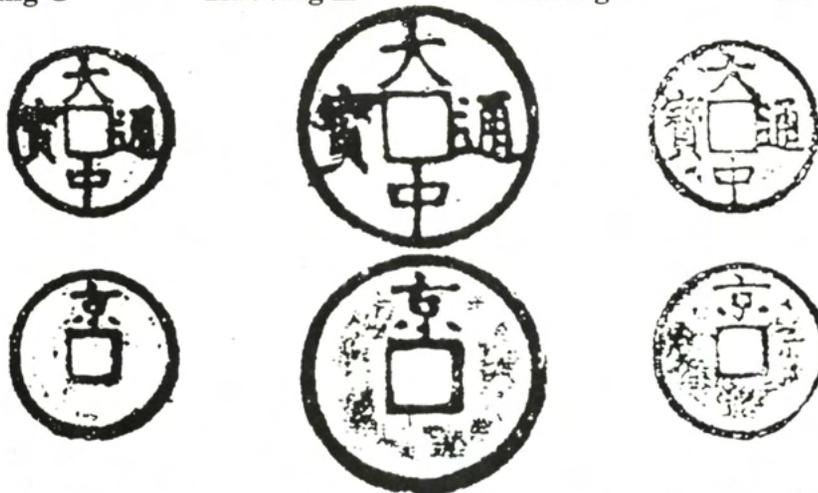
Of the blank reverse Hung Wu 2-cash coins known, there are only two varieties. They are the two-dot tung and the one-dot tung respectively. The one-dot tung variety has a pao with the bottom horizontal stroke stretching out westwards. Both are unique. The only known two-dot tung variety is the Rubbing F piece; one wonders if any remain in China, and the one and only one-dot tung variety (Rubbing P) rests in the Shanghai Museum's Currency Gallery. Since the obverse calligraphy of the reverse "jing" piece is of the same style as the blank reverse two-dot tung one, and both are not only unique but are in different countries, the possibility of related faking (that means using one to create the other) is virtually impossible. On critical examination of the various authenticating points, there is also insufficient cause to suspect them. But there is cause to celebrate for both historical reasons and cultural significance. No blank reverse one-dot tung 3-cash is known but it should exist. There is only one known piece of the blank reverse one-dot tung 5-cash (Rubbing Q) which also has a pao with the bottom horizontal stroke stretching out westwards like the Rubbing P piece. These two coins share another similar characteristic: they both have very small central square holes on the obverse as well as the reverse. The author believes they may have been made at the same foundry. The known 3-cash (Rubbing G) and 5-cash (Rubbing I) varieties with "jing" on the reverse have a two-dot tung. The blank reverse two-dot tung 3-cash (Rubbing H) and 5-cash (Rubbing J) varieties also have identical calligraphy to their counterparts with "jing" on the reverse (Rubbing G and Rubbing I respectively). Since most of the blank reverse Hung Wu coins larger than the 1-cash are made in Nanjing anyway, this does not surprise us as it is very likely that they share the mould for the obverse. With these points in mind, a revisit to the Rubbing D piece would arouse suspicion about its uniqueness compared with the known 2-cash, 3-cash and 5-cash pieces (whether blank reverse or reverse "jing") since it is not only a one-dot tung variety but also exhibits a very different style of writing: most one-dot tung Hung Wu coins have a pao with the bottom horizontal stroke stretching out westwards (see Rubbings N, O, P, Q) but this one does not. A recent discussion with Mr Sun who was the first to come across Rubbing D revealed an increased level of suspicion about the coin. But with the coin no longer accessible to us, no further comment is prudent. For the sake of completeness, there is one other sighted blank reverse two-dot tung 3-cash variety amongst the known Hung Wu reign-title coins. This has an obverse calligraphic style which matches the "yu" mintmark coin of the same denomination. Since it has slightly similar calligraphy to the Rubbing H piece together with the fact that the overall reverse field is raised, the author has left it out of the illustrated coins to avoid confusion. The only known piece is in the Shanghai Museum's Currency Gallery.



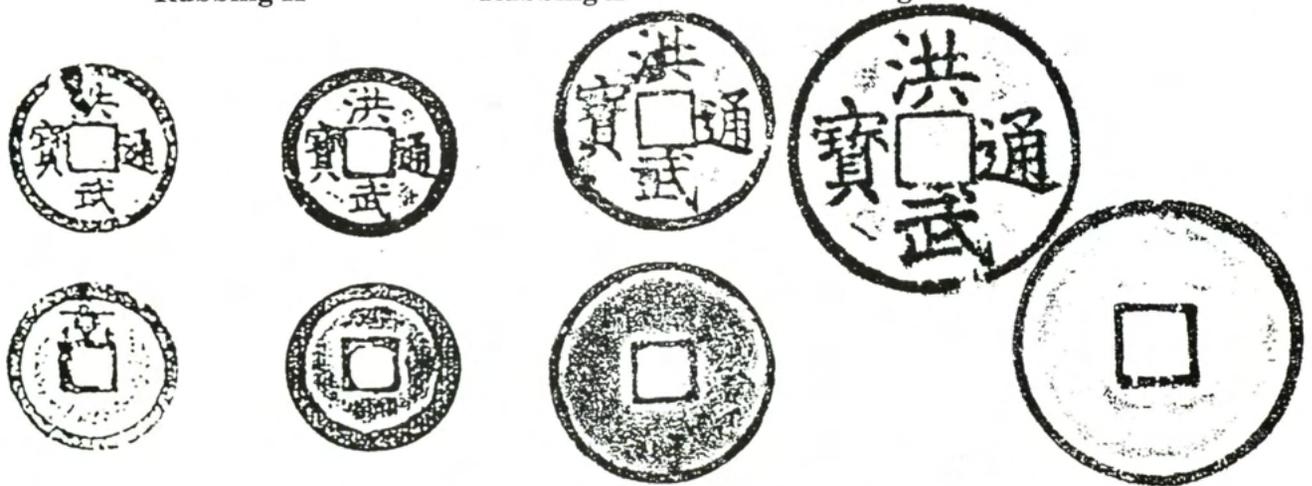
Rubbing A Rubbing B Rubbing C Rubbing D Rubbing E Rubbing F



Rubbing G Rubbing H Rubbing I Rubbing J



Rubbing K Rubbing L Rubbing M



Rubbing N Rubbing O Rubbing P Rubbing Q

The Da Zhong reverse "jing" 1-cash is survived only by the existence of two old rubbings, the first (Rubbing K) is depicted in "Li Dai Gu Qian Tu Suo" and price-tagged at that time in the early 1940s at 200 silver dollars (similar to the Hung Wu counterpart) making it the most highly valued of all Da Zhong and Hung Wu coins. Again, as in the case of the 2-cash denomination, the reverse of the Hung Wu 1-cash with a "jing" reverse depicted is actually that of the Da Zhong reverse "jing" in the same book. The obverse of the Hung Wu piece is that of a two-dot tung which is in congruence with the 2-cash, 3-cash and 5-cash pieces. However, whether the real Hung Wu 1-cash piece has a two-dot tung is yet to be seen. Hopefully, a genuine piece will arise within our time. On carefully examining Rubbing K, a 60-year old secret was discovered by the author. It is actually a shrunken version of Rubbing L which is the 3-cash Da Zhong reverse "jing" also from the same book. One can confirm that they are one and the same coin by scrutinizing the broken characters "da" and "bao". For the sake of completeness, and to counter critics who may hypothesize or speculate that Rubbing L may be an enlargement of Rubbing K, the questionable rubbing is undoubtedly Rubbing K since Rubbing L was actually taken from the collection of rubbings (and coins) belonging to legendary Ching Dynasty collector, Liu Yen Ting, and as the author understands it, the coin was subsequently acquired by Zhang Su Xun. This can only mean that, when Ding Fu Pao wrote the book, he could not obtain the rubbings of real 1-cash Da Zhong and Hung Wu pieces with "jing" on the back and thus had to create them for the sake of completeness. It would be interesting to re-examine the original manuscripts and rubbings for the book which were donated by the late Ma Ding Xiang to the Chekiang Provincial Museum!

The other supposedly 1-cash Da Zhong with "jing" on the reverse is that of Rubbing M, which first appeared in the Japanese book "Toa Shensi", a publication of the early Showa period. The obverse calligraphic style is satisfactory, but the calligraphy of the "jing" character is quite poor, especially where the bottom radical hooks upward. As there have always been expert forgers in Japan making Da Zhong and Hung Wu coins with rare mintmarks, and the Japanese have a particular liking for the 1-cash denomination for all categories of Chinese cash, this other one also bites the dust.

The Hung Wu 1-cash with "jing" on the reverse was never a reality, right up until the publication of Sun Zhong Hui's "Jian Ming Qian Bi Ci Dian". In this book Rubbing N is depicted along with a new found hope! Alas, this was, as in the past, too good to be true. However, most of the Chinese coin experts (mostly from Shanghai) in China felt that the origin of the coin was good as it was traced to a remote village. This idea very often misleads experts and prevents them from performing a thorough and unbiased investigation into its authenticity. The other 4 denominations all have similar styled obverse calligraphy, a two-dot tung and a closed based pao but this coin has a one-dot tung and a protruding based pao. Of late, the author chanced upon the Rubbing O piece which has virtually similar calligraphy on the obverse as Rubbing N. Not only that, but the reverse field is very shallow and hence appears raised. This would provide sound infrastructure for creating the "jing" character through craftsmanship. As such, the author is very doubtful about the Rubbing N piece. After all that has been said, Hung Wu coins of this calligraphic style (the Japanese refer to it as the "miniature tung" variety because of the smallness of the tung character) are not very common.

In summation, there are three known pieces of the Da Zhong 2-cash with the reverse "jing", one of the Hung Wu 2-cash with the reverse "jing" (and also one of a similar obverse calligraphy with a blank reverse that appears to have a "jing" removed) and no confirmed piece of the 1-cash of either Da Zhong or Hung Wu with the "jing" reverse.

It is the hope of the author that articles like this can generate more interest in this fascinating and never-ending field and stimulate more research and study into uncovering the myths of more than 2,500 years of coinage history.

Information required:

N Bradford Johnson, 15 Hamilton Avenue, Lynn, Massachusetts 01903, USA, has sent the following photographs and would welcome any information on the purpose of the piece.



India, Bombay Mint, gold ingot, 3 tolas, 9999 fine gold, diameter: 33mm, weight: 35 grams

THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE PRE-REFORM COPPER COINAGE OF EARLY ISLAMIC SYRIA

W.L. Treadwell

Introduction

The copper coinage which was struck in Syria between the time of the Arab conquest of Syria (630s A.D.) and the introduction of (mainly) epigraphic coinage in the late 690s/70s A.H. is a complex series that comprises several issues with widely differing fabrics, styles, inscriptions and imagery. The crucial questions relating to this series concern the chronology and sequence of issue as well as the nature (official or non-official) of the mints which produced them. While the available material cannot yet provide conclusive answers to these problems, several widely divergent theories have been published in recent years which are based on research conducted on discrete parts of the whole picture.¹ This paper provides a summary of the field as it exists and offers suggestions as to the direction future research might take, while attempting to contextualise the story of the coinage within the administrative and cultural history of the early Umayyad period.²

The language used by the numismatists who have tried to date and attribute these coppers is difficult and the non-specialist's understanding of their arguments is frequently hampered by problems of terminology. It makes sense, therefore, to begin with an introduction that clearly identifies the terminology which has been adopted here. This paper deals with the Syrian coppers struck between the time of the conquests and the introduction of the Standing Caliph dinar by the Marwanid caliph, ^cAbd al-Malik b. Marwān in 74 A.H. These early copper coins are often referred to as "Arab-Byzantine" coins. The term is useful in that it reflects the dominant influence of Byzantine coinage on the series, but its disadvantage is that it has also been used to refer to several other coin series which were struck in different regions and periods than the one under consideration.³ For reasons of clarity, we will therefore adopt the alternative designation of "pre-reform coppers" here. This term also needs some clarification, however, because the precise dating of ^cAbd al-Malik's reforms remains a matter of debate. For our purposes, we will take the introduction of the Standing Caliph coinage in Syria as the first phase of the reform and the introduction of (mainly) epigraphic coinage as the second phase, while noting that the first precious metal caliphal coinage of Syria had been struck *before* 74 A.H.⁴

¹ See Qedar 1988; Bates 1976, 1986, 1994; Ilisch 1980; Oddy 1987.

² My thanks to Marcus Phillips, Tony Goodwin, Lutz Ilisch and Michael Bates who have offered detailed advice on several aspects of the subject upon which they are much better informed than I am.

³ See Walker 1956 and the criticisms of his use of this term which were made in Bates 1986. The terminological problem is succinctly summarised in Album 1988, p. 1: "There was, in fact, no such thing as an Arab-Byzantine and Arab-Sasanian 'coinage', only Arab-Byzantine and Arab-Sasanian types forming part of a single coinage, best termed the 'early Islamic and Umayyad' coinage."

⁴ Silver coinage was first produced in Damascus and Hims in 72 A.H. and gold coins were probably produced in Damascus at the same time, or even earlier (see Bates 1986, pp. 243-254). But this early precious metal coinage, like the Official Imperial Image coppers, relied heavily on Sasanian and Byzantine models and, unlike the Standing Caliph and its contemporary issues, did not constitute a distinctly Islamic coinage in terms of its imagery, even though its inscriptions were in Arabic.

The term "Syria" as used here is not confined to the boundaries of the present-day Syrian Arab Republic, but refers to Bilād al-Shām, that is the territory extending southwards from the Taurus mountains, through present-day Syria, Lebanon, Jordan, Israel and Palestine, down to the borders of Egypt and Saudi Arabia. In what follows, the argument will be made that, in our period, a clear distinction should be drawn between the evolution of the copper coinage of the northern and southern regions of Syria, comprising respectively the *junds* of Dimashq and Hims (*jund* Qinnasrīn is not known to have produced coinage before 74 A.H.)⁵ in the first case, and the *junds* of al-Urdunn and Filastīn in the second.

The pre-reform Syrian coppers series can usefully be further divided into categories, although once again, care has to be taken over the choice of epithet. The best known group of coppers are those which share the following characteristics: they all bear one or more "imperial figures" of recognisably Byzantine form (standing, seated, bust-only) on the obverse and a denominational mark (either "M" [majuscule or cursive] or, in the case of one mint only, "K")⁶ on the reverse; they bear a mint name (and/or abbreviation thereof); they have literate and legible legends in Greek and/or Arabic; and they were normally produced to a high standard, with clearly engraved dies that were struck on well-finished; rounded flans. These coppers were mainly produced in major urban settlements, including Damascus and Hims (the two most prolific mints), Ba^clbakk, Tartūs and Ṭabarīya, Baysān and Jerash. Recent research has revealed some rare types, from the mints of ^cAmmān, Jerusalem and Diospolis, which share these characteristics.⁷ This group will be referred to collectively as the Official Imperial Image group. It should be noted that the group does *not* include all coppers with imperial figures, but only those which fulfil the criteria established here.

John Walker, whose 1956 catalogue remains the main source for this subject, considered that production of the Official Imperial Image coppers (for which he had no special designation other than "Arab-Byzantine") began shortly after the conquests and continued until 74 A.H. However, several new coin types have come to light in the decades since Walker's catalogue was published and archaeological and hoard evidence have also been brought to bear on the problem. This has meant that Walker's chronology has come under close scrutiny and the question of dating has become the subject of intense debate. Supporters of Walker's early dating (the long chronology) contend with proponents of a very much shorter period of issue spanning the years 72-74 (the short chronology), as well as those who would argue for a date between the two extremes (the intermediate chronology). A review of the various arguments will be offered in **Part One** of this paper.

It is important to remember that much of the material which has come to light since Walker's time does not however fall into the category of Official Imperial Image coppers as defined above. To begin with, we now have

⁵ Lutz Ilisch reminds me that early copper coinage from the region of *jund* Qinnasrīn displays no legible inscriptions and is not well studied. It is therefore best left aside from the following considerations.

⁶ The mint of Scythopolis/Baysān in *jund* al-urdunn produced coppers with "K" (see Oddy 1994, p. 410).

⁷ See Qedar 1988, pl. 5/15, pl. 6/16 and pl. 6/18.

good evidence for the widescale importation of coppers from the Byzantine mint of Constantinople into Syria from the time of the conquests, continuing probably up to the end of the 650s A.D.⁸ The evidence of these imported coppers (which have been found in the archaeological record as well as random finds) clearly demonstrates a continuation of the pre-conquest Byzantine monetary system through the period of conquests up to about the time of Mu'awiya's accession as caliph. Much scholarly interest has been registered in the continuing influx of Byzantine copper (and gold) in the early period. The suggestion has been made that this should be construed as evidence of a lingering ambition on the part of the Byzantines to reconquer N. Syria, the region where the coppers probably entered Islamic Syria and certainly appeared to have circulated in greater numbers than in the south.⁹

Since these Byzantine coins were not produced in early Islamic Syria, they fall outside the scope of our immediate interest. But at the time when the influx of such coins was beginning to fall off, and quite possibly *before* this date, the earliest copper coinage of Muslim Syria began to be produced. These coins constitute a much less coherent group than the Official Imperial Image series. While a large proportion of them were probably intended as close copies of the imported Byzantine folles (particularly of the most common of these, the Standing Emperor type of Constans II, Classes 1-4), there are also several types which were never intended as imitations, in the sense of copies of a single prototype, but which, on the contrary, either conflate elements of more than one Byzantine prototype and/or adapt those elements by various means.¹⁰ For this reason, it seems preferable to designate this group not as imitations, but by the more general term, pseudo-Byzantine coinage.¹¹ The characteristics which distinguish this coinage from the Official Imperial Image coins are these: the pseudo-Byzantine issues are usually struck on irregular-shaped flans from poorly engraved dies (much like the Byzantine folles of Constans II which many of them imitate); their imperial figures are often crudely rendered; their repertoire of images is far more varied; their legends (which are mostly in Greek insofar as they can be deciphered) are mostly illiterate, quite often retroverse or retrograde; they bear no discernible mint names.¹² The coins are thus of a completely different order to the Official Imperial Image issues and generally of a far lower standard of preparation and production. This has led some scholars to speculate that they constitute the output of small "private" or "unofficial" mints operated by merchants or metalsmiths or jewellers, while others have speculated that some of these coppers may have been produced at an early stage by the same mints which later produced Official Imperial Image coins.¹³

One particular group of coins from our period merits special attention because in several respects it forms a bridge between the pseudo-Byzantine and Official Imperial Image groups, although for the sake of convenience it will be considered here as belonging to the former category, since the earliest coins in it are imitative of Byzantine

coppers. This group is found in a copper hoard deposited in the region of Irbid in N. Jordan, part of which was published more than ten years ago by Rachel Milstein, as well as other assemblages of coins from S. Syria.¹⁴ These coins form the subject of **Part Two** of this paper. Their significance lies in the fact that, although, like other pseudo-Byzantine coins, they bear no mint name, the stylistic coherence of their imagery and epigraphy suggests that they were produced in a single region (or indeed, according to Milstein's view, in a single mint) which can be roughly located within S. Syria. Furthermore, their imagery and inscriptions reflect a range of influences from other series, including both Byzantine coppers and the Official Imperial Image coinage of Damascus, thus allowing the possibility of establishing a relative chronology for these coins and their prototypes. However both the provenance and chronology of this group are issues on which fundamentally opposing views have been expressed by Islamic numismatists. This paper puts forward suggestions on both matters and attempts to demonstrate that the Milstein coins should be used as a means of establishing the approximate dating of the Damascus Official Imperial Image types which provide the prototypes for a significant proportion of them. By way of extension of this last point, it is argued in the concluding section of the paper (**Part Three**) that the key to understanding the origins of the Official Imperial Image series as a whole lies in understanding the process by which the transition was made from a monetary stock consisting of Byzantine and pseudo-Byzantine coins to one in which the Official Imperial Image coinage also played a part. Only by examining the circumstances of this transition, can we hope to erect a framework in which the individual numismatic studies of the Official Imperial Image mints may be properly located. Some commentators on earlier drafts of this paper have questioned the wisdom of trying to establish a working model for this complex process of change when so many issues relating to the typology and chronology of the individual series of coins concerned remain unresolved. My feeling is that in a field in which progress on matters of detail can only be achieved by a very small group of specialists, periodic reviews of the overall picture may help to broaden the debate and bring it to the attention of historians, art historians and non-Islamicists, whose contribution has hitherto inevitably been relatively slight.

Part One: a review of the current theories regarding the chronology of the Official Imperial Image coinage

The first numismatist to address the question on the basis of a substantial body of numismatic material was John Walker, whose catalogue of Arab-Byzantine and post-reform Umayyad coins was published in 1956. It is important to remember that Walker's self-appointed task in this catalogue was to examine the *entire* coinage record of the central and western regions of the early Islamic empire, not just the coppers, but also the gold and silver, and not just the Syrian evidence, but that of North Africa and Spain as well. Like his successors, Walker's views were shaped by the limitations of the material available to him and the method by which he chose to catalogue that material. Given the scale of this undertaking and the thinness of the numismatic record at that time, it was inevitable that he was going to be more successful with some parts of his project than others.

Walker's achievement was in being the first scholar to gather together all the main types which constitute the Official Imperial Image coinage. When it came to

⁸ Ilisch 1980, p. 23; Phillips and Goodwin 1997, p. 63.

⁹ Phillips and Goodwin 1997, pp. 82-3.

¹⁰ See Goodwin 1993, pp. 1-2 in which the various categories of imitations are discussed.

¹¹ This term was brought to my attention by M. Phillips who uses it in his contribution to the forthcoming Fitzwilliam Museum catalogue of Islamic coinage. The term is also used in Oddy 1994.

¹² Goodwin 1993, p. 2 does warn the reader however that there may be mint names to be discovered in some of the barbarous inscriptions of the pseudo-Byzantine issues which have so far been overlooked.

¹³ See Heidemann 1998, pp. 98-99.

¹⁴ See Milstein 1988; Kirkbride 1948; Metcalf 1964.

chronology however, he was on less secure ground, and his catalogue makes no attempt to hide this fact. For one thing, the coppers are all undated, and for another, even though it was obvious that the Byzantine tradition supplied the repertoire of imagery which the Islamic coins utilized, there are no *direct* prototypes for them, with a few exceptions, in the Byzantine coinage. Walker's unease about chronology is clearly reflected in the provisional nature of his attempts to date the coins and his uncertainty about the relationship between the Islamic coins and their Byzantine predecessors.¹⁵ It is also true to say that his decision to arrange his material by the typology of its imagery obscured, rather than clarified, the relationship between the coins, and, most importantly, provided no means of studying the development of copper issues within the administrative regions which produced them.¹⁶ Finally, Walker had little chance to study the Byzantine and pseudo-Byzantine coinage of the early period: he had no knowledge of the Byzantine folles which were imported into early Islamic Syria, and he failed to realise the importance of the only published evidence for Milstein coins from S. Syria, which had been published by Kirkbride in 1948.¹⁷ From his perspective therefore, there was no local Syrian coinage before the Official Imperial Image issues. This lacuna must have encouraged him to posit an early date for the latter, in spite of the marked differences between this coinage and the preceding Byzantine coinage.

Walker's inclination towards a long chronology was taken up and elaborated upon by Shraga Qedar (1988). Qedar's perspective is however argued from different premises to Walker's and proceeds by means of a different methodology. Qedar identifies the fundamental change which gave rise to the Syrian coinage of the 7th century as having occurred a quarter of a century before the battle of Yarmouk (15/636) that signalled the defeat of the Byzantine army by the invading Muslims. He sees the closure of the mint of Antioch in 611 A.D. as a decisive event, because it removed the only major copper mint in the region which had struck coin for circulation throughout Syria. He reminds us that by 630 A.D., all the eastern mints, other than Alexandria, had closed down and that the sole supplier of coppers to the Byzantine East was the capital mint of Constantinople. Qedar deduces from the centralisation of coin production in Constantinople, that Syria *must* have suffered from a shortage of supply of imperial copper, although this conclusion takes no account of the continuing importation of Byzantine folles into Syria after the conquests. Qedar states that in spite of this shortage of supply, he finds no evidence of disruption of trading networks and taxation collection. He concludes that "the only logical explanation...is that a semi-autonomous local supply of coins...evolved, substituting the regular Byzantine system."¹⁸

This model makes profound assumptions about the role of copper coinage in the 7th century which are difficult to substantiate from the available evidence. For example, no allowance is made for the continuing importation of Byzantine copper coinage, or for the operation of non-monetary credit systems (of the type which the Geniza documents tell us existed in Egypt during the 4th–6th centuries A.H.) as a medium of low

denomination exchange. Furthermore, the role of copper coinage as a means of remitting taxes is by no means established in this period. It is also well known from other periods that the cessation of copper production (e.g. in the Roman world in the 3rd century A.D. and the central regions of the Islamic world from the 3rd century A.H.) did not immediately produce economic collapse of the magnitude suggested here.¹⁹ On the other hand, Qedar's argument, even though overstated, does have a substantial amount of numismatic evidence to support it, in terms of the different varieties of Syrian copper which were produced in the 7th century. While this numismatic evidence does not support Qedar's view that there was necessarily *continuous* minting of copper from the second decade of the century through to the end of the 8th century, it does suggest that minting took place in several different regions, and at different levels of production and organisation, *before* the introduction of the Standing Caliph coinage by 'Abd al-Malik.

Qedar's methodology is quite different to Walker's. He shuns any attempt to make sense of the typological sequence which the coinage followed and adopts instead a sequence which is based on two premises: first, that through the course of the century, Syrian coinage saw a gradual improvement in standards of die-engraving and quality of production, as well as increasing levels of literacy in the inscriptions; and second, that literate Greek mint legends were incorporated into the coinage before the Arabic mint names.

Qedar's first premise accommodates the early pseudo-Byzantine coinage well enough, since it was mostly composed of low-quality coins struck from poorly-engraved flans. But it has two main shortcomings. The first is that it is a weak diagnostic tool, since the criteria for judging improvement in quality are fluid: in one case relating to Qedar's Series C coins, Qedar and Milstein disagree in regard to the quality of the coins.²⁰ But more importantly, the theory of gradual improvement in style is fundamentally misplaced when applied to the coinage of the major Official Imperial Image mints, in particular to the coinage of Damascus. This point is made succinctly by Michael Bates in his 1994 critique of Milstein's publication of part of the Irbid hoard. He argues that the premise on which Milstein builds her attribution of the hoard (the same that governs Qedar's view of the entire pre-reform Syrian coinage) is unfounded—namely that the earlier issues of a mint were likely to have displayed crudely engraved legends and inscriptions because there was a lack of the expertise necessary for producing high-quality coinage and that improvement in quality would

¹⁹ For the Roman world, see Howgego 1995 (p. 135) for a summary of the scepticism which nowadays increasingly surrounds the established view that the changes brought about in the 3rd century Roman monetary system, one of the causes of which was the abandonment of copper production, led to a reversion from a monetized exchange system to one in which exchange in kind predominated. See also *idem*, pp. 137–9. The consequences of the cessation of copper production in the Muslim world in the 3rd century A.H. have not been analysed in the secondary literature. But there are no obvious indications in the primary sources which suggest that cessation of production led to widescale disorder in the system of low denomination exchange.

²⁰ Qedar (1988, p. 32) asserts that the transition from his Series B (imitations of Byzantine coppers, mainly of Heraclius and Constans II) to Series C ("looser" imitations of Byzantine coppers, some with Arabic inscriptions [mainly *al-wafā' li-Allāh*], as well as coppers bearing "free adaptations" of Byzantine imagery) entailed a marked improvement in the quality of the coinage; the flans were more regular in shape and dies are more precisely cut than previously. Milstein (1988, p. 4) reports, by contrast, that many of the coins in her Group A, which belongs to Qedar's Series C, were struck from crudely engraved dies on irregular flans.

¹⁵ Dates given for the beginning of Official Imperial Image coinage in Walker's catalogue are: *circa* 635 A.D. for imitations of Justin II and Sophia types (p. xvi); *circa* 650 A.D. for the same (p. 1); and *circa* 640 A.D. for "Imperial Bust" types of Ṭartūs and Hims (p. 19).

¹⁶ The point is forcefully made in Bates 1986, p. 235.

¹⁷ See Kirkbride 1948 and e.g. Walker 1956, pp. 48, ASK 2 which he placed in the category of "Uncertain and probable Arab-Byzantine". Ilisch 1980 (p. 23) first pointed out this omission on Walker's part.

¹⁸ Qedar 1988, p. 27.

only have come with experience and trial and error. In Bates's view, the opposite situation would have pertained: that is, as a general rule, the cruder issues would tend to post-date the high-quality prototypes upon which they were based.²¹ This is a principle which can be observed operating in other series, both Islamic and non-Islamic, and casts doubt on the basic assumptions of Qedar's approach.²²

Moreover, in accepting Milstein's theory that her Group A coins were among the earliest coins produced in the mint of Damascus, Qedar creates a major difference in outlook between his interpretation and that of Walker. The coins of Group A are entirely different in character to the Official Imperial Image series, being of inferior fabric and varied design, and having barbarised inscriptions. The fact that many of them are close copies of Byzantine Standing Emperor types of the reign of Constans II would imply that the mint of Damascus was in operation at a very early date, perhaps as early as the 650s A.D. But as will be demonstrated in Part Two of this paper, there are good reasons for attributing these coins to (an) unknown S. Syrian mint(s) rather than Damascus.

The second premise underlying Qedar's sequencing, namely that coins with literate Greek inscriptions preceded those with Arabic and Arabic/Greek inscriptions seems logical enough, given that the majority of the Syrian population would have been more familiar with the former than the latter. If we accept this theory, however, it would mean that the Official Imperial Image coinage began in Damascus and five of the southern Syrian mints (see Qedar Series D which includes coins from Tiberias, Diospolis, Scythopolis, Gerasa and Jerusalem) before the opening of the mints of the northern region. Most significantly this theory would exclude Hims, which according to published evidence was, along with Damascus, the most prolific of the Official Imperial Image mints, from playing a part in the earliest phase of the Official Imperial Image coinage.

Although he makes it clear that he is not attempting to establish an absolute chronology, Qedar does suggest that these two principles determined the general sequence of the coinage. Qedar's sequence has the great advantage of presenting the development of the coinage as an organic process in which new strategies were adopted by individual mint authorities who kept one eye on developments at the capital, Damascus, but were not instructed to undertake changes by a central authority. This model seems to fit well with the complexities and disjunctions of the numismatic record. But his analysis gives no consideration to the typological development of Syrian copper coinage or to the real watershed in the development of the Syrian coinage which occurred at the same time that literate mint names were introduced (i.e. the Official Imperial Image coinage). This latter coinage must have required a fundamental change in the way that coinage production was organised. It certainly required a much increased measure of control by the authorities over iconographic and inscriptional content, the employment of skilled and literate engravers and an efficient production system (perhaps more efficient at some mints [i.e. Hims] than others [i.e. Damascus]). Whether or not we assume that these differences signalled the replacement of the

earlier unsupervised "unofficial" or "private" mints by mints which operated under the direct control of the municipal authorities, we have to admit that the Official Imperial Image coinage is of a very different order to the preceding coinage.

Qedar's avoidance of the question of typological development is also a weakness in his argument. In the late classical period coinage imagery was often remarkably slow to change in circumstances where imperial authority was forced to cede territories to new conquerors. The retention of the basic forms of Byzantine coinage in our period is evidence of this and the example of the Germanic coinages of the Late Roman period suggests that the pattern was not peculiar to Syria. When we look closely at the early Islamic period in Syria, it is obvious that one figural type above all dominated the Byzantine and pseudo-Byzantine coinage: that of the Standing Emperor. In seeking to understand the transition from pseudo-Byzantine to Official Imperial Image coinage, we should surely pay attention above all to the role of the Standing Emperor image. Part Three of this paper begins with an attempt to identify the earliest Official Imperial Image issues as those at several different mints which bore this image.

While Qedar is a proponent of the "long" chronology, a very different view has been taken by Michael Bates.²³ Bates's view constitutes a radical revision of Walker's dating, since he proposes to date the entire Official Imperial Image series to a period of a few years immediately preceding the introduction of the Standing Caliph type in 74 A.H. Bates's doubts about Walker's chronology were based on the justifiable observation, already noted above, that it is unwise to disregard the obvious differences in imagery and inscriptions, as well as in fabric, between Byzantine coinage and the Arab-Byzantine issues which Walker classed as "imitations" of the former. Although his theory makes scant reference to the role played by pseudo-Byzantine coinage which now has to be taken into account, Bates's analysis was responsible for an important shift in the generally accepted perception of the extent of the Official Imperial Image. He suggested that each mint did not strike coins of several different types (as Walker's arrangement would lead us to believe), but instead was limited to one principal figural type available in the Byzantine repertoire. The exception to this rule is found in the mints of Damascus and Hims, both of which struck coins bearing more than one figural type. By demonstrating that the choice of figural types was restricted by mint, and by suggesting furthermore that die studies would support his preliminary conclusions that there was a high incidence of die-linkage within the issues of a single mint, Bates argued that what appeared from Walker's presentation to be a large copper issue which could have extended over half a century or more, was in all likelihood a much smaller and shortlived issue.²⁴

Bates has drawn his numismatic evidence primarily from the mint of Damascus, although, as he states, the real proof of his theory will have to await a thorough die study of the mint. His contention is that there were only two main figural types found on the obverse dies used by the mint, the Standing Emperor (a type used in Hims and several S. Syrian mints as well) and the Seated Emperor (which was unique to Damascus). The third figural type found in the Damascus coinage (the Two Standing Emperors) is rare: he explains it as a mule, that is a combination of an obverse intended for another mint (Ba^clbakk) which was mistakenly combined with a

²¹ 'Arab officials, and the Syrians who worked for them, surely knew how to write the abbreviated name of Damascus in Greek: later engravers, unsupervised by literate officials, ignorant perhaps of the meaning of the words, and careless since no one else cared, are the ones who misspell simple words and misunderstand design elements' (Bates 1994, p. 391).

²² Other examples of immobilisation in Islamic coinage include the Arabic Bukhārkhudā series and the Sulayhid gold coinage of the 5th century A.H. I am grateful to Lutz Ilisch for supplying both examples.

²³ Bates 1976; 1986; 1994.

²⁴ See Bates 1994, pp. 385-388.

standard Damascus reverse die.²⁵ As for the two principal types; there are several variants found within the Standing Emperor type—the emperor is often, though not always, seen with a “bird-on-T” to his right; a palmette is sometimes found on a similar “T” in place of the bird, sometimes freestanding. Other variations are found in the inscriptional programme of the obverse dies, including the full mint name in Greek (DAMASKOS) and the mysterious combination of Greek letters LEO. The reverse types comprise a majuscule “M” accompanied by either purely Greek inscriptions or by one of two different Arabic inscriptions. Bates’s contention is that in spite of the variants in obverse and reverse noted here, there is a high incidence of die-linkage between different types, which suggests a short and intensive period of issue, rather than a progressive sequence in which one variant was replaced by another at measured intervals. By extrapolating from the pattern which he provisionally establishes for the capital mint, Bates seeks to demonstrate that the entire series was produced in a short period of time. He has acknowledged however that the determination of the sequence and extent of the Official Imperial Image series of Damascus is now clouded by Milstein’s discovery of what he considers to be imitations of Damascus coins.²⁶

In spite of objections which were first raised by Ilisch (Ilisch 1980) that this shortened chronology was based on the mistaken (though unwritten) assumption, which was shared by Walker and Qedar, that the early copper coinage must have been issued on a continuous basis, Bates has argued forcefully in favour of a drastic shortening of Walker’s chronology. A shorter period of issue is borne out, insofar as the evidence goes, by the very patchy archaeological and hoard records which both appear to point to a relatively brief period of issue.²⁷ However strong reservations have been expressed about the *absolute* chronology which Bates has adopted on the basis of his research on the Official Imperial Image Damascus coinage and the assumption that before ^ʿAbd al-Malik’s reign, the Umayyads lacked both the will to undertake major administrative changes of the order implied by this coinage and the means to produce this coinage. This short chronology (72–74 A.H.) sees the series as belonging to the initial phase of the coinage reform which preceded by a few years the introduction of the Standing Caliph series. It presents the following problems.

First, it conflicts with the mounting body of evidence that the Official Imperial Image coinage, although not as diverse and plentiful as Walker’s catalogue might lead us to believe, was nevertheless an extended issue of some complexity, which could not easily have been designed and produced in the course of three years. Although few studies have yet been produced that provide concrete evidence of the dimensions of the series, it is becoming

apparent that, although some smaller mints were probably not prolific, the coinage of Damascus, Hims and Tabariya was extensive. The most compelling evidence to date has come from two important studies of the mint of Hims, which will be considered in more detail below.

Second, Bates’s model requires us to perceive the entire Official Imperial Image series as an initiative of the caliphal administration with a central role being given to the mint of Damascus. The only way of accounting for the production of such a diverse coinage in so many different mints within a very restricted time frame, would have been for the whole process to have been planned, designed and controlled from the caliphal capital. The fact that the year 72 A.H. was also the first year in which precious metal coinage was struck in quantity in Damascus, ties the copper coinage into the wider process of reform and forces us to see it as the precursor to the Standing Caliph coppers. But the centralised model of production does not appear to fit as well with the complexities of the series as does the model of organic development proposed by Qedar. If we accept that the coinage was designed and implemented by a single authority, whose intention it was to identify the products of each mint by a different figural type, it becomes difficult to explain all the exceptions to this rule, which the numismatic evidence provides in abundance. Bates’s suggestion that the anomalies are explicable as the result of the maladministration of a central die workshop in Damascus which produced the dies for all mints does not sit comfortably with the bulk of the evidence.

Third, Bates’s absolute chronology assumes that the Official Imperial Image copper was struck at the same time as the major Syrian mints were producing silver and gold coinage of a completely different nature. While it is a commonly accepted rule among monetary historians that copper follows very different patterns of usage to precious metal, it is difficult to see how the mint(s) of Damascus, under the direction of the caliphal administration, could have produced gold and silver coins characterised by the use of Arabic in their inscriptions and the emasculation of the Christian symbol of the Cross—both these features reflect aspects of the wider Marwanid programme of administrative reform—while at the same time producing copper coins which retained the use of Greek (on several important types) and the symbol of the cross. First there is the fact that in all the coinage which has been *securely* attributed to ^ʿAbd al-Malik’s early reign, there is no sign of the cross in its original Christian form, even though it is a common feature of the Byzantine coinages which preceded it. Second, we should take account of the reports which tell of Muslim antipathy to the symbol of the cross and the prohibition of the display of crosses by Christian communities. The Muslims’ aversion to the cross in its numismatic form is evidenced early in Mu^ʿawiya’s reign by his failed attempt to introduce coins without crosses into the Syrian currency: these were rejected by the Syrian population precisely because they lacked a cross.²⁸ By the time of the advent of the Marwanids, however, caliphal attitudes had hardened and a standing policy was adopted which entailed the defacement or dismantlement of crosses displayed in public, as well the defacement of the cross on

²⁵ Bates 1994, p. 386. There are however differences between the size and fabric of the Two Standing Emperor issues of Damascus and those of Ba^ʿlbakk which may, on closer study, suggest that they were not struck from the same set of dies, but on the contrary represent two different issues. Whether the second of these mints was indeed Damascus, or another, unnamed and “unofficial” mint, is an issue which will have to be addressed when the numismatic evidence has been fully explored.

²⁶ Bates 1994, pp. 388–391.

²⁷ Nearly half (46%) of the undertypes identified by Qedar in the Gaza hoard of early epigraphic *fulūs* were pseudo-Byzantine coins (Qedar 1984): this suggests that at least in the region of the hoard’s deposit, Official Imperial Image coinage was not the dominant copper coinage. Foss (forthcoming, p. 11) gives two pieces of evidence which suggest that the distribution of Official Imperial Image coins was not widespread—firstly in the Dehes excavations, Byzantine and imitations thereof dominated, with no Arab-Byzantine recorded at all. Second, as he states, there is only “scattered evidence” of the latter series in other sites.

²⁸ Palmer 1993, p. 32: Mu^ʿawiya minted gold and silver “but it was not accepted, because it had no cross on it”. The Syriac passage refers to gold *and* silver coinage, but there can be little doubt that Mu^ʿawiya could only have struck gold coins of this kind, since silver was not produced in Syria until after ^ʿAbd al-Malik’s reforms. It has been plausibly suggested that the “mutilated cross” solidus found in the Daphne hoard (*terminus post quem* 680 A.D.) might have been a specimen of this gold issue of Mu^ʿawiya’s.

the coinage.²⁹ It is difficult to understand how such a policy would have led to the "mutilation" of the cross on the precious metal coinage of the realm while continuing to accept its use on the Syrian copper issues.

In summary, it appears that the attempt to establish an absolute chronology of such limited duration for the Official Imperial Image issues does not fit well with either the numismatic evidence or the cultural and administrative developments of the early Marwanid period. Nevertheless, Bates's insistence on the relatively small size of the Official Imperial Image series does find confirmation in the studies of a number of scholars who propose an intermediate chronology—that is, one which begins several years before 'Abd al-Malik's reforms. Two important studies of the second of the two major Syrian mints, Hims, have contributed valuable insights into the question of dating.³⁰ The Hims series is particularly suitable for study because, unlike Damascus and Tabariya, its Official Imperial Image issues were apparently not copied in great quantities and moreover, such imitations as have been identified, differ markedly in fabric and execution from their prototypes.³¹

Part Two: a re-evaluation of the attribution of the Milstein hoard

As suggested above, further progress in understanding the Syrian copper coinage of the 7th century can only be made when *both* the pseudo-Byzantine and Official Imperial Image issues are considered together as integral parts of the same picture. One of the most important bodies of evidence which links the two series is the Irbid hoard of several hundred coppers, part of which was published by Rachel Milstein in 1988–9, the remainder of which is housed in the Bibliothèque Nationale and will be published in the near future. The Milstein material has been interpreted in fundamentally different ways by the three authors who have worked on it. Milstein considers that all the coins she published were struck in the mint of Damascus before 74 A.H.; Ilisch has published coins of similar type from the Tübingen collection which he attributes to S. Syria rather than Damascus; Michael Bates has expressed the opinion that the majority of the coins were struck not in Damascus, but in an unnamed mint, and dates these coins to the post-reform period, i.e. after 80 A.H.

Since the details of the argument may be lost on the non-specialist, a brief summary is offered here by way of a preface. Milstein argues that the hoard comprises *only* issues of the mint of Damascus dating to before 74 A.H. In other words her attribution fits with Qedar's assumption that the Damascus mint began operating at an early date, producing crude imitations of Byzantine coinage, followed by free adaptations of Byzantine coinage, followed by Official Imperial Image coinage. By contrast, Bates believes that only a few of the coins were

²⁹ Griffith 1992, pp. 126–128. As an example of the attack on crosses by senior Marwanid relatives and officials, Griffith mentions Severus b. al-Muqaffa's report concerning 'Abd al-Azīz b. Marwān, governor of Egypt, who ordered Christian crosses in gold and silver to be destroyed and placed Islamic inscriptions on the doors of churches (Griffith 1992, p. 127). A second example of an early Marwanid prohibition of the public display of crosses occurred in Damascus in the 80s A.H. Here the Umayyad governor of the city, 'Amr b. Sa'd, is said to have issued an order that no crosses should "appear in public there" (King 1985, pp. 271).

³⁰ Ilisch 1980; Oddy 1987, p. 196.

³¹ The Hims imitations are known to collectors of the coins of that mint, but have not yet been published. One example was recently kindly donated to the Heberden Coin Room by Tony Goodwin.

Official Imperial Image issues of Damascus and that the remainder were 8th century imitations of the Official Imperial Image coins from an unknown mint. A third interpretation is put forward here which incorporates the attributions already established by Ilisch. This interpretation agrees with Bates's division of the hoard into Official Imperial Image issues and coins from another mint, but holds a different view of the provenance and chronology of the non-Damascus group: namely, that these coins originated from an anonymous mint in S. Syria which began striking in the middle of the 7th century or even earlier, and continued at least up to the end of the century. While the earlier coins of this S. Syrian mint (=Milstein's Group A) reflect the influence of Byzantine coinage in their imagery and inscriptions, the later coins of this mint derive several features of their imagery and inscriptional content from the regular Damascus issues and can therefore only be regarded as imitative issues which *post-date* the Damascus coins. Since there are no post-reform epigraphic coppers in either the Milstein hoard (or the other, larger section of the same hoard in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris) it is reasonable to date the main issue of these regular coins and their S. Syrian imitations to the period preceding the introduction of epigraphic coinage, i.e. to a date before 79 A.H. The detailed re-examination of the Milstein material which follows below is a poor substitute for what is really needed in order to achieve a comprehensive understanding of the material: that is, the publication of the much larger section (500 coins) of the Irbid hoard which is held in the Bibliothèque Nationale.³² If nothing else, this paper will demonstrate the urgent need for the publication of this material.

Let us begin with a review of Milstein's catalogue. Milstein distinguishes between two groups of coppers, the first anonymous (Group A) and the second bearing the mint name Damascus in Greek usually in abbreviated form—in one exceptional specimen, the mint name occurs in Arabic (Group B).³³ Group A, which comprises roughly a third of her material, is made up of crudely produced coppers; all of them bear the Standing Emperor figure on the obverse, all have barbarised Greek inscriptions and many bear the Arabic phrase *al-wafā' li Allāh*. Group B, by contrast, is more heterogeneous. It comprises coins of differing fabric; it has at least two different figural types (Standing Emperor and Seated Emperor) among its obverses; it has a much wider range of imagery—the Standing Emperor is sometimes found clothed in different costumes; there are various additional iconographic elements which are found on some specimens such as stars and birds, extra pellets and wavy lines. In spite of this wide range of stylistic variation, and the inclusion of many coins which do not fulfil the criteria established earlier for Official Imperial Image coinage, Milstein ascribes *all* the coins of Group B to the mint of Damascus, arguing that the cruder issues with barbarised legends preceded the higher quality coins.

Having established a Damascus provenance for Group B, Milstein proceeds to argue that the earlier group, Group A, was *also* produced in Damascus. Although she acknowledges that there are no die-links between Groups A and B, she bases her belief in their common origin on the general evidence of stylistic similarities between the two groups (e.g. the form and decoration of the "m" on the reverse; various features associated with the standing

³² In her introduction (p. 3) Milstein appears to be uncertain whether the Paris material belongs to the same hoard but in her subsequent commentary on the catalogue expresses no such doubts.

³³ Milstein fails to mention that some coins in her Group B (see e.g. nos 78, 126, 132, 152, 157 on plates 2 and 3) do *not* have a mint name or even approximations of mint names.

figure; and the blundered inscriptions) as well as the specific evidence of a small "intermediate" group, represented by a few coins in the unpublished Paris section of the hoard, which combines features that otherwise exist in only one or other of the groups.³⁴ This intermediate group, she suggests, forms a "mid-point between the two groups" and provides conclusive evidence of their attribution to the same mint. Although Milstein's identification of the common mint as Damascus does not stand up to close scrutiny (see below), her point about the general characteristics shared by the two groups does indicate that both groups were produced within the same stylistic tradition; in other words that they probably originate, if not from one mint, then at least from the same region.

It must be stressed that Milstein's hypothesis presented a radical challenge to received opinion about Syrian copper coinage because of her insistence on the identification of the mystery mint as Damascus. If proven correct, Milstein's hypothesis would mean that the mint of Damascus not only began operations at an early date, but that it produced a large amount of low-standard crude coins over a lengthy period, before it issued its first Official Imperial Image coins. In other words, it would mean that the operation of the mint was divided into two distinctive phases: the first in which it produced coinage similar in quality to the other pseudo-Byzantine issues, and the second in which it produced high-quality coinage of a very different order. If this hypothesis could be proved, it would present us with a completely new perspective on the operation of the mint of the Umayyad capital, which no commentator prior to Milstein had considered.

The problem with Milstein's hypothesis is that it was not presented in form that could be properly tested by fellow scholars. Only thirty-two of the 158 coins in the Milstein hoard were illustrated in the plates and furthermore, several coins included in the die-charts were not illustrated. The main flaw in Milstein's argument concerned the use which it made of the die-chains that were derived from the die analysis of Group B. For even though the general intention behind the publication of these die-chains was very clear (viz. that each group of die-linked coins was produced in the same mint), Milstein failed to make any references to individual chains in her text. Instead of detailing those instances where such links occurred and demonstrating that they *proved* that Official Imperial Image coins were included in the same die-chains as the inferior specimens, the significance of individual die charts was never explicitly examined. In this way, the reader is led to infer the conclusion which Milstein derives from the relatively high incidence of linkage, but is unable to follow the argument in fine detail. It is to this detail that we turn below, with the aid of the original photographs of the coins of the hoard, which were made available by kind permission of Rachel Milstein.

Before doing so, however, we should take into consideration the views of Ilisch and Bates. The first appeared in the *Sylloge Numorum Arabicorum Tübingen*, vol. iva (Palästina) (Ilisch 1993). In this catalogue of the coinage of Palestine, Ilisch published specimens which were closely related to (and in some cases die-linked with) Milstein's Groups A and B, but offered different mint attributions and dates to those suggested by Milstein. The main points of difference were first, that Ilisch proposed a S. Syrian origin (either *filasṭīn* or *al-urdunn*) for all such coins and second, that he identified two specimens (Ilisch 1993 nos 508 and 509) as imitations of Damascus coppers. Although the sylloge format did not allow Ilisch to give the reasons for his reattribution of the specimens in the Tübingen collection, the reader is led to understand

³⁴ Milstein 1988, p. 14.

first, that he regards *all* the coins in the Milstein hoard which share the characteristics of the specimens which he published as having originated from S. Syria and, second, that he dates at least some of the coins in Milstein Group B *later* than the Damascus coppers which he identifies as their prototypes.³⁵ As will be demonstrated below, although there are inconsistencies in some of his attributions, Ilisch's revised attributions do indeed apply to the majority of the Milstein material and are supported by new archaeological evidence as well as by a re-examination of Milstein's die chains.³⁶

The second response to Milstein's thesis took the form of a commentary by Michael Bates which included little discussion of individual coins but a substantial critique of the principles upon which Milstein's ideas are based.³⁷ Bates, like Ilisch, disagrees fundamentally with Milstein on the question of the attribution of the hoard. His critique focuses on a re-appraisal of the conclusions to be derived from Milstein's die chains. Bates was the first to point out that there were several coins in the hoard which were not included in these chains, thus rendering invalid the sweeping conclusions which Milstein had adopted regarding the entirety of Group B. Although he was unable to examine the evidence, for the reasons already stated, Bates maintained that there were Damascus Official Imperial Image issues (in his words "authentic" issues) in the hoard which were not linked to irregular coins and that therefore there was no evidence for attributing the entirety of Group B to the mint of Damascus. He did however acknowledge that the chains proved that a certain number of coins which had previously been considered as Official Imperial Image issues could no longer be considered as such, because they were die-linked to inferior issues. The case study he cited as evidence for this latter point was a coin struck from the same dies as Walker no. 5 which was linked to inferior issues. Walker no. 5, it should be said, is one of the most obvious candidates for exclusion from the Official Imperial Image series—its imagery is crude and its shares the characteristic "wavy lines" that occur in several other coins of the Milstein group.

Bates's important point regarding the absence of evidence for linkage between Official Imperial Image

³⁵ Ilisch's grounds for this reinterpretation can only be guessed at. The S. Syrian provenance is presumably a reflection of the point of origin of the Irbid hoard and the Kirkbride material (both of which originated in modern-day Jordan). The identification of Ilisch 1993 nos 508 and 509 as imitations follows from the belief that they were not struck in Damascus and yet display features which are borrowed from the Damascus coins.

³⁶ One or two points remain unclear in the text of the catalogue. First, Ilisch 1993 nos 510–513 (three die-identical Seated Emperor coppers) are described as imitations of Byzantine folles with an enthroned emperor. It is not clear what the Byzantine prototype for these imitations was, nor why the imitations should be dated to approximately the last third of the 7th century. A more likely prototype for them would surely be the Damascus Seated Emperor coppers. Second, no reason is given for dating the coins of Milstein's Group A which bear the Arabic phrase *al-wafā' li-Allāh* (nos 513–519) to circa 70 A.H. The latter is the date which Ilisch assigns to the Official Imperial Image issues of Palestine (e.g. Tabariya and Baysān) but the coins with the Arabic phrase bear no apparent relation to the latter, being much cruder in their imagery and inscriptions. The inference may be that the Arabic phrase could not have been used until Arabic was used on the Official Imperial Image issues, but if so, the reader needs to know why coins of inferior quality such as Milstein Group A would have been issued at the same time as the Official Imperial Image issues.

³⁷ Bates 1994. For his objections on principle to the argument that poor-quality coins could have preceded high-quality coins in the mint of Damascus, see above (pp. 3–4) where his argument is rehearsed in relation to Qedar's support of Milstein's attributions.

coppers and inferior coins in the hoard needs to be tested against the evidence of the illustrations of the coins. To this end, all the die chains presented by Milstein have been re-examined with the intention of isolating those which contained coins that appeared to fulfil the criteria for Official Imperial Image coins and determining whether there was indeed evidence to link them to coins which did not fulfil the same criteria. The chains selected from Milstein's die charts (Figs. 2 and 3) were the following (only the first and last coins in each chain are cited here as identifiers): (a) 58–136; (b) 108–138; (c) 52–57; (d) 91–92; (e) 93–94. In addition, there is one chain which does not appear genuine Official Imperial Image coins: (f) 82–86. Analysis of the chains produced these conclusions:

(a) Nos 58–136. This chain is interesting because it begins with high-quality Standing Emperor types with "M" reverses (nos 58 and 59), which before the publication of the Milstein hoard would certainly have been considered as Official Imperial Image issues. These are linked by their obverse die to a coin struck from a reverse with crude and retrograde inscriptions (no. 60); which is linked via its reverse die to more crude Standing Emperor types (nos 112 and 117); which are themselves linked to types which are much cruder in style than either of the above and have on the obverse a standing figure dressed in a short tunic holding in his left hand what appears to be a head in a basket (nos 134–136: N.B. only a photo of no. 135 survives). Two observations should be made about this chain: first, that although all the rest of their features are regular, nos 58 and 59 do have slightly aberrant obverse legends (AEO instead of LEO), which may signal that they were not in fact Damascus issues; second, and more importantly, that the reverse link between nos 60 and 112 is hard to confirm due to the poor condition of the coins. The illustration (Fig. 1) shows that the reverse of no. 60 is worn and the reverse of 112 is doublestruck. For these reasons the die chain cannot be considered as conclusive evidence of linkage.



Fig. 1: Milstein nos 60 (left) and 112 (right)

(b) Nos 108–138. In this chain, there is less irregularity than in (a): it comprises two obverse types (Seated and Standing Emperors) and reverses which conform quite closely to the criteria for regular Official Imperial Image issues. The only perceptible irregularities which arise are in the reverse inscriptions of no. 109 where an extra letter (A) appears to the right of the "M". The link Milstein makes between the reverse die of nos 110/111 and the reverse of Walker no. 4 is however very dubious (Fig. 2). Thus even if we were to suppose that the Standing Emperor obverse die was *not* an Official Imperial Image issue (by virtue of its combination with the inscriptional irregularity noted in the reverse of no. 109), there is no definite evidence to prove a link between it and the Seated Emperor (Walker no. 4) which bears all the characteristics of an Official Imperial Image issue.



Fig. 2: Milstein no. 111

(c) Nos 52–57. The six coins in this chain are struck from one obverse and three reverse dies. The only irregularity noted occurs in the reverse of no. 57 which Milstein describes thus—"monogram and inscriptions retrograde". This is an entirely satisfactory description, for in every other respect the die is quite regular, as the illustration shows (Fig. 3). It appears that we have here an example of a series of six die-linked Official Imperial Image coins, one of which was struck from a die which bore a non-mirror image representation of the design. None of these coins are linked to any other coins in the hoard.



Fig. 3: Milstein no. 57

(d and e) Nos 91–92; 93–94. These two pairs of Standing Emperor coins are linked by their obverse dies and show no sign of being anything other than a couple of regular Official Imperial Image issues. They are not linked to other coins in the hoard.

(f) Nos 83–85. These three Standing Emperor coins with "M" were struck from one obverse and two reverses, none of which appear to be linked to any other coins in the hoard.

Analysis of the preceding six chains has shown that there are no conclusive grounds in Milstein's material to demonstrate that links exist between Official Imperial Image and low-quality /irregular coinage. There are four other coins in the hoard which appear to be Official Imperial Image issues and are not linked to other coins: they are nos 61 and 64 (Standing Emperor issues); no. 137 (Seated Emperor) and no. 158 (Standing Emperor with Arabic reverse—*darb / dimashq / jā'iz*). If we add the coins in chains c–f to these four, we have a total of seventeen Official Imperial Image coins in the hoard, which do appear to constitute a separate component that, as has been suggested by Bates, is unlinked to other coins. In the light of these findings, it makes sense to divide Milstein Group B into two separate sub-groups: Group B1 comprising the Damascus Official Imperial Image coppers and Group B2 comprising the remaining coins.

Group B2, it should be noted, may be further subdivided into two groups on the basis of the development of the figural type. B2.i contains coins which bear close copies of the Standing Emperor figure, with additional symbols such as are found in the Official Imperial Image prototypes (palm branch, bird-on-T, etc.), whereas B2.ii includes crude copies, and adaptations, of both the principal Damascus figures (Standing and Seated Emperor), as well as additional design elements (bird to the right of the emperor, stars etc.) which are not found on the Damascus coins. Both B2.i and B2.ii were nevertheless produced *later* than the Damascus Official Imperial Image issues; some of Milstein's die-chains link coins from both these sub-groups and thus prove that they were contemporary products of the same mint(s).³⁸ Most

³⁸ See Milstein Group B die chains (a) 101–133—as may be seen from Milstein pl. 2/101, no. 101 is a Standing Emperor obverse, while the remainder of the surviving photographs show obverses with Standing figures holding a head in a basket—and (b) 80–126. Both demonstrate that the Standing figure holding a head in a basket (which belongs to B2.ii) is linked to Standing Emperor (which belongs to B2.i).

of the coins of B2.ii (e.g. Milstein Plate 2, no. 113; Plate 3, nos 119, 126, 132, 133, 143, 152, 154, 155, 156) betray signs of the influence of either the imagery and/or inscriptions of the Damascus coinage.³⁹ Were they perhaps the product of a single die-sinker (or more than one die-sinker) who was not content, like his fellows, to produce imitations, but instead indulged his creative urge? The publication of the Paris section of the Irbid hoard may offer further clues towards solving this question.

The re-evaluation of Milstein's die analysis presented above adds evidence in favour of the hypothesis that the coins belonging to the two sub-groups B1 and B2 were struck in two different mints. This hypothesis is further supported by reliable published data regarding the provenance of groups of coins which are very similar (and in some cases die-linked) to the coins in Milstein's hoard which do not belong to the Official Imperial Image series. It must be said that most of this data relates not to Milstein's Group B, but to Group A. Nevertheless, bearing in mind the strong stylistic resemblances between Groups A and B2 (which are particularly evident in the form and decoration of their reverse dies) it is here maintained that the two groups are certainly likely to have originated from the same region, and possibly from the same mint(s).

The provenance data may be summarised as follows. Two related groups of coins which bear a strong resemblance to those of Group A and in a few cases were struck from the same dies, the first published by Kirkbride in 1948 and the second by D.M. Metcalf in 1964, appear to have originated from the region of the *junds* of al-Urdunn and Filasṭīn.⁴⁰ These two groups of coins originated from the same general region, then, as the Irbid (northern region of present-day Jordan) hoard itself. Furthermore, the archaeological record, though very thin, suggests that such coins were circulating in both *jund al-urdunn* and *jund filasṭīn*. The excavations at Hammat Gader (Gedara) have revealed coins of this type, as have excavations in Jerusalem.⁴¹ By contrast, no such coins have been noted in the archaeological record of sites excavated in N. Syria.⁴² There is a general informal consensus among coin dealers that these coins are commonly found in sources originating in present-day region of Jordan, Israel and the Palestinian Authority lands, but are unknown, or practically unknown, from more northerly regions.⁴³ The conclusion towards which these data lead us is that already adopted by Ilisch, viz.

head in a basket (which belongs to B2.ii) is linked to Standing Emperor (which belongs to B2.i).

³⁹ Many of these coins have reverses with the "M" + monogram of the Damascus coins with some partial and usually blundered attempts at the accompanying Greek numerals and inscriptions (e.g. nos 113, 133, 143, 154, 155, 156). Some have obverse types which betray the influence of the Seated Emperor which was, as far as is known at present, restricted to Damascus (e.g. nos 143, 152, 154). Others have "m" on their reverses, but with traces of the inscriptions which accompany the Damascus "M" (e.g. no. 119).

⁴⁰ Kirkbride 1948, pp. 59–63; Metcalf 1964. Milstein coin nos 78 (obverse) and 121 (obverse and reverse) are die-linked to Kirkbride nos 2 and 4 respectively. Metcalf notes "a few clear instances of die-similarity (between the Lachish material and the Kirkbride group) but none, unless they are obscured by the very defective striking of the series, of die-duplication." (p. 37).

⁴¹ See Amitai-Preiss and Berman 1997 nos 5, 41, 147 which are compared respectively with three specimens of Milstein's Group A; Milstein nos 11, 4 (reverse only), 9 (obverse only). For Jerusalem, see Foss (forthcoming), note 19, in which the author notes that among a group of sixteen bronzes from an excavation in the city which he attributed, he identified four as belonging to "Qedar [Series] C (Damascus)"; this must refer to the coins of Group A which bear the phrase *al-wafā' li Allāh*.

⁴² See Foss (forthcoming).

⁴³ I am grateful to Steve Album for this information.

that the region of origin of these coins was probably either the *jund al-urdunn* or *jund filasṭīn*, with a slight bias towards the former. In any event, the clear bias in terms of a S. Syrian provenance argues very strongly against Milstein's attribution of these coins to the mint of Damascus, since if the latter were the mint, the distribution pattern would certainly have been different.

Having located their approximate region of origin, what are we to make of the chronology of these coins? Both Ilisch and Bates place the inception of Group A at a later date than Milstein does, but otherwise they hold different views on the matter of dating. Whereas Ilisch dates the first issues of Group A to approximately the third quarter of the 7th century (650–675 A.D.) (see Ilisch 1993 nos 520–521) and places coins belonging to Group B in last thirty years or so of the century, Bates prefers an 8th century dating for all the non-Damascus coins in Milstein's hoard. The argument which Bates proposes in favour of this late dating is dependent upon the chronology which he follows in regard to the Official Imperial Image coinage, which, as already mentioned, he sees as the earliest Syrian Umayyad copper coinage. Given that the Damascus Official Imperial Image issues were replaced by Standing Caliph coppers in 74 A.H., the Milstein material can only be dated to a period *after* 74 A.H. Bates concludes that these imitations were indeed struck in the 8th century A.D., at the time when official Umayyad mints were producing epigraphic coppers. He explains this apparent anomaly by proposing that they were minted in unofficial mints to satisfy a local need for "old style" figural coinage in a region where the new style epigraphic coinage was not accepted for one reason or another.⁴⁴

Bates's dating of the hoard to the 8th century is however problematic for several reasons, not least because it has generally been assumed that the introduction of epigraphic coinage at the end of the 70s A.H. was a process which encompassed the whole of Syria and involved the rapid substitution of the figural coppers by the new coinage. There are two further reasons for remaining sceptical about an early 8th century date for the beginning of this series, both of which arise from the composition of the Irbid hoard itself. First, had the Irbid hoard been deposited in the 8th century, it would most likely have included at least *some* examples of the predominant epigraphic coinage of the period. That there is not one such coin in the entire hoard argues for a date of deposit in the pre-epigraphic, rather the epigraphic, period. A second factor is the presence in the hoard of imitations of Byzantine folles (=Milstein's Group A nos 1–11, i.e. those without the inscription *al-wafā' li-Allāh*). These coins are not in any sense imitations of Damascus issues, but they are imitative of Byzantine folles. Some specimens incorporate on their reverses barbarised versions of the Greek legend of their Byzantine prototypes and all of them adhere to the basic form of the Constans II follis which was the mainstay of the Byzantine copper currency imported into Syria after the Islamic conquests (Standing Emperor obverse and cursive "m" on the reverse). Like the pseudo-Byzantine coins of the Hamāh hoard, they are thus most likely early in date, i.e. *circa* mid-7th century, rather than late 7th century or early 8th century. There is of course no way of proving that coins from either Groups A and B ceased to be struck at the end of the century when epigraphic coinage was introduced, but the evidence of the Gaza hoard suggests that this was unlikely.⁴⁵

To summarise the conclusions arising from this review of the published analyses of the Milstein hoard: while the hoard contains a few specimens of Damascus Official Imperial Image issues, by far the larger part of the

⁴⁴ Bates 1994, p. 393.

⁴⁵ See Qedar 1984.

hoard appears to be from (a) mint(s) other than Damascus, located in S. Syria. In terms of their chronology, the non-Damascus coins appear to span several decades of minting and to have absorbed stylistic and inscriptional influences from both Byzantine folles and later, from the Damascus Official Imperial Image coins. The earliest coins in Group A, like the majority of the other pseudo-Byzantine types, reflect the style of the most common of the Byzantine folles to circulate in Syria in the mid 7th century, the folles of Constans II, Classes 1–4, and may well be contemporaneous with the imitations of the Hamāh hoard. At some stage during their period of issue, a few coins of the Group A category appear to have absorbed a measure of influence from the Damascus Official Imperial Image issues. This would be the most logical way to account for the appearance of the bird to the right of the Standing Emperor which appears on one or two specimens.⁴⁶ The majority of the Group A coins bear an Arabic inscription, but it is not yet clear how we should date them: although their imagery might suggest an earlier date, Ilisch dates them to *circa* 70 A.H.⁴⁷ In similar fashion, many of the coins of Group B reflect the influence of the coinage of the capital in their inscriptions and iconography.

The presence of Damascus Official Imperial Image coins in the Irbid hoard proves that these coins were circulating in the same region as the imitations; the latter were presumably struck to make up a shortage in the supply of the genuine issues. Given that there is a considerable range of variety in the fabric and imagery of the imitations it is furthermore likely that they were issued over a period of several years before 79 A.H. If the imitations were struck over a period of some years before 79 A.H., it follows that the first Damascus Official Imperial Image issues which supply the prototype upon which they are based must also have been struck several years before 79 A.H. In this way, we arrive at the provisional conclusion that the earliest Official Imperial Image coppers of Damascus cannot have been struck in the short 2–3 year period which immediately preceded the introduction of the Standing Caliph coppers in 74 A.H., as the chronology adopted by Bates requires. While this evidence requires us to put back the beginning of the Damascus issues into the late Sufyanid period, it is important to note that it does not support the very early dating for this issue required by Qedar's chronology (between 640–645 A.D.: see Qedar 1988, Table 1). The dating derived from the Milstein hoard supplies us with a *relative*, not an *absolute* chronology. The provisional chronology proposed here on the basis of the Milstein material will of course have to be tested against the evidence of both parts of the hoard, including, most importantly, a study of the quantity of dies made in imitation of the Damascus issues, once this becomes available.

⁴⁶ See Milstein no. 11 and p. 5 where Milstein reports a bird on one of the Group A coins in the Paris section of the hoard. Supporters of Milstein's attribution of Group A coins to Damascus might point to the bird in Group A coins as the precursor of the bird on the Official Imperial Image coins of that mint. For those who see Group A as originating in S. Syria however, it is difficult to see the bird as occurring first on the coinage of a small mint and only later being incorporated into the Official Imperial Image coinage of the capital. But it must be said that the development of the subsidiary elements of the iconographic repertoire of the Syrian coppers is at present very poorly understood.

⁴⁷ Ilisch 1993, nos 513–519. Bates inclines towards a post-^cAbd al-Malik date for these coins on the grounds that the Arabic phrase "is fairly common on Umayyad coins but was perhaps used more often in the caliphates of Sulayman and ^cUmar b. ^cAbd al-^cAziz" (Bates 1994, p. 394). Yet the existence of the barbarised Greek legend is powerful evidence for an early dating whereas the Arabic phrase is not so precisely datable.

One curious feature of the Milstein imitations is that they all imitate the Greek legend Damascus issues, rather than the Arabic. The reason appears to lie in the almost complete absence of Damascus coins with Arabic legends from the circulating stock of the northern part of S. Syria—insofar as the published section of the hoard is representative of the circulating stock.⁴⁸ Milstein records some coins of Hims and Scythopolis with bilingual inscriptions in the Paris section of the Irbid hoard but no imitations of either of these two types are found in her catalogue.⁴⁹ Could the inclusion of Arabic legends on these coins have disqualified them as suitable prototypes in the judgment of the die-sinkers of our mint? Or were the Greek language issues of Damascus present in S. Syria in greater quantities than the issues of other mints, even those like Tabariya which was a major mint, and much closer to the place of deposit? These questions remain unanswered. Even more puzzling is the almost complete absence from the hoard of the Official Imperial Image coinage of Tabariya, the capital of *jund al-urdunn*, and of inferior imitations of the Tabariya coinage.⁵⁰ Tabariya was a prolific Official Imperial Image mint and there are certainly known coins bearing the name of the mint which by reason of their barbarised inscriptions and non-standard imagery appear to fall into the category of imitative issues: yet there are hardly any coins bearing the name of this mint in the hoard.

Part Three: a working model for the first phase of Official Imperial Image coinage in N. Syria

The two preceding sections of this paper have demonstrated that there are good reasons to believe that the two major mints of N. Syria, Damascus and Hims, were producing Official Imperial Image coinage several years before the monetary reforms undertaken by ^cAbd al-Malik b. Marwān. Although neither the evidence of the imitations of Damascus coppers in the Milstein hoard, nor recent studies of the Hims Official Imperial Image coinage, have yielded absolute dates for the beginning of either series, both sets of data suggest that they may have begun up to two decades before the introduction of the epigraphic coppers. The final section of this paper does not pursue the attempt to offer a precise dating for their inception, but looks instead at the existing evidence for the earliest types from both mints. Having established, at least provisionally, that the first issues in both mints were Standing Emperor types, the section concludes by asking what the imagery and inscriptions of these types can tell us about the intentions of the urban authorities of Damascus and Hims in introducing this new coinage. In this way it seeks to turn the debate towards the question *why* the Official Imperial Image coinage was first issued and then attempts to relate the reasons for the emergence of this coinage to changes in the monetary system at the time.

The underlying premise of this speculative essay is that, contrary to Qedar's view, the Official Imperial Image coinage is more likely to have begun in the northern, than in the southern regions of Syria, and much more likely to have begun in the capital mints of the northern *junds*, Damascus and Hims, than in the smaller mints. The number of surviving coins of the two capital mints is far greater than those of the smaller ones and this fact alone speaks for a longer period of issue. Moreover, these two

⁴⁸ The only Damascus Official Imperial Image issue in the hoard which bears Arabic legends is Milstein no. 158.

⁴⁹ Milstein 1988, p. 4.

⁵⁰ Two issues of the Tabariya Three Standing Emperor type have been reported in the Paris section of the hoard (correspondence from Marcus Phillips, August 1999).

mints were responsible for the first issues of precious metal coinage in 72 A.H. under 'Abd al-Malik and clearly had a pre-eminent status in the region, which is likely to have been reflected in their history prior to that caliph's reforms.⁵¹

The pursuit of type sequences can only properly be undertaken on the basis of die studies, and crucially, of the evidence of overstrikes. However small the sample of coins studied, it is only by means of these traditional methods of numismatic study that we can hope to set up defensible hypotheses which can be revised in the light of further studies that incorporate more material. Let us begin with the mint of Hims, since the coinage of this mint is the less problematic of the two. In his study of the early Islamic coppers of the mint, Ilisch identified the two figural images used in the Official Imperial Image issues of the mint, the Standing Emperor and the Imperial Bust, and stated that he believed that the Standing Emperor preceded the Imperial Bust. He divided the Standing Emperor coins into two types. The earliest comprised a rare issue with a crude Standing Emperor on the obverse with a misspelling of the mint (*m-h-s*) to his right and an unidentifiable word below the "m" of the reverse (Ilisch Type 1), while the second, a much more common and better produced type, had an obverse showing the Standing Emperor with *bi-ism Allāh* to his right, and KALON to his left, and a reverse with "M", the mint name in Greek and the word *ṭayyib* in the exergue (Ilisch Type 2.1).⁵² Before reviewing the reasons for the chronological priority of the Standing Emperor type, we should note that Ilisch Type 1 should no longer be considered as a Hims issue. Recent discoveries of better specimens of the type than were available to Ilisch show that the coin does not bear any reference to the mint name Hims; the word in question is probably to be read as *bā'ā*.⁵³ As a result of this new reading, we should discount Ilisch Type 1 as the first Official Imperial Image issue of the mint and accord that status instead to Ilisch Type 2.1. This was followed by Type 2.2 which closely resembled the former, but lacked the Arabic inscription on the obverse and divided the word KAL/ON to either side of the standing figure.

With regard to the question of the chronological precedence of Type 2 over Type 3 (Imperial Bust), Ilisch believed that though it could not be unequivocally answered, the evidence of the coins themselves indicated that Type 2 was the earlier. First, he pointed out that Type 2 was often struck on irregular flans whereas Type 3 was struck on rounded flans from well-prepared dies, which suggested that Type 2 was more closely associated with Type 1. Although Type 1 should no longer be considered a Hims issue, the fact that Type 2 was closer in terms of imagery and fabric to the pseudo-Byzantine imitations of the Constans II folles remains a valid point in favour of its chronological precedence over Type 3. Ilisch's second observation concerns the frequency of specimens of Type 3 which are known to have formed the undertypes for post-reform (i.e. epigraphic) coppers. Whereas Stickel and he recorded several specimens of Type 3 which had been overstruck by post-reform dies, he knew of no cases in which Type 2 coins formed such undertypes. From these two sources of evidence, and in particular the evidence of overstrikes, Ilisch concluded that Type 2 was the earlier. Oddy (1987) adopted Ilisch's sequence in a later article on the mint, in which he published an important new variant of the Imperial Bust

type (Type 3.1). The significance of Type 3.1 lay in the arrangement of the obverse legends which displayed a similar division of the word KALON to that found on Type 2.2—in the latter it is divided KAL/ON whereas on 3.1 it is divided KA/LON—in contrast to Type 3.2 in which the obverse inscriptions included the mint in Arabic to the right, with KALON to the left. The similarity in the disposition of the inscriptions on dies bearing different images constitutes further evidence which favours the original sequence proposed by Ilisch.

In Damascus, by contrast to Hims, the sequence of issues is not at all clear. The main reason for this is that there are more obverse and reverse types in the series: three obverses—Standing Emperor (the most common, with several sub-variants including the mint name in Greek to right and various additional images to left), Twin Standing Emperor, and Seated Emperor and several reverses—"M" with *duriba* or *darb/dimashq/wafīya*; "M" with *dimashq/wafīya/jāza hādihā*⁵⁴; "M" with DAM in the exergue and ANNO/XVII to left and right. It has been suggested that the Seated Emperor obverse might have been the earliest because it is commonly found in combination with the Greek reverse which, so it has been argued, should be assumed to have preceded the Arabic reverses. This hypothesis presupposes an orderly progression from one language to the other which is not clearly reflected in the confusing patterns of die combinations that have been noted in the case of Damascus. Instead of establishing a hypothesis on the basis of unsubstantiated assumptions, we should look to the numismatic evidence of overstrikes. Although this evidence has not been gathered for Damascus in the same systematic fashion as it has for Hims, there is some recent summary evidence which needs to be taken into account. Goodwin's 1998 article on the reverse die which has the inscription *dimashq/wafīya/jāza hādihā* suggests that this reverse type, which was always combined with a Standing Emperor obverse, may have been among the earliest produced in the mint.⁵⁵ In the same article Goodwin notes that of all the twenty-six Official Imperial Image coins which he has identified as undertypes (that is coins which were overstruck by later issues) during his research into early Islamic copper coinage, no less than ten were of this type. This suggests that this relatively rare type may have been one of the earliest in the sequence of Damascus issues which was later withdrawn from circulation.

If we accept that, at the present state of our knowledge, it appears that one of the earliest types of the Damascus Official Imperial Image series was the Standing Emperor obverse combined with an Arabic reverse, while in Hims the earliest type (Type 2.1) was a Standing Emperor with the mint name in Greek on the reverse, what might this tell us about the context in which the series began at both mints? We should note here, before embarking on any comparative exercise of this kind, that we have no evidence *a priori* that the two types were issued simultaneously. The first point that arises from comparing the two types is that, while their inscriptions differ somewhat in content and disposition, the basic form of both obverse and reverse are the same: Standing Emperor and "M". Second, both bear the mint name (or abbreviation thereof) and, crucially, a validating phrase (*jāza hādihā* in Damascus and *ṭayyib* in Hims) which marks the coins out as the officially sanctioned copper

⁵¹ Note the unique Hims drachm of 72 A.H. in the Shamma collection (Shamma no. 487).

⁵² Ilisch 1980, pp. 24–5.

⁵³ In a forthcoming article Shraga Qedar illustrates new specimens which show clearly that the word cannot be read as *hims* or *m-h-s*.

⁵⁴ This was read by Walker as *dimashq/wafīya/bi-dirham* but Goodwin reads it as *dimashq/wafīya/jā'iz hādihā* (see Goodwin 1998, p. 9). Goodwin suggests *jā'iz hādihā* but the reading *jāza hādihā* would seem to fit the orthography better and would also be grammatically correct. The meaning however remains the same—"Damascus/full (weight?)/this (coin) is valid".

⁵⁵ Goodwin 1998.

issues of their respective cities.⁵⁶ We must bear in mind at this point that the Official Imperial Image coinage was a new departure in the monetary history of 7th century Syria, in that it was the first high-quality coin struck in the region under Muslim rule and that it bore the name of the mint which issued it. Until this time, the circulating medium had been dominated by the crude Byzantine and pseudo-Byzantine coppers, by far the most common type of which was the Standing Emperor type of Constans II. In both these two early Official Imperial Image issues, we have an obverse image that is in formal terms a close copy of the obverse of the Constans type as well as a reverse which retains the denominational mark of the earlier coinage. It seems that the issuers of the new coins were intent on preserving the confidence of the coin-using public by producing a coin that preserved the main features of the circulating stock, while at the same time proclaiming, by means of their validating phrases, that the new coin was henceforth to be accepted in place of the old. Whether the authorities intended that the new coin should *replace* the old coin is not known. Archaeological and hoard evidence suggest that in practice the Official Imperial Image coinage never dominated the circulating copper stock in the 7th century.⁵⁷

We would need far better numismatic evidence than we presently have in order to answer the latter question with any degree of assurance. Above all we would need an accurate record of the countermarks applied to pre-Official Imperial Image coinage. At present we can only note that some of the validating phrases which occur on the early Official Imperial Image dies were also used on countermarks which were applied, at some stage in the 7th century, to pre-Official Imperial Image issues. Published countermarks applied to early coppers include symbols (circles, monograms, crosses), and validating phrases such as *tayyib* and *jayyid* (?) (both these words mean "good" or "valid"), as well as other as yet unread words.⁵⁸ However

⁵⁶ In his very stimulating account of the emergence of the early Islamic monetary system out of the preceding Late Antique systems, Stefan Heidemann acknowledges that the inclusion of such phrases on dies for copper coins demonstrates an attempt by the authorities to increase the extent of their control over the coinage, but he does not pursue the matter of the chronology or type sequence of the earliest Official Imperial Image issues. He writes "The probably later application of formulas like *tayyib*/KALON (good), *jā'iz* (current) or *al-wafā' lillāh* (fulfillment belongs to God) shows an increasing regulation by the authorities. Nearly at the same time, the application of mint names followed." (Heidemann 1998, p. 99).

⁵⁷ Foss (forthcoming) and Qedar 1984.

⁵⁸ The list of published countermarks consisting of validating words in Arabic include: **Tayyib on Byzantine folles**—one on Constans II follis in the "Hamāh" hoard (Phillips and Goodwin 1997, no. 111); one on Constans II follis?/pseudo-Byzantine coin? (Qedar 1988, pl. 4/5 where it is described as an imitation, but cf. Phillips and Goodwin 1997, p. 64 who believe this coin to be a genuine issue of Constans II); **Tayyib on Official Imperial Image issues of Scythopolis**—two in the Jerash excavations (Bellinger 1938, nos 508–509); two in Bates/Kovacs hoard (second coin is crude and not securely attributable to Jerash) (Bates and Kovacs 1996, nos 49 and 50); one in private collection (Oddy 1994, no. 5); **Tayyib on Official Imperial Image issues of Jerash**—these coins are reported to be frequently found with the countermark on the reverse (Oddy 1994, p. 410); **b-l-d on pseudo-Byzantine Standing Figure type**—one on a copper which forms the undertype for an epigraphic *fals* (Qedar 1984, no. 72); **Tayyib on an epigraphic copper**—one on a common plain "Shahāda" *fals* (Bates and Kovacs 1996, note 11 refers to Walker 1956, pl. xxiii, no. 632); **Jayyid? on a pseudo-Byzantine copper**—one on Standing figure type (Goodwin 1993, no. 22). In addition there are some countermarks which appear to form Arabic words (see Goodwin 1993, nos 22–24) and others which are composed of symbols, images and monograms: these appear on Byzantine and pseudo-Byzantine coins (for summary see Goodwin 1993). For

no systematic study of early countermarks has been undertaken, and in many cases it is not possible to date or assign a geographical location to the application of the countermarks.⁵⁹ However, the data suggest that countermarking, while not widespread, was already being practised by the middle of the 7th century and continued into the 8th century.⁶⁰ The wide range of different countermarks identified suggests that the practice was undertaken in different regions and probably at different times, and by local authorities, rather than by a single central authority. It may be that, for example, in the case of Hims, the authorities placed countermarks with the word *tayyib* on some specimens of circulating coppers, in order to validate them for continued circulation, while at the same time putting *tayyib* on the dies for the new coins which they issued: the available evidence is simply not plentiful enough to prove this.

To return to the early Official Imperial Image types of Hims and Damascus—it should be noted there may be one more early copper type, but from a different mint, which also combined a validating phrase and Standing Emperor. This is the enigmatic issue of Tabariya with a reverse that Meshorer read as bearing an inscription that repeated the word KALON twice, which is combined with an obverse bearing a Standing Emperor and the mint name, or an abbreviation thereof.⁶¹ Although the correct attribution of the coin is still not uncontested, it is worth bearing in mind what the significance of this coin would be, were it to be securely attributed to the early phase of the Tabariya mint's operation. It would mean that Standing Emperor types with validating phrases were produced in the capital mints of all three of the central Syrian *junds*; that two of these types (Hims and Damascus) were demonstrably early; and that the third, Tabariya, used the same validating phrase as found in the

interesting examples of countermarks applied to early Islamic coppers, see Gramotka 1988, nos 4 ("Bulls-head" countermark [applied in Tabariya?] to Standing figure copper) and 5 (monogram countermark applied to [imitation of?] Hims copper of Ilisch Type 2). For countermarks consisting of Greek letters which were applied to Umayyad *fulūs*, see Ilisch 1979. Studies on different groups of early countermarks have been undertaken by Phillips and Qedar (see Goodwin 1993; Qedar 1984) but have not yet been published.

⁵⁹ There does appear to have been localised use of the *tayyib* countermark in the region of Baysān and Jerash. This countermark was frequently applied to coinage of the Official Imperial Image type (and quite possibly imitations thereof) produced in that region. The suggestion has been made that the countermark was applied in the period of epigraphic coinage (Bates and Kovacs 1996, p. 172); but there is no evidence to prove this late date. The countermarks may equally well have been applied in the pre-reform period in order to validate coins which were of inferior quality (see the suggestion of Foss, p. 11) or to regulate the use of the coins from neighbouring cities (i.e. the circulation of the coinage of Baysān in Jerash). The frequent occurrence of *tayyib* on this type of coinage does not mean that it was restricted to this region however: the evidence of the Hamāh hoard suggests that it was also used in N. Syria.

⁶⁰ The approximate *terminus post quem* (*tpq*) of the Hamāh hoard (660s A.D.—see Phillips and Goodwin 1997, p. 63) gives us a *tpq* for the application of the countermark *tayyib* on a Byzantine follis. Note that the same word was later applied as a countermark to an epigraphic *fals* (see Bates and Kovacs 1996, note 11).

⁶¹ Meshorer 1965. See now also Karukstis 1999. In his paper Karukstis adds four new specimens to the published coins of this type. He inclines towards Meshorer's conclusion that Tabariya was the mint of origin and accepts the reading of KALON on the reverse. He notes nevertheless that the inscriptions are often poorly rendered and incomplete, even though there are signs that both better quality and barbarised coins were produced in the same mint. We should conclude that if this really is the earliest of the Tabariya Official Imperial Image issues, quality control in the early stages of the mint's operation was far less rigorous than in the large northern mints.

Hims issue. The evidence would point towards a similar context for the inception of Official Imperial Image issues at all three mints. This suggests either that some degree of common purpose was agreed between the three mints before production began; or that one mint took its cue from the other within a reasonably short time frame.

What then does the hypothesis offered here suggest about the context in which the Official Imperial Image coinage emerged? The relationship between the first issue of Hims (and those which, it is here suggested, were among the earliest issues of Damascus, and perhaps Tabariya) and later issues of the same mints, as well as smaller mints in their respective *junds*, is not within the scope of this paper. Nevertheless we can make some general remarks about the important question of the organisation of the coinage. In his 1980 article, Ilisch refers to the trend towards uniformity of design in Umayyad copper coinage which he sees as a sign of the gradually increasing centralisation of control from the centre (i.e. Damascus) over the provincial mints.⁶² Ilisch puts forward the theory that the Official Imperial Image coinage began as a decentralised operation in which local authorities made their own choice of figural type without regard to each other. He sees the Standing Emperor type, shared by Damascus, Hims, Ba^clbakk and Tabariya, as a later development in which these mints took the first step towards implementing a uniform design. The trend towards uniformity became much more marked with the introduction of the Standing Caliph type which was common to all the Syrian mints, and culminated in the Common Plain Shahada *fals* of the epigraphic period, which introduced a coin type that was very similar in all mints.

While this theory works well for the Standing Caliph and early epigraphic *fulūs*, it does not fit so easily with the Official Imperial Image coinage. As we have seen, the numismatic evidence for Hims, which Ilisch himself analysed, and possibly also for Damascus, suggests that the Standing Emperor *preceded* the introduction of other figural types. The Standing Emperor, according to the sequence proposed above, would have been the most suitable figural type for the early Official Imperial Image coins, precisely because it was analogous to the circulating coinage. By introducing a new coinage which would have been recognised and thus accepted in the market place, the authorities would have been able to make large profits from the new issue, thus creating for themselves a new source of revenue which in previous decades had been denied them.⁶³ Only later, according to our model, do we see a trend towards the production of a distinctive figural type for each mint. What drove this trend towards diversification is not known, but we might hazard that it was driven by the municipal authorities' desire to restrict the circulation of their own coins to a limited area, presumably an area conforming to the hinterland of the mint city, and thus to be able to monitor and control the distribution of their coinage more effectively. If this was the intention, it does not seem to have worked very well in practice, at least in the case of Hims, whose copper coins circulated all over Syria. Furthermore, as we have seen from the Milstein hoard, the Official Imperial Image coinage generated a large quantity of imitations from mints other than the issuing mint. The introduction by the caliph of the Standing Caliph type may have been a response to such perceived problems of a monetary nature, as well as an attempt to project a potent image of caliphal power throughout the entire region.

⁶² Ilisch 1980, p. 24.

⁶³ I owe this important point about the profits to be gained from copper production to discussions with Lutz Ilisch.

The results of this exercise suggest that future research on the earliest Official Imperial Image issues should concern itself with the monetary context in which these coins were produced as well as the detailed numismatic evidence for the sequence which the Official Imperial Image issues followed. The picture which has been reconstructed here also suggests that we should treat the coinage of the northern and southern regions of Syria as distinct, and largely separate, entities with regard to their development in the second half of the century. With the exception of Tabariya, there were no large issues of Official Imperial Image coinage from the two southern *junds*. Coins which conform to the criteria for Official Imperial Image issues from Jerusalem, Diospolis and ^cAmmān are still very rare. On the other hand, the mints of Iliya, Ludd (Diospolis) and Yubnā produced Standing Caliph issues which are now known in considerable quantities that do *not* conform to the standard typology of ^cAbd al-Malik's Standing Caliph issues from the N. Syrian mints and may well have been issued for several years before 74 A.H. When we recall that Milstein Group B2 should also be considered a S. Syrian coinage, it becomes apparent that the coinage of each region is quite unlike the other. For this reason, any model which attempts to treat both regions as part of a single coherent monetary zone, is bound to be fraught with problems.

Finally, how does the "intermediate" chronology proposed above for the Official Imperial Image copper affect our overall picture of ^cAbd al-Malik's monetary policy? According to the model suggested here, the Sufyanid caliphs sanctioned, but did not direct, the production of Official Imperial Image coppers in their major cities as a means of overcoming the problems of shortage of supply of Byzantine coppers and the lack of control which they were able to exercise over the pseudo-Byzantine coppers. As we can see from the evidence of Milstein's hoard, the Official Imperial Image coppers were nevertheless imitated in great quantities, just as the Byzantine coppers had been. To this extent, therefore, the Official Imperial Image coinage did not achieve its objective. It is likely that Mu^cāwiya also made an attempt to introduce a caliphal gold coinage based on the Byzantine prototype, but the experiment failed due to resistance on the part of the majority non-Muslim population of Syria.

As soon as ^cAbd al-Malik had restored peace to the Muslim world in 72 A.H., he began to implement major administrative changes. The first signs of this are the gold and silver coins of Damascus, both of which are datable to the *ʿām al-jamāʿa* (i.e. 72 A.H.) and both of which are innovative in their use of extensive pious legends in the Arabic language, a foretaste of the wholesale reform of the language of administration which was to characterise ^cAbd al-Malik's reign, and an indication that Muslim coinage was already beginning to rely heavily on the written word to convey its message. The iconography of the new coins did not however represent a radical departure from precedent: the gold coins retain a recognisable Byzantine obverse type (Three Standing Emperors, though with crosses removed) and a modified Cross-on-Steps on the reverse, while the silver coins are typologically identical to their Sasanian prototypes. Production of the Official Imperial Image copper coinage may have begun to slow down in this year: it is quite possible that the Caliph objected to the proliferation of crosses on the coinage. But there is no evidence that ^cAbd al-Malik was in a position to produce a new series of copper coins to match the precious metal issues of his capital. The demands of such an undertaking would have been far greater than the relatively simple task of opening a single metropolitan mint in Damascus. Two years later, ^cAbd al-Malik instituted a reform of the entire

coinage system, which affected not only the capital, but the provinces as well, including one district—the *jund Qinnasrīn*—which had not produced Official Imperial Image coinage. He imposed a new figural obverse type—the Standing Caliph—on the coinage of all three metals, which remained the standard type until the introduction of epigraphic coinage in the late 70s.⁶⁴ The reforms of 74 A.H. produced the first radical iconographic innovation in the coinage of Islamic Syria and imposed, for the first time, a centralised monetary system which, although it allowed for some measure of variation from one administrative district to the next, was nevertheless directed from the capital. This centralised model was retained in Syria when the Standing Caliph type was abandoned in favour of epigraphic coinage in the late 70s.

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⁶⁴ For a discussion of the non-standard issues of the period 74–77 A.H., see Treadwell 2000.