

# ORIENTAL NUMISMATIC SOCIETY

## NEWSLETTER

## No. 167

Spring 2001

### ONS News

#### Annual General Meeting on 23rd June 2001.

A reminder that the Society's AGM will take place on Saturday 23 June this year, at the Cumberland Hotel, Marble Arch, London, commencing 2 pm. You should all by now have received a proxy voting form. Please ensure that you return it to Peter Smith, the Secretary (address above) duly filled in and in time for the meeting.

#### Membership List

An updated membership list is being produced and is due to be distributed with this newsletter.

#### 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.

#### South Asia Coin Group

A message from the moderator.

The aim of the South Asia Coin Group (SACG), is to promote coins ancient to present, from Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Bhutan, Burma, India, Maldives, Nepal, Pakistan, and Tibet. To join, please send a blank email to

[Southasia-coins-subscribe@yahoogroups.com](mailto:Southasia-coins-subscribe@yahoogroups.com).

SACG was started about a year ago, to promote South Asian numismatics, as well as to provide a forum for ongoing discussions. Since then, the group has been very effective in overcoming geographical boundaries, and bringing together people from all parts of the world. Also, by providing an immediate and informal venue for discussions on a wide range of topics, the group is proving to be quite stimulating and a good complement to the scholarly pursuits of the IIRNS, ONS and other societies.

(1) The group website is at [www.southasiacoins.org](http://www.southasiacoins.org)

The website editor is Stan Goron. The site has several wonderful features; we encourage you to visit.

(2) To access earlier discussions on our forum, please go to

<http://www.yahoo.com/messages/southasia-coins>

(you need to be a member of Yahoo groups first).

### Jena

In the previous newsletter we gave preliminary details of the meeting that is to take place on 5-6 May this year. Details of papers are now available and are as follows.

Martin Huth: "Imitationen athenischer Münzen aus dem Königreich Qataban".

Wolfgang Wiesner: "Wann regierte König Anandasandra? Zur Chronologie des mittelalterlichen Arakans"

Dietrich Schnädelbach: "Die Hunnen in Ostiran".

Stefan Heidemann: "Grafitti auf sasanidischen Münzen".

Michael Fedorov: "The numismatic history of the mint of Saghaniyan in Central Asia".

Tobias Mayer: "Zur Kupferprägung der Goldenen Horde im nördlichen Schwarzmeergebiet".

Lutz Ilisch: "Dawariya – Münzstätte oder Nominal".

Hans Wilski: "Gegenstempel der Insel Limnos auf osmanischen Kupfermünzen".

Johann-Christoph Hinrichs: "Stempel auf osmanischen Gewichten".

Celil Ender: "Three German medals minted in Istanbul by the Teutonia Club".

And there will be two presentations regarding recent publications:

Hans Wilski on the latest publication by Celil Ender on Beylik coinage, and Slobodan Sreckovic on two new books about Ottoman akches.

### Other News

#### *Korean Money at the British Museum*

The Department of Coins and Medals holds over 2300 Korean 'cash' coins, mainly purchased in the 1880s, from the three important private collections of Hosea Ballou Morse (1855-1943), Customs Commissioner in China (acquired 1883); Christopher Gardner, HM Consul at Yichang in China (acquired 1883); and Kutsuki Masatsuna (also known as Kuchiki Ryukyo, 1750-1802), lord of Tamba in Japan (acquired 1884).

The number of Korean coins dating to the 1880s and after is much smaller, and consists mainly of pieces presented to the Museum by named individuals. The most recent coins are largely selected from the anonymous donation-boxes around the Museum.

There is also a small collection of Korean paper money: one Dai Ichi Ginko note; ten Bank of Chosen notes; twelve pre-1980

Bank of Korea notes; twelve Bank of Korea notes from the 1980s and 1990s; and one North Korean bond of 1950. A further seven Bank of Korea notes, 1950-62, are part of the Chartered Institute of Bankers Loan, housed in the Department.

In addition to the strictly numismatic material, there are 175 Korean coin-shaped charms, six medals and six badges. A small number of pieces are on display in the HSBC Money Gallery and the new Korean Gallery. All other pieces may be seen by appointment in the Department of Coins and Medals.

Reproduced from: Helen Wang, *Korean Money* [Appendix 2, pp.229-36] in Jane Portal, *Korea, Art and Archaeology*, British Museum Press, London, 2000 [ISBN 0-7141-1487-1], which presents an outline history of Korean money (Koryo period, AD 918-1392; Choson period, 1392-1910; Modernization; Twentieth century; Korean coin-shaped charms; the Korean collection in the Department of Coins and Medals, British Museum).

#### *New Numismatic Museum in Jordan*

A new numismatic museum has been founded by the Jordan National Bank. The nucleus of the museum is formed by the Goussous Collection, comprising more than 9000 coins and artifacts: coins of the Decapolis and Provincia Arabia, city coins of Palestine, Nabataean coins and Umayyad copper coins in particular. There is also a fine collection of weights and engraved gems from various cultures, and a library of around 1600 numismatic and historical references and related articles. A new building, specially designed to house the collection, is due to be opened within a few months. The project has been generously supported by Dr Rajai Muasher, Chairman of the Board of the Jordan National Bank. The curator of the museum is Dr Nayef Goussous. The museum has recently joined the ONS. Any member wishing to contact the curator can do so by writing to him PO Box 438, 11118 Amman, Jordan. Tel: ++962 6 461 8165 Fax: ++962 6 461 8361.

#### **New and Recent Publications**

- Robert Tye has produced a 24 page pamphlet entitled *Gyges' Magic Ring?* on the subject of the origins of coinages and open societies. Price: £2.50 ISBN 0 9524144 2 2
- Uno Barner Jensen has produced *Trankebarmonter 1620-1845: Variantkatalog 2001*, a 20 page booklet, card covers, octavo size, which lists previously published and unpublished variants of types known. The variants are referenced to Sieg and UBJ numbers in other publications. Price is DKK 68 for Europe, \$10 outside Europe, both prices including postage. The booklet can be obtained from the author at Kirkegade 82, DK - 9460 Brovst, Denmark. The booklet is in Danish.
- S. Heidemann: "Ein Schatzfund aus dem Raqqa der Numairidenzeit, die 'Siedlungslücke' in Nordmesopotamien und eine Werkstatt in der Großen Moschee" in *Damaszener Mitteilungen* 11/1999 (Gedenkschrift für Michael Meinecke), Philipp von Zabern Verlag Mainz, Germany, pp. 227-242, pl. 34, 35. (price ca. Euro 90,-).  
This is the first description of a hoard of black dirhams from the period of the little known Banu Numayr. This tribe held sway over the Diyar Mudar in Northern Mesopotamia during most of the 5th/11th century. With the help of this hoard a reconstruction phase within the decaying Great 'Abbāsīd Mosque of al-Raqqa can be supposed.
- The proceedings of the 5<sup>th</sup> International Colloquium held at Nasik, India earlier this year have been published. The colloquium was entitled: "Medieval Indian Coinages: a Historical and Economic Perspective". Edited by Amiteshwar Jain, and published by the Indian Institute of Research in Numismatic Studies, the volume has 274 pages with many illustrations and is available from the Institute (PO Anjaneri, Dist. Nashik, Maharashtra, 422213, India) for Rs700 or \$25. ISBN 81-86786-09-0

#### **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 168 (March 2001).
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 52, March 2001, of Islamic, Central Asian and Indian coinage.
3. Robert Tye (Loch Eynort, Isle of South Uist, HS8 5SJ, UK; tel ++44 1878 710300; fax ++44 1878 710216; E-mail robert.tye@ndirect.co.uk) list 36 of mainly Islamic and oriental coinage.
4. Randy Weir Numismatics Ltd (PO Box 64577, Unionville, Ontario, Canada L3R 0M9; tel ++1 905 830 1588; fax ++1 905 830 1129) March 2001 list of world coins, including Indian.
5. David L. Tranberger (PO Box 3044, Muncie, IN 47307, USA; E-mail classical\_coins@usa.net); voice mail: ++1 765 281 5761) list 3 (March 2001) of ancient and oriental coins.

#### **Corrigenda**

In his comments on Mr Timmermann's gold dinar from the Wakhsh area, published in Newsletter 164, Prof. Fedorov gave the wrong dates for the reign of Sām bin Muḥammad. The dates should have been AH 558-588 and not 588-602.

An error also crept into Prof. Fedorov's review in Newsletter 165 of Tobias Mayer's *Sylloge Numorum Arabicorum Tübingen, Nord- und Ostzentrasien, XV b Mittelasien II*. In his original version, Prof. Fedorov had written: "T. Mayer was influenced by B.D. Kochnev.....who wrote that Ṭongā Khān Muḥammad and the Ṭonghā Khān of 435 and 439-440 was the same person because Boghrā Khān Hārūn (the conqueror of Bukhārā in AH 382) had the double name Hārūn-Ḥasan". Unfortunately the words "Ṭonghā Khān Muḥammad and" were omitted and the meaning of the sentence changed out of recognition (page 10, left-hand column, lines 1-5 from the bottom). As it happens, the Ṭonghā Khān of 435 and 439-440 was one and the same person; it was Ṭonghā Khān Muḥammad b. Ḥasan and Ṭonghā Khān b. Qadir Khān (i.e. b. Hārūn) who were different persons. Our apologies to Prof. Fedorov for this error. Two articles on some of the most frequently used Qarākhānid titles will be published in a future newsletter.

#### **A Response from Lutz Ilisch**

قطرى in Ṭabariya

On p. 8 and 9 of newsletter 166 Clive Foss has tried to invalidate the attribution of a type of follis from Tiberias to the Kharijī caliph Qaṭarī ibn al-Fujā'a (abt. 70-78/9 AH). The first to describe such a coin was Shraga Qedar in the auction catalogue Leu 34 no. 106, cited in SNATüb. IVa no. 286f. Qedar read the enigmatic Arabic word in the exergue in the same sequence of letters *qutrī* as a nisba of *qutr* and translated this as "region". My assumption was that, even if such an administrative term had existed at the time - and I think that it remains unattested in spite of all the fresh evidence coming from administrative lead seals of the early Islamic period - it could not have been used as such on an Umayyad coin during Qaṭarī's anti-caliphate because it would have led to inevitable misunderstandings. Nevertheless I agree that my attribution is problematic and if a better explanation of the word can be found I would happily follow it. Among the historical and numismatic arguments put forward by Foss I cannot find anything that I had not thought of before proposing the attribution to the Azraqite Qaṭarī in SNATüb.

It is clear to me that Foss has not taken into account the nature of the Kharijī movement as an internal development within the caliphate. Rather, he tries to deal with the Umayyad-Kharijī

conflict as a conflict between two territorial states. Had this been so, then his arguments would have been right. There can be little doubt that al-Baṣra was already a centre of a Khārījī *da'wa* that sent missionaries to distant parts of the Islamic world. A look at Ṭabarī would have informed Foss that, at the same time when al-Muhallab ibn Abī Ṣufrā was fighting the Azraqī Qaṭarī, another Kharijite leader, the Ṣufrite Ṣāliḥ ibn Musarriḥ al-Tamīmī, followed by Shabīb ibn Yazīd al-Shaybānī in 76-77 AH, was largely successfully fighting al-Hajjāj ibn Yūsuf and his generals in al-Kūfa and the Northern Jazīra<sup>1</sup>. Certainly al-Urdunn is not known to have been a centre of Khārījī sympathies. I assume, however, that, during the 70s AH, the Kharijites were much less concentrated on the fringes of the Islamic World, as they were later because of their being effectively persecuted, and that they did in fact have tribal connections. In considering that no Khārījī uprisings are known in al-Urdunn in the 70s AH it has to be compared to the amount of historical information available about the history of al-Urdunn from early narrative sources. Practically nothing is known. To believe that this lack of written tradition means that nothing happened that diverged from the course of history in Damascus would lay too much confidence in a historical record that started to be written down only a hundred years later. It probably means that nothing of consequence happened. So we have to use the little bit of primary information of the coins as such. To expect salvation from epigraphists and philologists, however, would be to head off down the wrong track. This is firstly because numismatic epigraphy ought to be in better hands when studied by experienced numismatists and it is *their* results that should be used by epigraphists; and secondly, philologists that disregard history (including numismatic contributions) will have to limit their proposals to graphemes which, when those coins were struck, could not be confused by contemporary users with the name of the enemy of the Umayyad state, Qaṭarī. For this reason such proposals as *qitrī* (cast bronze) could only be credible on condition that the coins were struck prior to the advent of Qaṭarī in 69 AH, or at least before his name was generally known throughout the caliphate. And that, in my opinion, is less probable than a later dating to the 70s AH.

Foss has not pointed to what seems to be a parallel issue from Baysān, the second mint in Jund al-Urdunn, which displays, in the exergue, the word *al-ḥaqq*, the Truth, generally meaning one aspect of Allāh. Although it does not in itself have a revolutionary meaning but is well based in Islam, those cases where it is found on coins mostly indicate some sort of political disagreement<sup>2</sup>. Even if this is less concrete than the recognition of a sectarian anti-caliph, it may point to a stage of political dissent in al-Urdunn which remains unrecorded in narrative history. In their recent article on the pre-reform coins of Baysān, Nitzan Amitai-Preiss, Ariel Berman and Shraga Qedar<sup>3</sup>, have discussed this coin type. Instead of isolating the inscription in the exergue, they read it as *fals al-ḥaqq bi-baysān* (not: *fals bi-baysān* and *al-ḥaqq*). In spite of a slightly misdirected discussion of the meaning of the term *fils al-ḥaqq* (sic), the authors assumed that it was struck in extraordinary conditions because the type with three emperors borrowed from Heraklius and the small size and weight of the coins accorded with Ṭabarīya rather than Baysān. Probably for such reasons Harry Bone included this coin under Ṭabarīya and not under Baysān<sup>4</sup>. No matter, if actually struck in Ṭabarīya for Baysān or in Baysān itself, there can be no doubt that this issue is chronologically closely linked to the QTR1-fals of Ṭabarīya. And if both coins were issued by the same authority, as the Israeli authors also assume, then it seems possible that these coins had a revolutionary background possibly outside the Khārījī movement, but one where the issuers threatened to ally themselves with the Iranian Azraqites against the central government. Perhaps still more coin types will turn up in the future to provide better arguments against such an assumption. For the time being, we

have to accept the hard fact that, at an uncertain date in the 70s AH, a die-cutter in Ṭabarīya engraved a word in a die for a fals which had a similar appearance to the name of the counter-caliph, Qaṭarī ibn al-Fujā'a, the contemporary imam of the Azāriqa. The exact circumstances are not known.

notes:

- 1 al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh ar-rusul wa l-mulūk*, ed. Muhammad Abu l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, Beirut n.d. vol. 6 p. 216ff.
- 2 I do not know of any parallels in Umayyad coinage, but as for the 'Abbāsīd period, compare anonymous dirhams of Madīnat al-Salām 203 AH with *ḥaqqan* of the anti-caliphate of Ibrāhīm ibn al-Mahdī, Lowick/Savage 1431, while a 204 AH dirham of the same type in the Tübingen collection is probably imitative, and dirhams of Anṭākīya 354 AH of an anti-Ḥamdānīd uprising with the motto *al-ḥaqq al-mubīn*, George C. Miles, *Rare Islamic Coins*, New York 1950, p. 105 vd. Also his note 206 for further references.
- 3 INJ 1992-99, p 138. The coin was published first by Shraga Qedar in auction Adolf Hess AG, Luzern auction 255, lot no. 4.
- 4 Harry Bone, *The Administration of Umayyad Syria: the Evidence of the Copper Coins*, Princeton 2000.

#### Articles

#### The Enigmatic "Starvation" Dirham (Al-Ūzjand, 610 AH) — A Coinage of the Qarākhītay Gūrkhān?

By Vladimír Nastich (Moscow)

Monetary circulation in Mawarānnaḥr within the period of around hundred years (approximately from the 1<sup>st</sup> quarter of the 12<sup>th</sup> century till the 60s of the 13<sup>th</sup> century) was provided mainly by so-called silvered, copper dirhams of various Qarākhānīd, Khwārizmshāh and Mongol issues. Some of these impressive, broad-flan coins belong to very special types with original, non-standard legends containing allusions to certain complicated and sometimes enigmatic features of economic and political life.

One such coin issue is that of anonymous dirhams of al-Ūzjand (Uzgend, modern Ōzgön, in the Ferghāna Valley) struck in 610 AH / 1213-14 AD, not especially rare but still very little known, probably because of the unusual difficulty in reading and interpreting the mentioned legends. An impressive hoard of these dirhams (around 200 pieces) was found in Uzbekistan about seven years ago; unfortunately, it fell into the hands of private dealers and was mostly dispersed before I could examine it. That part of the hoard brought to Moscow contained some 70 specimens, apparently unsold due to their bad condition (almost all of them were heavily corroded and worn). The three best-preserved pieces which I managed to choose from those remnants are shown in the illustrations<sup>1</sup>.

The first person to have published a similar piece from his collection as long back as 1914 was Eduard von Zambaur<sup>2</sup>, but regarding the reading of its inscriptions he gave up in despair: "je dois laisser à d'autres, mieux informés, l'honneur de déchiffrer l'inscription du revers". As we shall see below, there was good reason for that.

Most pieces known to me have been 39 to 43 mm in diameter and of rather irregular weight, fluctuating mainly between 8.5 and 11 g (presumably due to their bad physical condition and losses as a result of amateurish cleaning); the lightest coin, badly damaged and cleaned with acid to a condition rather like a sieve, measured 36 mm and weighed 2.52 grams. The specimens illustrated weigh 9.2, 9.3 and 10.2 g respectively.

The general appearance of these coins is typical for the period, much resembling some "neighbouring" broad Æ dirham

issues (e.g. Samarqand 602 and 616 AH, Kāsān 605 AH et al.). Their legends were engraved in bold and angular "geometric" Kūfī.

**Obverse**, field: 3-line *Kalima* within an 8-pointed decorative cartouche —

لا اله الا  
الله وحده  
لا شريك له

Marginal legend between single-line circles: issue data —

بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم في بلدة الاوزجند سنة عشر وستمائة  
*In the name of Allah, this dirham was struck at the town of al-  
Ūzjand in year ten and six hundred.*

**Reverse** field: 6-line Fārsī legend comprising the essence of the issue. It is this inscription that proved insurmountable for E. Zambaur to read and interpret, for its deciphering is really hampered by a complicated form of script, arbitrary division of words between the lines and the absence of diacritical dots for the letters. The suggested version has been obtained by following a complex, in-depth analysis (paleographical, lexical and grammatical) and elimination of all less probable readings.

خانان  
خان عمرش بر  
د هزار سال  
تا ولايت كر  
سنه سير شو  
د

khānān || khān 'umrash bara||d hazār sāl || tā walāyat-e guru||snah  
sīr shawa||d<sup>3</sup>

\* *May the Khānān-Khān (= the Khān of Khāns, the Great Khān) live a thousand years, for the starving country to become sated (or until the starving country becomes sated)!*

Marginal legend between single-line circles: issue data (almost as on the obverse, except for the beginning where the coin denomination 'adlī is named instead of *bismillāh*):

عدلي ضرب هذا الدرهم في بلدة الاوزجند سنة عشر وستمائة  
*'Adlī. This dirham has been struck at the town of al-Ūzjand in year  
ten and six hundred.*

All the pieces I have seen belong to the same common, uniform type and show no visual variety, yet their marginal inscriptions contain several graphical errors and deviations from the standard legend. I have noticed the ones listed below; perhaps some of the other specimens might have more distortions.

- 1) ضرب هذا instead of ضرب هذا (on both sides of all specimens known to me);
- 2) في بلدة الاوزجند instead of في بلاد الاوزجند;
- 3) blundered letters (something like فله) instead of في بلدة;
- 4) وستما instead of وستمائة.

According to the oriental, written sources of the period, including numismatic objects, it is known that in 610/1213 Ūzjand belonged (at least nominally) to the Khwārizmshāh, Muḥammad b. Takish, who had just a short while before dealt with the last representatives of the Qarākhānid dynasty. His coinage at Ūzjand is known for AH 609 and 610: the coins with the former date mention Sulṭān Muḥammad together with the Qarākhānid, Mu'izz al-Dunyā wa'l-Dīn Kūch Arslān Khān Maḥmūd b. Aḥmad, while the latter ones bear Muḥammad's name and titles only<sup>4</sup>, so the political appurtenance of the issue in question would seem to be in no doubt. In this connection, it is the anonymous character of the

coinage that draws special attention, for it is reduplicated with the title *khānān khān* (the morphological analogue of Pers. *shāhān shāh* or Arab. *sulṭān al-salāṭīn*), rather unexpected in this instance.

Year 610 AH corresponded to 23 May 1213 – 12 May 1214 AD. At that time, the population of Ferghāna was going through dramatic events described at great length by V. V. Barthold<sup>5</sup>. In particular, it is known that for several years running during harvest time, the region had suffered the repeated invasions by the troops of Kūchlūk the Naiman who had subdued the then ruling Qarākhitay Gürkḥān. The latter, keeping for himself but nominal power, held, at Ūzjand, his exchequer which was plundered by Kūchlūk in 1210. Kūchlūk's invasions alternated with the even crueller actions of Muḥammad Khwārizmshāh, which finally forced the inhabitants to express their obedience to Kūchlūk. Right at the height of those events, namely in 1214, the Khwārizmshāh gave the order to move the inhabitants of Ferghāna and other districts to the southwest, and those very lands to be ravaged, so that Kūchlūk could not make use of them. It seems thus quite reasonable that it was the same devastating events that might be so curiously reflected in the above unusual coin legends.

Who, then, was the authority at Ūzjand that minted the coins bearing those despairing legends?

Theoretically, at that period, each of the four above-mentioned persons could pretend to the highest rank reflected in the coin legend as خانان خان. But, as follows from the available numismatic data, Kūch Arslān Khān Maḥmūd, the last Qarākhānid ruler of Ūzjand, had, by 610 AH, already either passed away or otherwise been removed from power; properly speaking, it was in fact the Khwārizmshāh, Muḥammad b. Takish, who had eliminated him and all other members of his dynasty<sup>6</sup>. In his turn, Muḥammad b. Takish never bore the khan's title, he was always *al-sulṭān*. Kūchlūk the Naiman, who did bear the khan's title, being in fact the real master of the region, apparently had no official right to strike coins: according to al-Nasawī<sup>7</sup>, he deliberately retained for himself the second-ranking minister's post of *hājib* under the Gürkḥān; in other words, he definitely could not be titled *khānān khān* as well.

Hence we can state with enough confidence that the only person whose name is hidden beneath this anonymous supreme title on the 610 AH dirhams of al-Ūzjand, remains to be the Qarākhitay Gürkḥān. A direct indication confirming this statement can be found in the same al-Nasawī's historical work where Sulṭān Muḥammad calls him خان الخانية (Arab. 'the Khān of Khāns')<sup>8</sup>. In fact, it could actually be Kūchlūk, however, who for his own political reasons had the coinage struck with the Gürkḥān's title. Anyway, the specific inscription wishing him to live a thousand years, in order that "the famished country become replete", must be taken as a distant echo of the devastation and distress that befell the population of fertile Ferghāna in those years as a result of the protracted military actions and fighting for power in the region.

#### Notes

1. Scanned by V. Belyaev.
2. Eduard von Zambaur. *Nouvelles Contributions à la Numismatique Orientale*, in *Numismatische Zeitschrift*, XLVII, 1914, p. 180. I express my sincere gratitude to Lutz Ilisch and Florian Schwarz for pointing to the quoted publication, hardly accessible in Russian libraries and for that reason neglected during the preparation of the topic; for the same reason I could not evaluate the identity of information with the same author's *Manuel de chronologie et de généalogie pour l'histoire de l'Islam*. Hanovre 1927, p. 209, where he had made reference to a son of Khwārizmshāh Takish named 'Alishir; apparently, by then, Zambaur had forgotten that he once had published his coin, because the evidence for this 'Alishir (however, erroneous, as it proves now) was "une monnaie inédite, Uzkend 610, de ce prince, dans la collection de l'auteur". Apart from these two

references, there seem to have been no more publications or mention of this issue in any numismatic literature.

3. The transcription does not pretend to phonemic exactness and only reflects the graphical features of the Fārsī legend in Arabic script.
4. E. A. Davidovich, Numizmaticheskie materialy dlia khronologii i genealogii sredneaziatskikh Karakhanidov, in *Numizmaticheskiĭ Sbornik*, part 2 [Trudy GIM, XXVII], Moscow 1957, p.102-108
5. V. V. Bartol'd, Turkestan v epokhu mongol'skogo nashestviia, in *Akademik V. V. Bartol'd. Sochineniia*, vol. I, Moscow 1963, p. 428-433.
6. B. D. Kochnev, Novye numizmaticheskie dannye po istorii Karakhanidov vtoroi poloviny XII-nachala XIII v., in *Kirgiziia pri Karakhanidakh*, Frunze 1983, p. 85-90; E. A. Davidovich, Mukhammad b. Tekesh i poslednie Karakhanidy (numizmaticheskie korrektyvy), in *Vostochnoe istoricheskoe istochnikovedenie i special'nye istoricheskie discipliny*, issue 2, Moscow 1994, p. 176-191 (the most recent and most detailed analysis of numismatic data related to the subject).
7. Shihāb ad-dīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Nasawī, *Sīrat as-sultān Jalāl ad-dīn Mangubarnī*. a) Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. Arabe 849, f. 10; b) British Museum, Ms. Or. N° 5662, f. 2.
8. *Ibid.*

The three coins illustrated below have the following diameters: 41.7, 42.5, 42.3 mm; and weights: 9.2, 9.3, 10.2 g.



## On the "silver crisis" in Central Asia, Caucasus and adjacent regions of the Middle East.

By Michael Fedorov

While editing my article about money circulation in the state of the Great Seljūqs the editor wrote to me saying that that the contents of my article raised certain questions (mainly about the so-called "silver crisis") and asked me to answer them. There were more questions than I was able to answer in one letter, so I promised to write an article treating this subject.

1. "You mention the so-called 'silver crisis'. Did this really exist or was it merely a matter of rulers of the time not wishing to use silver for coinage?"

1a, Yes, a "silver crisis" really did exist in Central Asia, the Caucasus and adjacent regions of the Middle East in the 11th-13th centuries AD and has been attracting the attention of scholars for the last 125 years. The first to write about this phenomenon was S. Lane-Pool (1877, IX). After him came E. A. Pakhomov (1910, 8; 1957, 82-85, 89-90), V. V. Bartold (1927, 82, 83), M. E. Masson (1935, 229; 1951, 103), B. A. Litvinsky (1953, 63), E. A. Davidovich (1959, 33-46; 1960, 92-93, 110-117), Michael Fedorov (1971, 244-245; 1971a 125, 1978, 113-121) and others.

In the 8th to 10th centuries AD a huge number of high-grade silver coins flowed from the Muslim countries of Central Asia, the Caucasus and adjacent regions of the Middle East to Northern and Eastern Europe. According to V. L. Yanin (1956, 84, 92, 101-106, 109, 119, 121, 130), the inflow of Muslim high-grade silver dirhams to Europe started in the seventies-eighties of the 8th century AD and ended in the second decade of the 11th century. At first, dirhams from the Muslim countries of North Africa and adjacent regions predominated, but, starting with the second third of the 9th century, 'Abbāsīd dirhams, minted in Central Asia, predominated and, in the 10th century, Sāmānid dirhams. For about two and a half centuries, Muslim merchants used high-grade dirhams minted in their countries to pay for the slaves, furs, amber, walrus tusks, linen and other northern goods which were in high demand in the Muslim East. Numerous large hoards of "kufic dirhams" have been found in Russia, Ukraine, Moldavia, Rumania, Belorussia, Poland, Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, Germany, Finland, Sweden and Norway. At the same time, as Pakhomov (1957, 83) noted, the hoards of high-grade "kufic dirhams" found in the Middle East are quite rare and do not contain many coins. He wrote that almost all the mintage of some small Muslim states of the Caucasus and Middle East went to the north so that almost all surviving, high-standard "kufic dirhams" minted there were found not in the territory of the said states but in Eastern Europe. I may add that the only hitherto known dirhams minted by the Khwārizmshāhs of the Banū 'Irāq (10th century AD) were found not in the territory of Khwārizm, but in Eastern Europe: three in Russia, two in Sweden (Fedorov 2000, 75).

Hoards of Sāmānid high-grade, silver dirhams are also quite rare in Central Asia. So among 84 hoards of ancient coins found in Tajikistan from 1892 to 1979 there was not even one hoard of Sāmānid high-grade "kufic dirhams" (Davidovich 1979). In all Central Asia, to my knowledge, only ten hoards of Sāmānid "kufic dirhams" have been found. Three of these, however, proved to be hoards of false, base-alloy coins made by counterfeiters. In fact, two of them can scarcely be called hoards, for one contained only six and the other, seven dirhams. Two other hoards contained 15 and 29 coins. And only two of the ten contained numerous coins: 300 and 1650 dirhams, respectively. At the same time, in the territory of the former Soviet Union alone, about 1000 hoards of "kufic dirhams" were found and almost each of them contained high-grade "kufic dirhams", minted in Central Asia during the 9th-10th centuries AD.

Starting with the 10th century, it became more and more difficult to make up for this huge outflow of high-grade dirhams with silver obtained from the silver mines of the region. In some mines, deposits of silver ore were depleted, around others the woods were cut down and, without the charcoal, it was impossible to melt silver from the ore. Charcoal brought to mines from remote places was expensive and there was no profit in extracting the silver. The Arab traveller Abū Dulaf (second half of the 10th century) noted this twice on his journeys. He wrote about the mines near Lake Urmia (Persian Azerbaijan): "As for their silver, it is expensive because of the expensiveness of charcoal". And he wrote about Hamadān: "There is a shortage of charcoal and one would spend on charcoal as much as one would have earned, so there is no profit in it" (Abū Dulaf, 1960, 32, 50). The situation in Central Asia was exactly the same.

So by the beginning of the 11th century AD, there was already a shortage of silver in Central Asia, the Caucasus and adjacent regions of the Middle East. The external result of this was that, during the first two decades of the 11th century, the outflow of silver to the north came to a grinding halt. The internal result was the so-called "silver crisis" and the situation remained thus for about two and a half centuries. In Central Asia it did not start to improve, and then only gradually, until the middle of the 13th century. Owing to the shortage of silver, its price in the Muslim East was higher than in Europe where the silver mines of Germany, Bohemia and Austria provided much silver. It became profitable to bring silver to the Middle East, where a merchant would get more gold (or other goods) for it than in Europe. So the direction of the "silver flow" now became diametrically opposite: it flowed from Europe to the Muslim countries of the Caucasus, Middle East and adjacent regions of Central Asia. Gradually the region became supplied with enough silver to start the mintage of high-grade silver coins again. In Central Asia, the end of the so-called "silver crisis" was marked by the monetary reform of merchant Mas'ūd Beg, governor of the Mongol Khāns. In around AH 670/1271-73, the mints of the Chāghātāyid state started to mint high-grade dirhams. According to Davidovich (1972, 100, 102), their decreed standard was 800 or 825 and their decreed weight 2.1 g.

The essence of the "silver crisis" is as follows. The amount of silver (depleted by the massive outflow of it to the north) was not enough in the region to satisfy the needs of the market in terms of high-grade silver coins. This resulted in the debasement of dirhams circulating within the region and, finally, even in the disappearance of billon dirhams, replaced by fiduciary copper silver-washed dirhams (sometimes not even silver-washed but called "dirhams" in their marginal legend) which were a kind of metallic bank-note. But these fiduciary coins were accepted only in the territory of the state which minted them, and, when the amount of such coins surpassed the price of goods in trade and the needs of the market as a medium of circulation, inflation occurred. So simultaneously with the appearance of fiduciary copper silver-washed dirhams the output of gold dinars was increased to meet the need in coins which would be accepted everywhere and would not be subjected to inflation. But since a high-grade gold dinar was a coin of considerable value (it could buy one or two sheep) and was not handy in everyday trade, low-grade gold dinars spread and high-grade dinars were cut into small pieces. So a piece of a high-grade gold dinar equal to one sixth of the coin would be equivalent to 2.5 high-grade silver dirhams. Some rulers also tried to compensate for the shortage of silver coins with a massive output of copper fulūs. But I would stress that the farther west and south of Central Asia and the Caucasus the less acute were the forms taken by the so-called "silver crisis".

Some scholars explained the silver crisis by a shortage of silver (Masson 1935, 229; 1951, 103), others deemed that, apart from that, there were other reasons of a socio-economic character.

So E. A. Pakhomov (1957, 82-90), who dated the "silver crisis" in the Caucasus to the beginning of the 11th to the 13th century, explained it not only as a shortage of silver but also in terms of changes in the forms of "the feudal mode of production", the creation of "the Seljūq empire" and the concomitant spread of *iqṭā'*, which, in his opinion, led to the spread of a natural economy (and of barter - M. F) at the expense of commodity-money relations; "feudal" exploitation of the mintage mechanism and so on. He regarded the "silver crisis" as a sickness of decline. On the other hand, B. A. Litvinsky (1953, 63) considered the "silver crisis" as a sickness of growth. According to him the "silver crisis" was caused by the growth of towns and the development of industry and commerce, in which processes the spread of *iqṭā'* helped. He deemed that the growth in commodity production and trade demanded many more coins than the stock of silver in the region enabled to be produced, and that was why the debasement of silver coins started. Davidovich (1959, 33-46; 1960, 92-93, 110-117), shared Litvinsky's opinion and put forward one more reason for the "silver crisis", namely that "the feudal disintegration" of the states made it impossible to concentrate and mobilise the silver stocks dispersed around the country, for the mintage of high-grade silver dirhams. Michael Fedorov (1971, 244-245; 1971a 125, 1978, 113-121) shared Davidovich's opinion.

**Ib** - no it was not a matter of rulers of the time not wishing to use silver for coinage. It did not depend on their whims and wishes. It was dictated by objective reasons, by objective reality. In this case the debasement of coins was like a chain reaction. Once the market started to be inundated with debased silver coins (which were debased because there was not enough silver to satisfy the market with high-grade silver coins) the high-grade silver coins (both old ones and ones minted simultaneously with debased silver coins) were destined to disappear from circulation, being retained by the populace as treasure, melted into ingots or jewellery and turned into silver objects or metal to be used as a commodity. Even if a ruler of a state surrounded by other states, where debased silver coins were minted, wished to mint and did mint high-grade silver dirhams they would first disappear from his state, then from circulation altogether. And it would stay that way until such time as there was enough silver in the country to satisfy completely the needs of the market for high-grade silver coins.

As an example I would like to quote the situation in the Qarākhānid khaqanate in the forties of the 5th century AH. There were two areas of money circulation then. In Farghāna, the Chu valley, by the shores of Lake Issyk Kul and, most probably in Eastern Turkestan, the money circulation was served by copper and lead alloy fiduciary dirhams. At the same time money circulation in the area to the west of it was served by low standard silverplated dirhams containing about 25-30% silver. The first area comprised the khanate (at least its western part) of Arslān Khān Sulaimān b. Yūsuf whose capital was in Kāshghar. In all the towns of Farghāna which had a mint, coins cited Arslān Khān either as suzerain of some appanagist or immediate owner of the town. Only in Akhsiket did a certain Jalāl al-Daula Tonghā Tegīn issue coins as a vassal of Boghrā Khān Muḥammad b. Yūsuf. So at least formally Akhsiket was part of Boghrā Khān Muḥammad's khanate. In the khanate of Boghrā Khān (Ispījāb-Shāsh-Īlāq) silverplated dirhams were minted. Despite this, Akhsiket minted fiduciary copper and lead alloy dirhams. Akhsiket was surrounded by appanages which minted fiduciary copper-lead alloy dirhams and coins containing silver would keep disappearing from circulation in this area, where the main bulk of coins did not contain any silver.

**2** - "You mention that previously (i.e. to the Seljūq period - M. F.) there were lots of Ghaznavid and no doubt Sāmānid silver coins in circulation: what happened to them all?"

I did not mention that there were lots of Ghaznavid silver coins. I wrote: "It is noteworthy that in the Qarākhānid khaqanate, where the silver crisis had a more acute form, dirhams of the second quarter of the 11th century AD had 20-30% silver, while Ghaznavid dirhams (even those of Mas'ūd) had up to 73% silver. So the first Seljūq dirhams should be of about the same standard". I believe nothing special happened to Ghaznavid dirhams: a proportion of them continued to do service in money circulation, others were used to mint Seljūq coins. During the reign of Maḥmūd Ghaznavī there was a steady inflow of silver (and other treasure) from India owing to his almost incessant pillaging raids there, which he carried out under the banner of a holy war against infidels. As to the inflow of silver from the Ghaznavid and later Seljūq state to the Qarākhānid khaqanate, it was limited by the amount of Qarākhānid (let us put it that way) goods sold in that territory. An inflow of silver as a result of pillaging raids by the Qarākhānids is out of the question: both the Ghaznavids and the Seljūqs were a formidable enemy and expelled the Qarākhānids from Khurasan each time they tried to invade it.

As far as the high-grade Sāmānid "kufic dirhams" are concerned, as I have shown above, there were never lots of them in the Sāmānid state because almost all of them went to the north (and they were meant to serve foreign trade first of all). Arab geographers of the 9th to 10th centuries AD wrote that there were four types of dirhams in the state of the Tāhirids and the Sāmānids: Ismā'īlī dirhams, and so-called "black dirhams" Musayyabī, Muḥammadī and Ghiṭrīfī. Davidovich established that Ismā'īlī dirhams were those same high-grade silver "kufic dirhams" taken by Muslim merchants to the north, and that the "black dirhams" were low-grade, silverplated dirhams of the so-called "Bukhār Khudāt" type (1966, 110-125; 1979, 108-111) which were copied from the type of Soghdian drahms minted before the Arab conquest of Central Asia. Those Soghdian drahms were, in their turn, based on the type of Sasanian drahms of Varahrān V (421-439 AD) and had images of the king with crown (obverse) and fire-altar with two attendants at the sides (reverse).



*The so-called "black dirham"*

According to Arab geographers, Musayyabī dirhams were the dearest, Muḥammadī were cheaper and Ghiṭrīfī dirhams were cheapest. Davidovich identified Musayyabī with silverplated dirhams containing about 50-69% silver (she called them "high-standard subaerati"). Muḥammadī Dirhams ("low-standard subaerati") she identified with silverplated dirhams containing 20-40% silver. It was these "black dirhams" which were minted for domestic trade and internal money circulation in the Sāmānid state. So even in better times there was not enough silver in the Sāmānid state to satisfy both the needs of foreign and domestic trade in high-grade silver dirhams. Davidovich (1979, 117) noted that Arab geographers wrote that Ghiṭrīfī dirhams looked like copper coins but she supposed that they could have been silverwashed, which would justify their circulation as dirhams.

There were several areas of money circulation in the Sāmānid state (Davidovich 1966, 111-113, 119-125). In the Bukhārā area Ghiṭrīfī dirhams circulated; Ismā'īlī dirhams were not mentioned by Arab geographers describing money circulation there. Of

course there must have been some amount of Ismā'īlī dirhams so that Ghiṭrīfī dirhams could be exchanged for high-grade silver coins if need be, but the money circulation within this area was based on Ghiṭrīfī dirhams. For Samarqand, Ismā'īlī dirhams and "broken dirhams" are mentioned (these have to have been Ismā'īlī, because broken "black dirhams" would have exposed their copper cores). I believe that Ismā'īlī dirhams existed mainly for the same purpose as in Bukhārā (i.e. to exchange "black dirhams" for them if need be). But money circulation there was based on Muḥammadī dirhams. Ibn Hauqal wrote that in Samarqand there were dirhams "known as Muḥammadī, made of different metals". The third area was Shāsh-Īlāq, with the richest silver mines in the Muslim East. Ibn Hauqal wrote that silver dirhams circulated there but that, since the taxes from Shāsh "with its mines", Khojende, part of Ushrūshana and "Turkic towns" on the Syr Darya were paid in Musayyabī dirhams, it was these "high-standard subaerati" coins or "black dirhams" that played the main role in money circulation there. So the further from the capital, Bukhārā, the higher was the standard of "black dirhams" in circulation.

There were no dramatic changes in the internal money circulation during the 11th century AD in Central Asia under the Qarākhānids. The most important change caused by the "silver crisis" was that the mints of Central Asia stopped striking high-grade silver dirhams, but that affected mainly foreign trade, especially the trade with the north. As soon as the dirhams of "kufic style" became debased, they stopped being taken to the north. The first Qarākhānid dirhams were of as high a standard as the Ismā'īlī dirhams and were taken to the north. Thus, in Estonia near Lake Hanni, a hoard was found containing "kufic dirhams" (the latest dated to 404/1013-14). Among them was a Qarākhānid dirham minted in Quz Ordū (i.e. Balāsāghūn, ruins of which are situated about 60 km East of Bishkek, capital of the Kirghiz Republic). W. Anderson (1938, 1-84) could not read the mintname but gave an illustration of it. So this dirham of Quz Ordū will have kept changing hands and travelling from Kirghizia to Estonia till it was buried there. Davidovich provided interesting information about the standard of fineness of 11th century Qarākhānid dirhams (1960, 102-105; 1979, 191). Dirhams of AH 404 Uzgend had 89% silver, of AH 405 Khojende 64%, of AH 410 Kāshghar about 50% silver. So it was AH 405-410 when the standard of Qarākhānid dirhams approached the standard of Musayyabī "black dirhams" and when Qarākhānid dirhams became subaerati. These Qarākhānid coins were the same "black dirhams" but, instead of a stylised image of a king and fire-altar, they had normal Arabic legends i.e. in their appearance they were like "kufic dirhams". It is interesting that some early Qarākhānid hoards contained not only Qarākhānid dirhams but also dirhams of "Bukhār Khudāt" type, or "black dirhams" (Davidovich 1966, 123), which most probably were Musayyabī dirhams (high standard subaerati) and had the same standard as the then Qarākhānid dirhams.

Ṣaghāniyān dirhams of AH 420 had about 30% silver, and that was when the standard of Qarākhānid subaerati dirhams approached the standard of Muḥammadī "black dirhams". Marghīnān dirhams of AH 453 had 22.77% silver. I believe that the decreed content of silver was one fourth or 25%. Such dirhams were introduced c.437/1045-6 by the supreme ruler of the Western Qarākhānids, Mu'ayīd al-'Adl Ibrahīm Ṭafghāch Khān and were named in legal documents of the 11th century as "Mu'ayīdī dirhams". 45 such dirhams were equal to 1 dinar (Fedorov 1978, 120). Dirhams of "Mu'ayīdī" type were minted and circulated till the thirties of the 12th century, inclusive, but were later ousted by fiduciary silverwashed copper dirhams which were minted and circulated till the beginning of the seventies of the 13th century AD.

3- How it was that both certain Seljūq and Qarākhānid rulers were able to sustain fiduciary coinage?

This was nothing special or unusual at the time of the Seljūqs and Qarākhānids. The Sāmānids made the populace accept fiduciary Ghitrīfī dirhams by the simple expedient of collecting taxes in Ghitrīfī and other "black dirhams". When the 'Abbāsīd vicegerent, Ghitrīf b. 'Atā arrived in Bukhārā in 176/792-3, the townsfolk complained to him that dirhams minted in Bukhārā were taken away, so that they had no coins to trade with between themselves. They asked him to mint coins of low standard so that nobody would take them away from Bukhārā. Thus such coins were minted and later were named by people "Ghitrīfī dirhams".

The original exchange rate was 6 Ghitrīfī for 1 high-grade dirham, which means, I believe, that they had about 15% silver. Before that, taxes collected from Bukhārā were equal to 200,000 high-grade dirhams. Now it became 1,189,200 Ghitrīfī. Then the government started to raise the exchange rate of Ghitrīfī dirhams so that eventually 1 Ghitrīfī became equal to 1 high-grade dirham. The Ghitrīfī dirham became a fiduciary coin with a high forced value, six times higher than its intrinsic value. The populace refused to accept such coins, but the government refused to accept the taxes paid in coins other than Ghitrīfī (Narshakhī 1966, 38; Davidovich 1966, 119-125). So in order to pay taxes people were forced either to accept Ghitrīfī dirhams at the high forced value, or to exchange their high-grade dirhams for Ghitrīfī at the high exchange rate decreed by the government. And gradually the populace grew accustomed to it. So thanks to such ingenious procedures the taxes collected from Bukhārā grew six times.

I should stress that, by the time of the Qarākhānids, coinage and commodity-money relations had existed in Western Central Asia for at least 12 centuries. The population needed coins for trade. Of course they would have preferred high-grade coins, but when there was nothing to trade with, they would use fiduciary coins (just as we accept paper money). So when there were no high-grade dirhams they would trade with one another using fiduciary copper silverwashed dirhams. And so they traded contentedly as long as the amount of fiduciary coins (or their sum token value) did not surpass the amount and value of goods in trade, or in other words, the needs of the market in the medium of circulation. But when the needs of the market for fiduciary coins were surpassed, inflation started and the people refused to accept the devalued coins. Davidovich (1961, 194-195) established that in the second half of the 12th century AD there were several monetary reforms in Uzgend. When inflation started, the government tried to remedy it by issuing new fiduciary dirhams, each time increasing their weight and size. Thus having started in 569/1173-74 at about 3.2 g, copper silverwashed dirhams of Uzgend ended in 609/1012-13 at 12.9 g (Davidovich 1961, 194; 1979, 197).

Silverwashed fiduciary dirhams were also minted in Central Asia after the Mongol invasion. The Mongols were strict disciplinarians and chopped off heads without further ado. So they invented fiduciary dirhams with threatening legends. For instance: "In Samarqand and vicinities of this town each one who will not take (this coin) is a felon" (Fedorov 1998, 8). But it looks as though even those strict disciplinarians could not cope with inflation. Anyway, when enough silver had accumulated in the Chāghātāyīd state, they started to mint high-grade silver dirhams.

As for the Seljūq fiduciary gilt-silver dinars, the Seljūqs were able to sustain them by the same simple expedient which the Sāmānids used: they managed to collect taxes in those dinars at a high exchange rate decreed by the government. And I stress again that the populace needed coins with which to buy and sell.

4 - *You also talk about the copious mintage of base gold (electrum) dinars that contained 57% silver. How could there have been a silver crisis if a lot of it was used in those dinars?*

Yes there could have been and there was a silver crisis all right: its scarcity and, later on, the lack of Seljūq high-grade silver dirhams

attest to it. Even the mintage of the base gold dinars in itself was caused by the lack of high-grade silver dirhams which those base gold dinars were meant to replace to some extent. You asked what happened to the Ghaznavid dirhams, so part of them were used for those electrum dinars. I should stress that the silver used in those dinars had a price many times higher than it would have had in high-grade dirhams. A high-grade gold dinar was equal to 15 high-grade silver dirhams. Let us take the average standard of fineness as 90%. Then an electrum dinar which contained 38.8% gold should be equal to 6.466 high-grade silver dirhams. The canonical weight of a dinar was 4.235 g (Hinz 1970, 11). So 57% of silver contained in such a coin would amount to 2.4 g. The canonical weight of a dirham was 2.9645 g. So 2.4 g silver makes about 0.8 high-grade silver dirham. 6.466 plus 0.8 makes about 7.3. That means that the decreed ratio of high-grade to electrum dinars was 2:1. So on the one hand we have 0.8 and on the other hand we have 7.5 high-grade silver dirhams. Thus the silver in an electrum dinar would cost almost ten times more.

Using this method of calculation one can try to establish the exchange rate of fiduciary gilt-silver Seljūq dinars. They had 14.17-13.06% gold (average 13.386) and 77.97-63.48% silver (average 69.9%). So (if we take the weight of a canonical dinar as 4.235 g) by its gold content it should be equal to 2.23 high-grade silver dirhams. 69.9% silver would make 2.96 g or 1 high-grade dirham. So the metal value of the coin (weighing 4.235 g) would be 3.23 high-grade dirhams. Which means that its forced value (since it was a fiduciary dinar) must have been higher than 3.23 high-grade dirhams, but certainly no higher than the exchange rate of a base gold dinar (7.5 high-grade dirhams).

5- *Why were base gold dinars used in the eastern Seljūq domains but not in the western ones?*

I did not write that base gold dinars were not used in the western Seljūq domains. After all, the mint of Qumm minted base gold dinars. I wrote that electrum dinars were minted and circulated mainly in the Eastern part of the Great Seljūq state. I remarked above that the further west and south from Central Asia and the Caucasus, the less acute was the character of the silver crisis. Maybe that was the reason. The lack or shortage of Seljūq silver dirhams may have been compensated there to some extent by Byzantine coins.

6- *What does the lack of copper and silver coinage for much of Great Seljūq history mean in terms of who had money and who could use it?*

If I understand the question correctly, the answer is that the bulk of the money was in the towns, and gold coins were mainly in the hands of feudal chiefs, merchants and high officials. The lower classes, when there was a shortage of silver coins, used gold dinars cut into pieces. There are many hoards containing both whole and pieces of dinars. And those dinars were not cut into pieces at random. As the Munchak Tepe hoard showed, most of the pieces weighed between 0.63-0.78 g (average - 0.71 g) which is close to a dāniq (one sixth) either of a mithqāl ( $4.464 \div 6 = 0.744$  g) or a canonical dinar ( $4.235 \div 6 = 0.706$  g). During the first period of money circulation in the state of the Great Seljūqs, copper coins of the Ghaznavids would have been used. Such coins did not disappear from the country conquered by the Seljūqs. During the second period, copper coins were minted both by Alp Arslān and Malikshāh, but not in large numbers. During the third period, copper coins were minted by Barqiyārūq, but again not many of them. For the fourth period we know of 982 copper coins of Sanjar. So the lack of Seljūq copper coinage was not "for much of the great Seljūq history" but, so far as we know, only for the first period, when it was compensated by Ghaznavid copper coinage. And it is not out of the question that, some day, Seljūq copper coins of the first period will be found.

7- You mention that, during the period of the civil wars between the feuding brothers and sons of Melikshāh, fine gold coins were struck in order to pay the troops; would not it be true to assume that none of those rulers during that period were strong enough to impose a fiduciary coinage and therefore had to issue pure coinage? Maybe they employed lots of mercenaries from outside too, who would not accept fiduciary coinage?

Yes, that could be one of the reasons of this phenomenon.

And finally I would like to thank Stan Goron. Were it not for his questions, I would never have written this article.

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## Bukhārā in the 11<sup>th</sup> century AD (according to numismatic data)

By Michael Fedorov

The importance of coins for studying the history of medieval Central Asia is difficult to overestimate. A pioneer in the field of medieval numismatics of Central Asia and member of the Russian Imperial Academy of Sciences, B. Dorn wrote in 1880: "Es ist schon oft von verschiedener Gelehrten darauf hingewiesen worden, von welcher Bedeutung die Münzen für die Geschichte sein können... Ich will für die Richtigkeit dieser Annahme hier einen Beleg in Bezug auf die Geschichte der Ilke mittheilen, welche... in Bukhara, Samarqand, Ferghana u.s.w. regiert haben" (Dorn 1880, 703).

I would like to give here an outline of the history of Bukhārā in the 11th century AD based on the data provided by the coins minted there. Unfortunately the distribution (and importance) of the numismatic material is not the same throughout the century, the most interesting and informative being the coins minted in the first half. The mintage of 11th century Bukhārā is represented mainly by coins of AD 389-465 /999-1073 minted almost every year with rare intervals of 1-3 years. Then a long gap follows and the next coins were not minted until 490/1097 and 494/1100-01.

In Rabī' I 382/May 992 the Qarākhānid ruler of Balāsāghūn and Ṭarāz, Boghrā Khān Hārūn, captured Bukhārā. The Sāmānid amīr, Nūh II b. Maṣṣūr, fled to Amūl and started to raise an army. The fruits and climate of Bukhārā exacerbated Boghrā Khān's illness. He left Bukhārā and died on the way back to Balāsāghūn (Bartold 1963, 320-321). Coins of AD 382, Bukhārā, reflect those events. There are dinars and dirhams of AD 382, Bukhārā, citing Shihāb al-Daula Abū Mūsā (Kochnev 1995, 203/5, 6). According to Bīrūnī (Bīrūnī 1957, 150) Boghrā Khān Hārūn, having started his campaign against the Sāmānids, proclaimed himself Shihāb al-Daula (he was not granted this *laqab* by the Caliph).

After the death of Boghrā Khān, the Qarākhānids' push to the west was led by İlek Naṣr b. 'Alī, a member of another branch of the dynasty. He captured Farghāna around the year 382/392. In 383/993-94 he minted coins in Khojende, in 385/995 in Īlāq, in 387/997 in Ushrūshana, in 388/988 in Shāsh and Samarqand (Kochnev 1995, 203-207/6, 7, 13, 48, 70; Tübingen University Collection EC9D5). In Dhū-l-Qa'da (XI month) 389/ October 999 the final blow was dealt: İlek Naṣr captured Bukhārā and arrested the Sāmānid amīr, 'Abd al-Malik b. Nūh. Having left a governor in Bukhārā, he returned to Uzgend and imprisoned the amīr and his relations there (Baihaqī 1962, 566; Bartold 1963, 329). The first fulūs of İlek Naṣr were minted in Bukhārā in the last two months of AD 388 (Kochnev 1995, 207/71, 208/72). The reverse of one fals was minted with an obsolete die. On the obverse are cited: İlek (Naṣr b. 'Alī) and Khān (his brother and suzerain, Aḥmad). On the reverse 'Abd al-Malik b. Nūh is cited. A second fals reflects the real political situation in Bukhārā: it cites İlek (obverse), Naṣr b. 'Alī (reverse) and Qarākhāqān, i.e. the nominal suzerain, Aḥmad b. 'Alī (reverse marginal legend).

In AH 390, 10 types of fulūs were minted in Bukhārā (Kochnev 1995, 209/89, 91-99) citing İlek, or Arslān İlek, or Mu'ayyid al-'Adl İlek, or Naṣr b. 'Alī, or Naṣr b. 'Alī İlek, or Amīr Naṣr b. 'Alī Maulā Amīr al-Mu'minīn and his suzerain Nāṣir al-Ḥaqq, or Nāṣir al-Ḥaqq Khān, or Amīr Nāṣir al-Ḥaqq Qarākhāqān (Aḥmad b. 'Alī). One type (Kochnev 1995, 209/90) is unusual. In 390 Isma'īl b. Nūh, brother of the Sāmānid amīr, escaped from prison in Uzgend, assumed the *laqab*, al-Muntaṣir (Victorious), and started a war against the Qarākhānids. He defeated Naṣr's governors of Bukhārā and Samarqand and entered Bukhārā, acclaimed by the townspeople (Bartold 1963, 330-331). So this fals of Bukhārā cites Isma'īl b. Nūh on the reverse and İlek on the obverse, which means that the obverse was minted from an obsolete die citing İlek Naṣr who was ousted from Bukhārā. Then

Naṣr's army approached Bukhārā and Muntaṣir fled. He fought Naṣr till AD 405, when he was killed (Bartold 1963, 382).

The earliest Qarākhānid dirham of Bukhārā was minted in 391/1000-01. It cites Mu'ayyid al-'Adl Īlek (obverse field) and Nāṣir al-Ḥaqq Khān (reverse field). The fals of AH 391, Bukhārā, is an exact replica of one type of fals minted in Bukhārā in AH 390 (Kochnev 1995, 209/91, 210/107).

In 392-396, 398-402 Bukhārā minted dirhams of one and the same type citing Mu'ayyid al-'Adl Īlek Naṣr and his nominal suzerain, Nāṣir al-Ḥaqq Khān, i.e. Aḥmad (Kochnev 1995, 210/112). Only once, in AH 394, is a subvassal (or rather governor), Abū 'Alī, cited on the obverse of dirhams. In 394 (Kochnev 1995, 212/132) the fulūs of Bukhārā cite Amīr Mu'ayyid al-'Adl (marginal legend) Naṣr b. 'Alī (field). Cases are not uncommon, where, in the same year and town, a suzerain is cited on the dirhams but not cited on the small copper coins, which served petty local trade. The fulūs of AD 399-400 (Kochnev 1995, 217/203-205, 218/206, 219/223-224) also mention only Naṣr b. 'Alī.

In 403-405/1012-15 important changes took place. In 403/1012-13 Bukhārā, which since 389/999 had belonged to its conqueror, Īlek Naṣr, was captured by his brother, Maṣṣūr b. 'Alī. This is reflected in the coinage as follows.

Bukhārā 403 (Kochnev 1995, 224/305). Reverse: al-Muwafaqq al-'Adil Tonghān (Kochnev read it as Yanghān) Tegīn. Obverse, al-Manṣūr (the name, i.e. Maṣṣūr b. 'Alī)

The character of Bukhārā's appropriation is revealed by the *laqab* of the town's new owner: al-Muwaffāq (successful, lucky). Most probably Bukhārā was captured without the sanction of Aḥmad b. 'Alī (the brother of Naṣr and Maṣṣūr). The situation was not clear and Maṣṣūr does not mention any suzerain on his coins. Negotiations then followed. Coins show that Aḥmad sanctioned the capture of Bukhārā and Maṣṣūr recognised him as suzerain. The latter started to cite Aḥmad on his coins minted in Bukhārā. It is not clear whether Maṣṣūr seized Bukhārā while Naṣr was alive or after he died (in the same year, AH 403). But the fact that, at first, maṣṣūr had the title Tegīn and only later the title Īlek, may speak in favour of the first. Maṣṣūr would not have been able to obtain the higher title of Īlek while Īlek Naṣr was still alive.

Bukhārā 403 (Kochnev 1995, 224/304). Reverse: Nāṣir al-Ḥaqq Khān (Aḥmad, suzerain) and Shams al-Daula Īlek Maṣṣūr (b. 'Alī, vassal).

Bukhārā 403 (Qysmychi hoard). Reverse: Quṭb al-Daula wa Naṣr al-Milla Khāqān (suzerain). The *laqabs* Quṭb al-Daula and Naṣr al-Milla belonged to Aḥmad (Fedorov 1972, 139). Obverse: Khān. Citing Aḥmad with the higher title Khāqān. Maṣṣūr promoted himself to the title Khān but placed it in the "least honourable place" i.e. under the Kalimah on the reverse, where the vassal or subvassal was usually cited.

Bukhārā 403 (Qysmychi hoard). Reverse: Quṭb al-Daula wa Naṣr al-Milla Qarākhāqān (Aḥmad, suzerain) and Khān. Citing Aḥmad with the highest title, Qarākhāqān, Maṣṣūr promoted himself from the "least honourable" to "a more honourable" place i.e. to the reverse, where the caliph and suzerain were cited.

Bukhārā 404 (Qysmychi hoard). Reverse: Quṭb al-Daula wa Naṣr al-Milla Qarākhāqān (Aḥmad, suzerain) and Khāqān (i.e. Maṣṣūr). On the obverse, a subvassal (or was it a mint official?), Haravī, is cited. So the ambitions of Maṣṣūr grew more and more pronounced and retaliation followed.

Bukhārā 404 (Qysmychi hoard). Reverse: Quṭb al-Daula wa Naṣr al-Milla Abū Naṣr Khāqān. The *kunia* Abū Naṣr belonged to Aḥmad b. 'Alī (Fedorov 1972, 143). Maṣṣūr was not cited on this coin. He lost Bukhārā and Aḥmad started to mint there in his name as immediate owner of Bukhārā. Thus began an internecine war between Western Qarākhānids, which ended in victory for Maṣṣūr and his allies in 407/1016-7. It is interesting that Haravī continued to be cited on these coins. It may mean that he was either a

representative of Aḥmad in Bukhārā, when Maṣṣūr possessed the town, or that Haravī was merely a mint official.

Of course, I am not trying to say that the war started because Maṣṣūr placed the title Khān on his coins. The reason was more serious: Maṣṣūr maintained an independent policy, starting with the unauthorised capture of Bukhārā, and ending with his pretension to the title of Khān, which neither the victorious conqueror of the Sāmānid state, Īlek Naṣr, nor any other Western Qarākhānid dared to do during the lifetime of Khāqān Aḥmad b. 'Alī. The pretension to the title of Khān reflected the independent policy of Maṣṣūr b. 'Alī.

Bukhārā 405 (Qysmychi hoard). Reverse: Quṭb al-Daula wa Naṣr al-Milla Khāqān. Obverse: Khān. It looks as though Maṣṣūr regained Bukhārā in 405 and, in order to settle the dispute peacefully, acknowledged Aḥmad again as his suzerain, having used the "mildest" variant with his khanian title on the obverse. Or was it a meaningless repetition of an old type? The fulūs, however, confirm the information on the silver coins. In 404-405 Bukhārā fulūs cite the anonymous Khāqān and his governor, Semnānī (Kochnev 1995, 227/336). Then in 405 the situation changed (Kochnev 1995, 230/382-384), with the fulūs citing an anonymous Khāqān (reverse) and an anonymous Khān (obverse). So it looks as if, in fact, Maṣṣūr regained Bukhārā in 405 and struck coins there calling himself Khān and his suzerain Aḥmad, Khāqān. Moreover: there are AH 405 fulūs citing only Khāqān (Kochnev 1995, 230/385). I believe this was Maṣṣūr; AH 405 was successful for him. In 405, Aḥmad b. 'Alī lost Akhsiket and Tunket (Kochnev 1995, 227/332, 231/396), where Arslān Khān is cited as suzerain and where no mention is made of Aḥmad b. 'Alī. So it would seem quite natural that Maṣṣūr should stop mentioning the suzerain on coins of Bukhārā.

In 406 in Bukhārā (Kochnev 1995, 232/412-14) the dirhams and one type of fulūs cite Shams al-Daula Arslān Khān as suzerain of Saif al-Daula Jagrī Tegīn, who was the owner of the city. A fals of AH 406, Bukhārā, (Kochnev 1995, 233/415) gives us the name of this prince: in the reverse marginal legend he is cited as Amīr al-Sayid Abī 'Alī al-Ḥusain b. Maṣṣūr. So he was the son of Arslān Khān who granted him Bukhārā as an appanage. Another fals of AH 406, Bukhārā, (Kochnev 1995, 233/416) cites Jagrī Tegīn but not Arslān Khān as suzerain, and on the obverse a certain Nūsh (subvassal or governor of Jagrī Tegīn) is cited. In 407/1016-17 (Kochnev 1995, 233/417) fulūs of this type were minted but without any mention of Nūsh. (One such fals is illustrated below on page 15) For part of AH 407 (Kochnev 1995, 235/444-445) dirhams of Bukhārā cite Jagrī Tegīn and his suzerain Arslān Khān. Then in 407 the status of Bukhārā changed (Kochnev 1995, 235/446): Arslān Khān granted it as appanage to his brother, Muḥammad b. 'Alī. Coins of Bukhārā cite Malik al-Muzaffar Khān (Maṣṣūr b. 'Alī) and Amīr al-'Adil Īlek Muḥammad b. 'Alī. Jagrī Tegīn was compensated with Tūnkēt, where he struck coins as a vassal of Arslān Khān in 407-415 (Kochnev 1995, 236-247/457-461, 509-513, 536-537, 559, 627-628). In 408 (Kochnev 1995, 238/477) the same Malik al-Muzaffar Khān and Amīr al-'Adil Īlek are cited on coins of Bukhārā.

In 410-411 (Kochnev 1995, 241-242/524-525, 547-548) coins cite Arslān Khān and al-Manṣūr Īlek (here al-Manṣūr is not a name, it is an epithet "Victorious"). So for part of 407, in 408 and in 410-411 Bukhārā belonged to Muḥammad b. 'Alī. A dirham of AH 411 (Kochnev 1995, 242/547) also cites a subvassal, Aḥmad b. Īlek Naṣr Pādshāh. A fals of AH 411, Bukhārā, (Kochnev 1995, 243/551) cites, on the reverse, Īlek (Muḥammad b. 'Alī) and, on the obverse, the subvassal, Aḥmad. Another fals of AH 411, Bukhārā, (Kochnev 1995, 243/552) cites Aḥmad b. Īlek Naṣr. So this subvassal, Aḥmad, was a son of Īlek Naṣr b. 'Alī (conqueror of Bukhārā in 389/999). No suzerain (neither Muḥammad nor Aḥmad b. 'Alī) is cited on this second type of fals. But, as I have

written above, it was not uncommon for the suzerain to be mentioned on the dirhams but not on the small copper coins.

In the same year, 411/1020-21, dramatic changes took place in Bukhārā. According to Ibn al-Athīr, a certain Qarākhānid prince, named 'Alī Tegīn, who was a prisoner of Arslān Khān, escaped from him and, with the help of nomad Turkmens, headed by Arslān b. Seljūq, captured Bukhārā. "İlek, brother of Arslān Khān" i.e. the lawful owner of Bukhārā, Muḥammad b. 'Alī, advanced on Bukhārā to punish the usurpers, but was defeated (Bartold 1963, 342). The coins show this sequence of events and furnish additional information. In 411 a certain Bahā al-Daula Tonghā Tegīn minted very strange dirhams in Bukhārā (Kochnev 1995, 243/550). On them he cites Malik al-Mashriq Qadir Khān, i.e. the Head of the Eastern Qarākhānids, Yūsuf, son of Boghrā Khān Hārūn (the conqueror of Bukhārā in 382/992). The capital of Qadir Khān was remote Kāshghar, and he had no dominions in the Western Qarākhānid khaqanate. So this coin shows that, having captured Bukhārā, 'Alī Tegīn recognized Qadir Khān as suzerain in order to get help and protection from him. The influential and powerful ruler of Kāshghar interceded for him with Arslān Khān. Coins show that the negotiations were successful and Arslān Khān eventually sanctioned the capture of Bukhārā by 'Alī Tegīn. In the same years, 411 and 412, Bahā al-Daula minted coins in Bukhārā citing Arslān Khān as suzerain, which he continued to do until 415/1024-25 when Arslān Khān died. A subvassal (or representative of Arslān Khān?), 'Irāqī, is also cited in AH 411-412 on dirhams of Bukhārā (Kochnev 1995, 242/549). In 412-413, fulūs of Bukhārā (Kochnev 1995, 244/571) cite only Bahā al-Daula Tonghā Tegīn, with no mention of any suzerain, which was not uncommon with small copper coins. But on the dirhams of AH 413-415, Bukhārā, (Kochnev 1995, 245/590-591) Arslān Khān is cited as the suzerain of Bahā al-Daula Tonghā Tegīn. In 413, fulūs of Bukhārā cite (Kochnev 1995, 245/592) Bahā al-Daula and his suzerain Khān al-Ajall (Manṣūr b. 'Alī). Dirhams of AH 415, Shāsh, (Kochnev 1995, 248/ 640-642) citing İlek al-'Adil 'Alī b. Ḥasan, or İlek al-'Adil Bahā al-Daula prove that the *laqab* Bahā al-Daula belonged to 'Alī b. Ḥasan (the 'Alī Tegīn of the chronicles).

In 415, Arslān Khān and his brother İlek Muḥammad b. 'Alī died. Supreme power in the Western Khaqanate was seized by another branch of the Qarākhānids called the "Ḥasanids". The new Head of the Western Qarākhānids was Tonghā Khān Muḥammad b. Ḥasan with his capital in Balāsāghūn. His brother, 'Alī, received the title of İlek (second only to the title of Khān). He was also given Shāsh and Khojende as appanages, where (as in Bukhārā) he struck coins as a vassal of Tonghā Khān (Kochnev 1995, 248/640-642, 247/633).

In 415-416 coins of Bukhārā cite Bahā al-Daula Arslān İlek or Abū-l Muzaffar Arslān İlek and Tonghā Khān (in 415) or Toghān Khān (in 416), i.e. Muḥammad b Ḥasan, as suzerain. A fals of AH 416, Bukhārā, cites only İlek and no suzerain (Kochnev 1995, 247/619, 249/652-654).

In 416, the Eastern Qarākhānids, led by Qadir Khān of Kāshghar, and Sulṭān Maḥmud of Ghazna invaded the lands of the Western Qarākhānids. 'Alī Tegīn fled to the desert. But then Maḥmud decided that it would be safer to have the Qarākhānids fighting each other and withdrew. Nevertheless, the invasion of Maḥmud allowed Qadir Khān to conquer vast territories from the Western Qarākhānids. In 416 he captured Balāsāghūn and Eastern Farghāna together with Uzgend. The Western Qarākhānids retained Western Farghāna with Akhsiket until 418 but then lost the whole of Farghāna and Khojende (Fedorov 1983, 111-113).

Kochnev wrote that 'Alī b. Ḥasan retained only Bukhārā and its oasis. He referred to coins (1994, 69; 1995, 251/691, 702) of AH 418, Soghd, and 419, Samarqand, which (provided he read them correctly - M. F.) cite the titles of Qadir Khān Yūsuf b. Hārūn as "Qadir Khān Malik al-Mashriq" and "Khān Malik al-

Mashriq wa'l-Şīn". But Qadir Khān did not possess those towns himself: he was cited there as suzerain by Arslān Tegīn. Who was this Arslān Tegīn who mentions Qadir Khān on fulūs of Samarqand and Soghd as his suzerain? A fals of AH 421, Bukhārā, (Kochnev 1995, 252/719) cites Shams al-Daula Arslān Tegīn as a vassal of İlek ('Alī b. Ḥasan). A fals of AH 431, Bukhārā, (Kochnev 1995, 261/853) mentions Shams al-Daula Yūsuf. So we have: Shams al-Daula = Yūsuf and Shams al-Daula = Arslān Tegīn. Which means that Yūsuf = Arslān Tegīn. Coins of AH 418, Bukhārā, (Kochnev 1995, 250/688) cite Yūsuf b. 'Alī (b. Ḥasan). It proves that Shams al-Daula Arslān Tegīn was a son of 'Alī b. Ḥasan. I believe the Samarqand part of Soghdiana remained with the Ḥasanids, but that Yūsuf, son of 'Alī b. Ḥasan, was forced to recognise the Head of the Eastern Qarākhānids as his suzerain. Though there is also the possibility that this Arslān Tegīn may have been some Eastern Qarākhānid.

The eleventh century in Central Asia saw the development of the so-called "silver crisis". In the ninth and tenth centuries AD a flood of silver coins were exported to Eastern Europe in exchange for northern goods. By the eleventh century, some mints of Central Asia were depleted, around the others all the forests had been cut down and work there stopped because of the lack of charcoal. The shortage of silver led to the disappearance of high-grade silver coins, which gave way to low-grade subaerati dirhams. But even they were sometimes not enough. Silver dirhams of the Ḥasanids are scarce. It appears as though they tried to compensate for the shortage of silver coins by mass production of copper coins. In such conditions every die was used as long as possible, which led to a systematic mismatching of dies, some of them being obsolete. This is a nuisance because it distorts the real picture, so that almost every year there are coins minted both in the name of the suzerain alone and in the name of the suzerain with his vassal. Nevertheless I shall try to clarify the picture.

In 416, 417, 419, 420, 422 (Kochnev 1995, 249-251/654, 674, 698) the anonymous İlek ('Alī b. Ḥasan) minted fulūs in Bukhārā. No vassal is cited on those coins. But in 417 and 418 in Bukhārā (Kochnev 1995, 250/675) fulūs were also minted citing İlek and his vassal, the anonymous *Tegīn* (i.e. Yūsuf b. 'Alī). The real picture, I believe, is as follows: in Bukhārā in AH 417-418 'Alī b. Ḥasan minted fulūs with the title İlek as independent ruler, while his son Arslān Tegīn Yūsuf issued coins in AH 418-419 in Samarqand and Soghd as a vassal of Qadir Khān, a measure he was forced to adopt. But in that same year, 419, 'Alī b. Ḥasan started to strike coins in Soghd, Samarqand and Ishtikhān as an independent ruler, placing his title "İlek" on the coins of those towns (Kochnev 1995, 251/700, 703, 704). Thereafter Qadir Khān was never again cited as suzerain on the coins of Soghdiana. Coins show that 'Alī b. Ḥasan made Samarqand his capital and minted there in his name alone until AH 426. After AH 419 and until 426, when 'Alī b. Ḥasan died, the title Arslān Tegīn, the *laqab* Shams al-Daula and the name Yūsuf were not mentioned on the coins of Samarqand.

'Alī b. Ḥasan compensated his son with Bukhārā. In 418, 419, 422 fulūs of Bukhārā cite Yūsuf b. 'Alī (Kochnev 1995, 250/688) and no suzerain, but the suzerain was often not cited on copper coins. And there are also fulūs of AH 417-419, Bukhārā (Kochnev 1995, 250/675), citing both İlek and *Tegīn* (written in Uigur), i.e. Yūsuf and his suzerain and father, İlek 'Alī b. Ḥasan.

In 421 (Kochnev 1995, 252/718) fulūs of Bukhārā cite İlek (obverse) and Tarkhān (reverse). The title "Tarkhān" belonged to 'Alī b. Ḥasan. A fals of AH 421 Samarqand (Kochnev 1995, 252/723) cites Padshāh İlek (obverse field). A fals of AH 421, Soghd, (Kochnev 1995, 252/725) cites Padshāh Tarkhān (reverse field) Malik al-Muzaffar 'Alī b. Ḥasan (marginal legend) and İlek (obverse field). A fals of 42(1?), Soghd, (Kochnev 1995, 253/726) cites Tarkhān (reverse field) and Malik al-Muzaffar 'Alī b. Ḥasan (marginal legend). These coins show that the title of Tarkhān

belonged to 'Alī b. Ḥasan. So the coin of Bukhārā with the title İlek Tarkān shows that, for part of 421, coins were struck in the name of 'Alī b. Ḥasan alone. Or was this particular type minted from mismatched dies? But in the same period of AH 421-424 (Kochnev 1995, 252/719, 253/734) other fulūs of Bukhārā cite Shams al-Daula Arslān Tegīn (Yūsuf) and his suzerain, İlek ('Alī b. Ḥasan).

In AH 423 and 426 (Kochnev 1995, 254/744) some fulūs of Bukhārā cite only Shams al-Daula Arslān Tegīn without mentioning his father and suzerain. In 423/1032, 'Alī b. Ḥasan assumed the khanian title Ṭabghāch Boghrā Qarākhāqān (Kochnev 1995, 254/755). One fals of AH 424, Bukhārā, cites Ṭabghāch Khān twice, on both sides of the coin (Kochnev 1995, 255/763). But this coin was struck from two reverse dies because in the same years, 424 and 425, (Kochnev 1995, 255/764) fulūs of Bukhārā cite Ṭabghāch Khān (reverse) and Shams al-Daula (obverse). In 424-426 (Kochnev 1995, 255-256/765, 776-777) fulūs cite Ṭabghāch Khān Shams (reverse) and al-Daula (obverse), or Ṭabghāch Khān Shams (reverse) and Shams al-Daula (obverse), or Ṭabghāch Khān, Arslān Tegīn Shams (reverse) and Shams al-Daula (obverse). It looks as if some die-sinker bungled several dies.

The last coins of AH 426, Bukhārā minted in the lifetime of 'Alī b. Ḥasan (Kochnev 1995, 258/803) cite Ṭabghāch Boghrā Qarākhāqān (reverse) and Shams al-Daula (obverse).

The next issue of AH 426, Bukhārā, was a dirham (the first dirham of Bukhārā after an interval of ten years since 416, as far as I know). It already cites the son and successor of 'Alī b. Ḥasan, Yūsuf b. 'Alī (Kochnev 1995, 258/804). After the death of his father, Yūsuf assumed the higher title of İlek. In the reverse field, one finds Malik al-Mu'ayyad Arslān İlek, and, in the obverse field, Yūsuf.

In 427, 428 and 430, fulūs of Bukhārā cite Shams al-Daula Arslān İlek, or Arslān İlek, or Arslān İlek Yūsuf (Kochnev 1995, 258/813, 259/814-815, 824-825).

In 429-430/1037-39, coins of Bukhārā (Kochnev 1995, 260/833, 846, 847) cite Ṭoghān Khān. The identity of this ruler is uncertain. Kochnev (1995, 260/835) read on two dirhams of Samarqand the dates "429" and "430" and "Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan Ṭoghān Khān". He wrote that it was the same Ṭoghān Khān, brother of 'Alī b. Ḥasan (or 'Alī Tegīn), who, in 415, became the Head of the Western Qarākhānids. I know a coin in the Samarqand Museum, which he read as "AH 430 Samarqand". It is in a bad state of preservation and one cannot be sure of the date and title, which could be "403" and "Ṭoghān Tegīn". As for the second coin, I have not seen it, but could the date be not "429" but "419"? Baihaqī, a contemporary of this Ṭoghān Khān, wrote that Ṭoghān Khān برافتاد in war with Qadir Khān. A. K. Arends (Baihaqī 1962, 467) translated it as: "fell in the war". Kochnev, who consulted Iranian specialist, O. F. Akimushkin, insisted that Baihaqī's words should be understood not in the sense that Ṭoghān Khān "fell in the war", but that he "only fell from power" (Kochnev 1984, 370). By the way in his other article, Kochnev (1979, 129) himself wrote that the "struggle" between Qadir Khān and Ṭoghān Khān "ended with the death of Ṭoghān Khān, which Baihaqī reported". I should add that in 1979 Kochnev (1979, 129) citing a 14th century chronicler wrote that 'Alī Tegīn was "the son of a brother of the father of Qadir Khān" (i.e. cousin), and that in 1984 he wrote (Kochnev 1984, 370) that Qadir Khān and Ṭoghān Khān were brothers and their father had a double name "Hārūn-Ḥasan" (that is to explain why Qadir Khān was cited on coins as the son of Hārūn and 'Alī Tegīn was cited on coins as a son of Ḥasan - M. F.). It is difficult to know what to think of this!

The latest coin of Ṭoghān Khān Muḥammad b. Ḥasan, which I was acquainted with in 1974, was minted in 418 in Akhsiket (Kochnev 1995, 250, 686). After that, Ṭoghān Khān disappears from coins. This suggested to me that Ṭoghān Khān died in

418/1027-28 (Fedorov 1974, 174). Anyway, if Kochnev read the coins correctly, it would mean that, having disappeared from coins, Ṭoghān Khān then turned up after 12 years of obscurity as a ruler of Bukhārā. But could it be that this was actually Yūsuf b. 'Alī assuming a higher khanian title and choosing the title "Ṭoghān Khān"?

In 431 coins of Bukhārā (Kochnev 1995, 261/852-853) cite Shams al-Daula İlek or Shams al-Daula Yūsuf. The latest coin of Bukhārā citing İlek Yūsuf b. 'Alī was minted in 433 (Kochnev 1995, 261/860), but I believe it was struck from mismatched dies, one of them with obsolete titles.

In 429/1037-38 a prisoner of Yūsuf b. 'Alī, the Qarākhānid prince, Būrī Tegīn İbrahīm, son of İlek Naşr (the conqueror of Bukhārā in 389/999) escaped from imprisonment and made his way to Farghāna to his brother, 'Ain al-Daula Muḥammad b. Naşr, but was forced to leave him. Būrī Tegīn approached the nomad tribes of the Kumjī and Kenjīne. He enticed them with a promise of rich booty and raised an army of 3000 horsemen. With that army he captured, in the year 430, the principality of Chaghāniyān (north of Tirmidh) because the Chaghāniyān ruler had died, leaving no heir. Then Būrī Tegīn İbrahīm started a war against Yūsuf b. 'Alī. In 431 he conquered Kesh and Samarqand and then Bukhārā (Fedorov 1980, 40-42).

İbrahīm b. Naşr issued his first coins in Bukhārā in 432-433 with the titles Naşir al-Ḥaqq Mu'ayid al-'Adl Khāqān İbrahīm (Kochnev 1997, 248/864). A coin of AH 433, Bukhārā, citing Yūsuf b. 'Alī was most probably minted with an obsolete die, but if not, it could mean that in 433 Yūsuf managed to regain Bukhārā for a short time and in the same year lost it once and for all.

Having conquered Mawarānnahr, İbrahīm assumed the high title "Ṭafghāch Boghrā Qarākhāqān". In 433, 435, 438, 439, 441, 444, 447, 448 (Kochnev 1997, 248-249/870-874, 881) he minted coins in Bukhārā as an immediate owner, without mentioning any vassal or governor. In 440 (Kochnev 1997, 249/885) some coins of Bukhārā cite a vassal of İbrahīm with the name Naşr. I believe that he was the son of İbrahīm and the future Head of the Western Qarākhānids, Shams al-Mulk Naşr (460-472/1067-1080). In 452, 453, 454, 45(5?) İbrahīm minted coins in Bukhārā in his name only (Kochnev 1997, 250-252/888, 896, 897, 898). In 459-460 (Kochnev 1997, 252/911) changes had taken place: coins of Bukhārā cite Mu'ayid al-'Adl Ṭafghāch Khān İbrahīm and his co-ruler and son, Shams al-Mulk. Some coins of AH 460, 461, Bukhārā, (Kochnev 1997, 253/928) cite Mu'ayid al-'Adl Ṭafghāch Khān İbrahīm and Sulṭān al-Mashriq wa'l-Şīn (i. e. İbrahīm's son, Shams al-Mulk Naşr).

Before his death, İbrahīm abdicated in favour of Shams al-Mulk Naşr. Another of his sons, Shu'aith, rebelled. The opposing armies clashed near Samarqand. Shu'aith lost the day and fled to Bukhārā. Shams al-Mulk besieged and defeated him there. During the battle, the Great Mosque of Bukhārā caught fire and burnt to the ground. Al-Qubāvī (Narshakhii 1966, 49) wrote that the mosque was burnt in 460 and rebuilt in 461. There is a coin of Bukhārā of AH 461 that reflects those events (Kochnev 1997, 255/954). On its reverse, we find Mu'ayid al-'Adl Ṭafghāch Khān İbrahīm and, on its obverse, Ṭoghān Khān. Ibn al-Athīr (Bartold 1963, 377) mentioned the mutinous son of İbrahīm as Ṭoghān Khān. So this coin shows that Shu'aith stayed in Bukhārā in AH 461 long enough to strike coins there in his name.

Bartold (1963, 377; 1963a, 630) wrote that İbrahīm died in 460. But there are several coins of AH 461 citing Ṭafghāch Khān İbrahīm. It is difficult to believe that all of them were minted with obsolete dies, citing a ruler who had already died.

Shams al-Mulk is the last ruler whose coinage of Bukhārā is represented sufficiently (Kochnev 1997, 254/946-947, 255/954-955, 256/959, 963). He died in Dhu-l-Qa'da (XI month) 472/24.4.23.5 1080 (Bartold 1963a, 630) but his coins minted in Bukhārā are known only for 460, 461, 462, 464, 465 (i.e. 1067-1073).

There seems to have been a recent hoard comprising his coins minted in Bukhārā not later than AH 464. Several years ago coins of Shams al-Mulk were rare and his Bukhārān coinage was not known. His dirhams of AH 460-462, 464, Bukhārā, cite Nāṣir al-Ḥaqq wa'l Dīn Naṣr (or Abī al-Ḥasan Nāṣr). On some coins, the *laqab* Sulṭān al-Sharq wa'l Ṣīn was added on the obverse. His latest coin of Bukhārā, so far known, is a fals minted in 465/1072-73.

Shams al-Mulk was succeeded by his brother, Khidr Khān. Up to the beginning of the seventies of the last century his coins were unknown. The first coin of Khidr Khān, minted in Uzgend in 473/1080-81 was discovered by me (Fedorov 1978, 173-178). As a result of this coin I established the previously unknown fact that, having lost all the lands from Balāsāghūn to the frontiers of Khojende province to the Eastern Qarākhānids (who took advantage of the war of AH 460-461 between Shams al-Mulk and Shu'aith), the Western Qarākhānids launched a new war and recovered at least all of Farghāna including easternmost Uzgend. I supposed that Farghāna was reconquered not by Khidr but by Shams al-Mulk, who, in his turn, took advantage of the internecine war of the Eastern Qarākhānids in 467/1074-75. My supposition was proved correct by a coin, found 20 years later: it was minted in Uzgend in AH 467 by Shams al-Mulk (Kochnev 1997, 256/962). In 1985 (Fedorov 1985, 147-152) I published a second coin of Khidr Khān and in 1999 four more new types (Fedorov 1999, 13-14). Kochnev mentioned two types of coins minted by Khidr Khān in Samarqand (1997, 257/974-975). Coins of Bukhārā minted by Khidr Khān are not known so far.

There are no coins of Bukhārā among the very scarce coins of Khidr Khān's son, Aḥmad Khān, who was strangled with a bowstring in 488/1095. So after 465/1072-3 there is a long gap in the mintage of Bukhārā. The first coins after that are two fulūs of Bukhārā minted in 490/1096-97 by Abū-l Qasim Maḥmūd Taḥghāch Khān. In 1097 the Seljūq sultan, Barkiārūq, invaded Mawarānnahr, took Samarqand and put on the throne of the Western Qarākhānid khaqanate the Qarākhānid prince, Sulaimān Tegīn. Some time later, Barkiārūq dethroned him and put another Qarākhānid on the throne, Maḥmūd Tegīn, who died in the same year, 490 (Bartold 1963, 381; Ḥusaini 1980, 80). The coins in question were minted by this ruler. They show that his khanian title was Taḥghāch Khān and his *kunia* was Abū-l Qasim.

The last coin of the eleventh century AD from Bukhārā (Kochnev 1997, 288/1346) is a fals minted in 4(9)4 by Taḥghāch Khān Jabra'il. In 492 the Eastern Qarākhānid ruler of Balāsāghūn and Ṭarāz, Jabra'il b. 'Umar, invaded Mawarānnahr, captured Samarqand and Bukhārā and usurped the throne of the Western

Qarākhānids. In 495/1102 he invaded the dominions of the Great Seljūqs, captured Tirmidh but soon after that was ambushed and killed by Sanjar, the Seljūq ruler of Eastern Khurāsān (Pritsak 1953, p. 45).

Such is the history of Bukhārā in the eleventh century AD according to the inscriptions on Qarākhānid coins.

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Year		Suzerain	Vassal	Subvassal
382	D	E. Shihāb al-Daula Abū Mūsā		
382	D	The same		
389-390	F	Qarākhāqān (Aḥmad b. 'Alī)	Īlek Naṣr b. 'Alī	
390	F	Mu'ayīd al-'Adl Arslān Īlek Naṣr b. 'Alī		
390-391	F	Nāṣir al-Ḥaqq Khān (Aḥmad b. 'Alī)	Īlek Naṣr b. 'Alī	
391	D	The same	Mu'ayīd al-'Adl Īlek	
392-396, 398-402	D	The same	Mu'ayīd al-'Adl Īlek Naṣr Padshāh	
394	D	The same	The same	Abū 'Alī
394	F	Mu'ayīd al-'Adl Naṣr b. 'Alī		
399-400	F	Naṣr b. 'Alī		
399-400	F	Īlek Naṣr		
399-400	F	Naṣr		
400	F	Īlek Naṣr b. 'Alī		
403	D	Yanghān (Tonghān?) Tegīn al-Manṣūr (name)		
403	D	Nāṣir al-Ḥaqq Khān (Aḥmad b. 'Alī)	Shams al-Daula Īlek Manṣūr Padshāh	

403	D	Quṭb al-Daula wa Naṣr al-Milla Khāqān (Aḥmad b. 'Alī)	Khān (Maṣṣūr b. 'Alī)	
403	D	Quṭb al-Daula wa Naṣr al-Milla Qarākhāqān (Aḥmad b. 'Alī)	The same	
404	D	The same	Khāqān (Maṣṣūr b. 'Alī)	<i>Haravī</i>
404	D	Quṭb al-Daula wa Naṣr al-Milla Abū Naṣr Khāqān (Aḥmad b. 'Alī)		The same
404-405	F	Khāqān (Aḥmad b. 'Alī)	<i>Semnānī</i>	
405	D	Quṭb al-Daula wa Naṣr al-Milla Khāqān (Aḥmad b. 'Alī)	Khān (Maṣṣūr b. 'Alī)	
405	F	Khāqān (Aḥmad b. 'Alī)	Khān al-Ajall (Maṣṣūr b. 'Alī)	
405	F	Khāqān (Maṣṣūr b. 'Alī)		
406	D	Shams al-Daula Arslān Khān (Maṣṣūr b. 'Alī)	Saif al-Daula Jaghrī Tegīn	
406	F	Arslān Khān (Maṣṣūr b. 'Alī)	Saif al-Daula Jaghrī Tegīn Abī 'Alī al-Ḥusain b. Maṣṣūr (b. 'Alī)	
406	F	Saif al-Daula Jaghrī Tegīn Abī 'Alī al-Ḥusain b. Maṣṣūr (b. 'Alī)	Nūsh	
406	F	The same		
407	D	Arslān Khān (Maṣṣūr b. 'Alī)	Saif al-Daula Jaghrī Tegīn	
407	D	Khān (Maṣṣūr b. 'Alī)	Īlek Muḥammad b. 'Alī	
408	D	Khān (Maṣṣūr b. 'Alī)	Īlek Pādshāh (Muḥammad b. 'Alī)	
410	D	Arslān Khān (Maṣṣūr b. 'Alī)	<b>al-Maṣṣūr</b> (epithet "Victorious", not name) <b>Īlek</b> (Muḥammad b. 'Alī)	
411	D	al-Muzaffar Arslān Khān (Maṣṣūr b. 'Alī)	al-Maṣṣūr Īlek (Muḥammad b. 'Alī)	<i>al-Bazār</i>
411	D	Arslān Khān (Maṣṣūr b. 'Alī)	The same	Aḥmad b. Īlek Naṣr Pādshāh
411	F	Īlek (Muḥammad b. 'Alī)	Aḥmad (b. Īlek Naṣr)	
411	F	Aḥmad b. Īlek Naṣr		
411	D	E. Malik al-Mashriq Qadir Khān I (Yūsuf b. Boghrā Khān Hārūn)	Bahā al-Daula Tonghā Tegīn ('Alī b. Ḥasan)	
411-412	D	Arslān Khān (Maṣṣūr b. 'Alī)	The same	<i>al-'Irāqī</i>
412-413	F	Bahā al-Daula Tonghā Tegīn		
413-415	D	Arslān Khān (Maṣṣūr b. 'Alī)	Amīr Bahā al-Daula Tonghā Tegīn	
413	F	Khān al-Ajall (Maṣṣūr b. 'Alī)	Bahā al-Daula ('Alī b. Ḥasan)	
414-415	F	Bahā al-Daula Tonghā Tegīn		
415	F	Tongā Khān (Muḥammad b. Ḥasan)	Bahā al-Daula Arslān Īlek ('Alī)	
416	D	Tongā Khān (Muḥammad b. Ḥasan)	Abū-l Muzaffar Īlek ('Alī b. Ḥasan)	
416,417,419 420,422	F	Īlek ('Alī b. Ḥasan)		
417-418	F	Īlek ('Alī b. Ḥasan)	Tegīn (Yūsuf b. 'Alī)	
418,19,22	F	Yūsuf b. 'Alī		
421	F	Tarkhān Īlek ('Alī b. Ḥasan)		
421-424	F	Īlek ('Alī b. Ḥasan)	Shams al-Daula Arslān Tegīn	
423, 426	F	Shams al-Daula Arslān Tegīn		

Table 1. Bukhārā 382-426/992-1035. All but two, Western Qarākhānids. **E** - Eastern Qarākhānid. **D** - dinar. **D** - dirhem. **F** - fals. *Abū 'Alī*, *Haravī* etc. vassals or subvassals not belonging to a Qarākhānid Dynasty.

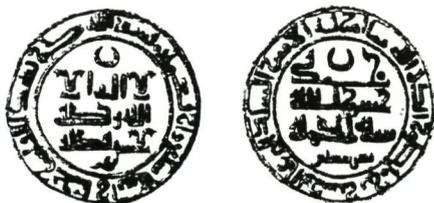
Year		Suzerain	Vassal
424	F	Ṭafghāch Khān ('Alī b. Ḥasan) [twice, mismatched dies]	
424-426	F	Ṭafghāch Khān	Shams al-Daula (Yūsuf b. 'Alī)
425	F	The same	Shams al-Daula Arslān Tegīn
426	F	Ṭafghāch Boghrā Qarākhāqān ('Alī b. Ḥasan)	Shams al-Daula (Yūsuf b. 'Alī)
426	D	Mu'ayyid al-'Adl Arslān Īlek Yūsuf (b. 'Alī)	
427	F	Shams al-Daula Arslān Īlek (Yūsuf b. 'Alī)	
427-428,430	F	Arslān Īlek Yūsuf (b. 'Alī)	
428, 430	F	Arslān Īlek (Yūsuf b. 'Alī)	
429	F	Ṭoghān Khān	

430	D	The same	
430	F	Ṭoghān Khāqān	
431	F	Arslān Īlek (Yūsuf b. 'Alī)	
431	F	Shams al-Daula Īlek (Yūsuf b. 'Alī)	
431	F	Shams al-Daula Yūsuf (b. 'Alī)	
432	F	Yūsuf b. 'Alī	
433	F	Īlek Yūsuf b. 'Alī	
432,433	D	Nāṣir al-Ḥaqq Mu'ayid al-'Adl Khāqān Ibrahīm (b. Īlek Naṣr b. 'Alī)	
432	F	Mu'ayid al-'Adl Ibrahīm b. Naṣr	
433, 435	D	Mu'ayid al-'Adl Ṭafghāch Boghrā Qarākhāqān Ibrahīm b. Naṣr	
433	D	Ṭafghāch Boghrā Qarākhāqān Ibrahīm b. Naṣr	
433	D	Mu'ayid al-'Adl Khāqān	
433	D	Ṭafghāch Boghrā Qarākhāqān Ibrahīm (b. Naṣr)	
Before 440	D	Boghrā Qarākhāqān Ibrahīm (b. Naṣr)	
438,39, 441, 444,47,48	D	Mu'ayid al-'Adl Khān Ibrahīm (b. Īlek Naṣr b. 'Alī)	
440	D	The same	Naṣr (b. Ibrahīm)
452, 455?	D	'Imād al-Daula wa Ṭāj al-Milla Saif Khalīfat Allāh Mu'ayid al-'Adl Ṭabghāch Khān Ibrahīm	
453	D	Mu'ayid al-'Adl Ṭabghāch Khān Ibrahīm Malik al-Mashriq wa'l Šīn	
454	F	'Imād al-Daula wa Ṭāj al-Milla Khān Malik al-Mashriq wa'l Šīn	
454	F	Khān Malik al-Mashriq wa'l Šīn	
459,460	D	Mu'ayid al-'Adl Ṭabghāch Khān Ibrahīm	Shams al-Mulk (Naṣr b. Ibrahīm)
460,461	D	The same	Sulṭān al-Sharq wa'l Šīn (Naṣr b. Ibrahīm)
460,462	D	Nāṣir al-Ḥaqq wa'l Dīn Shams al-Mulk Naṣr	
461	D	Nāṣir al-Ḥaqq wa'l Dīn Sulṭān al-Sharq wa'l Šīn Shams al-Mulk Naṣr	
461	D	Mu'ayid al-'Adl Ṭabghāch Khān Ibrahīm	Ṭoghān Khān (Shu'aith b. Ibrahīm)
461	F	Nāṣir al-Ḥaqq wa'l Dīn Shams al-Mulk Naṣr	
464	D	Nāṣir al-Ḥaqq wa'l Dīn Sulṭān Arḍ al-Sharq Shams al-Mulk Abī-l Ḥasan Naṣr	
465	F	Shams al-Mulk	
490	F	Khāqān al-Ajall 'Imād al-Daula Ṭafghāch Khān Abū-l Qasim Maḥmūd	
490	F	Khāqān al-Ajall Malik al-Muzaffar Maḥmūd	
(49)4	F	E. Ṭabghāch Khān Jabra'il (b. 'Umar b. Toghrul Khān)	

Table 2. Bukhārā 424-494/1032-1101. All rulers but one Western Qarākhānids. E - Eastern Qarākhānid. D - dirhem. F- fals.

#### A Qarākhānid Fals from Bukhārā

By Frank Timmermann



The fals illustrated here was struck in Bukhārā in AH 407 by Saif al-Daula Chaghri Tegīn al-Husain bin Maṣṣūr. He was the son of Arslān Khān and held Bukhārā as appanage ruler. The legend in the obverse field is the first three lines of the *Shahāda* with the mint/date formula in the margin. The reverse field has the remainder of the *Shahāda* (*Muḥammad rasūl allāh*) and the ruler's name, *saif al-daula chagrī tegīn*. The rest of his name is in the margin. The weight is 3.17 g

Obverse field: لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له  
 Obverse margin: بسم الله ضرب هذا الفلن بيخارا سنة سبع و اربعمائة  
 Reverse field: محمد رسول الله سيف الدولة جغريتكين  
 Reverse margin: مما امر به الامير السيد ابي علي الحسين بن منصور ايد الله

A coin of this type is listed by B.D. Kochnev in "Svod nadpisei na karakhanidskikh monetakh: antroponimy i titulatura (chast' 1) in *Vostochnoe istoricheskoe istochnikovedenie i spetsial'nye istoricheskie distsipliny*, 4, Moskva, 1995, no. 417, p.233.

#### A New Date for Rukn al-Dīn Kaikāūs, Sulṭān of Bengal

Rukn al-Dīn Kaikāūs was the grandson of the Dehlī ruler, Ghiyāth al-Dīn Balban. He succeeded his father, Nāṣir al-Dīn Maḥmūd Bughrā Shāh, to the Bengal throne in AH 689<sup>1</sup>. No gold coins are yet known for him, but his silver tankas come in two varieties. Those of years 689 and 690 were struck at Lakhnautī from the land-tax of Banga (East Bengal) according to their marginal legend. Those of years 691-8 omit the reference to Banga. No coin has yet been seen where the date can reliably be read as 699. In AH

700, the throne was usurped by Shams al-Dīn Firūz.<sup>2</sup> In 1978<sup>3</sup> a silver tanka of an otherwise unknown ruler, Shams al-Dīn Daulat Shāh, was published. He was at first identified with Daulat Shah bin Maudūd, governor of Bengal during the reign of Iltutmish. But Deyell<sup>4</sup>, rightly refuted this identification on both factual and stylistic grounds and suggested that Shams al-Dīn Daulat was another usurper, who seized the Bengal throne in the “missing” year 699, only to lose it the following year to Shams al-Dīn Firūz. This picture has now been complicated by the discovery of a coin of Rukn al-Dīn Kaikāūs clearly dated AH 700.



This tanka, struck at Lakhnauti, bears the usual legends for this ruler and has a mint-mark similar to, but not the same as, that found on coins of his hitherto latest known coins, struck in AH 698. This discovery now requires us to rethink what might have happened in the period 698-700 in Bengal. Assuming Deyell's very plausible attribution of the Daulat Shah coin to the year 699 is correct, then Kaikāūs must have come under considerable pressure during the last couple of years of his reign. His throne may well have been usurped briefly in the year 699 only for him to regain it equally briefly either later in that year or early in the following year. The present coin shows that he was back on the throne in the year 700 but was again ousted, this time for good, later that same year.

1. It is not known whether Kaikāūs began his reign in the latter part of year 688 or in 689. The latest dated coin of his father is 688 and his own earliest coin is dated 689.
2. Goron, S.: “Earliest Coin of Shams-ud-Din Firuz of Bengal”, *ND*, Vol. IX, 1985, Nashik.
3. Manik Lal Gupta: “A Rare Coin of Sultan Shams-ud-Duniya wa'd Din Abu al Muzaffar Daulat Shah of Bengal”, *JNSI*, XL, 1978, where the author refers to an earlier article by Dr B.B. Hazarika in *The Quarterly Review of Historical Studies*, Calcutta, XV, 1975.
4. Deyell, John S.: “A Reassessment of the New Coin of Daulat Shah of Bengal”, *JNSI*, XLI, 1979, Varanasi.

#### A New Mint for Ghiyāth al-Dīn Balban

Zubair Khan in India has sent details and illustrations of a very interesting silver tanka issued in Bengal in the name of Ghiyāth al-Dīn Balban, Sultān of Dehlī. It is engraved in the typical, rather florid, Bengal style but, instead of the usual mint-name of Lakhnauti, the mint-name appears to be Lakhnūr (also written as Lakhūr). Lakhnūr was the main town of the area of West Bengal known as Radha. Some coins of Mughīth al-Dīn Yūzbek (R 139) also appear to have been struck there. Some Horseman tankas in the name of Shams al-Dīn Iltutmish (R 117) have a word in the obverse field that has been read alternatively as bi-Gaur or Lakūr.

The main legends are those usually found on Balban's Bengal issues:

Obv: al-sultān al-a'zam ghiyāth al-dunyā wa'l dīn abu'l muzaffar balban al-sultān

Rev: al-imām al-musta'šim amīr al-mū'minīn

The reverse margin reads: darb hadhā al-fiqḍa bi-khiṭṭa lakhnūr fī shuhūr sana thalath wa sab'in wa sittami'a

The obverse margin is only partly legible and reads: ....rabī' al-awwal sana thalath wa sab'in wa...

The weight is 10.7 g



The mint-name is written لکهنور, the letter *hā* with its double loop very clearly engraved; the mint-name on the Lakhnauti coins is written with the form of the letter *hā* that does not have loops. The mint of Rabī' al-Awwal has not yet been found on Lakhnauti coins. For that mint we have Shawāl 672, Muḥarram 673 and Jamada al-Awwal 673. The year, 673, for the present coin fits nicely into this short period when the month of issue appears on the coins.

#### A Rare Shāhrukhī of the Mughal Emperor, Humāyūn

Mr Timmermann of Hamburg has sent details of an unpublished *shāhrukhī* struck during Humāyūn's brief second reign (AH 962-3). Very few coins appear to be known from this reign. There are a few rupees struck in Āgra in year 962 and Whitehead<sup>1</sup> published a *shāhrukhī* of that same year struck in Dehlī.



The present coin is dated 963 and is of a different type from the Dehlī coin. A part of the mint-name may be visible to the left of the rectangular cartouche on the obverse. ONS member, Aman-ur-Rahman, who has made a special study of the coins of Babur and Humāyūn, has informed us that he has in his collection an unpublished rupee of Humāyūn of Nārnol mint which he says is “die-identical” to Mr Timmermann's *shāhrukhī*.

The lands under Humāyūn's control during his second reign were limited to the areas around Dehlī, Āgra and parts of the Punjāb and, even there, Mughal control was tenuous until Akbar and his army were able to impose their authority some years later. Nārnol is situated about 75 miles south-west of Dehlī.

#### A Coin of Aparāditya, the Shilāhāra King Of Thāne

By Shailendra Bhandare

##### *The Shilāhāras: A Brief History*

The Shilāhāras were an important dynastic group of early medieval India. They came into prominence during the 7<sup>th</sup> – 8<sup>th</sup> centuries as feudatories of the Rāshtrakutas. At least six branches are known to have flourished at different times from the 8<sup>th</sup> to the 12<sup>th</sup> centuries. Their history may be divided into two distinct phases: the early feudatory phase and the later independent phase. But not all branches reached the independent phase. It was only the branches of Thane (near mainland Bombay), Goa and Kolhapur (South Deccan) that, at some point in their dynastic career, exercised independence from their Imperial overlords. Their initial

subordination to the Rāshtrakutas was changed into a Chālukyan overlordship when Taila overthrew the Rāshtrakuta supremacy under Khottiga in 975 AD and went on to establish the Chālukya supremacy at Kalyana. But the Shilāhāras exercised more and more independence under the Chālukyas. Conceivably their efforts were met with considerable resistance from the Chālukyas, who continually tried to subjugate them. Sometimes, as in the case of the Goa branch, they succeeded in quelling such insubordination. But it was in the case of the Thane branch that the Chālukyas had to accept a compromise and let their distant feudatories rule independently. Consequently, it was the Thane branch that established its independent rule at an early date and it was also the one that carried it on for the longest time. The domains of the Kolhapur and Thane branches were ultimately assimilated into the Yādava Empire during the reigns of Yādava Singhana and Mahādeva, respectively.

All the branches shared a common ancestral stock. The main source of Shilāhāra History has been their copperplate grants and inscriptions, which are numerous and cast an important light on the political structure and developments, economic activities and religious affinities. Accordingly, all the Shilāhāras trace their origins to 'Tagara' as seen from their dynastic appellation *Tagarapurawarādhihshwara*, or 'Lords of the Invincible Tagara City'. Tagara has been identified with Ter, a town of considerable antiquarian importance located on the ancient trade route between Paithan and Nagarjunakonda (Amaravati). No direct clues, however, are available to ascertain in which dynastic capacity the Shilāhāras were associated with Tagara. The second note of similitude is struck in proclaiming a mythical origin for the dynastic name 'Shilāhāra'. The Shilāhāras unanimously claim descent from a 'Vidyādhara' (a celestial race) named Jeemutavāhana, who was the son of Jeemutaketu. The mythical story goes as follows: In a war that ensued between Garuda, the vehicle of Vishnu and the 'Nāgas' (the Snakes), the former subdued Vāsuki (or Ananta as he is sometimes known), the Great Snake, and made him offer his body as a bed for Vishnu when he went into his four-month long sleep. Garuda himself chose to have a snake everyday at noon for his daily meals and Vāsuki had to submit to this cruel demand that would eventually lead to extermination of the Nāga race. Consequently a stone slab (*Shilā* in Sanskrit) was chosen to be the lunch table of Garuda and everyday a snake ascended it only to be carried away and eaten by him. The number of Nāgas diminished steadily until one day Jeemutavāhana, the Vidyādhara, heard of their plight. He offered himself as the Garuda's meal when a snake named Shankhachūda was chosen for the sacrifice. Jeemutavāhana ascended the sacrificial slab and was promptly killed and eaten by Garuda. He thus became Garuda's food (Skt. *Āhāra*) on the sacrificial slab (Skt. *Shilā*) – hence the name '*Shailahara*' which is derived as a compound of '*Shilā + Āhāra*'. When Garuda realised that his meal was not a 'Nāga' but a 'Vidyādhara', he was overcome by Jeemutavāhana's compassion for the Nāgas that led him to offer his own life for their cause. Garuda therefore offered a penance to Parvati (Shiva's consort) in retribution and she brought Jeemutavāhana, and also all the Nāgas previously killed, back to life. Garuda then retracted his demand of devouring the Nāgas and let Jeemutavāhana go. The descendents of Jeemutavāhana therefore addressed themselves as 'Shilāhāras' and adopted the Garuda as their dynastic emblem.

The reason in giving this mythical story in some detail is to highlight the mythological justification the Shilāhāras sought for their dynastic emblem. This is significant for some of the contents of this note as will be seen later.

#### *The Shilāhāras of Thane:*

As said before, the Shilāhāras of Thane were the most prominent branch of the Shilāhāras. The progenitor of this branch was Kapardi I, who ruled over North Konkan as a feudatory of the Rāshtrakutas. This is gleaned from his son, Pullashakti's inscription at Kanheri caves, North Bombay. The following chronology is constructed chiefly from inscriptional sources for the Shilāhāras of Thane –

- 1) Kapardi I (fl. c. 800-825 AD)
- 2) Pullashakti (c. 825-850)
- 3) Kapardi II (850-880)
- 4) Vappuvanna (880-910)
- 5) Zanza (910-930)
- 6) Goggi (930-945)
- 7) Vajjada I (945-965)
- 8) Chhaddvaideva (965-975)
- 9) Aparajita (975-1010)
- 10) Vajjada II (1010-1015)
- 11) Arikesari alias Keshideva I (1015-1020)
- 12) Chhittaraja (1020-1035)
- 13) Nagarjuna (1035-1045)
- 14) Mummuni (1045-1070)
- 15) Anantadeva I (1070-1110)
- 16) Aparaditya I (1110-1140)
- 17) Vikramaditya (1138 -?)
- 18) Haripaladeva (1138-1155)
- 19) Mallikarjuna (1155-1170)
- 20) Aparaditya II (1170-1195)
- 21) Anantadeva II (1195-1200)
- 22) Keshideva II (1200-1245)
- 23) Anantadeva III (1245-1255)
- 24) Someshwara (1255-1265)

The initial rulers until Aparājita, served as feudatories of the Rāshtrakutas. In his reign the Rāshtrakutas were defeated by Taila, the Chālukya. Aparājita gradually tried to escape the new Chālukya supremacy and began exercising independence. The first skirmish broke out between Satyāshraya, the son of Taila, and Aparājita in c.980 AD. Aparājita was defeated and forced into accepting Chālukya suzerainty. This situation, however, was short-lived. This battle started a protracted independence struggle for the Shilāhāras. Aparājita was the last Shilāhāra ruler to have a subordinatory text (referring to an imperial overlord) mentioned in his inscriptions. The political organisation under the Chālukyas was a fluid one and many prominent feudatories like the Shilāhāras of Thane and Kolhapur, the Kadambas of Goa and the Seunas (Yādavas) exercised a considerable degree of independence. Chittarāja was the next Shilāhāra ruler of some repute. He is accredited with initiating the construction of the Ambaranātha Shiva Temple, which was completed in the reign of his successor, Mummuni. After the reign of Mummuni, the Shilāhāra rule went into a transitory eclipse. Two major invasions, the first by Chālukya Emperor, Someshwara, and the second by the Kadambas of Goa, ensued and there are inscriptional indications that some familial feuds had also crept in. But the phase passed with the accession of Aparāditya I, who, by 1127 AD, won back most of Shilāhāra territory lost to those two adversaries. The Shilāhāras of Kolhapur aided him wholeheartedly in his campaigns. Aparāditya I was an important Shilāhāra ruler. He was the first ruler to exercise complete independence from the Chālukyas. He is also known to have appointed emissaries to localities as distant as Kashmir. He was a connoisseur of music and an exponent of the religious doctrines. During his reign the Shilāhāra supremacy spread over the entire Konkan strip from Sanjan in the north to the borders of the Kadamba kingdom of Goa in the south.

The Shilāhāras again reached their zenith under the subsequent rulers to Aparāditya I. A second Aparāditya ruled during c.1170-1195 – he was also an important king and is known to have assumed titles such as *Mahārājādhirāja* (The Great King) and *Konkanachakravarti* (Emperor of Konkan). It was under the reign of Someshwara that the Shilāhāra domains came under a serious threat – from the resurgent Yādava kingdom of Devagiri. Mahādeva, the ambitious Yādava ruler launched a final offensive against the Shilāhāras. A pitched battle was fought somewhere in the vicinity of North Bombay and the last stage of it was a naval battle, when Someshwara abandoned his capital Thane and tried to seek refuge off the coast. But the Yadava navy followed him there and sunk his ship; he was probably killed by drowning. There are a few ‘Hero-stones’ at Eksar in North Bombay that depict a naval battle. They probably refer to this last battle between the Shilāhāras and the Yādavas. Mahādeva attached the Shilāhāra territory to his domains and that marked the end of an important local lineage.

#### *Shilāhāra Numismatics:*

From an early date the Shilāhāra inscriptions are replete with references indicating money use, and numismatic terms such as *drammas* abound in their epigraphic records. In fact the very first inscription of the Shilāhāra dynasty, that of Pullashakti acknowledging the Rāshtrakuta, Amoghawarsha, as his overlord and inscribed at Kanheri, speaks of a deposit of *drammas* towards the welfare of monks residing at Kanheri.

So far only a single Shilāhāra ruler has been identified as issuer of a coin. He is Chhittarāja (1020-1035 AD). His coins are of the ‘Indo-Sasanian’ or ‘Gadhiya’ type and were first published by Rapson (JRAS 1900, p.118). They bear a degraded Sasanian bust on the obverse and a Nagari legend ‘*Shri Chitta / Rājasya*’ on the reverse. The legend has the first letter as a compound of ‘Ch’ and ‘Chh’. The coins are of debased silver and weigh around 3.5 g. The pure silver content of these coins is much less. The discovery of Shilāhāra coins of this type convinced many researchers about the synonymy between the term *dramma* and ‘Gadhiya’ type coins. The literature is full of such references and an attempt cannot be made to trace the history of this identification in a note of this length. One more variety of Chhittarāja’s coins has recently been noticed. This coin is a diminutive ‘Gadhiya’ coin, retaining the exact features as seen on that published earlier, but of pure silver and therefore of much less weight.

An important term to be met with in the inscriptions of the Shilāhāras is ‘*Paruttha Drammas*’. From other contemporary epigraphical records it is seen that these coins were not only current in Konkan but also in territories as far-off as Gujarat and Rajasthan, where certain variants of the same term such as ‘*Porutthi Drammas*’ and ‘*Parupathaka Drammas*’ are seen in inscriptions. Scholars in the past have tried to interpret the term and identify the coins in a novel way. For example, V. V. Mirashi follows the traditional ‘a posteriori’ or deductive approach in accepting that the term has something to do with ‘Parthia’ or ‘Parthians’ [*Shilāhāra Rajvamshāchā Itihās āni koreeva lekh* (The history of the Shilāhāra dynasty and their inscriptions – in Marathi) p. 104 text] He therefore identifies the term with Western Kshatrapa coins and cites the example of hoard finds to

substantiate the simultaneous circulation of ‘Gadhiya’ or Indo-Sasanian coins and Western Kshatrapa drachms. This, however, is very simplistic and subjective and, in my view, not acceptable. The instances where ‘*Paruttha Drammas*’ are mentioned are spread over a large geographic area. As such, the term seems to represent a coinage that had a very wide area of circulation and local acceptance. It is therefore worthless to search for a single dynastic ‘progenitor’ for the ‘*Paruttha Dramma*’ coins. That they were *drammas* is implicit in their nomenclature. Going by Robert Tye’s analysis of the *dramma* coinages (ONS newsletter no. 148), it seems almost certain to me that these ‘*Paruttha Drammas*’ are nothing but coins of the Arab Amirs of Sind. These coins are found in large numbers in Gujarat (including Kathiawad and Saurashtra) and Rajasthan. Finding these coins in the very areas in which the inscriptions have been found can be one form of evidence for the identification of ‘*Paruttha Drammas*’ with the Sind Amir coins. Secondly the words ‘Paruttha’, ‘Poruthi’, ‘Parutthaka’ etc. are themselves the *Apabhramsa* (Prakritised) versions of the Sanskrit term ‘*Pārapathaka*’. This word is derived by adding an affinitive suffix ‘ka’ to ‘*Pārapatha*’. In its literal sense the latter word means ‘the country across’. As such, the *drammas* denoted by the term would connote with those issued in the ‘country across’. This ‘country’ (across the desert from Rajasthan or Gujarat) can only be Sind and the etymological derivation of the term would also substantiate the attribution of ‘*Paruttha Drammas*’ to the coins of the Arab Amirs.

So far no other Shilāhāra ruler was known to have struck coins. In the last month my friend Subodh Pethe acquired this fine specimen, unique so far, and I recognised it to be a Shilāhāra issue. With grateful notes accorded to Subodh I describe the coin below



Metal: Silver

Weight: 1.1 gm

Obv: Anthropomorphic figure of Garuda running to right, holding a snake in his hand

Rev: Nagari legend in three lines ‘Sri Apa / rādeeta / deva’.

Needless to say the coin is issued by a monarch named ‘Aparādeeta’. The version in pure Sanskrit would be ‘Aparāditya’. As said earlier, the Garuda was a dynastic emblem of the Shilāhāras. As such its occurrence makes it amply clear that this is a Shilāhāra issue. The only problem arises from there being two rulers named ‘Aparāditya’ in the Thane lineage (see the dynastic chart above.) To which of them the coin should be ascribed is a tricky question because they were not spaced much apart in the dynastic chronology. But given the fact that it was Aparāditya I who was responsible for achievements in many fields such as statecraft, politics, military manoeuvres, religious subjects and music, I am inclined to consider the coin to be his issue.

## Catalogue of British India Passes, Tickets, Checks and Tokens

By Robert P Puddester

Part X – Port, Dock Customs & Harbour Tickets, Passes and Tokens

This article contains information on twenty-five port-related metallic tickets, passes and tokens from the die impression registers of the Calcutta and Bombay mints, many not previously published. The illustrations are a mixture of photos, scans and drawings. The drawings are

derived from sketches made in the Calcutta and Bombay mints during research visits in the 1980s. Therefore, while the diameter is correct, some of the details illustrated are not to scale and are approximate. Every effort has been made to include those points necessary to ensure recognition. If edge type or weight is known it will be noted. The items in this article will be incorporated in the *Catalogue of British India Passes, Tickets, Checks and Tokens* under preparation.

993.4 PORT, DOCK, CUSTOMS & HARBOUR TICKETS, PASSES & TOKENS

**BASIC GOVERNMENT OF INDIA SHAPES & OBLVERSE TYPES**



All types have GOVERNMENT OF INDIA clockwise on obverse, a royal crown in the centre, and a series of interlocking circles around the crown forming a flower-like effect. Other characteristics are as follows:

- Type 1 Square with rounded corners, 32 mm, weight approximately 11.4 g, edge plain
- Type 2 Round, 30.5 mm, weight approximately 9.6 g, edge grained
- Type 3 Octagonal, 32 mm, weight approximately 12.1 g, edge plain.
- Type 4 Scalloped-shaped, 33 mm, weight unknown, edge unknown
- Type 5 Triangular with rounded corners, 34 mm, lettering smaller, weight unknown, edge unknown.



*Obv:* Royal crown in centre with circle pattern around. Clockwise around this centre motif: GOVERNMENT OF INDIA  
*Rev:* Around border in circular fashion: BOMBAY PORT TRUST DOCKS ✱  
 In centre an impressed five digit number. Below number impressed: WORKER  
 Directly below WORKER an arrow pointing upwards  
 D: 32 mm M: bronze E: P W: 11.43 g  
 Type 1. Square with corners rounded. Hole at top centre. Bombay Mint.

Variations of basic types

- Type 1 No variations noted
- Type 2.1 30 mm, oblong hole, lighter at 8.9 g, thinner
- Type 2.2 30 mm, no crown, no legend, same size circles
- Type 2.3 30 mm, no crown, no legend, larger circles
- Type 2.4 33 mm, prominent indentation pattern around rim, heavier at approximately 12.8 g
- Type 3 No variations noted
- Type 4.1 32 mm, no crown, no legend, small circles
- Type 4.2 32 mm, no circles
- Type 5.1 No legend

Counterstamps found frequently: ★ &

993.4.1 BOMBAY DOCKS – WORKER

Port and Harbour Trusts and Commissions existed in six British Indian cities: Bombay, Karachi, Madras, Rangoon, Calcutta (Commission) and Chittagong. Their purpose was to administer the ports under their jurisdiction, to provide suitable dock accommodation, to provide all necessary services to shipping, in other words to administer and control all aspects of port life. After a few years' operation, they were usually financially self-sufficient, raising money through dues on shipping and goods, and fees for services provided. The Calcutta Port Trust was the largest from the point of view of revenue while Bombay was a very close second. From a collector's point of view, based on the frequency that port-related material surfaces, Bombay Port Trust tokens would be the most common. Most ports in India, other than the Trust of Commission ports, were run by the Government of India through the Public Works Department.

The Bombay Port Trust was set up in June 1873 with twelve trustees all nominated by government. The assets of the (bankrupt) Elphinstone (no direct connection with either governor of that name) Land & Press Company consisting of more than 500 acres

with 5000 feet of harbour frontage, to which government added various reclaimed land and other properties, comprised the initial holdings of the Trust which were augmented by government as the port grew. In later years, the composition of the trustees changed with board members nominated by the Chamber of Commerce and various commercial groups rather than by government.

993.4.1a MILITARY PORT OF VIZAGAPATAM



*Obv:* Same as 993.4.1  
*Rev:* Around border: MILITARY PORT OF VIZAGAPATAM  
 D: 32 mm M: Bronze  
 Type 1. Square with rounded corners. Holed at centre top. Believed issued in 1944. Bombay Mint.

Vizagapatam harbour and port, about 550 miles north of Madras, was administered by the Government of India rather than a port trust. It was the only protected harbour on the Coromandel coast thus causing the East India Company to formulate a development scheme which unfortunately failed to materialise with development languishing until 1925. Seven years later the harbour was opened to sea-going vessels.

993.4.1b PORT OF COCHIN



*Obv:* Same as 993.4.1  
*Rev:* Around top border: PORT OF COCHIN  
 At bottom, an anchor. Above anchor: SERVICES  
 D: 32 mm M: Bronze  
 Type 1. Square with rounded corners. Hole at centre top. Bombay Mint.

Cochin became the earliest European settlement in India when Vasco da Gama, on his second voyage in 1502, established a factory, but only in 1936 was it declared a major port under the administration of the Government of India. It lay on the direct route to Australia from Europe and served the southern parts of the Madras Presidency along with the states of Cochin and Travancore. It is the natural outlet for the chief planting areas of south India but harbour development was not possible until 1928 when a wide and deep channel was cut through a bar blocking the entrance from the sea to an extensive backwater. By 1945, it had become a modern terminal port.

993.4.2 BOMBAY DOCKS – WORKER



*Obv:* Same as 993.4.1  
*Rev:* Same as 993.4  
 D: 30.5 mm M: Bronze E: G W: 9.6 g  
 Type 2. Round. Hole at top centre. Bombay Mint.

993.4.2a BOMBAY DOCKS – VEHICLE

*Obv:* Same as 993.4.2  
*Rev:* Same as 993.2.4 except VEHICLE in stead of WORKER  
 D: 30.5 mm M: Brass  
 Type 2. Round. Hole at top centre. Bombay Mint.

993.4.2b MILITARY PORT OF VIZAGAPATAM

*Obv:* Same as 993.4.2  
*Rev:* Around border similar to 993.4.1a: MILITARY PORT OF VIZAGAPATAM  
 D: 30.5 mm M: Unknown  
 Type 2. Round. Hole at top centre. Bombay Mint.

993.4.2c PORT OF COCHIN

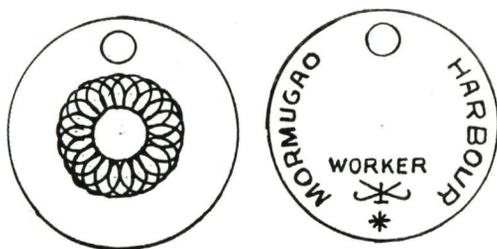
*Obv:* Same as 993.4.2  
*Rev:* Same as 993.4.1b except LABOUR in stead of SERVICES  
 D: 30.5 mm M: Copper  
 Type 2. Round. Hole at top centre. Bombay Mint.

993.4.2d BOMBAY DOCKS – WORKER



*Obv.:* Similar to 993.4.2 *Rev:* Similar to 993.4.2  
 D: 30 mm M: Bronze E: G W: 8.9 g  
 Countermarks on this specimen ★ and &  
 Type 2.1. Larger, more oblong hole at tope centre. Lighter and thinner than 993.4.2. Bombay Mint.

993.4.2e MORMUGAO HARBOUR



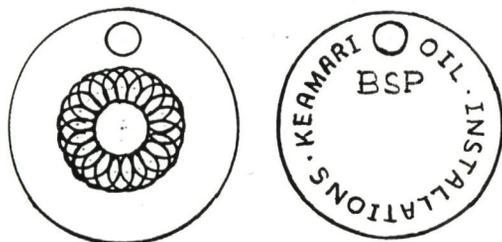
*Obv:* Circles around centre  
*Rev:* Around border: MORMUGAO HARBOUR  
 At bottom centre: \*  
 Directly above: ✂  
 Directly above: WORKER

D: 30 M: Unknown, believed to be bronze.  
 Type 2.2. Round. Hole at top centre. Issued to British consulate in Portuguese possessions in India in 1942. Bombay Mint.

This piece was issued for use in Goa. It is not known if similar pieces were issued for Daman or Diu both of which were very small but had good harbours (especially Diu).

Mormugao is about 225 miles south of Bombay and about 7 miles south of Panjim, the capital of Portuguese India. It served as the natural outlet to the sea for the whole area served by the Madras and Southern Mahratta Railway (M&SMR). The port had a good harbour, easily accessible to shipping all the year round. It served as the terminal of the Western India Portuguese Railway (administered by the M&SMR). This type was also issued to private companies with close connections to the government and possessing port facilities inside Trust property, such as Burma-Shell.

993.4.2f BURMA-SHELL – BSP

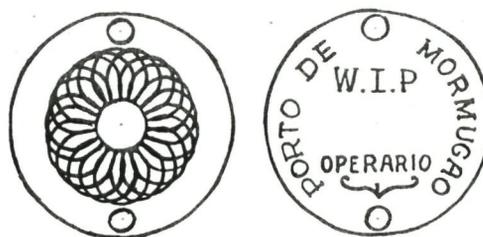


*Obv:* Same as 993.4.2e  
*Rev:* Around border: OIL • INSTALLATIONS • KEAMARI Below top centre hole: BSP  
 D: 30 mm M: Unknown, believed to be bronze  
 Type 2.2. Round. Hole at top centre. Issued to Burma-Shell Oil Storage & Distributing Co. of India in 1943. Bombay Mint.

993.4.2g BURMA-SHELL – BSK

*Obv:* Same as 993.4.2f  
*Rev:* Same as 993.4.2f except BSP replaced by BSK  
 D: 30 mm M: Unknown, believed to be bronze.  
 Type 2.2. Round. Hole at top centre. Issued to Burma-Shell Oil Storage & Distributing Co. of India in 1943.

993.4.2h PORTO DE MORMUGAO



*Obv:* No crown or legend but circles are larger than Type 2.

*Rev:* Around border: PORTO DE MORMUGAO  
 Below top hole: W.I.P. Above bottom hole ornamentation: OPERARIO  
 D: 30 mm M: Nickel-Brass

Type 2.3. Round. Hole at top and bottom centre. Issued to the General Manager Madras & Southern Mahratta Railway Co. Ltd. (The Railway Co. had operating responsibility for the West Portuguese Railway of India). Bombay Mint.

993.4.2i KARACHI DOCK AREA



*Obv:* Similar to 993.4.2  
*Rev:* Around border: KARACHI DOCK AREA  
 At bottom centre: I with arrow, ↑ pointing upwards just above it. In the centre impressed five digit number.  
 D: 33 mm M: Bronze E: G W: 12.8 g  
 Type 2.4 with larger flan and indentation pattern around rims on both obverse and reverse. Round. Hole at top centre. Issued 1943. Bombay Mint.

993.4.2j KARACHI PORT TRUST



*Obv:* Star and crescent. Below: LABOUR TOKEN, in Urdu.  
*Rev:* Around border: KARACHI PORT TRUST ★ LABOUR TOKEN ★  
 In centre within circle: No. (with impressed number).  
 D: 43 mm M: Brass E: P W: 17.1 g  
 Round. Hole on rim near top. Mint unknown.

This token falls outside the scope of this catalogue but is included to illustrate that similar tokens were continued after independence.

993.4.3 BOMBAY DOCKS – WORKER

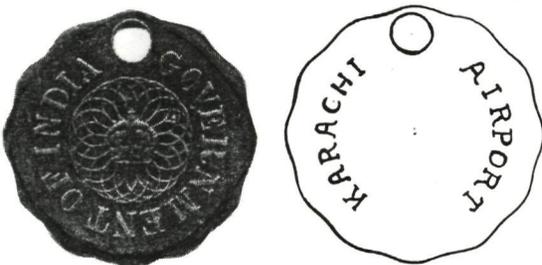


*Obv:* Same as 993.4.2  
*Rev:* Same as 993.4.2 but text as obverse of this token  
 D: 32 mm M: Bronze E: P W: 12.1 g  
 Countermark: &  
 Octagonal. Centre hole at top. Bombay Mint. Found with ★ and & countermarks.

993.4.3a BURMA SHALL – SVOC

*Obv:* Same as 993.4.3  
*Rev:* Same as 993.4.2f except BSP replaced by SVOC  
 D: 32 mm M: Unknown  
 Type 3.1. Octagonal. Centre hole at top centre. Issued to Burma-Shell Oil Storage & Distributing Co. of India in 1943. Bombay Mint.

993.4.4 KARACHI AIRPORT



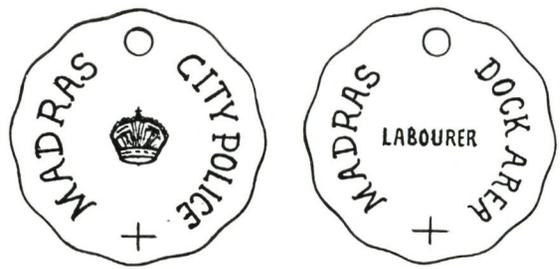
*Obv:* Same as obverse of 993.4.1 except for shape.  
*Rev:* Around left border: KARACHI  
 Around right border: AIRPORT  
 No arrow or other symbol at bottom centre  
 D: 33 mm M: Unknown  
 Type 4. Scallop-shaped. Hole at centre top. Issued 1943. Bombay Mint.

993.4.4a BURMA-SHELL – CT



*Obv:* Circles around centre only  
*Rev:* Same as 993.4.3a except CT replaces SVOC  
 D: 33 mm M: Unknown  
 Type 4.1. Scallop-shaped. Hole at centre top. Issued to Burma-Shell Oil Storage & Distributing Co. of India in 1943.

993.4.4b MADRAS CITY POLICE – DOCK AREA



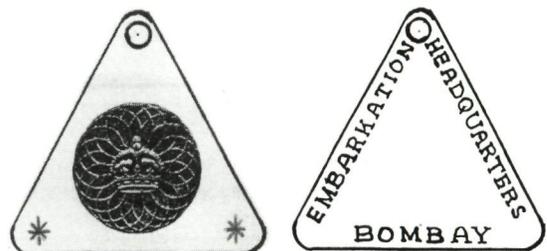
*Obv:* In centre a royal crown. Around border: MADRAS CITY POLICE +  
*Rev:* Around border: MADRAS DOCK AREA +  
 In centre: LABOURER  
 D: 33mm M: Unknown  
 Type 4.2. Scallop-shaped. Hole at top centre. Issued to Commissioner of Police Madras. Bombay Mint. The Madras city Police were responsible for security and policing of the port.

993.4.5 MILITARY PORT OF VIZAGAPATAM



*Obv:* Shape is different otherwise same as first four types with smaller lettering.  
*Rev:* Around borders: MILITARY PORT OF VIZAGAPATAM  
 D: 34 x 32 mm M: Unknown, probably bronze as 993.4.1a.  
 Type 5. Triangular. Hole at top. Issued 1944. Bombay Mint

993.4.5a EMBARKATION HEADQUARTERS – BOMBAY



*Obv:* In centre, royal crown surrounded by circles. No legend. In left and right bottom corners star-like ornamentation.  
*Rev:* Along upper borders: EMBARKATION HEADQUARTERS On bottom border: BOMBAY  
 D: 34 x 32 mm M: Cupro-nickel  
 Type 5.1. Triangular. Hole at top. Ordered by the Embarkation Commandant HQ Bombay 1943. Dies destroyed 1957. Bombay Mint.  
 The Embarkation Commandant was a government-appointed member of the Port Trust during this period.

993.4.6 PORT OF RANGOON



*Obv:* Same as Type 2, crown and circles, except legend reads: PORT OF RANGOON  
Unlike all tokens with legend GOVERNMENT OF INDIA the legend runs counter-clockwise.

*Rev:* Blank

D: 30.5 mm M: Brass

Round. Hole at top centre. Reference Spink-Taisei Singapore Coin Auction 20/21 February 1992 lot 747. Most likely a product of the Calcutta Mint although not confirmed.

993.4.7 PORT OF CALCUTTA

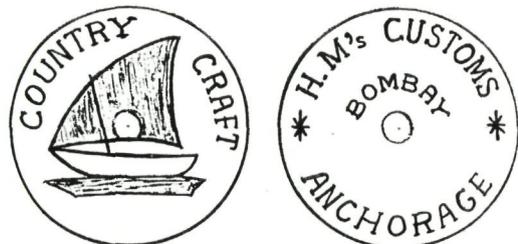
*Obv:* Same as 993.4.6, except legend reads PORT OF CALCUTTA Legend runs counter-clockwise

*Rev:* Blank

D: 30.5 mm M: Brass

Round. Holes at top and bottom. Calcutta Mint.

993.4.8 CUSTOMS ANCHORAGE – BOMBAY



*Obv:* In centre depiction of sailing boat. Around upper border: COUNTRY CRAFT.

*Rev:* Around upper border: H.M.'s CUSTOMS

Around bottom border: \* ANCHORAGE \*

Just above centre hole curved: BOMBAY

D: 32 mm M: Bronze

Round. Hole in centre. Issued to the Assistant Collector of Customs, Preventative Dept., Bombay in 1942. Bombay Mint.

993.4.9 BOMBAY CUSTOM HOUSE – GATE TICKET

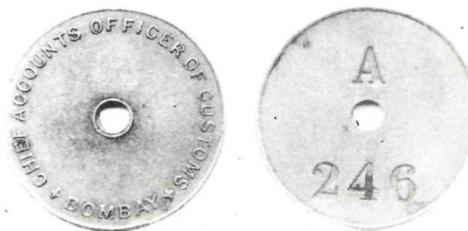


*Obv:* Around border: BOMBAY CUSTOM HOUSE \*

Within a centre circle: GATE TICKET, with ornamentation below TICKET.

*Rev:* Struck within a centre circle a large Y and N°  
Impressed with number: 6  
D: 32 mm M: Bronze Round. Hole in centre.  
Issued to the Assistant Collector of Customs, Preventative Dept., Bombay in 1942. Bombay Mint.

993.4.10 CHIEF ACCOUNTS OFFICER OF CUSTOMS – BOMBAY



*Obv:* Around border: CHIEF ACCOUNTS OFFICER OF CUSTOMS + BOMBAY +

*Rev:* Blank except for impressed letter and number.

D: 30.4 mm M: Cupro-nickel E: P W: 9.45 g

Round. Hole in centre. Mint unknown, most likely Bombay.

One of the Trust-administered ports, Chittagong, is missing from this listing. It seems reasonable to assume that one or more tokens similar to the listings for the other ports were struck for Chittagong. Information on Chittagong tokens or details on omissions would be appreciated.

Bibliography

1. Calcutta and Bombay Mint records
2. Personal collection
3. *The Cyclopaedia of India*, Cyclopaedia Publishing Comp., Calcutta, Vol. 1, 1907, vol. 2, 1908.
4. Times of India. *The Times of India Year Book*, various editions.

ZHONGGUO QIANBI / CHINA NUMISMATICS - SUMMARY OF CONTENTS

Issues 70 (2000/3) and 71 (2000/4)

By Helen Wang

CHINA NUMISMATICS (70) 2000/3 - SUMMARY OF CONTENTS

ARTICLES

ZHANG Shoujun, **Abolish coins and control commerce!** : Gong Yu's ideas on coinage, (pp.3-5). Gong Yu (124-44 BC)'s reasons for abolishing coins included: (1) the difficulty in controlling unofficial coin production; (2) the huge work-force involved in coin production; (3) the detrimental effect of mining on the environment; (4) the disparity in wealth as the rich got richer and the poor got poorer; (5) the decline in agriculture as farmers sold land and sought a richer life as merchants.

ZOU Zhihang, *Gu Xuan Qianpu and its contribution to Chinese numismatics*, (pp.5-8). GU Xuan's (d.549) famous coin catalogue was the first catalogue of Chinese coins. It is first mentioned in the *Suishu* as a catalogue in 2 volumes - text and plates - but no copies survived later than the 17th century. Its contents are known from other numismatic texts, eg Hong Zun's *Quanzhi*, which borrowed from it.

WANG Guichen, **The academic value of Hong Zun's *Quanzhi***, (pp.9-12). HONG Zun's (1120-74) famous 15-volume catalogue was completed in 1149. It lists 348 types, of which over 100 were from Hong's own collection, and the rest from other coin catalogues. Approximately 1/4 of the coins were foreign issues (Liao, Xi Xia, Japan, Korea, Vietnam, Afghanistan, Arabia), which Hong's catalogue was the first to include. The earliest surviving edition (by XU Xiangmei) dates to the Wanli reign period (1573-1620) - the illustrations in this edition have been subject to much discussion. The author considers the foreign coins and the illustrations as the biggest problems with the catalogue.

TU Yanzhi, **Hong Zun's *Quanzhi* - the different editions**, (pp.13-15). The author considers the various editions of HONG Zun's (1120-74) famous catalogue. The most recent edition, by MA Feihai and WANG Guichen, was published in 1994. The oldest surviving edition dates to 1603 and is the oldest surviving numismatic text in the world. A conference on the catalogue was held in Hangzhou in October 1999.

YANG Weisheng, **Hong Zun (1120-74) - biography and bibliography**, (pp.16-19).

DA Jin, ***Guquan zazhi* - the forerunner to *Zhongguo Qianbi***, (pp.20-23). The *Guquan zazhi* was intended to be the monthly periodical of the Ququan xueshe (numismatic society), Shanghai, but there was only one issue (May 1927). The author considers the Guquan xueshe and its members, many of whom were well-known numismatists; the regulations and intentions for the periodical; the contents of the sole issue; and the importance of the periodical in leading the way for subsequent numismatic periodicals, such as *Guquanxue* (1930s), *Qianbi* (1940s), *Zhongguo Qianbi* (1983-).

YE Shichang, **Preface to *Zhongguo tongbao bi zhi shigao xu* (Historical documents relating to the history of the Chinese tongbao currency system)**, (pp.24-26) WANG Jian, ZHANG Dengqin and YIN Yanming, *Zhongguo tongbao bi zhi shigao*, Renmin chubanshe, 2000, for details see p.28). [The two characters "tong bao" found in Chinese coin inscriptions from AD 621 to the early twentieth century mean "circulating treasure".] The three authors spent five years compiling this reference work. YE Shichang rates the book highly, and takes the opportunity of presenting some of his own views in this preface: (A) on the Marxist approach. (1) Marx's views, based on his research on Western capitalist nations with money-credit systems, are not always appropriate to the Chinese situation (eg on gold and paper money). (2) There have been massive changes in currency systems and theories of money since Marx's time (eg metal money is in decline, paper money has developed), and these need to be reflected in money theory today. (B) the use of the term "standard" needs to be tightened up, and should consider: (1) main money and subsidiary money; (2) the different legal obligations to redeem main money and subsidiary money; (3) the freedom to make coins (eg taking silver to be made into coin), which in turn regulated the value of the coins. In these terms, there was no system of currency standard in China before the 1930s (which Liang Qichao realised in 1912). (C) the need for caution when applying contemporary theories of money to the past.

ZHANG Jianshe, **On the authorship of *Qianbi kao*** (pp.27-28). The author of this early Qing book has now been identified as HUA Yuchun (= HUA Shidao = HUA Nanlin). The various editions of this book are considered.

FU Weiqun, **On the late Qing book *Zhuqian gongyi* (The art of coin casting)**, (pp.29-30). This book was translated into Chinese by John Fryer (1839-1928, an English missionary who worked as a translator at the Jiangnan Mint) and ZHONG Tianwei (1840-1901, of Shanghai). Original English title is not given.

BIAN Ren and ZHOU Yanjie, **China's earliest mints - after Kann's "The History of Minting in China"**, (pp.31-36). Translated from Eduard Kann's original text, published in the Central Bank of China Bulletin (December 1938 - March 1939).

NIU Ruji and JIA Kejia, **Introducing the *British Museum Catalogue of Mongol Coins***, (pp.37-38). [Stanley Lane-Poole, *The coins of the Mongols in the British Museum*, London 1881].

ZHOU Xiang, **SHI Jiagan and his coin collection, which has been donated to the Shanghai Museum**, (pp.41-43). SHI Jiagan [=Kalgan SHIH] (1896-1975). In July 1998 SHI Jiagan's wife and children presented SHI's collection of 4086 coins to the Shanghai Museum. Most of the coins are machine-struck silver coins, both Chinese and foreign. Most are published in his book *Zhongguo jindai zhubi huikao* (1949). ZHOU gives a biographical sketch of his life, and points out key features of the collection. The presentation ceremony took place on 19 February 2000. The Shanghai Museum displayed a special exhibition (15 July - 15 August 2000) and published the book *Shi Jiagan xiansheng jiucang zhongwai qianbi* (Shi Jiagan and his collection of Chinese and foreign coins).

JIN Xiaochun, JIANG Yonghu, CHENG Jianzhong and YANG Jianxin, **An investigation of the Tong'an Mint site, at Shankouzhencun, Huaining county, in Anhui province**, (pp.44-45). The *Songshi* records that coins were made in the Tong'an Industrial Prefecture, but the location of Tong'an was unknown. Work to locate the mint began in the 1980s, and was resumed in the 1990s. Within Huaining county were found the remains of 30+ small iron mines and 10+ copper mines. In 1998, Zhenghe and Dagan iron coins, as well as evidence of coin minting, were found at Shankouzhencun, suggesting a connection with the Tong'an mint at least during the late Northern Song.

LIU Jianping, **Hoard of Taiping Tianguo coins found at Huzhou, Zhejiang province**, (pp.46-48). On 13 November 1998, during demolition of houses at Baiqiangwan, Huzhou, 200 Taiping Tianguo coins (rev. shengbao, to right and left of hole) were found. They had been deposited in a clay pot, now broken. The coins were rejects from the mint. LIU suggests they were modelled on coins from Suzhou, and locally produced, as (1) they are brass coins from the same mould; (2) it is unusual to find hoards of Taiping Tianguo coins; (3) they are rejects (have unfinished jagged edges or abnormalities) and unlikely to be found far from the mint; (4) they resemble coins of late TPTG, which corresponds to the time the Taiping army moved into Huzhou; (5) this type of coin is well known in Huzhou. Over 500 coins of this type are known to have been found in Huzhou.

DENG Zhaohui, **Hunan "market coins" of the late Qing and early Republic**, (pp.49-52). Shiqian [market coins] were unofficial coin-shaped tokens issued by banks, stores and organisations. The Hunan shiqian were issued to meet demand during times of inflation and rising metal markets. Earliest reference to Hunan shiqian is for 1856. Many varieties - Hunan Provincial Museum has dozens of types. Usually made in bronze, occasionally in lead, aluminium, silver. Like paper money, there were two systems: (a) silver dollar system, with denominations in yuan, jiao, liang, qian; (b) 'cash' system, with denominations in wen and chuan. They often have wishful inscriptions similar to Chinese good-luck charms.

SUN Min, **Document relating to Bank of China, Shanghai, after Japanese surrender in 1945 - command from General JIANG Bocheng (1892-1945)**, (pp.53-54).

WU Chouzhong, **Four rare notes connected with YUAN Shikai**, (pp.55-56). (1) Pei-yang kin-fu Bank [Beiyang jingfu yinhao], 10 tael, 1906, portrait of Li Hongzhang (bank run by YSK); (2) Bank of China [Zhongguo yinhang], 50 dollar, 1914, with portrait of

YSK; (3) Bank of Territorial Development [Zhibian yinhang], 10 dollar, 1915, with calligraphy by YSK; (4) Bank of China [Zhongguo yinhang], 1 dollar, commemorating the republic, with portrait of YSK.

ZHOU Zhongming, **Two grain exchange notes from the War of Resistance against the Japanese**, (p.57). Two 1-yuan grain exchange certificates issued 1940 by the 111 army in Shandong.

HUO Ju, **Gold and silver commemorative coins planned for the year 2000**, (p.58). Table listing the eight series: (1) Chinese literature classics: Dream of the Red Chamber; (2) China's rare birds; (3) Guanyin; (4) the Millennium; (5) Chinese folk tales; (6) Han Xizai's [902-970] painting "Night Banquet"; (7) China's [Buddhist] Caves; (8) Peking opera - second series; (9) Year of the Snake; (10) Year 2000 Panda commemorative.

ZHANG Peilin, **The rise and fall of China's copper dollars - and collecting them (part 4)**, (pp.59-62). Final part of the series, and considers (2) time and place of production; (3) the differences between categories and types of copper dollars; (4) grading and valuing copper dollars.

WANG Xuenong, LIU Jianmin and DA Jin, **Shanxi banknotes (part 6)**, (pp.63-66). Final part of the series, focusing on the design and printing of Shanxi notes.

THIERRY François (WANG Dan trans.), **The Armenian coin found in Xinjiang - an issue of Hetoum I (1226-1270)**, (p.67).

YANG Yunxiang, **The story of the US 1 dollar coin**, (pp.68-72). Considers the history of the 1 dollar coin leading up to the new issue in 2000.

ZHAO Kai'er, **Gold and silver coins commemorating the Olympic Games**, (pp.73-75). Starting from the 15th Games held in Helsinki, 1952.

ZHONG Shaohui, **Four new types of late Qing worth-10 copper dollars of Hubei**, (p.76).

KANG Liushuo, **On the Section on Byzantine coins in Hong Zun's Quanzhi**, (p.77). Kang gives historical references, notes that 40 Byzantine coins (though no late pieces) were found in China between 1914-1998.

XU Shouhuang, **Proof that Taiwan was part of China in the early Qing period**, (p.78). Xu looks at Kangxi tongbao coin with reverse Tai, and a charm with the names of the 12 mints on each side.

Anon, **New coin issued to commemorate the centenary of the discovery of the Dunhuang caves**, (p.40). On 30 October 2000 the People's Bank of China issued the new 1 yuan commemorative coin (nickel-plated steel core, diameter 25 mm). 10 million have been put into circulation.

Anon, **Bank of Taiwan to issue new notes**, (p.78). The Bank will issue the new notes at half-yearly intervals: 1000 yuan note (July 2000), 500 yuan note (December 2000), 100 yuan (July 2001), 200 yuan (December 2001), 2000 yuan (July 2002).

## NEW PUBLICATIONS

(pp.39-40) GAO Rongyuan, **Review of Shijie liutong zhubi** [world coins in circulation], ed. by YU Liuliang et al, Shanghai guji chubanshe, Shanghai 1996. A reference book, arranged by country, giving brief history of each country, its currency, explanation of the designs, illustrations. The review points out some errors.

(p.45) **Zhongguo tongyuan tudian** [Catalogue of Chinese copper dollars], ed. by Zhejiang qianbi xuehui [Zhejiang Numismatic Society], Qianbi jianshang yu yanjiu congshu [Series:

Appreciation of and research into coins], Zhejiang Daxue chubanshe, Hangzhou 2000. [358 pp., Y38] Study of over 100 different types.

(p.28) **Zhongguo tongbao bizhi shigao** [The 'tongbao' currency system of China], by WANG Jian, ZHANG Dengqin and YIN Yanming, Renmin chubanshe, 2000, 652pp, 100+ illustrations, (p.28). In two parts. Part 1: the historical origins of the system and its creation in the Tang dynasty, its flourishing in the Song dynasty, its abandonment in the Yuan dynasty, its rise and fall during the Ming, and its recovery and demise during the Qing dynasty. Part 2 is a systematic account of the theories and views on the system, and also the casting technology and calligraphy. The authors hold academic positions at Nanjing University. Prefaces by YE Shichang and LIU Zhaofu.

(p.67). **Banliang kao** [Banliang coins], 2 vols, by DU Weishan, Shanghai shuhua chubanshe, Shanghai 2000. [420 pp.] A new study looking at existing collections, historical texts, and recent excavations of banliang coins.

(p.72). **Shanghai tan huobi** [Coins of old Shanghai], by MA Chuande, XU Yuan, HU Youwen, Shanghai jiaoyu chubanshe, Shanghai 2000. [pp.500+] [Reviewed by YU Jun in *Zhongguo Qianbi* 2000/4, pp.66-67]

## NEWS

(p.8) **Shanghai Numismatic Society Meeting**: 18 July 2000. The Society elected MA Feihai, HUANG Chaozhi, ZHOU Zhishi and LU Zu as Honorary Directors; CHEN Yongfu as Director; WANG Qingzheng, YE Shichang, SHEN Ning and YU Yinghui as Deputy Directors; SHEN Ning as Secretary; SHEN Mingdi as Deputy Secretaries; and 17 executive directors.

(p.52) **Regional numismatic societies meeting held in Liuzhou, May 2000**.

(p.54) **Donation of paper money to the China Numismatic Museum**. In June 2000 Mr XU Feng donated his collection of Chinese and foreign paper money (2155 notes) to the China Numismatic Museum.

(p.54) **DAI Zhiqiang and ZHOU Weirong visited USA and Mexico**. In May 2000 DAI Zhiqiang and ZHOU Weirong were invited by the American Numismatic Society to visit the ANS and the Coin Gallery at the American Museum of History. They then attended the 32nd International Conference on Archaeometry in Mexico City (13-19 May) and gave papers on the iron content in Chinese coins, and on using zinc and cadmium to determine whether a coin is genuine.

(p.56) **China Numismatic Museum display in Liaocheng, Shandong (May 2000)**. The instructive display "Regulations concerning the management of renminbi" (seen by over 10,000 people in 6 days) follows the announcement of the new regulations on 3 February and their enforcement from 1 May 2000.

(p.75) **Restorations of the Jinggangshan Red Army Mint, and Zunyi Soviet Bank**. The Red Army minted silver dollars at Shangjin in the Jinggangshan revolutionary base area. The Zunyi Soviet Bank was previously the private residence of YOU Guocai, head of the Kuomintang 25th Army.

(p.78) **Counterfeiting in Taiwan**. The Taiwan Criminal Investigation Bureau have arrested 3 counterfeiters (first group to use computer technology to forge banknotes), found 650,000 dollars of fake notes (New Taiwan \$, US \$, renminbi), tools and other evidence. Millions of fake dollars are already in circulation.

**CHINA NUMISMATICS (71) 2000/4 - SUMMARY OF CONTENTS**

**ARTICLES**

ZENG Shaomin and ZENG Hong, **The Tibetan silver coin and the currency war between China and Britain**, [pp.3-7]. The authors consider that in the early 20th century, silver coins were made in Sichuan to resist the Indian rupee aggressively promoted in China by British trading interests in Tibet following the Sino-British treaties concerning Tibet in 1890, 1893. (1) British aggression: the over-valued Indian rupee was used exploitatively to gain silver and raw materials in this undeveloped region; (2) Chinese retaliation: coins made in Sichuan to resist Indian rupee; (3) significance of the currency war: the production of 17,500,000 Tibetan dollar coins, and 140,000 half-dollar coins in Chengdu 1902-16 was effective in limiting circulation of Indian rupees; it brought currency changes to Tibet and Western Sichuan; and helped development of trade in the region.

DING Jinjun, **When were the first Sichuan rupees of the late Qing cast?**, [pp.7-9]. The author outlines the arrival of British merchants in Tibet, their promotion of Indian rupees in Tibet (welcomed by Tibetans who liked silver coins) to the extent that they threatened existing currency systems. To fight back, the Chinese made silver coins at Chengdu and put them into circulation west of Daqianlu. The author presents the conflicting accounts in different references, and concludes that the Sichuan silver coins were made between 1906-7.

GAO Wen and WANG Jianwei, **A study on money-trees and money-tree bases**, [pp.10-13]. The authors consider the subject: (1) money trees were placed in tombs during Han, Three Kingdoms and Wei-Jin periods. They were cast in bronze with clay or stone bases. Over 60 have been found in China: the majority from Sichuan, but others found in Yunnan, Guizhou, Shaanxi, Gansu and Qinghai. (2) Money trees expressed a wish for wealth, there was probably a money-tree-god, and there was an intimate link with the money cult. (3) Money-trees as compared with other representative objects in tombs (eg paper models).

BA Jiayun and LI Jun, **The origins and significance of money-trees**, [pp.14-17]. The term money-tree was first mentioned in FENG Menglong' *Jingshi tongxin* of the Ming dynasty. FENG Hanji was the first to apply this term to an archaeological find. The authors describe the features of a money tree: in 2 parts, the bronze tree and the stone/clay base. Bases feature: (1) toad, (2) jade rabbit, (3) mountain, (4) driving away evil spirits, (5) turtle-snake-toad, (6) bear, (7) tiger, (8) dragon. They consider the origins of the money tree, the significance of its design features, and the desire for wealth.

XIA Xianglei, **The horse and orchid coins of Sichuan**, [pp.18-20]. These coins were machine-struck in the early 20th century in war-torn Sichuan. Chengdu Numismatic Society have identified 74 types to be published in forthcoming book on Sichuan copper dollars (*Sichuan tongyuan*). The author considers a few more types: (1) with various styles of horse; (2) with other animal replacing horse: flying eagle, frog, cow, butterfly, flowers and branches, pine and crane; (3) various styles of orchid, or other plant: grain, lotus, peony, chrysanthemum, cotton boll, wintersweet; (4) the 5-coloured flag or white-sun-on-blue sky flag of early/late Republic, and denominations 1, 2, 5, 10, 100; (5) no inscription, but occasionally added engraving; (6) plain reverse. Details and dimensions are given. These pieces were made at various locations in Sichuan for presentation to officials and soldiers pre-1935.

LIU Min, **Genuine and burial coins found in Southern Song tomb at Huaying, near Guang'an, Sichuan**, [pp.21-25]. Hoard of 400 coins found in the 5 tombs, one of which belonged to An Bing (1148-1221). Some were circulating coins, others were imitations for burial. Bronze coin-types: large Jiading yuanbao (worth-10), Jin dynasty Zhenglong yuanbao. Iron coins were corroded and mostly illegible, though could read Kaixi, Duanping. Gold coins: 1 huoquan, all others were thin burial coins. Silver coins: 1 Taiping tongbao, all others were thin burial coins. The author indicates which coins were found in which tombs and the special ways they were arranged. This is the first discovery of large Jiading yuanbao (worth-10) coins.

CUI Songlin, **Qianfeng quanbao coin with gold inlay unearthed from Tang dynasty tomb at Sanmenxia (The Three Gorges)**, [p.26]. Unearthed in 1986, it measures 25mm in diameter, 7mm across the hole, 1.2mm thick, and weighs 4.08g. Found with a Kaiyuan tongbao coin also with gold inlay (4.32g).

WANG Jianguo and XI Pingbo, **Stone banknote printing plates of Jianshe Bank of the Yu-E Border Area in the collection of the Jingshan County Museum in Hubei**, [p.27]. The Museum has five stone plates from the period of the War of Resistance against Japan. Made by the New 4th Army 5th Division Banknote Printing Plant (1941-45) they were just 5 of 20 plates buried by ZHU Chaolong in 1946 when the area was surrounded. The author describes the plates, notes that in 1941 the bank issued 2 and 5 jiao notes, also 1, 3, 5, 10, 50, 100, 500, and 1000 yuan notes.

CHEN Xianzhao and YAN Dengfa, **Three sheets of Republican period Daxian County Copper Dollar notes found in Daxian county, Sichuan**, [pp.28-29].

ZHENG Renjie (Taiwan), **The 10-cash coins with portraits of Yuan Shikai and Xu Shichang were not made at the Tianjin Mint**, [pp.30-32]. The author concludes that the Yuan Shikai 10-cash coins were made at the Wuchang Mint in Hubei, and the Xu Shichang 10-cash coins were made at the Anqing Mint in Anhui. His reasons: (1) the eyes on Tianjin Mint portraits were usually concave, here they are convex; (2) the Tianjin Mint did not use "Kai guo" (new country) in coin inscriptions, as here; (3) the Tianjin Mint designs featured wheat grains, not rice grains as here; (4) the quality of portrait and calligraphy here is inferior to that of the Tianjin Mint. Furthermore, Woodward (1931) indicated that the Xu Shichang coins were made in Anhui, and the Yuan Shikai coins were made in Wuchang.

MIAO Mingyang, **Circulation and exchange of money of the Chuan-Shaan (Sichuan-Shaanxi) revolutionary base areas**, [pp.33-36]. Shortly after the establishment of this revolutionary base area (February 1933), it began to issue its own currency. The author looks at (1) the forms of money issued: (a) cloth and paper money, (b) silver and copper alloy coins; and considers (2) questions relating to (a) the convertibility of this currency; (b) the conversion of cloth and paper money to silver dollars; (3) and measures to improve convertibility of cloth, paper and silver dollars.

HU Fuqing, **A few words on how China's gold and silver commemorative coins are made**, [pp.37-38]. An outline of the production techniques for Chinese gold and silver commemorative coins 1979-2000.

JIN Gangshan, **Seeking excellence in designing precious metal coins in China**, [pp.39, 38].

XU Yuan, **A rare note of the Banque de l'Indo-Chine, Shanghai**, [pp.40 & 26]. Established on 21 January 1875, with its Head Office in Paris, this bank set up its Shanghai office in 1899, mainly to deal with loans for import and export. The Shanghai branch issued silver dollar notes in denominations of 1, 5, 10, 100, as mentioned in various numismatic publications, but never illustrated. Californian collector, Mel Steinberg, has a 5 dollar note of 1902 (181 x 93mm), illustrated in colour at the back of this issue.

LI Tiesheng, **Coins from around the world: a collector's guide (part 1)**, [pp.41-44]. Part 1 considers (1) the four main areas of development: the Mediterranean, the East, the South Asian peninsular, the world of Islam; (2) classification: circulating coins, collectors' coins (incl. commemoratives), investment coins (incl. bullion coins); (3) how to collect and store coins.

FU Weiqun, **Shanghai coin shops and the notes they issued (part 1)**, [pp.45-47, 36]. The author looks at the history of Shanghai *qianzhuang* (coin shops), including references in classical and literature and reference sources, considers the terminology, noting that coin shops were a feature of the Zhejiang area, especially Shanghai. A table lists the numbers of Shanghai coin shops through the ages.

LIANG Yiwu, **Set of 6 coins commemorating the bicentenary of the Louvre**, [pp.48-50]. Each features a masterpiece in the Louvre, and all are 100 franc coins, silver (90%), 37mm, 22.2g. Issued by the Paris Mint.

YU Zhanyong, **French coins of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries**, [pp.51-53].

WANG Chuanjin, **Chinese coins in the West**, [pp.54-56, 50]. The author introduces Western publications on Chinese coins, considers the Chinese coin market in the West, and suggests 2 reasons why Chinese coins are not widely collected in the West: (1) as they have no pictures and Westerners do not appreciate the calligraphy, they appear boring; (2) Chinese coins are cast in bronze, not in gold or silver, so they are not as appealing and it is difficult to distinguish between a genuine coin and a forgery.

LU Guocai, **Security techniques on high denomination coins**, [pp.58].

CHU Jianguo, **Year of the Dragon commemorative coins issued outside China**, [pp.59-60]. The author lists Year of the Dragon coins in table form (country, name of coin, metal, weight, denomination, quantity issued, mint). Those of Singapore, Vietnam and Thailand were made in Singapore; Somalia (Switzerland), Liberia (Germany), Canada (Canada), Australia and the Cook Islands (Australia).

CAI Xiaojun, **Revisions to the book *Zhongguo junyong chaopiao shilüe***, [pp.61-65]. The author makes corrections to the entries for the following notes (T080, T200, T280, T310, T330, T340, T350-5, T380, T440-1, T530, T540, T550, T570) in Mrs S.P. Ting's bilingual catalogue *A Brief Illustrated History of Chinese military notes and bonds*, Taipei 1982.

ZHANG Cegang, **Corrections to the article "China's earliest mints"** (p.65). (Article published in *Zhongguo Qianbi* 2000/3, pp.31-36.) Zhang makes two suggestions relating to Sichuan mint: (1) Tibetan rupee should be called Sichuan rupee. Eduard Kann states that the Chengdu Mint made many Tibetan rupees, but in fact the Chengdu Mint made many Sichuan rupees for use in the Sichuan border areas (Western Sichuan and Kangba territories).

These were known variously as zangbi, zangyuan, zangyang, chuanka, yangqian, but never as Tibetan rupees. The Sichuan Mint never made Tibetan rupees. (2) need to correct characters for Daqianlu. Silver coins were made in Daqianlu (=Kangding) on two occasions: (a) the "luguan" silver coins made in 1901 by LIU Tingnu of the Daqianlu Bureau, to boycott the Indian rupee; (b) the "Sichuan Tibetan coins" struck in 1930 in Kangding by MA Su and LIU Wenhui.

[p.67] **Correction to Zou Zhiliang's article "Gu Xuan Qianpu and its contribution to Chinese numismatics"**. Editorial apology for the following errors [*Zhongguo Qianbi* 2000/3, pp.5-8]: "Notes 4-13" should read "Notes 3-12". Note 13 should read "*Wang Yinjia pin quan lu*", Shanghai Guji chubanshe, 1992, pp.27-28 & p.5.

LÜ Heng, **Questioning the Northern Song "huozi mushi" technique of casting coins**, [pp.68-69]. The author reconsiders the evidence presented in two articles on Song dynasty coin production and positioning of the inscription (by YOSHIDA [*Zhongguo Qianbi* 2000/1, pp.45-47] and Wei Yong [*Zhongguo Qianbi* 2000/2, p.75]) and comes up with a different conclusion, namely that coin models (muqian, mother-coins) were made for Northern Song coins, and that variety in the positioning of the inscription was a Northern Song style of expression.

ZHAO Kai'er, **Letter about the article "Gold and silver coins commemorating the Olympic Games"**, [p.69]. Amendments to article: (1) 18th Olympic Games also saw a Japanese 100 yen copper commemorative, with the Olympic 5-rings and torch; (2) 21st Olympic Games, Canada issued 28 coins: 14 x 5 dollars, 14 x 10 dollars; (3) 22nd Olympic Games USSR issued 45 coins: 5 platinum, 6 gold, 28 silver, 6 cupro-nickel; (4) 23rd Olympic Games USA issued 2 coins: gold \$10, silver \$1; (5) 24th Olympic Games Korea issued 8 gold, 20 silver, 6 cupro-nickel and 4 nickel coins; (6) 25th Olympic Games Spain issued 12 gold, 18 silver and 4 cupro-nickel coins.

BAO Qing, **The revolution in gold and silver commemorative coins**, [p.70]. The author considers developments at the China Gold Coin Company (Zhongguo jinbi zong gongsi).

GU Qi and LI Yan, **Coins betray Lee Tenghui's "Two Countries Theory"**, [p.70]. Lee Tenghui argued that Taiwan and China were separate. The authors present coin evidence for Taiwan being part of China.

YAO Shuomin, **"The Song dynasty paper money printing plate" re-examined**, [p.71]. In the 1930s OKUDAIRA Masahiro published *Toa Senshi* [A numismatic record of Far Eastern coins, 18 vols, 1938, Coole J-511] in which appeared a Chinese copper banknote printing plate. Yao believes the plate is for printing *Chongning qianyin* notes, issued 1105-06 as a kind of salt certificate, and that this is the earliest surviving material evidence for paper money.

KANG Liushuo, **Sasanian silver coin unearthed at Mogaoku, Dunhuang**, [p.71]. One Sasanian silver coin of Piruz (31mm, 3.88g, very worn) unearthed in Cave 222 in the northern part of Mogaoku, Dunhuang. Coin dates to mid-5th century, and is the first Sasanian coin to be found at Dunhuang. Cave 222 is Sui-Tang period.

**Index to the articles in *Zhongguo Qianbi* / China Numismatics 1999-2000**, [pp.72-78]

## NEW PUBLICATIONS

[p.60] **Zhongguo qianbixue cidian** [Dictionary of Chinese Numismatics], 2 vols, ed. by TANG Shifu, Beijing chubanshe, Beijing 2000. (880pp, price 240 yuan) Forty years in the making, this reference work includes 6000 entries on people, books, dates, technical terms, coins, inscriptions; and 4000 pictures of coins. The book comes with a CD-Rom for easy reference and indexing. Contact: LI Lijun, Beijing chubanshe, 6 Sanhuan zhonglu, Beijing 100011 (tel: 010-62016699-2243).

[p.60] **SHI Jiagan xiansheng jiucang Zhongwai qianbi** [Shi Jiagan's collection of Chinese and foreign coins], ed. by Shanghai Museum, Shanghai renmin meishu chubanshe, Shanghai 2000. (Editors-in-chief: CHEN Xiejun and WANG Qingzheng). Text in Chinese and English, 180pp, price 280 yuan. Shi's family donated his important collection of 4086 Chinese and foreign struck coins to the Shanghai Museum. The Shanghai Museum prepared a special exhibition of Shi's coins: 30 gold coins and 659 silver coins of the late Qing and Republic, 84 foreign gold, silver and bronze coins.

[pp.66-67] **YU Jun, Review of Shanghai tan huobi**, ed. by MA Chuande, XU Yuan and HU Youwen [Shanghai jiaoyu chubanshe, 2000, 500+pp.], this follows MA, XU and HU's glossy, bilingual *Lao Shanghai huobi / Currencies in old Shanghai*, 1998 [ISBN 7-5322-1744-4]. It contains 237 sections, and 400+ illustrations of coins.

## NEWS

[p.13] **As part of the 5th series of renminbi, The Peoples Bank of China issued a new 20 yuan note and 1 jiao coins on 16 October 2000.** Details are given of the new note (145 x 70mm, obv: Mao Zedong, rev: Guilin landscape), the 1 yuan coin (25mm, nickel coated steel, chrysanthemum design) and the 1 jiao coin (19mm, aluminium alloy, orchid design).

[p.13] **"Exhibition of Chinese Paper Money (Republican period)" - new exhibition at the China Numismatic Museum.** Opened on 8 October 2000, in the Tiananmen Special Exhibition Hall, with displays of notes of (1) the Xinhai Revolution, (2) the Guojia Yinhang (National Bank), (3) local banks, (4) commercial banks, (5) foreign and sino-foreign banks, (6) the military, (7) the Japanese occupation, (8) local private banks.

[p.20] **3rd Congress of the Fujian Numismatic Society held in Fuzhou, 26-27 July 2000.** 80 participants including TONG Zengying (Vice President of Bank of China, Consultant to China Numismatic Society), DAI Zhiqiang (Head of China Numismatic Museum, Secretary of China Numismatic Society), JIANG Fuguan (Head of Fujian Province Organisations), CHEN Ruliang and LIN Jingyao (former Heads of the Fujian branch of Peoples Bank of China). FNS elections: NI Jianhe (Head), ZHUANG Yancheng (Deputy), WU Facan (Secretary), CHEN Baoquan, ZHENG Li, JIANG Zhen, WU Bolian, LIN Zhenyao, XU Xinxi, LIU Jingyao, ZHENG Ying (all Vice Secretaries), YAN Lurong (Hon. Head), XIN Shimin, LIN Zhengping, JIANG Jiuru (Consultants)

[p.25] **Numismatic Periodicals Meeting held in Jingangshan, Jiangxi, 21-23 September 2000.** Organised by the China Numismatic Society Secretariat and the Editorial Office of *Zhongguo Qianbi*/China Numismatics to improve numismatic publications in China. 17 organisations attended; over 20 representatives from Zhoushan Numismatic Society were invited to chair the meeting. Participants included AN Xinmin (Jiangxi Numismatic Society), JIN Deping (Ed-in-chief of *Zhongguo*

*Qianbi*), YAO Shuomin (Deputy Secretary of China Numismatic Society; Deputy Ed-in-chief of *Zhongguo Qianbi*).

[p.32] **Professor SU Qing, of Zhongguo Renmin daxue (China People's University) has donated his library of 614 numismatic volumes (562 books, 52 periodicals) to the China Numismatic Museum.**

[p.32] **SHEN Zicha's famous collection of 1680 Chinese coins has been donated to the China Numismatic Museum, by his son, SHEN Shanqi.**

[p.60] **4th Congress of the Shaanxi Numismatic Society held in Xi'an, 16 July 2000.** Elections: LI Shidang (President), GAO Fengying (Secretary).

[p.71] **World Coin News names the top 10 coins of 1998.** Details given.

[p.72] **"Banking Museum" opened in Shanghai on 9 April 2000.** Address: Jinrong Daxia (Finance Mansions), 9 Pudong Dadao, Shanghai. Managed by the Gongshang yinhang (Industrial and Commercial Bank), with the help of the Shanghai City Archives. The main theme is the history and development of banks in Shanghai, and shows the evolution of the Shanghai banking world and the history of national banks such as the Gongshang Yinhang Shanghai Branch in three display sections: (1) the evolution of the Shanghai banking world; (2) the establishment and development of financial organisations in Shanghai in New China; (3) the Shanghai branch of the Gongshang Yinhang during the revolution. There are 730 objects on display. Near to this new museum is the Chinese Coin Gallery, with 1000 objects on display.

[p.72] **"General Zhang Xueliang commemorative coin" made in Shenyang.** Commemorating the centenary of Zhang's birth, and modelled on the Three Eastern Provinces 1 fen copper coin (Minguo 18 nian dong-san-sheng yi fen) which Zhang ordered to be made in 1929 (now rare). Made by the Shenyang Baiji guqianbi wenhua youxian gongsi, under the supervision of the Zhang Xueliang 's Old Residence Gallery in Shenyang and appraised by the Shenyang Cultural Relics and Art Objects Appraisal Centre.

[p.78] **Subscriptions to Zhongguo Qianbi.** For readers within China subscription is through the Beijing Periodicals Distribution Office (Beijing baokan faxingju), 7.50 yuan per issue, or 30 yuan for the year, (ISSN1001-8638 (CN11-1266/F), code 82-31. For readers overseas subscription is through the China International Book Trading Company (Zhongguo guoji tushu maoyi zong gongsi) code Q729. No copies are available from the *Zhongguo Qianbi* editorial office. For individual issues, please contact the "Fang Quan Zhai jibi fuwubu" Coin Collector's Service at the China Numismatic Museum (Zhongguo qianbi bowuguan), 32 Chengfang jie, Xicheng qu, Beijing 100800.

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### The Early History of the British Museum Collection of Aksumite Coins By Vincent West

In my recent review (West 1999) of the British Museum Catalogue of Aksumite Coins (Munro-Hay 1999, henceforth *BMC*) I commented "it is a pity that provenance and previous publications are not included; nor is there a history of the collection". The present article is intended to fill this gap.

Until 1989, the British Museum collection of Aksumite coins was modest, containing only 100 coins. In May 1989 the museum purchased the collection of 553<sup>1</sup> coins built up by Roger Brereton while he was living in Ethiopia (Carradice 1989). None have been acquired since.

Table 1 gives the provenances of all of the non-Brereton coins, with selected references. For further references see the standard catalogue Munro-Hay and Juel-Jensen 1995 (henceforth

AC). To avoid possible confusion between provenances and references, the former have the date in brackets. Three coins not in *BMC*, numbered 653, 655<sup>2</sup> and 656 in the trays, have been given a number starting with an X. Table 2 lists the provenances in chronological order with their related *BMC* numbers.

I am grateful for help from Joe Cribb, Annette Carlton and other staff of the Department of Coins and Medals.

**Table 1: Provenances of the non-Brereton Coins**

King and <i>BMC</i> No.	Provenance (see Table 2)	Selected References
<b>Endubis</b>		
1	Baldwin (1969)	Lowick 1970 1
4	Seaby (1968)	Seaby 1968 A245. Lowick 1970 p.150
5	Lobel (1976)	
<b>Aphilas</b>		
12	Baldwin (1969)	Lowick 1970 2
20	Uncertain (1873)	Prideaux 1884 pl. X/13. Anzani 1926 12. Anzani 1941 6/1
<b>Wazeba</b>		
24	Baldwin (1969)	Lowick 1970 4
<b>Ousanas</b>		
26	Vitus de Sa (1925)	Hill 1926 pl. VI/24. Anzani 1926 15. Anzani 1941 9/1
27	Baldwin (1969)	Lowick 1970 3
29	Baldwin (1969)	Lowick 1970 p.150
40	Baldwin (1969)	Lowick 1970 p.150
41	Adare (1869)	Prideaux 1884 pl. X/14. Anzani 1926 19
43	Baldwin (1969)	Lowick 1970 11
44	Baldwin (1969)	Lowick 1970 p.151
<b>Ezanas</b>		
55	Seaby (1968)	Seaby 1968 A248. Lowick 1970 5
67	Anderson (1914)	Hill 1917 pl. III/9. Anzani 1926 30. Anzani 1928 N17
68	BSAE (1926)	Hill 1926 pp. 135-6. Milne 1926. Anzani 1926 31
70	Seaby (1968)	Seaby 1968 A247. Lowick 1970 p.150
73	Baldwin (1969)	Lowick 1970 p.150
74 <sup>3</sup>	Terezopoulos (1921)	Hill 1922 pl. VII/16. Anzani 1926 33
<b>Ezana</b>		
75 <sup>4</sup>	Prideaux (1915)	Prideaux 1884 pl. X/11. Hill 1917 pl. III/8. Anzani 1926 40
<b>Anonymous</b>		
76	Seaby (1968)	Seaby 1968 A249. Lowick 1970 6
83 <sup>5</sup>	Mine (1919)	Anzani 1926 49
84	Mine (1919)	Anzani 1926 67
85	Mine (1919)	Anzani 1926 60
86	Mine (1919)	Anzani 1926 68 <sup>6</sup>
87	Haworth (1888)	Anzani 1926 46
88	Haworth (1888)	Anzani 1926 51 <sup>7</sup>
89	Haworth (1888)	Anzani 1926 57
90	Holmes (1868)	Prideaux 1884 pl. X/19. Anzani 1926 64
91 <sup>8</sup>	BSAE (1926)	Hill 1926 pp.135-6. Milne 1926. Anzani 1926 50
92	Scott (1953) <sup>9</sup>	
93	Scott (1953)	
94	Scott (1953)	
95	Scott (1953)	
96	Scott (1953)	
97	Scott (1953)	
98	Haworth (1888)	Anzani 1926 69
99	Scott (1953)	
X1 <sup>10</sup>	Orfanides (1933)	
X2 <sup>11</sup>	Petrie (1934)	
<b>Ouazebas</b>		
245	Baldwin (1969)	Lowick 1970 7
246	Lobel (1976)	
247	Secretary of State for India (1868)	Prideaux 1884 pl. X/18. Anzani 1926 77
<b>Eon</b>		
290	Prideaux (1915)	Prideaux 1884 pl. X/3 <sup>12</sup> . Anzani 1926 85. Anzani 1928 N26
291	Baker (1908)	Anzani 1926 89

<b>Anonymous</b>		
292	Prideaux (1915)	Prideaux 1884 pl. X/9. Hill 1917 pl. III/12. Anzani 1926 95. Anzani 1928 N27
<b>Mhdys</b>		
293	Chisholm (1925)	Anzani 1926 82
294	Scott (1953)	
<b>Ebana</b>		
303	Farah (1904)	Anzani 1926 100
304	Feuardent (1870)	Prideaux 1884 pl. X/6. Anzani 1926 119 <sup>13</sup>
305	Prideaux (1915)	Prideaux 1884 pl. X/8. Hill 1917 pl. III/11. Anzani 1926 104
306	Prideaux (1872)	Prideaux 1884 pl. X/5. Anzani 1926 124 <sup>14</sup>
307	French (1925)	Anzani 1926 115
309	Seaby (1968)	Seaby 1968 A252. Lowick 1970 12
310	Anzani (1915)	Hill 1917 pl. III/13. Anzani 1926 192
<b>Anonymous</b>		
316	Scott (1953)	
317	Scott (1953)	
318	Scott (1953)	
319	Scott (1953)	
320	Scott (1953)	
321	Clarke-Thornhill (1935)	
322	Rollin & Feuardent (1880)	Prideaux 1884 pl. X/16. Anzani 1926 154
323	Adare (1869) <sup>15</sup>	Prideaux 1884 pl. X/15. Anzani 1926 153
324	Baldwin (1969) <sup>16</sup>	Lowick 1970 p.150
325	Baldwin (1969)	Lowick 1970 9
<b>Nezana</b>		
399	Baldwin (1969)	Lowick 1970 13
<b>Nezool</b>		
401	Baldwin (1969)	Lowick 1970 14
<b>Ousana</b>		
405	Baldwin (1969)	Lowick 1970 10
<b>Kaleb</b>		
406	Gowan (1929) <sup>17</sup>	
407	Gowan (1929)	
408	Prideaux (1915)	Prideaux 1884 pl. X/12. Hill 1917 pl. III/10. Anzani 1926 140
409	Lincoln (1910)	Anzani 1926 142
411	Baldwin (1969)	Lowick 1970 8
413	Rollin & Feuardent (1880)	Prideaux 1884 pl. X/17. Anzani 1926 150. Anzani 1928 O30
<b>Wazena</b>		
414	Baldwin (1969)	Lowick 1970 19
415	Scott (1953)	
416	Scott (1953)	
<b>Ella Gabaz</b>		
438	Gowan (1929) <sup>18</sup>	
<b>AGD</b>		
440	Baldwin (1969)	Lowick 1970 18
<b>Joel</b>		
446	Terezopoulos (1921)	Hill 1922 pl. VII/17. Anzani 1926 199. Anzani 1928 O40
447	Seaby (1968)	Seaby 1968 A253. Lowick 1970 15
450	Baldwin (1969)	Lowick 1970 16
452	Anzani (1915) <sup>19</sup>	Hill 1917 pl. III/14. Anzani 1926 201
453	Clarke-Thornhill (1930)	
471 <sup>20</sup>	Scott (1953)	
481	Baldwin (1969)	Lowick 1970 p.151
482	Baldwin (1969)	Lowick 1970 17
<b>Hataz</b>		
518	Baldwin (1969)	Lowick 1970 p.151
529	Chisholm (1925)	Anzani 1926 285
530	Scott (1953)	
531	Scott (1953)	
532	Scott (1953)	
533	Scott (1953)	
534	Scott (1953)	
<b>Israel</b>		
554	Baldwin (1969)	Lowick 1970 p.151
<b>Gersem</b>		
555	Baldwin (1969)	Lowick 1970 20
560	Scott (1953)	
561	Brown (1953)	
562	du Quesne Bird (1970)	
<b>Armah</b>		
571	Scott (1953)	
572	Adare (1869)	Anzani 1926 261

<b>Forgeries</b>		
n <sup>21</sup>	Lobel (1976)	
X3	Grantley (1898) <sup>22</sup>	Anzani 1926 281

**Table 2: Provenances in Chronological Order**

Provenances are those given in the Museum's Registration Volumes, Aksumite coins sometimes being registered in the Greek volumes, sometimes in the Oriental ones and sometimes elsewhere (as described in the notes).

Provenance and Date	Description	BMC Nos.
Secretary of State for India (1868) <sup>23</sup>	Presented by the Secretary of State for India December 1868. From the 1868 Abyssinia expedition	247
Holmes (1868) <sup>24</sup>	Presented (?) by Richard Rivington Holmes, archaeologist to the 1868 Abyssinia expedition, December 1868. Found near Lake Ashangi in Wollo province	90
Adare (1869) <sup>25</sup>	Presented by Viscount Adare January 1869. From Abyssinia	41, 323 <sup>26</sup> , 572
Feuardent (1870) <sup>27</sup>	Purchased from Gaston Feuardent, Parisian coin dealer, March 1870. From Aden	304
Prideaux (1872) <sup>28</sup>	Presented by Lieu. Prideaux <sup>29</sup> May 1872. From Aden	306
<i>Uncertain (1873)</i> <sup>30</sup>	Obtained March 1873 <sup>31</sup> . From Abyssinia	20
Rollin & Feuardent (1880) <sup>32</sup>	Purchased from Rollin & Feuardent, Parisian coin dealers, June 1880	322, 413
Haworth (1888) <sup>33</sup>	Presented by Jesse Haworth October 1888	87, 88, 89, 98
Grantley (1898) <sup>34</sup>	Presented by Lord Grantley February 1898	X3
Farah (1904) <sup>35</sup>	Presented by Ali Farah April 1904. "from 200 or 300 miles N of Aden"	303
Baker (1908) <sup>36</sup>	Purchased from C Baker October 1908. From Aden	291
Lincoln (1910) <sup>37</sup>	Purchased from Lincoln, presumably W S Lincoln, London coin dealer, December 1910	409
Anderson (1914) <sup>38</sup>	Presented by James Anderson of Athens August 1914	67
Prideaux (1915) <sup>39</sup>	Purchased from A R Prideaux January 1915 (from the collection of Col. William Francis Prideaux <sup>40</sup> who died 6.12.1914). From Aden ( <i>BMC</i> 290 ex Stewart <sup>41</sup> , 305 and 408), "300km north of Aden" ( <i>BMC</i> 75 ex Cowell <sup>42</sup> ) and "found at Hazki near Aden" ( <i>BMC</i> 292)	75, 290, 292, 305, 408
Anzani (1915) <sup>43</sup>	Presented by Arturo Anzani February 1915. From Aden	310, 452 <sup>44</sup>
<i>Mine (1919)</i> <sup>45</sup>	January 1919	83 <sup>46</sup> , 84, 85, 86, 91
Terezopoulos (1921) <sup>47</sup>	Purchased from S Terezopoulos March 1921 for £15 ( <i>BMC</i> 74 ex Cowell <sup>48</sup> )	74, 446
French (1925) <sup>49</sup>	Presented by Major B R French August 1925. From Aden	307
Chisholm (1925) <sup>50</sup>	Purchased <sup>51</sup> from H M Chisholm September 1925. From Eritrea	293, 529
Vitus de Sa (1925) <sup>52</sup>	Purchased from Vitus de Sa November 1925	26
<i>B.S.A.E. (1926)</i> <sup>53</sup>	Presented by British School of Archaeology in Egypt (BSAE) January 1926. From hoard found by Guy Brunton during his excavations at Qaw al-Kabir, south of Asyut, Egypt in 1923-4 (see Milne 1926)	68, 91 <sup>54</sup>
Gowan (1929) <sup>55</sup>	Purchased from C W Gowan (with seven Himyarite coins) November 1929 for £5 ( <i>BMC</i> 406 and 438 ex Cowell <sup>56</sup> )	406, 407, 438
Clarke-Thornhill (1930) <sup>57</sup>	Presented by J <sup>58</sup> B Clarke-Thornhill October 1930	453
<i>Orfanides (1933)</i> <sup>59</sup>	Presented by J P Orfanides and Mlle EY Orfanides January 1933. From Dalmatian hoard	X1
<i>Petrie (1934)</i> <sup>60</sup>	Presented by Prof. Flinders Petrie September 1934. Site find from excavations at Gaza	X2
<i>Clarke-Thornhill (1935)</i> <sup>61</sup>	Bequeathed by Thomas Bryan Clarke-Thornhill <sup>62</sup> April 1935 (died 29.3.1934)	321
<i>Scott (1953)</i> <sup>63</sup>	Presented by Dr Hugh Scott April 1953	92 <sup>64</sup> , 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 99, 294, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 415, 416, 471, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 560, 571
<i>Brown (1953)</i> <sup>65</sup>	Presented by Mrs Percy Brown October 1953	561
<i>Seaby (1968)</i> <sup>66</sup>	Purchased from B A Seaby Ltd April 1968 for £105.50. See Seaby 1968 and Lowick 1970	4 (£20), 55 (£25), 70 (£17.50), 76 (£10), 309 (£15), 447 (£18)
<i>Baldwin (1969)</i> <sup>67</sup>	Purchased from A H Baldwin and Sons Ltd June 1969 for £969. See Lowick 1970	1, 12, 24, 27, 29, 40, 43, 44, 73, 245, 324, 325, 399, 401, 405, 411, 414, 440, 450, 481, 482, 518, 554, 555
du Quesne Bird (1970) <sup>68</sup>	Presented by N du Quesne Bird April 1970	562
<i>Lobel (1976)</i> <sup>69</sup>	Presented by Richard Lobel October 1976	5, 246, forgery n

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#### Notes

1. One more (*BMC* 197a) than given in Carradice 1999
2. 654 is not Aksumite
3. As noted in Juel-Jensen 1999 and West 1999, *BMC* 74 and 75 are transposed on the plates
4. See note 3
5. The accession numbers of *BMC* 83 and 91 are transposed in *BMC* and *AC*
6. *AC* incorrectly gives 51 (cf. *BMC* 88)
7. Anzani gives the correct weight of 0.56g. *BMC* incorrectly gives 0.41g, the weight of *BMC* 89
8. See note 5
9. *BMC* wrongly gives the accession number as 1953-2-15-15 instead of 1953-4-2-15
10. Probably, like *BMC* 83-244, *AC* type 51 or 52. Accession number 1933-1-6-85
11. See note 10. Accession number 1934-9-3-60
12. Prideaux 1884 p.213 incorrectly locates this in the British Museum rather than his own collection
13. *AC* reverses the references for *BMC* 304 and 306. Even though the *BMC* weights are reversed with respect to Anzani 1926, the plates in Anzani 1926 and Prideaux 1884 do not bear this out
14. See note 13
15. Both *BMC* and *AC* wrongly give the accession number as 1896-1-1-2 instead of 1869-1-1-2
16. *BMC* wrongly gives the accession number as 1969-6-1-10 instead of 1969-6-24-10
17. *AC* gives Cowell (see note 42)
18. See note 17
19. But not so described in Anzani 1926
20. *BMC* 471 and 472 are transposed on the plates
21. Forgeries are given letters, not numbers, in *BMC*
22. Juel-Jensen 1999 comments "What happened to the fanciful forgery which Lord Grantley gave to the British Museum in 1898?". It is in the trays, numbered 653, accession number 1898-2-6-1
23. Volume entitled "Acquisitions Coins 1868"
24. Volume entitled "Acquisitions Coins 1868"
25. Oriental Series 1869-77 Vol.1
26. See note 15
27. Oriental Series 1869-77 Vol.1
28. Greek Series 1869-78 Vol.1
29. Presumably William Francis Prideaux (see Prideaux (1915) and Prideaux 1884)
30. Not found in the Registration Volumes
31. Though accession number is 1873-0-0, ticket notes "incorporated 20 Mar. 1873"
32. Not found in the Registration Volumes, though 27 other coins bought at the same time from Rollin & Feuardent are registered in Greek Series 1878-87 Vol.2
33. Greek Series 1887-1892 Vol.3
34. Greek Series 1896-1898 Vol.5
35. Greek Series 1901-06 Vol.7

36. Greek Series 1908-10 Vol.9
37. Greek Series 1910-14 Vol.10
38. Greek Series 1914-19 Vol.11
39. Greek Series 1914-19 Vol.11
40. See Prideaux (1872) and Prideaux 1884
41. I have not been able to trace Stewart
42. I have not been able to trace Cowell
43. Greek Series 1914-19 Vol.11
44. But see note 19
45. Not found in the Registration Volumes. The tickets record "From the Mine" for which I have not been able to find an explanation
46. See note 5
47. Greek Series 1920-21 Vol.13
48. See note 42
49. Greek Series 1924-27 Vol.15
50. Greek Series 1924-27 Vol.15
51. Tickets however say "presented"
52. Greek Series 1924-27 Vol.15
53. Roman Series 1924-28 Vol.4
54. See note 5
55. Greek Series 1927-30 Vol.16
56. See note 42
57. Greek Series 1930-34 Vol.17
58. Probably the same donor as Clarke-Thornhill (1935), though both the Registration Volume and ticket appear to read J rather than T
59. Roman Series 1933-37 Vol.6
60. Roman Series 1933-37 Vol.6
61. Clarke-Thornhill Collection 1935 Vol. IV
62. See note 58
63. Oriental Series 1947-59 Vol.13
64. See note 9
65. Oriental Series 1947-59 Vol.13
66. Oriental Series 1959-70 Vol.14
67. Oriental Series 1959-70 Vol.14
68. Oriental Series 1959-70 Vol.14
69. Oriental Series 1974-81 Vol.16

#### A Half Rupee of Farrukhsiyar from Junagarh Mint By Frank Timmermann



Junagarh is a very scarce mint for Farrukhsiyar. The half rupee illustrated above would appear to be the first of its type published. Unfortunately, neither date nor regnal year is visible on the coin, but the mint-name is clear. The coin weighs 5.44 g.

#### Auction News

- Following the Wiggins sale on 8 May this year, the Baldwin's Auction sale on 9 May in London is due to include an extensive offering of Mughal and Indian Sultanate coins.
- Sotheby's will be holding their last London coin auction on 2 and 3 May this year. This sale will include a almost 200 lots of Islamic coins among which are many Umayyad and 'Abbasid dirhams and dinars, two dinars of the Amirs of Crete, a Burid dinar, Fatimid pieces and coins of other dynasties.

#### British Museum Display

On 10 May 2001 a display entitled *Struck on Gold: Coinage of Mughal India* will open in gallery 69A (outside the Coin & Medal Department). The display will deal with the origin, spread and fragmentation of the Mughal Empire, religion, calligraphy, poetry, the currency system, design and portraiture on coins, nisars and gigantic coins, zodiac coins. The display will be up for 2-3 months.