



ORIENTAL NUMISMATIC SOCIETY

NEWSLETTER

No. 176

Summer 2003

ONS News

ONS Website

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

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

Members News

...has extended his collecting interests to include coins of Axum and would be pleased to hear from other collectors or dealers on the subject of Axumite coins.

Obituaries

Hakim Hamidi



Hakim Hamidi passed away in Torrance, California, USA, on 9 June 2003. Hakim was a renowned numismatist who was respected and held in high regard for his great knowledge about the history and coins of Afghanistan. He had complete mastery over the political history and coins of the Bactrian Greeks, Kushans, Sasanians, Kushano-Sasanians, Hephthalites, Ghaznavids, Ghorids and the Durrani and Barakzai rulers of Afghanistan. He was an exceptionally gifted person but he never had any desire to show how much he knew.

Hakim came from a noble and prominent family of Afghanistan. He had previously been a very senior executive of the Bank of Afghanistan. Hakim's wife, a highly educated lady and an intellectual, was the principal of a Girls College in Kabul. When Afghanistan was occupied by the Soviets, he left his position at the Afghan Bank and moved to Pakistan, finally settling down in California.

Hakim was a keen numismatist and when he left the bank he found himself free to indulge his hobby. He started the Persic Gallery which was home to coins and artifacts from Afghanistan. Hakim was a connoisseur of gems from Afghanistan like emeralds from Panjshir, spinels from Badakhshan (Lal-i-Badakhshan), turquoise and lapis lazuli. He published a booklet on coins of Afghanistan. Also not many knew that he was a master in reading the Persian calligraphy on the Sikh coins. Once he was in an exceptionally jolly mood at dinner with me and kept me spell-bound by narrating the gruesome events of Afghan history of the single year AH 1258 when coins were issued from Kabul in the name of 5 different rulers. This piece of history then appeared in an ONS Newsletter.

He traveled a lot. His love for Afghanistan dragged him twice every year to Peshawar in Pakistan where the prominent members of the Afghan refugee community and the large number ex-Kabul bazaar traders received him with extraordinary respect and esteem for his knowledge, personal grace, and his noble lineage. He was a key figure in raising funds for helping Afghan refugees in general and Afghan children in particular.

I had the privilege of knowing Hakim Hamidi well. For over a decade we met in Pakistan twice a year in March and October, in London in October, and in New York in December. I travelled to Los Angeles for the Long Beach show and found that Hakim and his lady wife were also very hospitable hosts. He was charming, amicable, graceful and a humble person. I was in office as Deputy Chief of Naval Staff but I felt at home sitting with him on rickety old stools on the pavement opposite a second-hand book shop and the subject was always coins, history and the richness of Persian poetry. Hakim was a very pious and God-fearing man. His health was failing and many a time he suggested meeting more frequently at different conventions, saying "who knows what lies in the months ahead". After last year's hectic Long Beach show, he rang up to say that he was getting tired quickly and had started taking a siesta in the afternoons. This year, it all become too much.

Hakim Hamidi was well versed in Persian literature, both prose and poetry. I tried to improve my Farsi with him. Occasionally I would narrate some of my favourite Persian couplets but learn many more of Jami, Usman Haroni, Omar

Khayyam, Hafiz, Khusru, and Nur Jahan. He was very fond of one couplet by an anonymous poet:

تاوت مرا به جائے بلندی بجزارید

تا باد برد ٹوئے مرا سوائے وطن ما

Find a high ground for my burial place
So that at least the wind would carry my body scent to my
motherland

Rear Admiral Sohail Khan (R)

We also regret to announce the untimely death from illness on 29 June 2003 of Dutch member, Johan Lindhout, at the early age of 49. Mr Lindhout was a passionate collector of elephants on coins. And as this newsletter is being finished, we have learnt of the death of Dr Muhammad Jazzar of Jordan, a keen student and collector of Arab-Sasanian and Islamic coins. Our condolences are extended to both their families and friends.

Annual General Meeting

This year's AGM took place as planned. The Council's report on the Society's activities during the previous year was adopted as was the Treasurer's report of the Society's accounts for the year ending March 2002. A copy of these accounts is available from the Treasurer or your Regional Secretary.

After the formal proceedings, this year's Ken Wiggins and Michael Broom Memorial Lectures were given as described in Newsletter 175.

London

The next ONS meeting in London will take place on Saturday 4 October 2003 in the Coin & Medal department of the British Museum, commencing 11 am. The subject will be "Scripts, alphabets and calligraphy on oriental coins". Anyone wishing to give a talk on this subject is invited to contact either Joe Cribb at jcribb@british-museum.ac.uk, tel: 020 7323 8585 or Peter Smith on 0207 228 6826 or peter.smith@cmck.com

Oxford

It is planned to hold the next Oxford ONS meeting in November 2003. Details have yet to be determined at the time of going to press. For more information please contact Shailendra Bhandare on shailendra.bhandare@ashmus.ox.ac.uk, tel: 01865 288270.

Jena

Meeting of the Oriental Numismatic Society held in Jena - 3/4 May 2003

Summaries edited by Stefan Heidemann

Collectors and scholars of Oriental coinages coming from various countries of the EU met this year for the third time in the university city of Jena/Thuringia on the first weekend of May. After a warm welcome address to the thirty participants, Norbert Nebes, director of the Oriental Coin Cabinet in Jena and Professor of Semitic Philology and Islamic Studies, reported on the achievements during the past two years and the rapid growth of the collection by about 3,000 coins. The meeting was organised this time by S. Heidemann.

Stefan Heidemann. Leipzig: *The Oriental coin collection of the university library in Leipzig Saxony - An important collection of the 19th century rediscovered.*

1,300 Oriental coins of the university library in Leipzig can be used again for research and teaching. In 1945 the whole

general coin collection of about 90,000 coins were transferred to the Soviet Union by the Red Army. All identifications were lost. In 1958 the collection was restituted to the German Democratic Republic, but it was not until 1964 that it was returned to the university. In 1978 unpacking and identification started anew and is still continuing. In 2001 the speaker came to Leipzig to fill, on a temporary basis, the vacant chair of Arabic Studies. Together with Christoph Mackert, curator of the coin cabinet, the idea was conceived of unwrapping and putting the Oriental part into order. It had been stored in a few huge brown paperbags. The Leipzig Oriental collection did not leave any immediate trace within the literature of the 19th and 20th century. History and provenance of a collection, however, are important elements in determining its value not only from a numismatic point of view but also a historiographical one. After extensive research, the main body of about 800 coins could be identified as the former collection of Dr. Otto Blau (1826-1879) (fig. 1) which was believed to be lost.



fig. 1. Dr. Otto Blau. (Thüringer Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek - Archive).

Blau put together his collection during the 1850s in Constantinople and sold it to a connoisseur in Dresden, Saxony, in 1857. In 1873 the coins were acquired by the

university library. Otto Blau was a distinguished Prussian diplomat serving in Constantinople, Trapezunt, Sarajevo und Odessa. He is known as author of several numismatic, epigraphic, ethnographic and botanical books and articles.

Contact: Dr. Christoph Mackert, Universitätsbibliothek Leipzig, Beethovenplatz 6, D-04107 Leipzig, e-mail: mackert@ub.uni-leipzig.de

Dietrich Schnädelbach, Bonn: *Silver, its production and quality control.*

The methods for silver refining described by G. Agricola (d. 1555) compared with the silver content of the coinage of the Ilkhan Uljaitu (703-716/1304-1316) shows in theory and practice that in premodern times the production of silver could consistently achieve a fineness of about 99.5 per cent. The only substantial impurities found in Uljaitu's coins are traces of gold of up to about 1 per cent. Such gold content however would raise the relative density of a silver/copper alloy up by 0.05 g/cm³. A silver content calculated on this basis exceeds the real content by about 3 per cent. Nevertheless the determination of the relative density allows us to estimate the standard of fineness intended if the relative density can be determined with a precision of 0.01 g/cm³. This precision corresponds to a difference in the real silver fineness of only about 0.6 per cent. It can only be achieved by control of various factors influencing the measurement. One has to define certain criteria for the acceptance of the measured results: two weighings in liquid should not deviate from each other by more than 0.5mg, the mean of two sets of weighings should also not deviate by more than 0.5mg from each other and

in each case the reading of the scale of the electronic balance should not deviate by more than 0.5mg from 0 after the weighing (basket without the coin in the liquid).

Gold and silver fineness is usually defined in intervals of 1/24 (4.2 per cent, carat standard), 1/30 (3.3 per cent, usual silver standard) or 1/32 (3.1 per cent, German Loth standard). In general, one standard is separated from the other by a distinct interval in fineness. This being so, there are no continuous changes. The intervals of the silver content expected should be about 3 per cent because this is the lowest difference which can be detected with a touchstone. However, it has to be borne in mind that, apart from slight differences due to the production process, fraudulent reduction of the standard may occur, since a small reduction of fineness - for example of 1.5 per cent - cannot be proved with the touchstone. A more precise control of the silver quality had to be done by cupellation. If cupellation is used, it is possible to control the silver to such an extent that it does not deviate more than 1 per cent from the prescribed silver content. Touchstone and cupellation were both known in mediaeval Iran.

Klaus Weber, Ebersberg: *The influence of alloy components on the production of Byzantine electrum scyphates.*

During the 10th century the Byzantine gold standard amounted to 24 carat and the coins consisted of almost pure gold. In the following hundred years the fineness of the gold declined, sometimes down to less than 8 carat. The proportion of silver within the alloy continually increased up to 60% and the colour of the coins was such as to be hardly recognisable as gold anymore. By adding copper, a reddish appearance was achieved to simulate a higher gold content. The alloy is called electrum, a three-component alloy, consisting of silver, gold and copper in various amounts. This is an alloy which is frequently encountered in Central Asia about the same time as well.

This manipulation influenced the physical properties of the alloy. For the actual minting process the qualities of the alloy, hardness, breaking strain and elongation at break, are decisive. The alloying had diminished these qualities in comparison with pure gold.

- the hardness of the alloy rose by a factor of 4,
- the breaking strain of the alloy rose by a factor of 2.5,
- the elongation at break decreased by about 35%.

With these features it is hardly possible to strike any coin in the usual way without annealing the flans first. But annealing evidently was not applied in the case of the highly alloyed Byzantine gold. Nevertheless it was possible to produce coins by applying the following techniques:

- Use of a scyphate or cup shaped flan in order to prevent cracks. Usually extremely thin flans tend to bow or vault when struck.
- Striking of only a part of the surface in order to minimise the deformation energy.
- Coining with two hammer strikes, one on the lefthand and one on the righthand side of the coin, each putting exactly half of the engraved image of the die on the flan.

This new technology produced a peculiar anomaly because it was impossible to perform consistently a two-fold striking without any slight movements of the tools (fig. 2).



fig. 2. Isaak II Angelos (1185-1195). The displaced tools led to the "faceless" Maria

The study of these - sometimes subtle anomalies reveals much about minting technology in the period of Byzantine scyphates. This is especially important as no dies and tools of this period have been found so far.

Thomas Higel, Garmisch-Partenkirchen: *Axumite coinage: a preliminary typology.*

After some general observations on Axumite coinage, a look at the typological classification was undertaken. Little is known concerning such fundamental questions as who issued these coins, what were their values, and when, where, and why they were issued (most recently on Axumite coinage: W. Hahn. In: *Revue Numismatique* 155, 2000).

The coins bear names or titles for some twenty kings, and there are also anonymous issues. Disagreement exists concerning the readings of the names and the order of succession. Coins were issued in gold, silver and copper. The gold coinage of King Endubis (c. 270-330) seems to adhere to the Roman aureus standard. The copper is unique in having a gold overlay to design elements. The earliest coins bear pagan symbols, like the moon and sun, that are replaced by the cross after the conversion of King Ezana to Christianity circa 347 (fig. 3).



fig. 3. Gold coin of Ezana after his conversion in the middle of the 4th century (Oriental Coin Cabinet Jena).

The series seems to terminate circa 650, presumably as the result of the impact of Islam on Axumite trade. Mint locations within the Axum homeland have yet to be identified, but coins could have been minted in Yemen as well. Finally, concerning 'why', the economic role of this coinage is unclear, particularly in the light of its apparent scarcity.

For the typological classification the speaker proposed a numerical taxonomic system, based on specific design elements (such as bust facing forward or to the side, presence of crown, etc.), to facilitate attribution of individual coins. Moreover, the system allows the future possibility of computerised studies of design-linkage which may clarify specific problems such as the order of succession. Finally, this taxonomic system produces a numerical key which is linked to published illustrations, and which can be extended as necessary to accommodate future discoveries.

Susan Tyler-Smith, Biggleswade, UK: *Calendars and coronations: the literary and numismatic evidence for the accession of Khusrau II.*

In 1939 the historian M.J. Higgins, in his detailed history of the Persian wars of the Byzantine emperor Maurice (582-602), calculated the accession date of the Sasanian king, Khusrau II (590-628), to be 15 February 590. He based this date primarily on a passage in Tabari. Higgins' date, which has been accepted by most subsequent historians, is wrong by five months. When correctly interpreted both the coins and the literary sources suggest an accession date for Khusrau after the Persian civil New Year (27 June in 590), probably in July 590. The importance of this five month difference lies in the fact that the proposed dates fall either side of the Persian New Year and there is therefore a discrepancy of one year in the equivalent AD date of all Khusrau's regnal years. This, therefore, affects the dating of his coins and their use as a historical source. This also means that if

Higgins' date is correct Khusrau's *first* regnal year would run from his accession in February up to New Year in June 590. His *second* regnal year would then begin on New Year's day June 590 and run the full calendar year to June 591. Examination of the huge issues of silver drachms struck by Hormizd IV (579-590), Khusrau II and Varhran VI (590-1) during the period 590-1 and of Khusrau II in 627-8, clearly indicate an accession date for Khusrau after New Year 590. In particular the coins dated to Hormizd IV's thirteenth regnal year, and the enormous issues of Khusrau II showing him wearing his second winged crown and dated to his second year cannot be accommodated by an accession date of 15 February 590 proposed by Higgins.

Lutz Ilisch, Tübingen: *North African imitative dirhams of Umayyad type*.

A group of Umayyad imitative dirhams with the mint name of "Wasit" and dates ranging from 93 to 99 AH is quite distinct in style from the usual uniform dirhams of Wasit in Iraq. Apart from a peculiar style and often low weight, most of the 16 coins that could be traced so far bear additional marks like crescents or stars above and/or below the reverse field. An early date for their production during the Umayyad period can be concluded from a specimen in the Yahouriye hoard in the ANS collection which provides a t.p.q. of 122/739-40. In two cases names of officials - Abu Nasr and 'Umar - appear between the second and third line of the obverse field (fig. 4 right), which is paralleled by dirhams from the Maghrib of the second half of the 2nd/8th century.



fig. 4. Dirham imitations of "Wasit", year 95 AH, with "Abu Nasr" and year "50 AH".

As the dirham coinage of Ifriqiya starts only in 99 AH the imitations might possibly be forerunners of the provincial dirhams minted in Qairawan. For this mint a similar sequence of reverse marks can be found between the years 117 and 129 AH. Therefore it may be more likely that the imitations also date to the period of the caliph Hisham's reign. Comparison with an Umayyad-type dirham struck in Marara (in modern-day Morocco) in 155 AH points to a possible origin in the western part of the Maghrib. Finally the relation of the imitations to a small group of dirhams with fictive pre-reform dates "al-Basra 40 AH", "al-Basra 49 AH" and "Wasit 50 AH" (fig. 4 left) was discussed. As a result of find evidence these can equally be located among the North African imitations.

The next regional meeting in this series will be organised by Lutz Ilisch, Forschungsstelle für Islamische Numismatik, Wilhelmstr. 26, D-72074 Tübingen, e-mail: lutz.ilisch@uni-tuebingen.de. It will be held on 8/9 May 2004 at the Heinrich-Fabri-Haus in Blaubeuren.

New and Recent Publications

- D. Antonio Delgado y Hernández, *Estudios de Numismática Árabe-Hispana (considerada como comprobante histórico de la dominación islámica de la península)*, Madrid, 2001. ISBN 84-89512-89-2. This monumental publication of almost 800 pages, superbly edited by Alberto Canto García and Tawfiq ibn Hafiz Ibrahim and published by the Real Academia de la Historia, has at last made available this outstanding work by an important 19th century Spanish numismatist.
- Danish Moin, *Coinage of Haidar Ali and Tipu Sultan: A Typological Study*, pp 64, ISBN No. 81-86786-15-5. Price outside India: £10 or equivalent.
"This book brings together all the coin types of Haidar Ali and Tipu Sultan published in various catalogues and articles and also includes new discoveries. A fresh typological classification is provided for each metal and denomination. At the end three very useful appendices give information about the dates and mints known for each denomination in different metals. Each of the coin types is illustrated. Inside the book, enlarged illustrations are given and, at the end, images of 70 coins are illustrated in their actual size on three plates. The book (230 x 175 mm) is printed on good quality 100 gsm paper."
- Stefan Heidemann - Andrea Becker (Ed.) *Raqqa II - Die Islamische Stadt*, VII, 318 pages, 6 plates, 3 separate Maps, Mainz (Philipp von Zabern) 2003. ISBN 3-8053-3153-3. ca. €65.50 / sFr 112; roughly \$76.00

"Harun al-Rashid's period is regarded as the peak of early Islamic civilisation. He entered historical memory as the Caliph of Baghdad. Most of his reign, however, he spent in his palaces in al-Raqqa. Here was the place where the Barmakids governed the empire and Muhammad al-Shaybani, one of the founders of the Hanafi law school, was supreme qadi. It is now twenty years since the German Archeological Institute started its first campaign of excavation there in 1982. Michael Meinecke succeeded in realising a plan which had first been proposed by Friedrich

Sarre und Ernst Herzfeld in 1907, namely, the archaeological exploration of the largest Abbasid ruin west of 'Samarra': the twin cities al-Raqqā al-Rafīqā. Al-Raqqā was a Hellenistic foundation. In 772 the Caliph, al-Mansur, built a garrison town next to it. Harun al-Rashid extended the urban complex with a huge palace area.

After an introduction by Andrea Becker, the second section of the book deals with the history of the city. Using a variety of sources, Stefan Heidemann not only describes the development of the urban complex but also the political role of al-Raqqā during different phases of its history. The contribution by C. Edmund Bosworth analyses the function of al-Raqqā as part of the Abbasid military border system. The third section investigates the groups of non-Arabic sources. Thomas Weber looks at the Greek, and Chase Robinson the Syriac traditions. Kay Kohlmeyer examines the European travel reports.

The fourth section is devoted to epigraphic documents. Thomas Weber describes a Greek inscription while Claus-Peter Haase surveys the numerous inscriptional finds in the Arabic and Ottoman languages. In the fifth section, Stefan Heidemann makes use of the numismatic sources in various ways. A corpus of the early coin production provides textual documents for the political history. The circulation of petty coinage and economic life in northern Mesopotamia is analysed. Finally he focuses on the relationship between the coins found and the regional history. A catalogue of the coin finds is included.

In the last section Udo Becker develops a model for the geometric reconstruction of the original plan of al-Rafīqā. Maps by Werner Böser and Hans Daske supplement the volume."

Lists Received

1. Stephen Album (PO Box 7386, Santa Rosa, Calif. 95407, USA; tel ++1 707 539 2120; fax ++1 707 539 3348; album@sonic.net) lists 188 (May 2003), 189 (June 2003) and 190 (July 2003).
2. Scott Semans (PO Box 2347, Issaquah, WA 98027, USA; tel & fax ++1 425 369 1725; Ssemans@aol.com; www.coincoin.com), list of coins of the Bengal Sultans.
3. Robert Tye, list 38
4. Rusty Pennies (Alexander Basok, 1954 First St. 186, Highland Park, IL 60035, USA; tel ++1 847 444 1163; fax ++1 847 444 1165; basok@rustypennies.com; www.rustypennies.com), fixed price list 20, includes various oriental coins.

An English Collection of Aksumite Coins

By Vincent West

This collection, published by kind permission of the owner, consists of 41 Aksumite coins of which 3 are gold, 10 silver and 28 copper. The collection was not available for the corpus in the standard catalogue Munro-Hay and Juel-Jensen 1995 (henceforth *AC*).

The table below lists the coins with type references to *AC*. All the coins (except Ousanas *AC* type 90) were reweighed – a weight in brackets indicates that the coin is chipped (the amount varies).

Coins of particular interest include an anonymous miniature copper (*AC* type 51) from Baalbek, a scarce reverse variety of the copper of Ouazebas (*AC* type 58), a rare gold of Ousana (*AC* type 90) and a rare copper of Joel (*AC* type 134i).

5. R.D. Shah (1, Highcroft, London NW9 0SE, UK; tel ++44 20 8205 3500), list of Indian coins.
6. Warden Numismatics, LLC (PO Box 121, Wyncote, PA 19095, USA; tel & fax ++1 215 884 6721; dwarden@comcast.net), fixed price list 3, 2003.
7. Jean Elsen s.a. (Tervurenlaan 65, B-1040 Brussel, Belgium; tel ++32 2 734 6356; fax ++32 2 735 7778; numismatique@elsens.be; www.elsens.be) list 225 (May-August 2003) includes some 200 items of oriental interest.

Auction News

On Thursday 28th August, the Baldwin-Ma-Gillio-Monetarium auction consortium will be holding the annual Hong Kong Auction in the Chrystal Room of the Holiday Inn Golden Mile, Kowloon. The auction will consist of almost 1100 lots of coins, medals, banknotes, and related material from all over Asia and the Orient, from ancient times to the present. Included in the sale will be about 250 lots of Indian coins, ranging from the Gupta period, via British India and the East India Company, to post-Independence. Lot estimates vary from about US\$30 to several thousand dollars, so there should be something to suit all pockets. For further information please contact Charles Riley or Seth Freeman at: Baldwin's Auctions Ltd, 11 Adelphi Terrace, London WC2N 6BJ (tel. +44 [0]20 7930 9808), email auctions@baldwin.sh, or Ma Tak Wo, Unit A2, 9th Floor, China Insurance Building, 48 Cameron Rd, Tsim Sha Tsui, Kowloon, Hong Kong, tel. (852) 2316 2926.

The October sale in London will have the usual good choice of Indian material, including a 4-Pagodas of Tipu Sultan. The sale will take place on 13 and 14 October 2003, in the Durham Street Auditorium of the Royal Society of Arts. Further details as above from the London office.

Other News

The Ethnological State Museum, Leiden, Netherlands has published on its website their collection of Siamese porcelain game tokens. The identification and attribution of the tokens is based on information provided by former ONS member Mr. Hollink. The website can be found at www.rmv.nl. When there, click on "e-publications" and then scroll along to "playthings in porcelain".

Corrigendum

In the article on Jahangir's gold tanka of Cambay in Newsletter 175 we gave the obverse legend as *sikka jahāngir shāhī*. Jan Lingen has been quick to point out that the first word is in fact *tanka* and not *sikka*. Our apologies for this error.

Articles

King	AC Type	Metal and Weight (grams)	Die Axis	Notes
Endubis	1	AU 2.75	12:00	ex Spink auction 3.3.1998/99
Aphilas	8	AU 0.33	12:00	ex Baldwin
	10	AR (0.55)	12:00	Left half of coin missing
Ousanas	26	AR 1.34	12:00	Forgery?
	28	AR 0.88	12:00	-
Ezanas	41	AE 1.09	12:00	-
	42	AR 0.65	12:00	ex CNG auction 15.3.2000/996 obv. legend BAC ACYC
	42	AR 1.11	12:00	-
Anon	50	AR 0.75	12:00	Rev. legend OTYOTO...
	51	AE 0.44	10:00	ex Baalbek hoard (1983) = Bendall 1986-7 no. 3
	52 var.	AE 1.36	06:00	Obv. bust crude. Rev. legend retrograde
Ouazebas	54	AE 1.87	12:00	-
	54	AE 2.27	12:00	-
	54	AE 0.89	12:00	-
	58	AE (1.45)	12:00	-
MHDYS	70	AE 1.04	08:00	Particularly fine bust, no punctuation marks
	70	AE 1.07	03:00	No punctuation marks
	70	AE (0.58)	12:00	No punctuation marks
Anon	76	AE 0.81	10:00	-
	76	AE (0.59)	05:00	-
	76 var.	AE 0.77	08:00	Rev. legend TVOAPECHTHXWPA
Ousana	90	AU -	-	ex Glendining auction 1.10.1997/820. Weight and die axis not recorded
Kaleb	111	AR 0.77	12:00	-
Wazena	118-123	AE 1.53	12:00	Specific type uncertain
	118	AE 1.21	10:00	-
	120	AE 0.48	un-certain	-
AGD	126 var.	AR (0.90)	12:00	ex Seaby 1960/151 (incorrectly numbered 152 on plate) = SCMB December 1973/AX 11 = SCMB June 1981/D28 Two dots (one above the other) r. of chin.
Joel	AR 129	0.86	12:00	Crescent r. of chin
	AE 131	0.68	12:00	Pellet l. of crown
	AE 134	0.79	12:00	-
	AE 134	0.99	09:00	-
	AE 134i	(0.83)	10:00	Central incuse not gilt
Hataz	AE 140	1.08	09:00?	-
	AE 141	0.67	un-certain	-
	AE 141	0.90	un-certain	-
	AE 141	(0.87)	04:00	-
	AE 141	(0.59)	un-certain	-
Gersem	AR 147	(0.75)	09:00	ex Spink auction 13.7.2000/946 (after chip) = Sternberg auction VIII 16-17.11.1978/375 (before chip)
Armah	AE 153	1.20	11:00	-
	AE 153	(1.26)	12:00?	-
	AE 153	1.54	12:00	-

References

- Bendall S., 1986-7. A Note on "An Axumite Coin from Jerusalem". *Israel Numismatic Journal* 9, p. 91, pl. 32, 3-4.
Munro-Hay S.C. and Juel-Jensen B., 1995. *Axumite Coinage*, Spink.
SCMB = Seaby's Coin and Medal Bulletin.
Seaby 1960. The Coins of Axum, SCMB June 1960, pp. 226-8, 244, pl. 24.

Some Interesting Umayyad Fulus

By Tony Goodwin

The five coins described in this note all appear to be unpublished (at least in the major references) although I have not undertaken an exhaustive search of auction catalogues. The first two coins are apparently new types, number 3 is an interesting variant of a well-known type and numbers 4 and 5 are mules of two obverse or two reverse dies. All coins are illustrated x 1.5 actual size.



1. Mint: Barqa. Obverse: *bism / allāh*, circle around. Reverse: *fals barqa*, circle around. 3.01g.

The reading of the last word of the reverse as **بَدَقَه**, a city in Libya¹, seems practically certain and the crude rather rounded script is very similar to certain Umayyad fulus of *Ifriqiya*.



2. Mint: Antākiya (Antioch). Obverse: in field *lā ilah illā / allāh wa(hdahu)*, small crescent above, around from 3h. *bism allāh duriba hadha al-fals bi-antākiya* – “in the name of God this fals was struck in Antakiya”. Reverse: in field *muhammad / rasūl / allāh*, around a partially effaced and apparently blundered legend (unread). 1.79g.²

I am unable to make out the reverse marginal legend, but the mint name, **انتاكيه**, is certain. The placement of the mint name in the obverse, rather than reverse, is unusual, but the general style and rather thin fabric are similar to a number of other fulus minted in North Syria and the Jazira towards the end of the Umayyad period. An early Abbasid date is also possible given the slightly extended form of some of the letters.



3. Mintless. Obverse: *lā ilah / illā allāh / wa(hd)u*, beaded circle around. Reverse: bird flying to left with snake below, around, anticlockwise from 4h. *muhammad ???? allāh*, all within beaded circle. 2.02g. Walker 590 ff.

The second word of the reverse legend, which should read *rasūl* is completely garbled, and in fact looks more like *tayyib* with a long horizontal stroke below. Blundering of reverse legends is not unusual on this type, although not normally to the extent noted here. The most unusual feature of the coin is the small snake below the bird, a feature not found, so far as I am aware, on any other published example. Whether the die-engraver was familiar with the classical numismatic image of the sea eagle and snake is an interesting speculation. The coin is well engraved and well struck, on quite a large flan for the type, so it seems unlikely that it is a contemporary imitation.



4. Mint: Hims. Obverse: *hims / muhammad / rasūl / (allāh)*. Reverse: *hims / muhammad / rasūl / allāh*. 2.23g. Mule of two reverse dies, Ilich 7.2.



5. Mintless, but possibly Amman. Obverse: *lā il(ah) / illā all(āh) / wa(hd)ahu*. Reverse: *lā (ilah) / illā allāh / wa(hd)ahu*. 2.02g. Mule of two obverse dies of a type which is common to many early mintless and mint-named fulus, but the style and fabric are similar to some examples of Walker 907 (Amman), and the coin was found in Jordan.

Mules such as this and the previous coin appear to be relatively common in the Umayyad period, whereas they rarely, if ever, occur in the Arab-Byzantine coinage, or indeed in contemporary Byzantine coinage. The obvious inference is that there was no difference in the form of the obverse and reverse dies used in the Umayyad mint, as such mistakes would be impossible if the two types of die were of different shapes. The two coins could possibly be contemporary imitations, but there is no indication of this from their style or fabric and both examples appear to be struck rather than cast.

References

- L. Ilich, “Die Umayyadischen und Abbasidischen Kupfermünzen von Hims”, *Münsterische Numismatische Zeitung*, vol. 10/3, pp. 23-30, 1980.
J. Walker, “A Catalogue of the Muhammadan Coins in the British Museum”, vol. 1, 1956.

1. I am grateful to Steve Album for this reading.

2. This apparently unique specimen has also been described in a so-far unpublished doctoral thesis completed in 2000 by Harry Bone at Princeton University and entitled “The Administration of Umayyad Syria: the Evidence of Copper Coins”. This contains a comprehensive listing of Syrian Umayyad copper and it is very much to be hoped that it will be published at some stage.

New Evidence of Ja'farid Coinage (a Dirham of Emir Ja'far b. Mansūr, Tiflis AH 374)

By Arkady A. Molchanov (Moscow)

Novgorod the Great, as is widely known, ranks first among ancient Russian cities in respect of the abundance of archaeological finds. Kufic coins are also found there often enough, both in the town and its nearest environs¹. Some of them represent especially great interest for numismatists. One such find, the subject of the present article, is particularly important for specialists studying the early mediaeval history of Georgia.

A silver dirham was discovered in the mould remainder formed in the 1970s by cleansing and deepening the bed of the Volkhov River within the city boundary. The coin is 30 mm in diameter. It has a narrow silver tag with grooves on one side and a pierced hole on the opposite side, which indicates that, at some time in the past, it was used as a decorative pendant. The weight of the coin (together with the tag) is 4.12 g.



Dirham of Ja'far b. Mansūr. Tiflis mint, AH 374

The coin, from a private collection in Moscow, is heavily worn, but the legends on both sides can be read with little difficulty:

Obverse field — the Sunni creed (*Kalima*) in 3 lines

لا اله الا
الله وحده
لا شريك له

The outer of the two marginal legends is probably a Qur'anic verse (a short fragment, hard to decipher), whereas the inner one contains issue data clearly enough

بِسْمِ اللّٰهِ ض [. . .] رَهِم بِتَفْلِيسِ سَنَةِ اَرْبَعٍ وَسَبْعِيْنَ وَثَلَاثًا مَّائَةً

In the name of Allah has been struck this dirham at Tiflis in year 374.

Reverse field — legend in 5 lines with the names of al-Tā'ī lillāh and Ja'far b. Mansūr

لله
محمد
رسول الله
الطائع لله
جعفر بن منصور

Margin, between plain linear circles — Qur'an, IX:33

[. . .] يُولِ اللّٰهُ اَرْسَلَهُ بِالْهُدٰى وَدِيْنَ الْحَقِّ لِيُظْهِرَهُ [. . .]

The coin can be identified without any doubt: it was struck at Tiflis in the name of the local Arab ruler Ja'far b. Mansūr in AH 374/984–85 AD, and thus it supplies additional information to the previously known evidence of the coinage of the hereditary emirs of Tiflis (Tbilisi) of the Ja'farid dynasty.

The coinage of the Ja'farid emirs has been examined by a number of renowned numismatists, such as V. G. Tiesenhausen, A. K. Markov, E. A. Pakhomov, D. M. Lang, D. G. Kapanadze, G. I. Japaridze, I. G. Dobrovolsky, I. L. Jalagania². Researchers especially involved in studying the history of the Tiflis emirate also used the numismatic material³. The results of studying Ja'farid coins were summarised by I. L. Jalagania⁴. According to her, coins of the three representatives of the cited dynasty are known:

1. Mansūr b. Ja'far — 342/953-54 and 343/954-55; in all, 5 specimens;

2. Ja'far b. Mansūr — 364/974-75, 366/976-77, 367/977-78 and 370/980-81; in all, 7 specimens;

3. 'Alī b. Ja'far — 386/996-97, 394(?) / 1003-04 and 418/1027-28; in all, 439 specimens (according to G. I. Japaridze, the total numbers to 466)⁵.

Now we can add to this list 7 dirhams of 'Alī b. Ja'far dated 413/1022-23, published recently by G. I. Japaridze⁶, and two specimens of the same type with missing date from the private collection of D. A. Artamonov (Saint Petersburg)⁷.

The coin published in this article (see picture) allows us to shift the upper chronological limit of Ja'far b. Mansūr's rule at least until AH 374/984–85⁸.

Notes

¹ The detailed reports on Kufic coin finds in Novgorod the Great and their attribution see: Bykov, A. A., "Klad serebrjanykh kuficheskikh monet, naidennyi v Novgorode v 1903 g.", in *Izvestia Rossiiskoi Akademii istorii material'noi kul'tury*, 1925, vol. IV, p. 133-139; Vasmer, R. R., "Klad kuficheskikh monet, naidennyi v Novgorode v 1920 g.", *ibid.*, p. 242-276; Yanina, S. A., "Nerevskii klad kuficheskikh monet X veka", in *Materialy i issledovaniia po arkheologii SSSR*, 1956, No. 55, p. 188-207; idem., "Vtoroi Nerevskii klad kuficheskikh monet X veka", in *Materialy i issledovaniia po arkheologii SSSR*, 1963, No. 117, p. 287-331; Gaidukov, P. G., Fedorov-Davydov, G. A., Yanin, V. L., "Novyi klad kuficheskikh monet X v. iz Novgoroda", in *VIII Vserossiiskaia numizmaticheskaia konferentsiia*, Moscow 2000, p. 55-56; Gaidukov, P. G., Molchanov, A. A., Yanin, V. L., "Edinichnye nakhodki kuficheskikh monet na Nerevskom raskope v Novgorode", in *X Vserossiiskaia numizmaticheskaia konferentsiia*, Moscow 2002, p. 56-58.

² Tizengauzen, V. G., "Numizmaticheskie novinki", in *Zapiski Vostochnogo otdeleniia Russkogo arkheologicheskogo obschestva*, 1892, vol. VI, p. 236. Markov, A. K., *Inventarnyi katalog musul'manskikh monet Imperatorskogo Ermitazha*, St. Petersburg 1896, p. 308, Nos. 1-5:

Lang, D. M., *Studies in the Numismatic History of Georgia in Transcaucasia* [ANS, NNM No. 130], N.Y. 1955, p. 13-16; Kapanadze, D. G., *Gruzinskaia numizmatika*, Moscow 1955, p. 50, 53, 170, pl. III, Nos. 40, 41; idem., "Klad monet nachala XI veka tbilisskogo emira Ali ibn Dzha'fara", in *Epigrafika Vostoka*, 1961, XIV, p. 71-78; Dzhabaridze, G. L., *Iz istorii arabskoi numizmatiki i metrologii (IX-X vv.)* [abstract of Ph.D. thesis], Tbilisi 1968, p. 6, 17, 18; idem., "O monetakh tbilisskogo emira Ali b. Dzha'fara", in *Vostochnoe istoricheskoe istochnikovedenie i special'nye istoricheskie discipliny*, issue 5, Moscow 1997, p. 204-216 (with extensive bibliography of the subject); Pakhomov, E. A., *Monety Gruzii*, Tbilisi 1970, p. 46-49, pl. II, No. 30-34; Dobrovolskii, I. G., "Nekotorye redkie gruzinskie monety sobraniia Gosudarstvennogo Ermitazha", in *Vestnik Gos. muzeia Gruzii*, vol. XXX-B, Tbilisi 1974 (in Georgian with Russian summary), p. 62, 66, fig. 3; idem., "Redkie gruzinskie monety v sobranii Ermitazha", in *Proshloe nashei Rodiny v pamiatnikakh numizmatiki*, Leningrad 1977, p. 162-163, pl. I, No. 4; Dzhalagania I. L., *Inozemnaia moneta v denezhnom obraschenii Gruzii V-XIII vv.*, Tbilisi 1979, p. 62-70, 73, 148 (with bibliographic review on Ja'farid coins), pl. 27, 28; idem., *Monetnoe delo i denezhnoe obraschenie Gruzii V-XIII vv. (po numizmaticheskim dannym)* [abstract of Ph.D. thesis], Moscow 1981, p. 21-23. See also: Album St. *A Checklist of Islamic Coins*, 2nd ed., Santa Rosa 1998, p. 73.

³ Janashia, S. N., "The Arab Dominion in Georgia", in *Janashia, S. N., Trudy*, vol. II, Tbilisi 1952 (in Georgian), p. 406-407; Lordkipanidze, M. D., "Tbilisskii emirat", in *Ocherki istorii Gruzii*, vol. II, Tbilisi 1968, p. 350-351; idem., *Tbilisi (IV - nachalo XII v.). Istoricheskii ocherk*, Tbilisi 1991, p. 42, 43, 69.

⁴ Dzhalagania I. L., *Inozemnaia moneta...*, p. 63-66.

⁵ Dzhabaridze, G. I., "O monetakh...", p. 205.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 209-210.

⁷ The communication by Vladimir N. Nastich.

⁸ Molchanov, A. A., "Dirkhem tbilisskogo emira Dzha'fara ibn Mansura 374 g.kh.", in *IX Vserossiiskaia numizmaticheskaia konferentsiia*, St. Petersburg 2001, p. 58-60.

Money circulation in early-mediaeval Chach (6th-to the first half of the 8th century AD.)

By Michael Fedorov

History

Chach was a land of highly-developed agriculture based on an irrigation system fed by the Chirchik river, flowing westwards and falling into the Syr Daria. The Chirchik had two river-heads descending from the Chatkal and Pskem mountains. Now it is part of the Tashkent oblast' in the Uzbek Republic. The Ancient capital of Chach was situated at the location of modern Tashkent. In the north-east, east and south-east, Chach was protected by the Chatkal and Kurama mountains. In the south-west it extended to the Syr Daria, which here served as a natural border between Chach and Ustrushana. In the west, Chach opened onto the vast nomad steppes rolling monotonously along the Syr Daria up to the Aral Sea.

The early-mediaeval history of Chach is obscure. The scanty information we have is provided by the contemporary Chinese and Arab chronicles. The Chinese called this country *Shi*, *Chjeshi* or *Chjehchi*: "*Shi*, otherwise *Chjeshi* and *Chjehchi*, ... situated 9000 *li* (4500 km) from the (Chinese) capital; in the north-east it stretches to (the land of) the Western *Tukie* (Turks), in the north-west to *Bola* (Khwarezm?), ... in the south-west, 500 *li* (250 km) to *Kan* (Samarqand). The Circumference (of Chach) is 1000 *li* (500 km). The ruler called *Shi*, resides in the town of *Chjesi*" (Bichurin 1950a, 313). Arabs called it *Shāsh* (this was because they did not have the letter "ch"). Arab chronicles mentioned early-mediaeval *Shāsh* and its rulers in connection with the Arab conquest of Central Asia.

Chach (like Farghana) escaped the destiny of Sogd; it was not conquered by the Hephthalites and retained its independence. But several decades after the Hephthalite conquests had ended with the creation of a great empire (c 510 AD), Chach and Farghana were the first to be conquered by the Turks. The brother of the Turk qagan Bumyn (551-553), Istemi (died in 575), was actually independent in the western part of the state and had

proclaimed himself qagan. It was Istemi who headed the Turk expansion to the west. In 555 the Turks reached the "Western Sea" (the Aral or Caspian). So the Kazakh steppe and Khwarezm were subjugated by Istemi. In 558 the Turks reached the Volga driving in front of them defeated native nomads. Then Istemi started his advance to the south (to Central Asia). And here Turks were confronted by the Hephthalites. The first clashes occurred at the end of the 550s (Gafurov 1972, 215; Gumilev 1967, 35). Advancing against the Hephthalite king, Gatifar, Istemi captured Chach, Farghana, Samarqand, Kesh, Nesev and defeated Gatifar near Bukhara around the year 563 (Gafurov 1972, 217). Thus, Farghana and Chach were captured by the Turks at the beginning of the 560s AD. Once they had defeated the Hephthalites, the Turks became masters of Central Asia. But almost immediately after that they started wars against Iran and then Byzantium. Then internecine wars broke out in the Turk qaganate. The Turks, therefore, had their hands full without worrying about Central Asia. The native rulers in Central Asia retained their comparative independence. They paid tribute to the Turks, were supervised by representatives of the Qagan and that was, mainly, all. But then the situation in Chach changed. In 605 the Turks invaded Chach, killed the native ruler *Shi Nie* and put in his place a Turk *d'ak-gi'an* (tegin, i.e. prince) *b'iuk* (or *d'ien*) *tšiak* (Chinese characters have a great tendency to distort foreign names). So the dynasty of Turk rulers of Chach was founded. In 609 this new ruler of Chach sent an embassy to China (Smirnova 1970, 185; 1981, 430).

In 658 the Western Turks were defeated by the Chinese and Chach submitted to China. It was granted the status of a Chinese province. In 658 its ruler, *K'am t'uo d'uen* (Kam or Kan? tudun), was appointed governor. *Tudun* according to Bīrūnī was the title of the rulers of Chach (Bīrūnī 1957, 111; Smirnova 1970, 235).

In 712, having conquered Khwarezm, the Arab governor of Khorāsān, Qutayba b. Muslim, advanced on Samarqand. Ghūrek, the king of Samarqand, asked the Turks and the rulers of Chach and Farghāna for help. The allies fought the Arabs but lost the day. Ghūrek retreated to Samarqand, whereupon the siege of Samarqand started. In the siege, troops of Khwarezm and Bukhārā took part. Samarqand capitulated. Qutayba banished Ghūrek from Samarqand, gave it to his brother, 'Abd Allāh, whom he appointed governor there, and then returned to Khorāsān. The Sogdians rebelled and asked the Turks for help. In the autumn of 712, the Turks besieged the Arabs in Samarqand. In the following spring, Qutayba returned to Mawarānnahr and the Turks retreated. Qutayba told the rulers of Khwarezm, Bukhārā, Kesh, Nesev to raise for him an army of 20,000 warriors. He sent them to Chach to punish the ruler of Chach for the help he had given to Samarqand. Then he led his army to Farghāna to punish its ruler. In 714 he invaded Chach again. Having plundered and devastated it, Qutayba proceeded to Ispijab. He retained neither Ispijab nor Chach, however, this being merely a punitive campaign. Qutayba wanted to teach the ruler of Chach a lesson and to prevent him from helping the Sogdians again. (Bartold 1963, 241-243; Gafurov 1972, 316; Kliastornyĭ 1964, 154; Smirnova 1970, 199). In 715 Qutayba, in alliance with the Tibetans (the enemies of China) attacked Farghāna. The pro-Chinese king of Farghāna fled to Kocho (East Turkestan), to the Chinese. Qutayba put on the throne a new king, Alatār (old Chinese *a-lia-d'at*), and carried out raids on East Turkestan. It is not clear, though, whether he reached Kashghar. When news came about the death of caliph al-Walid (705-715), Qutayba turned back. But when he learnt that his sworn enemy, Sulaimān b. 'Abd al-Malik (96-99/715-717), had become caliph in Baghdād, he rebelled. Qutayba was killed in Farghāna by his officers, loyal to the new caliph. The death of this brilliant general weakened the Arabs. In 715 a Chinese army attacked Farghāna and restored the pro-Chinese king to his throne (Bartold 1963a, 118; Gumilev 1967, 305; Smirnova 1970, 255-256; 1981, 429).

Chach also stayed under the sway of China. In 713, the Turk, Mohedu tutun (old Chinese *muo-ka-tuat-t'uo-d'uen*), i.e. Bahadur tudun, was "rewarded for his service in the war" (with Arabs) and appointed ruler of Chach. In 738 the chief of the Yellow Tiurgesh, Baga Tarkhan, killed Tiurgesh qagan Sulu (716-738) and usurped power. Internecine war broke out between Sulu's son, supported by the Black Tiurgesh, and Baga Tarkhan. The Chinese in an attempt to weaken the Tiurgesh qaganate, interfered in the war. They sent an army and ordered their vassals, the rulers of Chach and Farghāna, to join it. The Chinese helped Baga Tarkhan. In 739 Sulu's son was defeated, captured and sent to China. In 740 Mohedu tutun was awarded the title *Shun-i-van* (Gumilev 1967, 358-359; Smirnova 1970, 235). Livshits (1960, 92-109), having analysed a Sogdian document from Mount Mugh, wrote that there were two rulers in Chach: the Chinese protégé, Mohedo tutun, residing in Tarband and the ruler of Chach residing in the capital of Chach. Kliastornyĭ thought the ruler of Chach and the tudun mentioned in the Sogdian document was the same person. He identified Tarband with Trarband = Otrar and wrote that early-mediaeval Chach was not limited to the Chach oasis but included Ispijab and Otrar, i.e. all the middle Syr Daria basin (Kliastornyĭ 1964, 159-160). By that time, in the southern regions of Central Asia an anti-Arab uprising was raging. The Arabs all but lost the country. It is noteworthy that not only the natives, but some Arab contingents also rebelled. Their uprising, though, was directed against the Umayyads. The Arab general, Hārith b. Surajj, and his adherents accused the caliphs of not following the commandments of the Qur'an and Sunna. Then Naṣr b. Sayyār (738-748) was made governor of Khorāsān. This brilliant general and diplomat quelled the uprising in Sogd. In 739 he concluded a treaty with the rulers of Ustrushana, Farghāna and Chach and sent his governors (or rather representatives) there. At Naṣr's request, the ruler of Chach expelled the fugitive Hārith b. Surajj from Chach to Farab = Otrar = Tarband (Bartold 1963, 250; 1965, 526). Livshits was right in stating that there were two rulers in Chach. Smirnova (1981, 430) mentioned Mohedo tutun and the "vice-regent" *Inai tutun k'iuat-lak*. I believe that *k'iuat-lak* is the Turk name (or part of a title) *Qutlugh* (lucky, blessed). In 741 Inai tutun *Qutlugh* sent an embassy to China asking for help against the Arabs but the Chinese emperor declined. Could this Inai tutun *Qutlugh* be the ruler who resided in the capital of Chach? In 742 "the son of the ruler (of Chach)", *Na gui-gui Bishi* (old Chinese *na-g'iu-kiwo b'isie*) was given title of *van* (prince). Smirnova thought he was the son of Mohedo tutun and the brother of Inai tutun *Qutlugh*. In 746 Inai tutun *Qutlugh* sent an embassy to China (Bichurin 1950a, 314; Smirnova 1981, 430). In 742, 743, 744, 745, 746 a certain *d'ak-gien* (i.e. *tegin*, prince, - Smirnova [1981, 431] supposed that he was probably Mohedo tutun) sent embassies to China. In 750 the Chinese governor of East Turkestan, Gao Sian Chji, reported to the central government that the ruler of Chach was recalcitrant and asked permission to punish him by force of arms. The ruler of Chach in the hope of settling the conflict peacefully gave himself up to Gao Sian Chji. The Chinese executed him. His son fled to the Arabs and asked them for help. The Abbasid governor of Khorasan, Abū Muslim, sent general Ziyād b. Šāliḥ to assist him. In July 751 the Arab and Chinese armies clashed on the bank of the Talas near the town of Atlakh. The Battle raged four days. On the fifth day, Qarluq nomads attacked the Chinese from the rear, which decided the battle. The Chinese were defeated and fled. The ruler of Chach, *na-g'iu-kiwo b'isie*, became a vassal of the Arabs. This did not prevent the Chinese from granting him some honorific title in 753, nor did it prevent *na-g'iu-kiwo b'isie* from sending an embassy to China in 762 (Bartold 1965, 500; Smirnova 1981, 431; Gumilev 1967, 368).

Gumilev (1967, 138, 155 *passim*) wrote that prince Shegui, the grandson of qagan Qara Churin, was ruler of Chach. But this seems to be a misunderstanding. Anyway he had no solid grounds for making this assertion. Let us see what he based it on. On p. 138 he wrote: "Qara Churin firmly held Central Asia: in Paikend (Bukhara) sat his grandson, Nili-khan, and, in Shash (Tashkent), another grandson, Shegui (footnote 14)". One would expect that in footnote 14 there would be a reference to some chronicle which states that Shegui "sat in", i.e. ruled/possessed Chach. Nothing of the kind! Footnote 14 merely states that the meaning of the characters transcribing the name Shegui is "quiver" which, in Turk, is "sagdak", and that Gumilev considered that the name of this prince was Shegui also in Turk. And that is that.

On p. 155 Gumilev wrote: "Shegui, grandson of Qara Churin Turk, was forced to content himself with the modest appanage-principality of Chach (footnote 26)". Footnote 26 refers to the Chinese chronicle in the translation by Bichurin (1950, 279). But on p. 279 Shegui is not mentioned at all. What is written is: "Chulo-khan... appointed two small khans (subqagans). One of them resided in Shi-go". Does this mean that Shegui possessed Chach? There is no indication that the "small khan" in question was Shegui. In 611-612 Shegui rebelled, defeated Chulo-khan and became qagan (Gumilev 1967, 441). On p. 158 Gumilev wrote: "Unlike other towns of Sogdiana, Chach (?!-Chach was never a town of Sogdiana - M. F.) offered resistance to Shegui-khan, but was subjugated and put under the command of a prince from the Ashina house (footnote 39)". *Ashina* was the ruling dynasty of the Turk qaganate. Footnote 39 refers to text which states (Bichurin 1950a, 282): "the people (of Shi = Chach - M. F.) are good in battles but when they quarrelled with ... Shegui-khan the latter subjugated them, and now Dele (*tegin*, prince - M. F.) Tianchji rules them". Another chronicle reads: "The people are skillful in battles; have many good horses. Under the Sui dynasty in the first year of the reign of Daye (605), the western Turks killed their ruler and charged Dele Fuchji with the government of the realm" (Bichurin 1950a, 313). Why should Shegui subjugate Chach if, according to Gumilev, Chach was his own appanage? Also the chronicle states that the ruler of Chach was Dele Tian (or Fu)chji. In 609 he sent an embassy to the Chinese emperor, which a simple official, governing Chach, certainly could not do. So Tian (or Fu)chji was a founder of the Turk ruling dynasty of Chach. Gumilev misled readers in asserting that Shegui was an appanage ruler of Chach. And this error has already found its way into other works.

Larisa Baratova (1999, 273) wrote, referring to Gumilev, that "Segui" was "Lehnfürst" of Chach. Originally *tutun*, *tudun*, *tutuq* was the rank of the military governor of a province. Later, however, it became the hereditary title of the rulers of Chach. Around the year 634 (but no later), a certain *Tun Tutun* was mentioned: "people did not like Dulu-khan. One of his generation ("of his dynasty" is meant - M. F.), Tun Tutun, attacked him with an army. Hilishi (the brother of Dulu-khan - M. F.) gathered his men and clashed with Tun Tutun but was defeated" (Bichurin 1950, 286). *Tun Tutun* wanted to put a new Qagan on the throne, but it "happened that *Tun Tutun* was killed". This *Tun Tutun* could have been Tian (or Fu)chji or his successor. If the latter is correct then a new ruler appeared in Chach around 634. He could be the ruler mentioned in 641 (Bichurin 1950, 287). Internecine war raged in the qaganate. The Chinese emperor ordered the rival qagans to make peace. "Dulu did not obey, sent Tutun from Shi (my underlining - M. F.). Tutun killed Shehu-khan in battle" in 641. In 657 Ishbara Khan Khallygh (Chinese *Shubolo-han Helu*) was defeated by the Chinese. "Helu...ran...and came to Shi (Chach) to the town of Sudu. The ruler of the town, Inie Dagan (Tarkhan), received them but as soon as they entered the town he arrested them and sent them to Shi-go (the capital of Chach? - M.

F.)" (Bichurin 1950, 292). Let us see how Gumilev (1967, 243-244) described the same events: "Yshoara, with his son and several loyal horsemen, again evaded their pursuers. He fled south. Near Chach (? - M. F.) the exhausted horses could go no further. The owner of Chach (? - M. F.), bearing the Turk title "tarkhan", allowed the fugitives in and, having tied them up, gave them up to the pursuers". As we see, Gumilev's version differs considerably from what was written in the Chinese chronicle. In 658 China defeated the Western Turks. The Western Turk qaganate was annihilated. Farghana and Chach were granted the status of a Chinese province. The Chinese emperor appointed a certain Kam (Kan?) Tutun governor of Chach. Could it be the same Tutun who was mentioned under the year 641?

In her article "Altürkische Münzen Mittelasiens aus dem 6.-10. Jh. n. Chr." Baratova (1999, 219-292) gave an outline of early-mediaeval Chach money circulation (p. 273-275), which was meant to update the similar outline given by Smirnova (1981, 51-53). According to the Chinese itinerant monk, Huiyen Tsian (ca 630), in Chach there were about a dozen towns (provinces) governed by their own rulers, independent from one another, but they were all vassals of the Turks (Beal 1884, 452). In other words, as in other countries of Central Asia, Chach was a confederation of principalities, with the ruler of the strongest principality as nominal head of the state. Scholars have dated the beginning of coinage in Chach in different ways: M. E. Masson to the 3-4th century AD, Buriakov and Koshelenko to the 3^d century, Zeimal to the end of the 5th-beginning of the 6th century (Baratova 1999, 274). The coins are of bronze and have various weights and dimensions. Some coins have the image of a ruler (obverse) and a tamgha with a Sogdian legend in which only the title "Lord" can be read with any certainty (reverse). The title of the Chach rulers according to Livshits is given by the Aramaic heterogram MY'R, instead of the usual MR'Y, which is a distinctive sign of Chach coins (Baratova 1999, 274). Other coins have the image of a royal married couple (reverse) and a special tamgha, different from the trident-shaped tamgha of the Chach ruling dynasty (obverse). But the overwhelming majority of Chach coins have the trident-shaped tamgha (obverse). The most numerous of them are coins with a lion (reverse) and trident-shaped tamgha with Sogdian legend (obverse). In the second half of the 5th-6th century Sasanian drachms circulated in Chach with local countermarks. In the 7th- first half of the 8th century *Nachahmungen von Drachmen von Varhran V* (Baratova 1999, 274), i.e. "drachms of Bukhar Khudat type" circulated in Chach. Chach did not have silver coins of its own.

An analysis of legends and tamghas shows that, apart from the main mint of Chach, there were mints in other towns of the Chach oasis. There are coins of Chach, Kabarna, Farankat, Benakan, Chanak(?), Kharashkat(?). All the rulers on those coins had the same title, "Lord" (Rtveladze 1982, 31-39).

An iconographic analysis shows that Chach coins were influenced by Sogdian coins. This is the case with coins with an image showing the bust of the ruler or royal married couple. Various tamghas indicate that these coins were minted in different towns of the Chach oasis. Apart from the usual trident-shaped tamgha of Chach, there are other tamghas. Coins found at the archaeological sites of Kendyktepe, Aktepe, Binket, Kanka, Khanabadtepe, Kugaittepe have a trident-shaped tamgha. Coins of Benakan had a tamgha shaped like two semicircles linked by two parallel lines. One variant of the lyre-shaped tamgha could belong to Chanak (Baratova 1999, 275). Coins found in Kharashket have other variants of the lyre-shaped tamgha. Coins of the Turk rulers were minted in towns situated on the border with the nomad steppe, on the trade routes connecting Chach with other regions of Central Asia and Kazakhstan. It is natural that those towns were under the sway of Turk nomad rulers. As I mentioned above, most Chach coins have the image of a lion and a trident-shaped

tamgha. Some coins have cosmological/religious symbols such as a crescent, swastika, asterisk, etc. (Baratova 1999, 275).

And now to the coins. All Chach coins are of bronze. Chach did not mint silver coins.

According to Smirnova (1981, 51-53) the most numerous group of Chach coins have the image of a lion, trident-shaped tamgha and a Sogdian legend with the title $\gamma\omega\beta w$ (lord) and word $trn\beta'n$, or $tr'\beta'$, or $trny'$. "To see in this word ... the name of the place, enticing as it may be, is difficult, since it is placed after the title, not before it. It is only possible in a case where the word in question is an adjective relating to the preceding noun. ... (from $trn\beta$ or $tr'\beta$ + suffix \check{e}), which so far has not been substantiated by what has been found in the legends.", Smirnova wrote (1981, 51). Rtveladze (1987, 164), however, read it as "Lord Tarnavch" (i.e. with the suffix \check{e}) alright. Livshits (1982, 185) admitted that the word $trn\beta\check{e}$ or $tr'\beta\check{e}$ could be connected with the word $t'r\beta'nd$, the Sogdian name of some town. Kliashtornyi (1964, 157-159) showed that it was the طاريند or طاريند of the Arab chronicles and proved that it was another name of اطرار, i.e. Otrar. Livshits also did not exclude the possibility that $trn\beta\check{e}$ or $tr'\beta\check{e}$ could be the ruler's name.

In the second (according Smirnova's classification) series of Chach coins we find the image of the ruler instead of the image of a lion.

The third and latest series of Chach coins, according to Smirnova, have the title $t\delta wn$ or $\gamma\omega\beta t\delta wn$. Smirnova (1981, 52) wrote that the title $t\delta wn$ "tudun" found on Chach coins and in Mugh documents (i.e. Sogdian documents from Mount Mugh), dated to the first quarter of the 8th century, was probably the title of *sopravitel'* (co-ruler, vice-regent) of Chach. The Arabs mentioned it as تدون, the title of the ruler (ملك) of Chach in the 8th century. This word was introduced in Central Asia by the Turks and originally meant Turk official who supervised the local ruler, the vassal of the Turk qagan.

The Coinage

a) **Anepigraphic coin** (Smirnova 1981, 371). *Obverse*: within a plain circle, an enraged lion or tiger (facing right) swishing its upraised tail. *Reverse*: within a beaded circle, the trident-shaped tamgha of Chach (teeth pointing left), shaped like a letter M and short-legged letter T joined at the upper ends. Weight 1.5g; diameter 17 mm. Fig 1.



The trident-shaped tamga of Chach, especially on some coins (where the trident is tapering off) looks like a bird of prey diving on its quarry. Oddly enough, several centuries later the trident was the emblem of the great princes of Kiev, and now it is the emblem of the Republic of the Ukraine.

b) $\gamma\omega\beta w$ $trn\beta n/\check{e}$. Type 1 (Smirnova 1981, 372-379, Nr. 1499-1545). *Obverse*: within a plain circle, a lion or tiger (facing right) swishing its upraised tail. *Reverse*: within a plain circle, a trident-shaped tamgha (teeth pointing left). Legend $\gamma\omega\beta w$ $trn\beta n$ (or, as Rtveladze and Livshits read it, $trn\beta\check{e}$). Weight 1.3-3.3g. The weight histogram looks like a mountain ridge with several peaks. Highest peaks (6 coins) 1.9 and 2.6g. Then follow peaks (5 coins) of 1.6 and 1.7g. Then peaks (4 coins) of 2.1 and 2.2g. Then peak (3 coins) of 1.3g. Diameter 18-23 mm. 20 mm is the most common (44%). Next comes 19 mm (23%) and then 18 mm (15%). Fig 2.



$\gamma\omega\beta w$ $trn\beta n/\check{e}$. Type 2 (Smirnova 1981, 380, Nr. 1546). *Obverse*: within a plain circle, a lion/tiger (facing right) with upraised tail. Under it, the word prn $furn$ (grace, blessing). *Reverse*: within a plain circle, the trident-shaped tamgha of Chach (teeth pointing left). Legend $\gamma\omega\beta w$ $trn\beta n$ or $trn\beta\check{e}$. Weight 1.9g; diameter 21 mm. Fig 3.



$\gamma\omega\beta w$ $trn\beta n/\check{e}$. Type 3 (Smirnova 1981, 380, Nr. 1547-1550). *Obverse* as Type 1 (without the word prn). *Reverse* as Type 1. It is not clear why Smirnova singled it out as a Type 3. Weight 2.85, 2.35, 1.52, 1.38g; diameter 20-18 mm. Fig 4.



c) $\gamma\omega\beta w$... prn . (Smirnova 1981, 382, Nr. 1551-1553). *Obverse*: within a beaded circle, a lion with mane (facing left). Above it, $\gamma\omega\beta w$. *Reverse*: trident-shaped tamgha of Chach (teeth pointing right). Legend $\gamma\omega\beta w$ / ... / prn . Weight 2.77, 1.93, 1.7g; size (oval) 18x19, 17x20, 18x20 mm. Fig 5.



d) $\gamma\omega\beta w$ $[s]t\check{e}r$. (Smirnova 1981, 384, Nr. 1554). *Obverse*: face of a ruler slightly turned to the left. *Reverse*: trident-shaped tamgha (teeth pointing right). Legend $\gamma\omega\beta w$ $[s]t\check{e}r$. Weight 2.95g, diameter 19 mm.

e) $[prn \beta]yrt$ (?). (Smirnova 1981, Nr. 1555). *Obverse*: face of a ruler slightly turned to the right. *Reverse*: trident-shaped tamgha (teeth pointing right). Legend $[prn \beta]yrt$ (?). Weight 1.57mm; diameter 22 mm. Fig 6.



f) $[\check{c}]\check{e}nk$ (?) $\gamma\omega\beta w$...y. (Smirnova 1981, 385, Nr. 1556-1557). *Obverse*: within a beaded circle, face of a ruler slightly turned to the right. To the right, a swastika. *Reverse*: trident-shaped tamgha of Chach (teeth pointing left). Legend $[\check{c}]\check{e}nk$ (?) $\gamma\omega\beta w$...y, i.e. *Chachian hwab* (lord) ...y. Weight 2.65, 2.2g; diameter 21-20 mm. Fig 7.



g) Unknown ruler. (Smirnova 1981, Nr. 1558). *Obverse*: face of a ruler slightly turned to the left. *Reverse*: trident-shaped tamgha of Chach (teeth pointing left). Weight 0.5g; diameter 14 mm. Fig 8.



h) Unknown ruler. (Smirnova 1981, Nr. 1559-1560). *Obverse*: a lion facing right. *Reverse*: trident-shaped tamgha of Chach (teeth pointing right). Weight 1.25, 0.85g; diameter 18-19 mm. Fig 9.



i) |s|tēry tōwn. (Smirnova 1981, 389, Nr. 1561). *Obverse*: face of a ruler slightly turned to the right. *Reverse*: trident-shaped tamgha of Chach (in an almost vertical position, teeth pointing upwards). Legend |s|tēry tōwn. Weight 2.1g; diameter 20 mm. Fig 10.



j) γωβ t|δ|wn. Type 1. (Smirnova 1981, 390-391, Nr. 1562-63). *Obverse*: trident-shaped tamgha of Chach (teeth pointing left). Legend |γ|ωβw *Reverse*: in the field, γωβ / t|δ|wn (in two lines); the circular legend is badly worn. Weight 1.85, 1.1g; diameter 20 mm.

k) γωβ t|δ|wn. Type 2. (Smirnova 1981, 391-92, Nr. 1564-1574). *Obverse*: trident-shaped tamgha of Chach (teeth pointing left). Legend βγγ prn *Reverse*: in the field, γωβ / tōwn /... (in three lines), circular legend ... stēry(?) Weight 1.56, 1.5, 1.35, 1.3, 1.22, 1.15, 1.1, 0.9, 0.63g; size (oval) 15x17, 15x18, 16x17, 16x18, 17x8 mm. Fig 11.



Rtveladze (1982, 34) gave a different reading: obverse γωβ βγγ prn (Lord by God blessed), reverse γωβ tw|n|. I believe the reading *hwab Tun* is correct. The Chinese chronicle (Bichurin 1950, 286) mentioned *Tun tutun* who around, but no later than, the year 634 AD. attacked qagan Dulu-khan, defeated his brother, Hilishi, but was killed soon after that. I think the *hwab Tun* of the coins and the *tutun Tun* of the Chinese chronicle was the same man. By the way, when Smirnova wrote γωβ t|δ|wn she put the letter |δ| in brackets, so on the coins it appears as γωβ twn - Lord

Tun, most probably the same person mentioned for the year 634 AD. In Ilak, which, in early-medieval times, was part of the Chach realms, was located the town of Tunket (= the town of Tun). Could the name be connected with this person, Tun?

l) γωβ t|δ|wn. Type 3. (Smirnova 1981, 393, Nr. 1575-1577). *Obverse*: trident-shaped tamgha of Chach (teeth pointing left). Below, stēry[?]. *Reverse*: in the field, γωβ / tōwn /... (in three lines), circular legend badly effaced. Weight 1.71, 1.6, 0.63g; size 12x16, 14x17, 15x17 mm. Fig 12.



The coins of this group differed in the direction of the lion and tamgha (in addition to any differences in the legend, ruler's image or shape of the trident). This was done deliberately. Each ruler minted his own type of coins differing if only in some details from the coins of his predecessors. So on coin Nr. 1498 the lion faces right and the trident, left. On the most numerous (Nr. 1499-1550) coins of Tamavch the lion faces right and the trident, left, but the trident on these coins differs considerably from the trident on coin Nr. 1498. There were subtypes among coins Nr. 1499-1550: on some coins the lion has one paw stretched forward, on others this is not the case. On coin Nr. 1546, below the lion is the word *prn*. On coins Nr. 1551-1553 the lion faces left and the trident, right. On coins Nr. 1559-1560 both lion and trident face right. On coin Nr. 1561 the trident is almost vertical with its teeth pointing upwards. In Smirnova's catalogue there are twelve different types, which I believe indicates that there were at least twelve rulers in the dynasty with the trident-shaped emblem. [Editor's note: the author does not provide any evidence to substantiate this belief]

Livshits wrote that there were two rulers in Chach: the Chinese protégé, Mohedo tutun, residing in Tarband and the ruler of Chach residing in the capital of Chach. Kliashornyi identified Tarband with Turarband = Otrar and wrote that Chach was not limited to the Chach oasis but included Ispijab and Otrar, i.e. all the middle Syr Daria basin (Livshits 1960, 92-109; Kliashornyi 1964, 159,160). That is why I include here the coins which Smirnova (1981, 394) attributed to Otrar because two such coins were found in Kazakhstan, in that region.

Otrar(?). *Obverse*: Within a beaded circle is the realistic depiction of a lion with mane (facing right) swishing its upraised tail. *Reverse*: within a beaded circle, according to Smirnova there is a monogram of two Turk runic letters "n+ush". Around it, a badly worn Sogdian legend (illegible). Weight 2.44g; diameter 20 mm. Fig 13.



Smirnova (1981, 395) attributed anepigraphic coins Nr. 1580-1582 to Otrar because all five of them were found in Otrar (or nearby) and bear the image of lion. They also have the tamgha of the Tiurgesh qagan (the Tiurgesh qaganate existed ca 704-766 AD). So it seems that these coins were minted by a ruler of Otrar who placed on his coins the tamgha of the Tiurgesh qagan, thereby acknowledging himself as a vassal of the Tiurgesh.

Otrar(?). *Obverse*: lion facing right. *Reverse*: tamgha of the Tiurgesh qagan. Smirnova thought that it was a stylised Turk runic letter "ät". Weight 2.5, 2.2, 2.15, 2.1g; diameter 17, 18, 20 mm. Fig 14.



I believe that the coins with Turk runic monogram "n+ush" were the earliest of the coins described. Livshits and Kliastornyĭ thought that coins with the word *trnβĕ* or *tr'βĕ* were connected with Tarband = Otrar. I am convinced that the most likely issuer of those coins was Mohedo tutun. A Sogdian document from Mount Mugh (ca 712-713) states that the tudun of Chach concluded a treaty with Tarband according to which "he got (there) all the lands" (Livshits 1960, 96) i.e. that his authority was recognised there. Bear in mind also that the Chinese chronicle (Bichurin 1950a, 313) states: "in the first year of the (period of) reign Kai Yan (713), Mohedo tutun, for the services rendered during the war (against the Arabs – M. F.), was appointed ruler of Shi (Chach)". The coins with lion and trident are special since they have the emblems of two realms: the lion of Otrar and the trident of Chach. It is a series issued by, as it were, the united states of Chach and Otrar. Livshits (1960, 92-109) wrote that, at the time of the Arab conquest of Central Asia, there were two rulers in Chach: the Chinese protege Mohedo tutun residing in Tarband and ruler of Chach residing in the capital of Chach (i.e. Binket in the territory of modern Tashkent – M. F.), or, as Smirnova (1981, 430) called them "tudun and vice-regent". I fully agree with them. Kliastornyĭ (1964, 159, 160) identified Tarband with Trarband = Otrar but wrote that the ruler of Chach and tudun mentioned in the Sogdian document was one and the same person, which seems dubious to me. Mohedo tutun came to power not later than 712-713 and was still mentioned in 740, when the Chinese awarded him the honorific title of *shun i van* (Bichurin 1950a, 313). So he reigned about 30 years or more and his coins should be numerous. In fact, coins with word *trnβĕ* or *tr'βĕ* are the most numerous in this series (Nr. 1499-1550, 3 subtypes). Other coins with trident and lion are scarce: Nr. 1498 unepigraphic; Nr. 1551-1553 with lion and trident facing the opposite direction (lion to left, trident to right, while on the coins with word *trnβĕ* or *tr'βĕ* it is vice versa, lion to right, trident to left); Nr. 1559-1560 (both lion and trident face left). These coins were presumably issued by successors of Mohedo tutun. Judging by the scarcity of their coins their reign was not long. Mohedo tutun was the protégé and loyal ally of the Chinese. He was supported by the might of the Chinese army. The separatist-minded nobles of Otrar (probably headed by members of the old native dynasty, removed from power) could do little to regain their independence.

The situation changed in 751 when the Arabs defeated the Chinese army near the Talas. It put an end to Chinese sway over Central Asia. The Arabs, however, could not hold on to the country and withdrew to Sogd. This was when Tarband – Otrar separated from Chach. The coins of Otrar bearing the lion emblem and Tamgha of the Tiurgesh qagan show that the rulers of Otrar became vassals of the Tiurgesh qagan. Such coins could have been struck between 751, when the Chinese were defeated and 766, when the Tiurgesh qaganate ceased to exist. It is not out of the question, though, that the Tiurgesh qagan was the immediate owner of Otrar and (just as Mohedo tutun did) placed two emblems on the coins of Otrar: the lion of Otrar and his own tamgha. Some have called it "bow-shaped", others (Smirnova 1981, 395) a "stylized rune (ät) with rhomboid *korpus* (? – M. F.)".

The coins with trident (without lion) and coins with lion (without trident) were minted when Chach and Otrar were separate states.

After Smirnova had published *Svodnyi katalog sogdiiskikh monet. Bronza. (Summary catalogue of Sogdian coins. Bronze.)* in 1981, new coins of early-mediaeval Chach were found in Tashkent oblast' (early-mediaeval Chach) at the hillforts of Kanka, Khanabad, Kendyktepe, Aktepe, etc.

Two types of coins with a trident-shaped tamgha were published by Rtveladze (1987, 170-173, Nr. 57, 58).

a) *Obverse*: facing bust of diademed ruler with ear-rings (crescent-small pearl-big pearl). The diadem is surmounted by a pearl and crescent. *Reverse*: trident-shaped tamgha (teeth pointing left). Legend ...[βnk?]... . Weight 2g; diameter 20 mm. Found at Kanka

b) *Obverse*: three-quarters facing bust of ruler wearing Phrygian cap decorated with a crescent and pearl above. *Reverse*: trident-shaped tamgha (teeth pointing left). Around it, a Sogdian legend. Rtveladze (1987, 172) read there the name of a ruler: *Sochak*. Weight 1.9g; diameter 16 mm. Found at Aktepe (in Tashkent).

At Kanka were found (Baratova 1999, 250) coins with the trident-shaped tamgha of Chach and the image of a royal couple. The coins of Chach with the image of a royal couple were not previously known.

c) *Obverse*: royal couple (half-effaced). *Reverse*: trident-shaped tamgha of Chach (teeth pointing left) and a Sogdian legend of which only γωβω is legible. Weight 1.2-2.03g; diameter 17.8-19.4 mm. Fig 15.



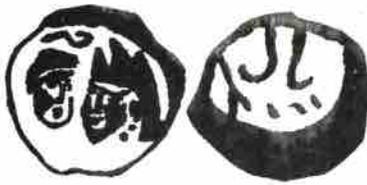
So Smirnova, Rtveladze and Baratova published, in all, fifteen different types of coins with the trident-shaped tamgha, which could indicate that there were at least fifteen rulers in this dynasty.

Baratova (1999, 250-253, Pl. 4, Nr. 43-48) published some coins with the image of a royal couple and a previously unknown tamgha (of a previously unknown dynasty). She placed these coins in "Gruppe d - Mit gabelartigem Zeichen" although this new tamgha has nothing to do with a trident. It is a variant of the lyre-shaped tamgha turned upside-down. The image of the royal couple on all the coins is badly effaced.

a) *Obverse*: royal couple. *Reverse*: Variant of the lyre-shaped tamgha standing on two legs, but turned upside-down. In the middle of the lyre-shaped part of the tamgha is a swastika. Below the tamgha a short Sogdian legend. Oddly, Baratova illustrated this coin (Pl. 4/43) but gave no description of it in the text. Anyway I could not find it. Fig 16.



b) *Obverse*: royal couple. *Reverse*: variant of lyre-shaped tamgha with angular upper part. Legend effaced. Weight 1.25g; diameter 18-19 mm. (Baratova 1999, 250, Pl. 4/45). Fig 17.



c) *Obverse*: royal couple. *Reverse*: when this coin was cast the mould shifted so that on the coin only the lyre-shaped part of the tamgha came out. Legend effaced. Weight 1.4g; diameter 20-21 mm. (Baratova 1999, 250, Pl. 4/44). Fig 18.



d) *Obverse*: royal couple. *Reverse*: variant of lyre-shaped tamgha with angular upper part and crescent (bottom to tamgha) above it. Legend effaced. Weight 1.1g; diameter 19 mm. (Baratova 1999, 250, Pl. 4/46). Fig 19.



e) *Obverse*: royal couple. *Reverse*: variant of lyre-shaped tamgha, like type "a" but topped by crescent (bottom to tamgha). Legend ...nk δ/λ (Rtveladze's reading). Weight not given; diameter 19-20 mm. (Baratova 1999, 251, Pl. 4/47). Fig 20.



f) *Obverse*: royal couple. *Reverse*: variant of lyre-shaped tamgha with angle-shaped upper part and right half of crescent above it. Legend γn/z y/β čnkny γwβ ...Lord of Čanak (?) (Rtveladze's reading). Weight 1.9g; diameter 20 mm. (Baratova 1999, 251, Pl. 4/48). Fig 21.



g) *Obverse*: royal couple. *Reverse*: badly effaced tamgha, lyre-shaped(?). Legend ... γw... (Rtveladze's reading). Weight 1.6g; diameter 20 mm. (Baratova 1999, 251, Pl. 4/49). Fig 22.



h) *Obverse*: royal couple. *Reverse*: new variant of the lyre-shaped tamgha. It has only lyre-shaped sides, without any bottom. In the middle of it there is a horizontal line linking both sides of the tamgha. Legend ... βγ... (Rtveladze's reading). Weight 2.7g; diameter 19 mm. (Baratova 1999, 251, Pl. 4/50). Fig 23.



Three more coins of this series were found at Kendyktepe (Ernazarova, Kochnev 1978, 126/51-53).

i) Nr. 51. *Obverse*: royal couple. *Reverse*: badly effaced (lyre-shaped?) tamgha. weight 2.65; diameter 22 mm.

j) Nr. 52-53. *Obverse*: royal couple. *Reverse*: variant of the lyre-shaped tamgha. It has only lyre-shaped sides, without any bottom. In the middle of it there is a horizontal crescent (bottom downwards). Under it is a vertical line linking it to another crescent (bottom upwards). The lower crescent is outside the lyre-shaped part of tamgha. Weight 2.5, 2.1g; diameter 20, 22 mm.

Most of the coins with variants of the lyre-shaped tamgha (types c, e, f, g, h) were found at Kanka (medieval *Kharashket*). It is quite possible that such coins were issued by appanage rulers of *Kharashket*, with each new ruler of this dynasty having an individual variant of the lyre-shaped tamgha. In which case, the inventive souls will have taken special pains to ensure that their tamgha differed (albeit in minor details) from the tamghas of their predecessors. If this was indeed the case, judging by the variations in the tamghas there could have been at least ten rulers in this dynasty.

Rtveladze (1987, 166-169) published some coins minted by an appanage ruler of *Kabarna*(?) (Nr. 55) and *Benakan*, i.e. *Benaket* (Nr. 56). Both towns were situated in the modern *Tashkentskaia oblast'*.

Kabarna(?). *Obverse*: king sitting cross-legged on a throne with a merlon and a sculpture of some long-necked animal on either sides of the throne. The king's head is turned to the left, his left hand is raised in a blessing gesture, his right hand rests on a sword which he keeps upright in front of him. To the right of the king are an asterisk and crescent. *Reverse*: a complicated variant of the lyre-shaped tamgha and Sogdian legend in which Rtveladze read the name of town "*Kabarna*(?)". Weight 1.6g, diameter 20 mm.

Benakan. *Obverse*: three-quarters bust image of king, wearing a *bashlyk* (hood). The face is Mongoloid. *Reverse*: special kind of tamgha shaped as two letters "C" back-to-back and linked in the middle by two short parallel lines. It has an affinity with tamghas of the rulers of *Bukharan Sogd* of the 4th-6th centuries (Zeimal 1978, 205, Pl. V, Nr. 5-11) and, in one case (Pl. V, Nr. 7), is the same. Around the tamgha is a Sogdian legend in which Rtveladze read the name of the town of "*Benakan*". Weight 1.6g; diameter 21 mm.

The similarity of the tamgha of the *Benakan* rulers with that of the *Bukharan Sogd* rulers means that, when some nomad tribes, headed by the dynasty of chiefs with such a tamgha, were advancing from the east, some of them settled in *Chach*, while others proceeded to *Bukhara* and founded their kingdom there. It is also not out of the question that, originally, such tribes inhabited *Chach* but that later, under pressure from other tribes advancing from the east, some of them migrated to *Bukharan Sogd*, while the rest stayed in *Chach* in the region of *Benakan* (*Benaket*).

Another coin with such a tamgha was published by Rtveladze and Livshits (1985, 41).

Obverse: profile image of king (facing right). The king wears a diadem decorated with a crescent, and an ear-ring (one big pearl). The face is of European type. *Reverse*: Tamgha as on the coin of *Benakan*. Around it, a Sogdian legend *Coin (of) Lord Akhania* (Livshits' reading). Weight and diameter are not given.

Later Rtveladze (1987, 23) read the name of the ruler as "Archania" and dated the coin to the 7th century.

Rtveladze (1987, 174-175) published a coin with a horse and a crescent above it (obverse) and a tamgha with a worn legend around it (reverse). Unfortunately he gave neither description nor picture of the tamgha. He attributed this coin to the "unknown ruler of Chach". Weight 1.2g, diameter 17 mm.

At the hillfort of Khanabad were found two coins with a square hole in the middle and the title *Er Tigin*. One more such coin was found near Khojend in Tajikistan (Baratova 1999, 233-234).

Obverse: around the square hole nnēw/bnēw 'yrtkyn γwβw, *Nanhcu/Banchu(?) Er Tigin*. *Er* in Turk is "Man (of valour and wisdom)", *Tigin* is "prince". *Nanhcu/Banchu(?)* could be name of the ruler. *Reverse:* above the square hole, the Sogdian word *prn blessing* (Rtveladze's reading). Weight 1.5, 2.12g; diameter 20 mm. Fig 24.



Such a coin from Tajikistan was found in a hoard together with 18 coins of Chach, 1 coin of Ustrushana, 2 Sogdian coins and 1 Abbasid fals.

One more type of coin with a square hole was found at Kanka and Aktepe (Baratova 1999, 237).

Obverse: around the square hole. βγγ γ'γ'n pny, *coin of Lord Qagan* (reading by Livshits and Rtveladze). *Reverse:* blank. Weight 1.3-0.6g diameter 13 mm.

And last but not least, in the territory of modern Tashkent a coin was found differing from all the preceding types (Baratova 1999, 247). It was most probably issued in the 7th century AD.

Obverse: image of king with face turned slightly to the right. His face and haircut are typical of a Turk. *Reverse:* tamgha resembling disproportionate triskelion. Legend ē'čnk γwβw twrk(?), *Lord Turk of Chach* or *Chachian Turk Lord* (Rtveladze' reading). Weight 4g; diameter 21 mm. Fig 25.



Metrology

And now some comments about the metrology of the coins of Chach. As a whole, the bronze coins of Chach were smaller and lighter than the contemporary coins of Sogd. The heaviest coin of Chach, which I am aware of, weighs 4g (diameter 21 mm). There is a coin of 3.3g (diameter 22 mm) and a coin of 3.02g (diameter 21 mm). All the other coins are lighter than 3g. There are coins of 0.5, 0.63, 0.63, 0.9, 0.91, 1.1, 1.1, 1.1g. But the main, compact group is between 1.2-2.7g. The weight histogram of Chachian coins looks like a mountain ridge with several peaks, indicating several compact groups.

Group A. Peak 1.6g (12 coins). Here belong coins of 1.4g (4), 1.5g (4), 1.6g (7) and 1.8g (1). The intended weight for these coins will have been 1.6 plus/minus 0.2g.

Group B. Peak 1.9g (9). Here belong coins of 2.1g (7), 2.2g (7), 2.3g (5), 2.4g (4), 2.5g (4) and 2g (2). The intended weight for such coins will have been 2.1 plus/minus 0.3g (the heavier the coin, the greater the standard deviation). In circulation coins lost some weight, which is why the peak is 1.9g.

Group C. The peak is 2.6g (8). Here also belong coins of 2.7g (3), 2.8g (3), 2.9g (2), 3g (1), 3.3g (1). The intended weight for such coins will have been about 3g plus/minus 0.3g. But in circulation these coins lost some weight that is why the peak is 2.6g.

Group D. The peak is 1.3g (7). Here also belong coins of 1.2g (3), 1.1g (3), 0.9g (2). Coins of 0.5, 0.63, 0.63g could be a half of this monetary unit.

Certainly, the intended average weights in Chach seem to have been the same as in Sogd. In the weight histograms of Sogdian bronze coins (Smirnova 1981, 544-546) there are peaks of 1.6g (histogram V, XI), 1.5g (h- X, XVI), 1.7g (h-XV), 1.8g (h-XII). There are also peaks of 2.1g (h-IV), 2.2g (h-VIII, XI, XII), 2.3g (h-XVI), 2.5g (h-XII). There is a peak of 3.2g (h-VIII). But in Sogd there were also heavier intended average weights: in the weight histograms of Sogdian coins there are peaks of 5g, 4.1g, 3.6 and 3.5g (h-II, III, IX,).

The diameters of Chachian coins range from 14 to 22mm but there is a compact group between 18-22 mm, with 20 mm being the most common (44% of all the coins). Next comes 19mm (about 21%), and then 18 mm (15%). Thus about two thirds of the recorded coins of Chach have a diameter of 19-20 mm.

In my article "Money circulation in the early-mediaeval Sogd (6th-first half of 8th century)" I wrote about the prices and purchasing power of early-mediaeval Sogdian coins. I believe that prices were about the same in early-mediaeval Chach. As to the way in which the money was made, the coins of Chach (some of which bear the denomination *fen*), like Sogdian *fen*, were cast from bronze in moulds (mostly made of *ganch*, i.e. alabaster, gypsum). But there was an important distinction: almost all Sogdian coins had a square hole in the middle while almost all Chachian coins did not. This indicated an important difference in the way money circulated in Sogd and Chach. Sogdian *fens* circulated not only individually but also in strings, as in China. That is why they had a hole in the middle. They were threaded on a piece of string, the string was tied, and a big monetary unit equal to a Sogdian silver drachm was ready. In Chach, on the other hand, the *fen* must have circulated individually and not in strings. Hence there was no need for a hole in the coins.

At the early-mediaeval mints of Chach the same casting techniques will have been used as in Sogd (see the supplement to Newsletter 175).

Acknowledgement

The illustrations used in this article are taken from: O. I. Smirnova, *Katalog monet s gorodishcha Pendzhikent*, 1963, Moskva; O. I. Smirnova, *Svodnyi katalog sogdiiskikh monet. Bronza*, 1981, Moskva; L. Baratova, "Alturkische Münzen Mittelasiens aus dem 6.-10. Jh. n. Chr.", *AMIT*, b. 31, 1999, Berlin. (The author would like to thank Dr. Larisa Baratova for the pictures she kindly sent).

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List of abbreviations

- AMIT *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran und Turan.*
 ONS *Newsletter Oriental Numismatic Society Newsletter.*
 ONU *Obshchestvennye nauki v Uzbekistane.*
 SE *Sovetskaja Etnografiia.*

Update to the Mauryan Official Reverse (M.O.R.)

Indian Punchmarked Coinage

By Paul Murphy

In this article it is not my intention to repeat the M.O.R. article on the Mathura coins published in the newsletter 172. The previous article and this article should be read consecutively.

During a recent visit to Jan Lingen in the Netherlands, I had the opportunity to review his coin collection. My eyes alighted upon an M.O.R. coin I had not seen before. Since then, Jan has very carefully cleaned this coin, photographed it and some surprising features have now become apparent. The coin weighs 3.3 grams.



Obverse



Reverse

On the coin we have the Mathura symbols in third and fourth positions. It can be seen, however, that the third symbol has a slight variant of the tree regarding the leaf branch on the inner top row, as does the double man with a ploughshare from the same punch. There are slight variations on the man with the plough and it is not the intention in this article to go deeper into these variations.

The obverse also shows a single punch of two Balaram with a raised plough (Hala). This is important as we can see gods of two different sects appearing on a single coin, Balaram representing Vaishnavism (obverse) and Shiva representing Shaivism (reverse). The presence of Balaram gives us a clue for dating the coin. It indicates that it comes from the Mathura region and was issued around the fall of the Mauryans, probably in the early part of the second century BC.



As can be seen, this may be one of the first the ithyphallic coin of India. The question arises as to how to interpret the way in which the hands and their contents are represented. Suggestions had been made of a baby in the right hand and a dead body in the left,

representing life and death, with the ithyphallic inbetween signifying creation. As a result of discussion within the South Asia Coins Newsgroup on the Internet, however, the following emerged that led me to rewrite my original draft. An ithyphallic figure suggests Shiva. If this is so, the item in the left hand hanging down could well be a deer or antelope (mriga) and the item in the raised right hand could be a drum (damaru). The engraver has tried to make the penis out of proportion to emphasise the ithyphallic form of Shiva. This kind of iconography appears in some of the Kushan coins depicting Shiva (though there he is depicted with four arms instead of two).

Pankaj Tandon has generously allowed me to publish a splendid coin, which is a Kanishka-Oesho, Kushan AV dinar, G62. Dated around 130-158 AD



Coins of the Indian Sultanates

Some more additions to the listings in the book of the above title by your editor and JP Goenka.

Sultāns of Dehli

Muhammad bin Tughluq (AH 725-52)

In Newsletter 175 we mentioned a gold dinar of Sultānpūr, dated 726. This is now illustrated here, courtesy of AH Baldwin & Son.



Sultāns of Bengal

'Alā' al-Dīn Husain (AH 899-925)

New type B751 Scott Semans has provided illustrations of a silver, type 4 Victory tanka from a hitherto unrepresented mint. The mint-name appears to be Khairabad, a mint known hitherto for Shams al-Dīn Muzaffar, Nāsir al-Dīn Nuṣrat and Ghiyāth al-Dīn Maḥmūd. The mint-name is engraved in a different style from that found on the coins of the other rulers and there seems to be an additional letter between the "rā" and the first "alif". This could, however, be a crudely engraved "wa" that should be found between the words "mulkahu" and "sultānahu". The coin is undated.



Sultāns of Madura

'Alā' al-Dīn Udaūjī Shāh (AH 740)

New type MD8A. Copper paisa, 3.0 g. This coin, brought to our attention by Barry Tabor, is similar to the usual paisas of this ruler (MD8) except for the additional legend *abū' l muṣaffar* on the obverse.



Early Coins of Bharatpur State

By Prashant P. Kulkarni

The Rajput history of Bharatpur state starts with the Tomar rulers during the eleventh century. After many battles and change of rule the founder of the Bharatpur princely state can be identified as Raja Suraj Mal. He was the son of one, Badan Singh, the Raja of Dig. Badan Singh started to rule in 1722 but the real ruler was Suraj Mal, his able son, who won many wars and even captured Delhi in 1753. After the death of Badan Singh in 1756, Suraj Mal took Jat power to great heights. He took over the fort of Bharatpur and laid the foundation of the capital of the Bharatpur state. His greatest achievement was the capture of Agra in 1761. He indeed made Jat rule into a major power in North India. On his death in 1763 his eldest son Jawahir Singh succeeded to the throne. Jawahir Singh further enhanced the power of the Jat state. He lived in the palace of Agra and it was his desire to sit on the Mughal throne. He was, however, murdered in 1768¹.

List of rulers of Bharatpur:

Badan Singh	1722-1756
Suraj Mal	1756-1763
Jawahar Singh.....	1763-1768
Ratan Singh.....	1768-1769
Kehri Singh.....	1769-1777
Ranjeet Singh...	1777-1805
Randhir Singh...	1805-1823
Baldeo Singh....	1823-1825
Durjan Singh....	1825-1826
Balwant Singh...	1826-1852
Jaswant Singh	1852-1893
Ram Singh.....	1893-1895
British Administration 1895 onwards.	

We know of the early coins of Bharatpur from the reign of Suraj Mal onwards from the mint of Bharatpur, which was called Brajindrapur on the coins from around the year 1762 as it occurs on a coin dated RY 4 in the name of Shah Alam II². The coins of other mints like Dig, Kumber and Wer bore the mint name Mahindrapur and these coins are known from the reign of Badan Singh onwards³. The known coins exist in the name of Ahmad Shah Bahadur, Alamgir II, Shah Jahan III, Shah Alam II and Mohammad Akbar II⁴. I have recently come across a coin of Ahmad Shah Bahadur of the year 1166/6. This is published here⁵. The date falls in the reign of Badan Singh and fits well with the historical information that he was stationed at Dig, the capital town at that time.



AR rupee 11.5g, 1166/6

Obv: Usual legends of Ahmed Shah Bahadur with the year (11) 66

Rev: Usual legend with mint name *mahindrapur* at bottom.

Another interesting coin of Jawahar Singh has been found and described here:



AR. rupee, 11.6g.

Obverse: Usual *hami din* type legend of Shah Alam II with hijri year (11) 77

Reverse: *Manus maimanat, sanah julus 5, zarb Jawahargarh* (on top), with a star like mark to the right of the regnal year.

The star like mark is the a mark of Bharatpur and we have no problem in attributing this coin to the Bharatpur state. The mint name Jawahargarh or Jawahirgarh poses the problem of identification. Since the Ry 5 of Shah Alam II will be hijri 1177 or 1178, it is certain that this coin was struck during the first regnal year of Jawahar Singh. When Suraj Mal died on an hunting expedition in 1763, his long rule came to an end and the eldest son, Jawahar Singh, must have wanted to exercise the right to stike coins and proclaim the start of a new Raj. It therefore seems very probable that he would have named a town in his own name and struck coins there. Jawahargarh must have been named after Jawahar Singh, but its whereabouts are conjectural. It could be a suburb or Bharatpur itself or a small town nearby. Shailendra Bhandare has suggested the following: "As for the Jawahargarh location, Kumbher was a prominent fort in the region at about the same time, there was a fierce battle fought between Malhar Rao Holkar and the Jats under Jawahar Singh at that place. The Jats won this battle. Another contender would be 'Udina', a place where a similar event happened in November 1764. However, Kumbher seems to be the most likely candidate". This is very plausible but local historical evidence and further research is needed to identify the location with certainty.

Notes

1. Historical information from, W.W. Webb, The Currencies of the Hindu States of Rajputana, Varanasi, reprint 1972.; The Imperial gazetteer of India, New Delhi, reprint 1981, Volume VIII, pp.74-79
2. John Allan, Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum Calcutta, Vol IV, Oxford, 1928, pp.219-220.
3. John S. Deyell, *A Hoard of Bharatpur Silver Coins*, Numismatic Digest, Vol III, part I, Bombay, 1979, pp.30-42.
4. Colin R. Bruce II and others, Standard Catalogue of World Coins, 12th edn, Iola, 1986, pp. 1281-3
5. Thanks to Bob and Norma Puddester for allowing me to publish these coins from their collection. Thanks to Shailendra Bhandare and the Editor also for informing me that a coin of 1166/6 was in the Ken wiggins collection and three of 1166/7 are known in the Whitehad collection in the BM, Dilip Shah collection and the Ken Wiggins collection. The last one is illustrated in the Baldwins auction catalogue # 25, lot 80.

"Bombay Billys"

Yet more observations following Newsletter Supplement 172 and added comments in Newsletter 174

By Drs. Paul Stevens & Shailendra Bhandare



In our previous papers discussing the fifth and eighth rupees struck by the East India Company for use in the Malabar Coast, we reported the existence of two specimens of the eighth rupee

and speculated on reasons for their different weights. The weight of the first specimen corresponded to an eighth of a rupee but the weight of the second specimen matched that of the fifth rupee despite having the numeral 8 clearly shown on the obverse (coin shown in illustration above). We speculated that this second specimen may have been struck with silver of lower fineness, or that it may have been struck simply as a trial of the design and that the quantity of silver was not therefore important.

Subsequent to our second article, we have received the results of non-destructive analysis of the metal content of the second coin and this has revealed that it contains approximately 97% silver. This therefore eliminates the first of our hypotheses and leaves our second hypothesis, i.e. this is a design trial, as the most likely reason for the production of this coin. Given the extreme rarity of these coins it is entirely possible that they were never put into circulation and that existing specimens represent patterns and trials rather than circulating coins.

Acknowledgement

We would like to thank Keith Wilford for obtaining the results of the analysis of metal content.

The first rupee of Patiala?

By Frank Timmermann

The town of Patiala was founded in 1753 by Sardar Alha Singh, the chief of a branch of the Phulkian family. For several years he was able to extend his territory until he became a tributary of the Afghan emperor, Ahmad Shah Durrani in 1761. In the following year, during the 6th Afghan invasion of India, he was taken prisoner of the emperor, Ahmad, who may have seen an opportunity to sow dissension among his enemies, the Sikhs, not only pardoned the sardar but promoted him to the rank of a raja, dismissed him with honour and thus confirmed him in his territories.

Early in 1764 (AH 1177), the Sikhs defeated and slew Zain Khan, the Afghan governor of Sahrind, captured this provincial capital and destroyed it. They occupied most of the region between the Rivers Sutlej and Jamuna. According to Temple¹ Raja Alha Singh was granted the right to coin money by Ahmad Shah Durrani in 1764, after the 7th Afghan invasion, when on his way back to Afghanistan through Sarhind. In that same year, Alha Singh built a fort at Patiala and added the ruined city of Sarhind and the surrounding country to his territories.

In his article, Temple remarks that, regarding the attribution of the various rupees then current to individual rulers (and states), he found that the officials knew very little but that the bankers knew a great deal and traditionally knew with ease to whom to assign the various rupees. He was thus informed that the currency of Patiala had been initiated by Alha Singh. Whether or not the bankers were able to identify the Alha Singh rupees is not clear for Temple was of the opinion that the rupees of Alha Singh and his successors, Amar Singh and Sahib Singh were all of the same type.

The rupee published here, if correctly identified, would disprove that. It is dated AH 1178 and is struck on an ordinary size flan typical of the Durrani coins of the time.



The obverse bears the Persian couplet of Ahmad Shah Durrani:

Hoqam shod az qadir be-chün be-ahmad bādashāh
Sikka zan bar sīm wa zar az auj mähī tā be-māh

The command issued from the Incomparable Creator to Ahmad the emperor

Strike coin on silver and gold from the height of the fish to the moon.

The reverse reads:

Julūs sana maimanat māmūs zarb....
In the year of his fortunate reign struck in

Unfortunately the mint-name is off the flan of the coin but clearly present is the mark found on most of the coins struck by the rulers of Patiala, Nabha, Maler Kotla and Jind, and which were based on Ahmad Shah Durrani's rupees struck at Sarhind. This mark, located within the loop of the letter *sīm* of *julūs*, and which resembles a form of Arabic or Persian 4, does not occur on Durrani coins proper². The actual significance of this mark is not known nor is it known if it is actually meant to be a number at all. While the later rupees of the Cis-Sutlej states usually have other marks relating to specific rulers, the earliest coins have only the "4" mark. The date on this coin, AH 1178 corresponds to the period 1 July 1764 to 20 June 1765. Alha Singh died on 22 August 1765 so this coin was struck precisely at the time when Alha Singh is said to have obtained the right to strike coin and prior to his death. Thus, despite the lack of the mint-name on the coin, the circumstantial evidence is such as to lead me to believe that this is in fact the first issue of Patiala and that it was in fact struck by Alha Singh.

Notes

1. Temple, R.S.: "The coins of the modern native states of the Punjab", *The Indian Antiquary*, vol XVIII, pp. 321-341, November 1889.
2. Ahmad Shah Durrani's Sahrind rupees of year 4 (AH 1164) have the regnal year above *sana* to the left of *julūs* (see Whitehead, coin 164).

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Mexican silver dollar stamped with a star, hammer and sickle

By Helen Wang



In 2002 the British Museum acquired a Mexican silver dollar stamped with more than 15 Chinese chop-marks. The silver dollar is a Republic of Mexico 8-real coin, dated 1896, mint of Guanajuato, with the initials RS (of the assayer Rosendo Sandoval, 1891-1900). One of the stamps is a hammer and sickle within a five-pointed star, positioned at the top of the reverse, on the long ray directly opposite the date. The likelihood is that the coin was stamped in a Communist base area in China. There has been a recent spate of publications relating to the history of money at the various revolutionary base areas in China, often associated with repairs and conservation at the most important sites, and issued to celebrate a historical anniversary. Whilst I have not seen any of these yet, a recent article is of interest here.



In 2002, Zhang Yigang published a rather worn Sichuan worth-50 copper coin, dated 1912, which had been stamped with a hammer and sickle within a five-pointed star (37.5mm, 18g). He proposed that the coin had been stamped in the Xiang-E-Xi Soviet [west of Hubei and Hunan], and his investigations are interesting here

The coin was found in 1983 in a hoard of 48 copper coins, which had been wrapped in palm-leaf and deposited on a hillside four kilometres from Tongcheng, Hubei province. Most of the coins were worth-20s and Government of Sichuan worth-50s, with a few worth-10s and 1-fen copper coins with the emblem of the Chinese Communist Party. The latest coin was a 1-fen coin of 1938.

Tongcheng lies in the very south of Hubei province, close to the borders of three provinces: Hubei, Hunan and Jiangxi. This area saw a great deal of fighting during the Agrarian Revolutionary War (1927-37). Indeed, the Tongcheng Soviet was located between the two important revolutionary base areas of the Xiang-E-Gan Bianqu [Hubei-Hunan-Jiangxi border area] and E-Dongnan [southwestern Hubei]. It was also about 100 kilometres from the Honghu Soviet, within the Xiang-E-Xi area [west of Hubei and Hunan], in which the Red Army was very active.

The five-pointed star, hammer and sickle feature on some of the money issued by the Xiang-E-Xi Soviet, in particular on the 1-fen coins, which were made by welding two old coins together (diam. 35mm, thickness 4mm, weight 25g) and re-striking them with a steel die. This was not entirely successful, but Zhang suggests that the die and punch, both with five-pointed star, hammer and sickle, may have been prepared by the same hand, and points out that it would certainly have been simpler, cheaper and quicker to add a stamp to an old coin. During the Republic, worth-20s were in common use throughout Hubei, except in western Hubei, where Sichuan military government worth-50s and worth-100s were used. In 1929 the Hubei Office of Finance issued a prohibition on the Sichuan coins, so a ready stock of old coins may have been available from the E-Xi [western Hubei] Soviet.

Furthermore, Zhang quotes from a report on the situation in the Xiang-E-Xi base area, dated 9 December 1932, that for a certain period the characters 'su-wei-ai' [soviet] were stamped on to silver dollars, not as propaganda, but to keep the coins within the region.

Whilst the silver coin discussed above does not have the three characters 'su-wei-ai' stamped on to it, the idea of overstriking existing coins had been conceived, and a five-pointed star, hammer and sickle stamp would have been easier to produce and to read, instantly recognisable and understood.

Zhang Yigang, E-nan faxian jiagai suweiai huiji tongyuan, *Zhongguo Qianbi* 2002/4, pp.37-38.

ZHONGGUO QIANBI / CHINA NUMISMATICS 76-79 (2002/1-4) – SUMMARY OF CONTENTS

By Helen Wang

Zhongguo Qianbi has been published quarterly by the China Numismatic Society since 1983, and is the leading periodical on Chinese numismatics.

ZHONGGUO QIANBI / CHINA NUMISMATICS 76 (2002/1)

ARTICLES

YE Shichang, *Errors in the History of the Song dynasty about the origins of jiaozi notes – and a discussion about the date of the Qiansicang printing plate* (pp.3-6). With reference to Song dynasty texts, YE points out three errors: (1) that ZHANG Yong was not the creator of jiaozi notes; (2) that an issue of jiaozi lasted two years (not three), whereas an issue of huizi lasted three years; (3) that '22 issues in 65 years' should be corrected to '22 issues in 66 years'. The Qiansicang printing plate was published in the Japanese catalogue [Ch: *Dongya qianzhi*] as a Song dynasty plate. YE examines the inscription in detail, and concludes it is probably a Southern Song printing plate.

LIU Sen, *Chinese coins and typology – with particular reference to Song dynasty coins*, (pp.7-10). In three parts: (1) the differences between Western and Chinese coins; (2) the inscriptions and calligraphy on Chinese coins, and how there was little attention to different types and varieties before the 18th century; (3) the complexity of Song coins. LIU believes the Japanese lead in terms of understanding typology of Song coins, that numismatists need to look at weight, size, thickness, metal, characteristics (width of rims on both sides, size of hole), mints and associated marks, other marks (dots, crescents), denomination, inscription and calligraphy. He proposes that a sound approach would be to combine Western and Japanese methods of looking at coins, and consider the differences in coins from the widest perspective, not just from the point of view of the inscription.

CHEN Hao, *A study of the mints producing iron coins in the Jiangbei region*, (pp.11-16). CHEN looks at Southern Song iron coins, first issued in 1168 by the Hezhou mint, referring to Chinese histories: (1) on the Hezhou mint, (2) on the Tongan mint, (3) the Susong mint, (4-5) the Qichun mint, (6) the output of iron coins from the Tongan and Qichun mints, (7) the Dingcheng mint and the Hanyang mint, (8) the 'Four mints of Jiangxi': the Guangning, Fengyu, Yuguo, and Fumin mints.

YU Zhaopeng, *Wang Anshi's views on money*, (pp.17-20, 30). The views of Wang Anshi (1021-86), politician, writer, scholar, on (1) centralized management of currency; (2) 'worth-2' coins; (3) ensuring that jiaozi notes have corresponding reserves; (4) using Buddhist diplomas as a means of exchange, (5) on the export of coins, (6) the choice between making copper objects and copper coins.

ZOU Zhiliang, *On the Southern Song seal with the inscription 'maichao-ku'*, (pp.21-22). This seal, made in AD 1140, was published in *Guangxi lishi huobi* [The currency of Guangxi], edited by Guangxi Numismatic Society, and published by Guangxi renmin chubanshe, 1998, but part of the inscription was misread as baochao-ku. The full inscription reads 'Jingjiang fu maichao ku zhi ji'. It was found in Guilin (= former Jingjiang fu), and refers to an office where traders paid cash for paper money with which to buy salt and other goods, as recorded in the *History of the Song dynasty*.

ZHANG Tiecheng, *Management of paper money in the Yuan dynasty and YE Li's 'Fourteen Regulations'*, (pp.23-24). Author discusses management of Yuan paper money in three periods according to the names of the notes: Zhongtong chao; Yuan chao; Zhizheng chao, and YE Li's (1242-92) proposed 14 regulations for effective management of paper money.

ZHANG Shuimu and NIU Qingbin, *Silver ingot of the Southern Song dynasty discovered in Jiaxian, Henan*, (p.24). The ingot

was found in Jiaxian in the 1980s, details not clear. Measurements: length 121 x width 72 x depth 16 mm (waist 49 mm), weight 997g. Now in the Jiaxian Cultural Relics Office.

TU Yanzhi, **On coin-models of the Southern Song**, (pp.25-30). TU looks at how coin-models (*qianyang*) were used in the preparation of coin-moulds: (A) from the Sui to Southern Song, with particular textual references to (1) Sui wuzhu samples, (2) Tang wax samples, (3) Northern Song wood and bronze samples, and (4) Southern Song ivory and bronze samples; (B) the main functions of sample coins; (C) the manufacture of sample coins; (D-E) how to identify Southern Song sample coins.

ZENG Zelu (USA), **Chinese treasures overseas – with particular reference to Southern Song coins**, (pp.31-32, 37). ZENG notes that most of the coins collected by foreign missionaries or commercial traders in China have ended up in museums or auction houses. Introduces the American Numismatic Society (ANS) collection; mostly from the late Qing/early Republic, eg Zhangzhou military silver, Shouxing silver ingots, Taiping silver coins, rare silver coins of the Republic, Qing 'mother-coins', and coin-models, coin-trees. However, the lost pieces from ZHANG Shuxun's collection are not in the ANS; author assumes the pieces remain with the family. Other collections mentioned include those of Wylie, Bushell, Lockhart, Schjoth, Coole, Kann, and others listed in auction sales in 1878 and 1899.

ZHANG Fengzhi (Taiwan), **Explaining casting errors on iron coins of the Southern Song**, (pp.33-34), with special reference to a hoard of Southern Song iron coins found in Gaoyou (Jiangsu) in 1985.

HUANG Xiquan, **How to develop the displays and exhibitions at money museums**, (pp.35-37).

YANG Ruoling, TANG Youquan and LIU Xiaodong, **The 'Wantie huoquan' coin found in Kedong county, Heilongjiang**, (pp.38-39). (illust. on inside back cover) Found by a farmer in Baoquanzhen, Kedong. Bronze, weighs 17.9g, largest length 28.5mm, largest width 16.7mm. Looks like a rectangle that has been nipped in midway on each side [butterfly-shaped?] with hole pushed through centre. Inscription reads Wantie huoquan. Authors conclude it is a Liao dynasty piece.

YUAN Yihua, **The newly discovered Southern Song coin plaque with the inscription 'shifu jiuwu'**, (p.39). YUAN introduces a unique lead plaque (85 x 35mm, 30.1g) and notes its similarities with Southern Song Lin'an coin-plaques.

ZHOU Dingguo, **A study of the place-names on the reverse of Huichang Kaiyuan coins**, (pp.40-43). Huichang Kaiyuan tongbao were issued from 845. Over 20 reverse inscriptions indicate the mint that issued them (except for 'chang', which indicates the date). But the mint names presented in different coin catalogues do not always match (table 1: compares the data in different catalogues). Author explores the subject, and presents a revised table on p.43.

WANG Yu, **Gold leaf: Southern Song money found in Hangzhou**, (pp.44-46). WANG discusses very thin, rectangular leaves of gold, and gives details of discoveries in Hangzhou: (1) a damaged specimen that had been cut (130 x 100mm, 9g), found in 1999; (2) a specimen folded in half, and then in half again (135 x 100mm, 38g) – actually four leaves stacked together. Stamp marks showed that the gold leaves were stamped four at a time; (3) seen in private collection, same size as others, wt 41g. He concludes that (1) it is made of pure gold, (2) its inscription is identical to that on gold plaques and silver ingots unearthed in Hangzhou in 1973, 1988, 1999; so had similar function; (3) there were 4 gold leaves in a set, weighing c. 40g; (4) heavy gold plaques were for higher denominations, lighter gold leaves for smaller denominations. Gold leaves not mentioned in the histories.

YAN Xingwen, **Bronze coin with two obverse inscriptions found in a Southern Song hoard in Xizhaishan, Huangshi**, (pp.46-47). In the hoard of Southern Song bronze coins found at Xizhaishan in November 1967 was a coin (23.8mm) with the inscription Zhiping yuanbao (1064-67) on one side and Zhidao yuanbao (995-97) on the other side.

LIU Enfu and LIU Shijun, **The iron coins unearthed at Gaoyou**, (p.47). Authors discuss a unique Qiandao yuanbao 'worth-2' coin with reverse inscription 'yu' above hole and inverted below hole; also a rare Qianxi tongbao coin with reverse inscription 'tong 16', both unearthed in Gaoyou, Jiangxi.

GAO Jilin, **The Xixia period hoard unearthed in Guyuan, Ningxia**, (p.48). A hoard of coins weighing 10kg was found less than 1 metre below surface level in Guyuan in 1999. The coins had been placed in rectangular trough carved out of rock and covered with a stone lid. No other objects were found. Total of over 2,100 coins ranging from Western Han banliang to Xixia Qianyou yuanbao (1171-93). 95% were Northern Song coins. No Southern Song, Jin or Yuan coins. Rare coins include Northern Song iron Kangding yuanbao (24.5mm, 4g) and Xixia bronze Qianyou yuanbao (25mm, 4.8g), and unusual Daguan tongbao (25.5mm, 3.6g).

WU Baohua, **Bronze 'Yongtong quanhuo' coin found in Hefei**, (p.48). Lots of Northern and Southern Song dynasty coins have been found during construction of the underground carpark at Hefei City Government Square. In May 2000 a bronze worth-10 Yongtong quanhuo coin was found (40.5mm 15.5g).

MOU Shixiong, **Sasanian silver coins found in Longxi, Gansu**, (pp.49-50). In recent years 1 Byzantine gold coin and 12 Sasanian silver coins have been unearthed in Longxi. Author gives details of one find in July 1998 at site of former monastery: 2m below surface were found 2 pottery jars containing coins, beads and jewellery, including 1 Byzantine gold coin [published in *ZGQB* 1999] and 7 Sasanian silver coins. Details of 4 of the Sasanian coins are given: Piruz, Zamasp and 2 unidentified. Details of other Sasanian coins found in Longxi are given: coin of Piruz found 1989, 3 coins seen in trade 1994, coin of Piruz seen in trade in 1995.

WANG Shiguo, **Wooden coins with Song dynasty reign-names found in Guangyuan, Sichuan**, (p.51). In 1999 WANG acquired some wooden coins with the Song inscriptions: Tianxi tongbao, Huangsong tongbao, Shengsong tongbao, Xiangfu yuanbao, Yuanfeng tongbao, and Jingde yuanbao. They had been found in the river. Details of coins given, illustrated on inside back cover.

ZHENG Boyang, **Clay burial coins of the Northern Song found in Laiyang, Shandong**, (p.51). Two clay burial coins were found among the burial goods from the late Northern Song tomb cleared at the site of the Dongfanghong Store in Laiyang. They had been made using real coins as the moulds, so inscriptions were back to front. Shaoxing yuanbao (23mm, 3.2g) and Xiangfu tongbao (23mm, 4g). Found with the clay coins was a pot and a few bronze coins, the latest of which was a Zhenghe tongbao.

KONG Fangang, **Clay 'piggy-banks' unearthed in Yishui county, Shandong**, (pp.52-53). Over 1,000 finds from excavations during construction work in Yishui county are now in the Yishui Museum. They include 8 clay 'piggy banks'. Details given. They were found 1.5 to 3 m below ground together with other pots and some coins (mostly Song dynasty).

WANG Shenglong, **Security measures on low-denomination commemorative coins**, (p.54). WANG takes the '50th anniversary of the peaceful liberation of Tibet' and '90th anniversary of the Xinhai Revolution' commemoratives as examples.

WU Zhenqiang, **Collecting renminbi (4)**, (pp.55-59). Looks at low-denomination commemoratives: (1) coins and notes, (2) presentation sets. With tables.

LI Tiesheng, **Collecting world coins (6)**, (pp.60-62, 10). Looks at (7) inscriptions around the edges, (8) distinguishing marks.

GUAN Hanheng (Hong Kong), **Mr SU Xiwen, the famous Hong Kong coin collector – essays on collecting coins (3)**, (p.63). Su is now in his 90s, started collecting coins in 1960s, beginning with pre-Qin coins, then in the 1980s began collecting rare gold and silver coins, mostly from Japanese and Singapore auctions.

ZHOU Xiang, **Remembering the great coin collector, LUO Bozhao (1899-1976)**, (pp.64-65).

LI Tiesheng, **More about the euro**, (p.67).

YU Zhanyong, **Corrections to previous articles on France and French Indo-China**, (pp.72-73). Refers to articles in *ZGQB* 2000/4 and 2001/1.

WANG Zhen, **More details about the coins of the French Banque de l'Indochine**, (pp.74-76). Author expands on article by YU Zhanyong in *ZGQB* 2001/1.

LIU Sen, **On Hong Zun's *Quanzhi***, (p.77). [Reprinted from *Gansu jinrong: qianbi yanjiu* 2001/2].

ZHANG Kexi, **Remove FUKUZAWA Yukichi from Japanese banknotes** (p.78). ZHANG introduces Japanese specialist Yasukawa's book on Fukuzawa (1834-1901), one of the first to introduce Western ideas to Japan. Yasukawa associates him with Japanese fascism and conservatism, and wants his portrait removed from the 10,000 yen note. [Reprinted from *Cankao xiaoxi*, 28-6-2001].

LI Zhenqun and KE Changjian, **Southern Song gold plaques found in Feidong county, Anhui**, (p.78). Since 1982, 15 Southern Song gold plaques have been found in Feidong county. Details of one specimen: over 95% gold, length 16.7mm, width 10mm, depth 1.4mm, weight 4 g, with inscription 'xi li er' [west-Li-2]. [Reprinted from *Hangzhou Qianbi*, no.48].

NEW PUBLICATIONS / REVIEWS

(p.66) **Zhongguo lidai huobi daxi, di jiu juan, Minguo shiqi guojia yinhang difang yinhang zhibi** [The Great Series on Chinese Money, vol.9, Paper money issued by national and regional banks in the Republic of China], to be published by Shanghai cishu chubanshe, Shanghai, 2002. This volume includes illustrations of 3,243 notes: issued by national banks (1,604 notes), regional banks (1,387) and military notes (252). In 2 vols, 1624 pp.

(pp.68-69) Review by WU Liangbao of **Xian Qin huobi yanjiu** [Studies on pre-Qin money] and **Xian-Qin huobi tonglun** [A discussion of pre-Qin money] both by HUANG Xiquan. Two very important books on pre-Qin money by a leading scholar.

(p.70) Review by TANG Youquan and YANG Ruoling of **Zhonghua renmin gongheguo liutong bi yanjiu** [Studies on the money of the People's Republic of China], edited by ZHANG Xinzhi, Beijing: Zhongguo caizheng jingji chubanshe, 2001. 372pp. Six parts, 52 chapters on renminbi and commemoratives from December 1948 to December 1999.

(pp.71-72) Review by YE Shichang's of **Zhongguo qianpiao** [Private notes of China], by DAI Jianbing, Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2001. ISBN: 7-101-02095.485pp. *Zhongguo Qianbi Congshu* [Chinese Currency Series]. In 2 parts. Part 1 looks at the history of Chinese private notes. Part 2 looks at the notes issued in different regions of China (arranged by county). Author addresses five questions in Part 1: (1) the relationship of the notes to the Chinese currency system, (2) private notes and the Chinese economy, (3) the negative effects of private notes, (4) the lack of a national market in China, (5) notes and Chinese culture.

NEWS

(p.6) **Exhibition 'The coins of Lebanon'** opened at the China Numismatic Museum, Beijing, 11-13 November 2001, to celebrate thirty years of diplomatic relations between China and the Lebanon. On display were 858 coins (from a private collector in Lebanon [whose name transcribes as Nabil 'Afif Katelipu]) and 39 pieces of paper money (supplied by the Central Bank of Lebanon).

(p.16) **CNS meeting 'Money museums and galleries'**, held in Nanning, 10 November 2001. Chaired by DAI Zhiqiang, HUANG Xiquan, CHENG Zequn, XIE Jingle, CHEN Bofa (Head of Guangxi Numismatic Society), attended by 53 people. The Guangxi Money Gallery has existed for 12 years, and was opened to the public in May 2000.

(p.50) **Exhibition 'Commemorative coins of the Olympics'**, opened at the China Numismatic Museum, Beijing, 26-28 October 2001. Part of the Beijing International Money Festival, organised by the China Gold Coin Co., China Paper Money and Coin Co., and the China Numismatic Museum. Over 500 commemorative coins from 62 countries were displayed, mostly from Mr LIANG Yibin's private collection.

(p.50) **Corrections to ZGQB 2001(4)**, relevant to p.33, p.69, p.41.

(p.70) **Exhibition 'The euro'**, opened at the China Numismatic Museum, Beijing, 20-27 November 2001, organised by EU representatives in Beijing and the China Numismatic Museum. Opening words by Mr Noyer (Deputy Manager of the European Central Bank), GUO Shuqing (Deputy Manager of People's Bank of China), YE Yingnan (Head of PBC Gold and Silver Bureau), DAI Zhiqiang (Museum) and others attended. This was the first exhibition promoting the euro organised by the European Central Bank.

(p.76) **Hunan Numismatic Society, 3rd Members' Congress**, Changsha, 30 October 2001. Elected LEI Jiazhen (Deputy President, Executive), PENG Maowu, LI Deyi, YUAN Jianliang, JIN Zegong, XIE Biyong (Deputy Presidents); LUO Huiyun (Secretary); YUAN Changqi (Deputy Secretary, Standing Committee); CAO Yannong, YI Zhonglin, HU Xiyang, SHI Kaijuan, ZHANG Tiemei, LIN Xiaoguang (Deputy Secretaries).

(p.76) **Tianjin Numismatic Society, 4th Members' Congress**, Tianjin, 25 December 2001. 70 people attended. Elected ZHU Shouwei (Director), TIAN Feng, TANG Shifu, YU Mingde, ZHAO Wengang (Deputy Directors), TIAN Feng (Secretary).

(p.76) **Suzhou Numismatic Society, 5th Members' Congress**, Suzhou, 11 December 2001. 90 people attended. Elected SUN Zhonghao, HUANG Mingjie (Hon. Presidents), QIU Xiegeng, GU Maixian, WU Gensheng (Consultants), ZHANG Chongfeng (President), YAN Yuanjin, CHEN Rong, LU Xiaoyuan, LIU Zhenxing, LING Hongxing, YAO Chunquan, GENG Shusheng (Vice Presidents), ZHU Jinhu (Secretary), ZOU Zhiliang (Deputy Secretary, Executive), CHEN Zuo'e, CHEN Jun, CHEN Zishen (Deputy Secretaries).

(p.77) **Conference 'Money of the Central Revolutionary Base Area'**, took place in Ruijin, 17-19 November 2001. Organised by the Jiangxi Numismatic Society to celebrate the 70th anniversary of the establishment of the Guojia Yinhang (National Bank) in the Zhonghua Soviet. Over 20 representatives attended, 11 papers presented, including a report by ZHOU Shimin (former Head of the Finance Research Office of the Bank, and head of editorial committee producing the Money of China's Revolutionary Base Areas series of books).

COLOUR PLATES

Front: Tianqi tongbao coin

Inside front: Southern Song gold leaf money found in Hangzhou (pp.44-46); Southern Song coin-models (pp.25-30); Examples of euro coins (p.67); The Southern Song lead plaque with inscription 'shi fu jiu wu' (p.39 Yongtong quanhuo coin found in Hefei (p.48).

Inside back: The Wantie huoquan found in Kedong county, Heilongjiang (pp.38-39); Wooden coins found in Guangyuan (p.51)

Back: Sasanian coins found in Longxi (Gansu) (pp.49-50).

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ARTICLES

CNS, The CNS 5th Members' Congress, 2002, and the CNS Secretaries' Meeting. held in Xiamen, 6-8 April 2002 (pp.3-4). Positions: CHEN Muhua, LI Baohua (Hon. Heads of Directors), TONG Zengying, YIN Jieyan, JI Peiding (Consultants), MA Feihai (Hon. Directors). The Council has 32 members, including MA Delun; and new leading members: SHI Jiliang (Head of Directors), ZHANG Wenbin, LI Xueqin, YE Yingyong (Executive) (Deputy Heads of Directors), DAI Zhiqing (Secretary), YAO Shuomin, HUANG Xiquan, JIN Deping, ZHOU Weirong, WANG Yongsheng (Deputy Secretaries). The Academic Board has 52 members, including LI Xueqin (Head), DAI Zhiqing, ZHANG Jiqi, YAO Shuomin, HUANG Xiquan (Deputy Heads). The journal *Zhongguo Qianbi* has DAI Zhiqing (Editor), YAO Shuomin, JIN Deping (Deputy Editors). Aims include consolidation of past experience, promotion of sound numismatic research, construction of the new China Numismatic Museum which is to be open to the public, increase communications and exchanges overseas.

XU Ji. **Bridge-money, or yuhuang (jade pendant) made in bronze?** (pp.5-9). XU believes these pieces were fashionable items used as pendants by ordinary people and the lower aristocracy from the Warring States period onwards. He looks at (1) their distribution, primarily in the cradle of the Ba-Shu culture, but with finds much further afield; (2) how these pieces do not fit as money; (3) their similarity with jade pendants; (4) the contexts in which they were found: often together with bronze and bone items, placed separately from coins. He then gives an outline history of jade pendants: (1) their date, (2) distribution, and (3) decoration, and discusses (4) the placing of coins in burials, a practice that started in the Qin, and flourished in the Han.

HE Linyi and XU Zaiguo. **The character 'sai' on hollow-handle spades.** (pp.10-12).

ZHOU Weirong. **On bronze master moulds for Qi knife-money and the technique of stack-casting.** (pp.13-20). ZHOU concludes that Qi knife money was not made by the stack-casting technique, and that the well-known master mould first published in LI Zuoxian's *Guquan hui* was probably made in the early 20th century. The earliest stack-casting in China was for making 'elm-leaf banliang' coins in the early Han. The technique was devised among the people and was only adopted in official metal casting in the Wang Mang period. This successful technique spread quickly and was the major method for making coins until the Sui and Tang dynasties.

SHAO Lei and FAN Weihong. **A study of the moulds for sizhu coins of the Yuanjia period.** (pp.21-25). The History of the Song dynasty records that sizhu coins were made in AD 430 (Yuanjia yr 7). Authors give details of two moulds for sizhu coins, noting: (1) the minting site for sizhu coins is now the Fuzimiao underground shopping area in Nanjing (details of finds given); (2) sizhu coins were made in two-sided stacked moulds; (3) relevant references in the histories. Afterword: The article was written in March 2000, before the publication of *ZGQB* 2000/1, in which appeared an article on the coin-casting remains of Wu, Three Kingdoms

period, in Hangzhou. The remains included clay stacked moulds. These finds support the results of the study by SHAO and FAN.

YE Shichang. **Spade-money was called 'bu' in the Warring States.** (pp.26-27). Following a survey of 'bu' and 'bi' in early texts, YE concludes that 'bu' was used for spade-money and textiles.

CHEN Hao. **A re-examination of the different forms of money of the Yue state.** (pp.28-32). The historical and archaeological evidence (details given) shows that Yue had various forms of money: (1) textiles, pearls and jade; (2) small gold cakes, small gold plaques and little bits of bronze (metal money by weight); and small bronze ge-daggers.

MA Chuande and XU Yuan. **Three rare and previously unrecorded Xianfeng coins.** (pp.33-37). MA and XU brought MA Dingxiang's catalogue of over 4,000 Xianfeng coins [*Xianfeng quan hui*] to publication in 1994. They discuss three new types here: (1) Xianfeng tongbao, rev: Da Qing 100, Fuzhou (72mm, appeared on market in 1998, fetched record price at auction in Shanghai in 1999); (2) Xianfeng yuanbao, 1000, Yili (63mm, 61g, alleged to have belonged to Xinjiang herdsman who wore it, before it went overseas, eventually acquired by CHEN Guangyang (in Singapore)); (3) Xianfeng yuanbao, 1000, Suzhou (67mm, 51g, owned by SHI Zhimin.).

CHENG Yongjian. **Unusual spade money unearthed in Eastern Zhou tombs at Luoyang.** (pp.37-38). Over 10,000 Eastern Zhou hollow-handle spades have been found in Luoyang. All have had arched feet. Two finds in 1995 and 1996 revealed small spades with flat feet. In 1996, 10 hollow-handle spades were found in an Eastern Zhou tomb, placed separately between the inner and outer coffin: 2 large spades, 2 medium-size spades, 6 small spades. In 1995, a flat-handle flat-shouldered spade was found in the coffin, placed by the head.

WAN Quan. **Qi ming knives found at Linzi, Shandong.** (p.39). In 1994 over 100 Qi ming knives were found, corroded together, with traces of having been strung together. Most were destroyed, only 13 remain. Details given. Knife-money has been found here before (see *Qianbi* 7 July 1941).

HAN Wande. **The sharp-pointed knives unearthed in Yuxian, Shanxi.** (pp.40-41). First published in *ZGQB* 1998/2. More precise details given here. Approximately 15kg of knife money found on 9 May 1996 during preparation for building work, 1.5-2m below surface of wasteland. Knives had been placed in an orderly way, in groups of about 50-60. A few knives were taken, but most went to the tip as scrap metal. Of an estimated total of 1,000 knives, about 100 have survived. Probably made by the Di people during the Zhongshan alliance.

YANG Shaozhe. **A Chu gold plaque (yingyuan) discovered in Taihe, Anhui.** (p.41). Found in 1998, in a Han dynasty tomb 2.1m below the surface (dated by tomb bricks and wuzhu coins). One gold square, weight 18g, inscription 'yingyuan'. First discovery of its kind at Taihe. Others have been found in Shouxian, Woyang, Fuyang and Fengyang.

XIE Shiping. **The remains of a minting site of the Wang Mang period found near the Tianning Temple in Anyang.** (pp.42-44). Found in March 2001, 110m north of the temple. Salvage archaeology by Anyang Cultural Relics Team, who found a bronze foundry, two ash pits, Han dynasty water-wells, lots of coin-casting remains. Details given of the foundry, clay moulds, crucibles. The clay mould is similar to the bronze mould for daquan wushi coins found at Hebi in 1999. This is the first Wang Mang mint site found in the Yubei region north of the Huanghe (Yellow River).

DANG Shunmin. **Mould-making site for xiaoquan zhiyi coins found in Sanzhaocun, in the Yanta region of Xi'an.** (pp.45-46). Over 100 pieces of clay 'mother' moulds for xiaoquan zhiyi coins were found in 2001, most of them already trampled deep into the

road. Author discusses two pieces. From this location, no reverse moulds and no moulds for other coin types are known, so this was probably a workshop for making mother moulds for xiaoquan zhiyi coins. Also this is the first such find in Yanta. Lots of clay 'mother' moulds for Wang Mang types have been found near Xi'an and in Luxian.

CHEN Danong. **A fragment from a daquan wubai coin-tree.** (p.46). Acquired by GAO Yongyong from his friend from Huzhou, Zhejiang. Measures 39 x 12.5 mm, nine coins, coin diameter 29mm.

ZENG Yongxia. **Hanxing coins unearthed on Xiaonanjie Road in Chengdu.** (pp.47-49). Site found in November 1985, salvage archaeology by Chengdu Museum. Among the finds were 13 Hanxing coins and reduced weight zhibai coins. They were found in Layer 3 at the site, which also yielded banliang, wuzhu, daquan wushi, huoguan, zhibai, zhibai wuzhu, Hanxing, Su-Liang nüshi coins, Chen wuzhu. Authors discuss the similarities of Hanxing (AD 338-42) and zhibai coins, the reduced weight of the coins, also the historical references. Hanxing were the first Chinese coins to have a reign period as the inscription.

JIN Cheng and ZHANG Heping. **New evidence of resistance money found in the Jiangnan region – with special reference to a note issued by the Dingshu zhen Chamber of Commerce (Dingshuzhen shanghai liutongjuan).** (pp.49-50). Dingshuzhen refers to Dingshan and Shushan, two towns (*zhen*) in Yixing county, Jiangsu. This is the first evidence that resistance notes were issued in Yixing, although the neighbouring counties of Jintan, Liyang, Maodong, Yili were known to have issued such notes in 1945. The note (101 x 55mm) is for 2 jiao, pale blue/grey obverse, dated 1945, white obverse, printed on recycled paper.

FAN Guangwei and XIONG Handong. **A small resistance note in the name of 'Dongkan city, Fudong county' found in Binhai county.** (pp.51-52). In August 2001, the authors received this note, issued in the Yanfu region during the War of Resistance against Japan. Wood-block printed, vertical arrangement 46 x 78mm, denomination 1 jiao, dated 1942, obverse depicts Dongkan park, reverse depicts woman at loom. Fudong county was established in September 1941, with its seat at Dongkan. In 1949 Fudong county merged into Binhai county, with Dongkan as the county seat.

MA Tao. **China's gold and silver commemorative coins: how the designs and trials are prepared and approved.** (pp.53-55).

ZHAO Yujun. **Table of the precious metal commemoratives issued in China in 2001.** (pp.56-60).

WU Zhenqiang. **Collecting renminbi (5).** (pp.61-66). Refers to the book *Dangdai Zhongguo huobi yinzhì yu zhuzao* [The currency of modern China: printing and minting], edited by the China Banknote and Coin Company [Zhongguo yinchao zaobi gongsi], Zhongguo Jinrong chubanshe, Beijing, 1998. This book includes nine different types of local notes, and WU notes that there are at least 159 different varieties issued by: (1) Bank of the North-east [Dongbei yinhang], (2) Bank of the Great Wall [Changcheng yinhang], (3) People's Bank of Inner Mongolia – Ji-Cha-Re-Liao area [Neimenggu renmin yinhang], (4) Zhongzhou Farmers' Bank [Zhongzhou nongmin yinhang], (5) People's Bank of China – Jiangxi [Zhongguo renmin yinhang], (6) Southern People's Bank [Nanfang renmin yinhang], (7) Bank of Xinjiang Province [Xinjiang sheng yinhang], (8) Bank of China – Hong Kong [Zhongguo yinhang], (9) Bank of China – Macao. Details given, also nine tables.

LI Tiesheng. **Collecting world coins (7).** (pp.67-69, 55). Looks at (10) varieties and errors, and (11) grading.

GUAN Hanheng (Hong Kong). **Writing 'Chinese treasures overseas' – essays on collecting coins (4).** (p.70). Author tells the story behind his book on China's precious coins overseas [*Zhonghua zhenquan zhui zong lu*], published 2001, and points

out a few errors. The first edition (5,000 copies) of the book sold out.

ZHANG Yigang and TAN Bo. **On the new Xianfeng notes,** (pp.75-77). Continuing the discussion on these notes (see *ZGQB* 2001/3), the authors confirm the provenance of the notes. They appeared in the Yuyao antiques market in spring 1996, having been found with other decayed notes in an underground chamber at a building site on the outskirts of the city. Some of the notes are now in the Museum of the Taiping Rebellion, and the Chinese Museum of Printing, Nanjing. The authors also consider (2) the paper; (3) the printing, header and serial number; (3) the official seal mark; (5) added marks; (6) the uniqueness of the note, and conclude that the note was issued by the Qing government in Jiangnan.

CHENG Yongjian. **Western Han coin hoard found in Jianxi, Luoyang.** (p.78). This Western Han hoard was unearthed at the Chaiyou Factory site in the 1950s. The finds included a clay pot containing 21.8 kg of coins, fragments of a coin-tree (1.5 kg) and casting fragments (2.3 kg). The coins included several thousand Han dynasty banliang, 4 sanzhu coins and junguo wuzhu. The site was a wuzhu mint of a principedom in Henan. This hoard represents rejects, and therefore was scrap metal. The sanzhu coins indicate the date of deposit was 118 BC or immediately after, when the first junguo wuzhu were made. [reprinted from *Kaogu yu Wenwu* 2001/2].

SUN Zhonghui. **On the Eastern Han 'botu' coin.** (p.78). This previously unrecorded coin with the inscription 'botu' was unearthed with Eastern Han wuzhu coins in Hebi, Henan, about 10 years ago. (Diam. 24.8 mm, wt 2.4 g, seal script, typical Han style).

NEW PUBLICATIONS / REVIEWS

(p.27) **Zhongguo jindai zhibi shi** [History of paper money in modern China], edited by the Jiangsu Numismatic Society. Zhongguo jinrong chubanshe, Beijing, 2002. Includes archival material and illustrations of notes, many published for the first time. In 4 parts: (1) the development of paper money in modern China; (2) the different kinds of issuers and how they prepared a new issue of banknotes; (3) the designs of paper money; and (4) illustrations of over 300 notes. Contact details given.

(pp.71-72) Review by DAI Jianbing of **Zhongguo jindai zhibi shi** (details above): 'a milestone in the history of paper money in modern China'.

(pp.73-74). Review by ZHU Zhuopeng (Taiwan) and SHI Chengyi of **Xinhai geming shiqi huobi** (details below).

(p.74) **Xinhai geming shiqi huobi** [Money of the time of the Xinhai Revolution], by MA Chuande and XU Yuan, Shanghai jiaoyu chubanshe, Shanghai, 2001. In Chinese and English. In 6 parts: the notes issued by Sun Yat-sen overseas; notes issued by military governments in China; notes issued by the provisional government of the Republic of China in Nanjing; notes issued during the early Republic; gold and silver coins and copper dollars and copper coins; bonds issued by the regional military governments and the Nanjing provisional government. Over 400 specimens represented, many published here for the first time. 224pp.

NEWS

(p.4) **Jiangsu Numismatic Society 5th Members's Congress**, held in Nanjing, 20 March 2002, to coincide with the launch of *Zhongguo jindai zhibi shi* [History of paper money in modern China], edited by the JNS. Attended by 77 people from 14 organizations. Speeches by XIE Qingjian, DAI Zhiqiang, LIAO Jin and ZHOU Zhongming. Elected HUANG Zhengwei (President), XU Huping, YE Qixing, LIU Zhiwei (Vice

Presidents), WANG Honghua (Secretary), FAN Weihong (Deputy Secretary).

(p.12) **Hubei Numismatic Society 3rd Members' Congress**, held in Wuhan, 24 March 2002. Attended by 90 people, including DAI Zhiqiang (Secretary of CNS), PENG Zhijian (People's Bank of China, Wuhan). Elected QIAN Baosheng (President), HUANG Daikun (Vice President, Executive), ZHU Dirun, ZHANG Tongbao, CHEN Xiaoguang, ZHOU Yihong, TU Xiangru, ZHANG Jin, SHA Fuqing, LIU Yumei, LIU Xuping, ZHAO Jian'e (Vice Presidents), HU Yuanli (Secretary), HOU Dejun, YANG Feng, HUANG Deping, ZHANG Nengbin, TANG Gangmao (Deputy Secretaries).

(p.52) **China Numismatic Society 2002 Meeting of Executive Directors**, held in Beijing, 25 February 2002. Attended by 30 people including SHI Jiliang (Deputy Manager of the People's Bank of China), ZHANG Wenbin (Head of the State Bureau of Cultural Relics), ZHOU Wentong (Ministry of Foreign Affairs), LI Baohua, TONG Zengyin, YIN Jieyan, LI Xueqin, QIU Xigui, WU Rongzeng (academics), XIA Liping (Deputy Director of CNS), DAI Zhiqiang (Secretary of CNS) outlined four projects: the 9th ICOMON meeting in Beijing; the construction of a new China Numismatic Museum; the publication of Selection of Chinese numismatic theses vol.4; and of the book, Money of the People's Republic of China.

(p.72) **Exhibition 'Gold and silver commemorative coins of contemporary China'**, opened at the Tiananmen Special Exhibition Hall, 16 January 2002. Organised by the China Numismatic Museum, it was arranged in six parts: important events, famous people, scientific discoveries, traditional culture, religious and folk customs, and landmarks. A total of 534 coins, from the 1,470 coins issued between 1979-2000, were selected for display, along with over 300 pictures.

COLOUR PLATES

Front: Da Ming tongxing baochao printing plate.

Inside front: Qi ming knives found at Linzi (p.39); Eastern Zhou spade money unearthed in Luoyang (pp.37-38); Wang Mang coin moulds found in Anyang (pp.42-44); Xianfeng tongbao, rev; Da Qing yibai (pp.33-37); Yuanjia sizhu coin mould (pp.21-25).

Inside back: The CNS 5th Members' Congress (pp.1-2).

Back: A few of the gold and silver coins issued recently in China (pp.53-55).

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ARTICLES

SHI Jiliang, **Dig out the details of China's currency history in order to serve the new advanced Chinese currency culture**, (pp.3-7). SHI's speech to the CNS 5th Members' Congress: (1) looking back on the last 20 years in terms of developing the organisation of numismatics, specialists and numismatic theories, establishing a numismatic museum and exhibiting displays of money, opening up the coin-collecting market, developing relations with the international numismatic world and promoting Chinese and Oriental numismatics. (2) main aims at the moment: to hold successful ICOMON meeting in October 2002, and rebuild the China Numismatic Museum. (3) wishes for the future: that all levels of the People's Bank of China appreciate and promote numismatics; that other financial institutions participate more in numismatics; that the CNS promote numismatics further at all levels; that there is greater interaction and co-operation with museums, archaeologists and social scientists and other specialists.

YIN Jiedan, **Report on work since the IVth Council Meeting of the China Numismatic Society**, (pp.7-11). (A) Looking back on

the achievements since the IVth meeting (April 1997, Nanjing): (1) on organisational and registration matters for the CNS and its 27 sub-branches, on the more systematic approach to numismatic work, the 'Gold Coin Awards' (awarded to 35 articles, 10 specialist publications, 9 popular science projects, 5 periodicals. 13 numismatic societies have been awarded advanced status: Henan, Shanghai, Liaoning, Shanxi, Inner Mongolia, Gansu, Yunnan, Guangxi, Jiangxi, Jiangsu, Xi'an, Nanchong, Ningbo). There is an annual planning meeting for the secretaries of the societies.

(2) on academic work: recent committees for ancient money, modern money, foreign money, and history of money. Breakthroughs in (a) pre-Qin money, as seen in the Pre-Qin conference in Taiyuan, June 2001; (b) origins of money in China, as seen in the Origins of Coinage conference in Sichuan, July 2001; (c) money of the borderlands and ethnic minorities, as seen in the identification of the *se-yin-guo-mu* as a Tibetan gold coin issued in 1918 to resist coins of British India; (d) consolidation of work on the Series 'Money of the Revolutionary Base Areas'. This series started in 1992 (= 60th anniversary of the Zhonghua Soviet Republic's National Bank [Guojia yinhang]); 12 parts are now in print, 3 are at press, and 5 are still in progress.

In addition, many good publications: in the Daxi series (vols 8, 9), in the Chinese Numismatic Encyclopaedia [*Zhongguo qianbi dacidian*], (pre-Qin, Qin-Han, Revolutionary base areas vols) and in the Chinese Numismatics Series [*Zhongguo qianbi congshu*]; *Xian Qin huobi yanjiu* (on pre-Qin money), *Zhongguo qianpiao* (on private banknotes), *Shanxi piaotie* (on Shanxi banknotes), *Gu qianbi rumen* (on studying ancient coins), *Zhongguo qianbi lunwenji 3* [A selection of Chinese numismatic theses 3] is in print, and vol.4 is in preparation. The China Numismatic Museum has also edited the book *Guoji litong huobi quanshu* (on world coins). Regional numismatic societies have published *Qi bi tushi* (on Qi money), *Xin Mang qianfan* (on Wang Mang coin moulds), *Liang Song tieqian* (on Song dynasty iron coins) and *Zhongguo jindai zhibi* (modern Chinese paper money).

(3) on promoting numismatics (a) in museums, displays, private museums (eg the Gold Coin Museum, Xi'an; the Hangzhou World Coins Museum; the Southern Song Coin Museum, Hangzhou); (b) by co-operating with other organizations (eg China Central Television, State Bureau of Cultural Relics) on multi-media projects; (c) by publishing popular books: *Zhongguo qianbi shihua* (on Chinese coins), *Renminbi zhishi tonglan* (on renminbi), *Tushuo Zhongguo qianbi* (on Chinese coins), *Zhongguo guqian quhua* (interesting stories about Chinese coins), *Shiji yinbi congcan*, *Gu Xila Luoma qianbi jianshang* (on Greek and Roman coins).

(4) on international exchange: Japanese delegation to Beijing in 1998, Chinese delegation to Japan in 1999. Good relations with France, UK, Russia, Germany, USA, Australia, Argentina, Spain, Lebanon, also Hong Kong, Macao and Taiwan. DAI Zhiqiang chaired the ICOMON meeting in Spain, 2001. Exhibitions on Lebanese and euro money.

(B) Experience has shown the diversity of regional societies, the need to continue working together, to work on the objects themselves, to strengthen the role of secretary, and continuously update.

(C) Suggestions for the Vth session: (1) strengthen the theoretical side of numismatics; (2) positive attitude; (3) increase understanding and knowledge of foreign currencies; (4) training to develop specialists in numismatics.

DAI Zhiqiang, **Thoughts on numismatics**, (pp.12-15). Current projects include 20th anniversary of CNS, new China Numismatic Museum, publication of *A selection of Chinese numismatic theses 4*. Thoughts on terminology: the term 'qianbixue' [numismatics] was first used in China in PENG Xinwei's *Zhongguo huobishi* [A monetary history of China], 1954; it appeared in the Chinese encyclopaedic dictionary *Cihai* for the first time in 1999. Coins, medals, commemoratives, charms are included in the term

'qianbixue'. On money culture: including using money as burial goods. On the current word 'qian' used to mean money, its etymology and use over the centuries.

ZHANG Jiqi, LI Yulin, MA Liping. **The Yinzhiu's work on China's currency - written on the occasion of the twentieth anniversary of the China Numismatic Society.** (pp.16-19). In 1979 the Yinzhiu (under the direction of People's Bank of China) started to work on gold and silver commemorative coins. This stimulated an interest in Chinese numismatics, and a special organization was set up to collect, organise and research historical currencies, to produce an illustrated catalogue [*Zhongguo lidai huobi*, 1982], prepare exhibitions, and develop a market for coin-collecting. Authors present a chronology of events leading up to the establishment of the CNS on 26 July 1982.

GAO Fengying, YUAN Lin, DANG Shunmin. **The Shanxi coin world.** (pp.20-25). (1) Remembering QU Huichuan (1903-1994), one of China's greatest collectors of money, who donated his collection (almost 10,000 pieces) to the nation in 1979. (2) Exchanges with Japan. (3) The coin trade in Xi'an: 1978-82; 1983-93; 1993-.

WANG Chuanjin. **Translating foreign names on money.** (p.25). [Reprinted from *Shijie yinbi luntan*, 2001/3-4].

LIU Zonghan. **On the Taiqing fengle coin.** (pp.26-30). LIU is the editor of *Zhongguo qianbi dacidian* [Chinese Numismatic Encyclopaedia] - Wei, Jin, Northern and Southern Dynasties volume. 4,000 Taiqing fengle coins were unearthed in Yixing (Jiangsu) in May 2000 (see *ZGQB* 2001/3). Such coins had only been found in the Taihu area before, eg in Yixing and Huzhou. He concludes that they were made by Wudi (502-49) of the Liang dynasty, Southern Dynasties to drive out iron coins.

LI Xiaoping. **The 'jing-zong-zhi-yin' silver tax ingots of the Southern Song.** (pp.31-33). *Jing-zong-zhi-yin* was a kind of tax, and this term is found as an inscription on silver ingots. LI looks at the historical evidence to explain the tax and at the five specimens known: 3 found in Xizhaishan, Huangshi (Hubei), 1955; 1 found in Huangcheng county (Henan), 1975; 1 found in Chengdu (Sichuan), 1981.

QIAN Zhuo. **A closer look at the iron Xianfeng coins of Shanxi.** (pp.34-38). The majority of iron Xianfeng coins made in Shanxi province were not made at the Taiyuan mint, but by the Hubu [Board of Revenue] mint established at Pingding (near the iron supply) in Xianfeng yr 9.

CHEN Bingying. **On the monetary system of the Xixia.** (pp.39-42). CHEN looks at (1) Xixia (Tangut) coins, silver and paper money; (2) bronze and iron coins: where and how they were used; (3) how coins with Tangut inscriptions and Chinese inscriptions circulated together, and how Xixia coins were used alongside coins of other administrations and other periods; (4) the management offices and management system for Xixia money. He concludes that there was strict control of coin production; prohibition on export of coins, trading in coins outside Xixia territory, and on hoarding coins. Bronze and iron coins were issued in different regions for different reasons.

AI Junchuan. **Textual work on the *Quanzhi*, part 1.** (pp.43-50). WENG Shupe (d.1811) annotated a version of the *Quanzhi* with reference to the version in the *Yongle dadian*.

QIAN Yu. **On the silver dollar coin commemorating the establishment of the Republic of China.** (pp.51-53). The Jiangsu mint produced these coins ('The Republic of China, one dollar, *Zhonghua minguo, kaiguo jiniانب*', portrait of Sun Yat-sen) from May 1912 to January 1913. QIAN gives the background and details.

MA Dingxiang and YI Gao. **On the Anhui 9-star 10-cash copper coin.** (pp.54-55). Dated 1912, so this coin was not made in Anhui, because the work of the Anhui mint was taken over by the

Jiangning mint (Nanjing), a branch mint of the Hubu (Board of Revenue) in 1906. Probably made in Jiangxi. A unique specimen, it appeared in the early 1930s. It is now in ZHANG Huang's family's private collection. Two kinds of forgeries of this specimen known.

ZHOU Qingzhong and CHEN Gongyin. **The Tang dynasty silver tax ingot of Yangshuo county found in Guilin.** (pp.55-56). This Tang dynasty 50-liang ingot measures 284 x 68-70 x 9-11mm, weighs 2020g, and has a 29-character inscription. Authors discuss Yangshuo (established in 590), Tang silver, its role in tax payments.

PANG Wenlong and ZHOU Lingzhi. **On the hoard of Northern Song iron coins and the small silver ingot mould unearthed in Qishan county.** (pp.57-59). The hoard comprised approximately 2,000kg of Northern Song iron coins. There were also 2 iron moulds for making silver ingots, and 1 bone bodkin. They were found by the Qishan Museum, in December 1998 near the Qishan Public Security Office, 5m below the surface, adjoining an old well. The coins at the top and bottom of the hoard were badly corroded, but those in the middle were in good condition. Details given.

YU Hongchang. **The establishment of the Imperial Bank of China (*Zhongguo Tongshang Yinhang*).** (pp.60-62). The bank was established in 1897 with government authority to issue paper money, control the monetary system and resist the banknotes issued by foreign commercial banks. Author discusses its establishment, bonds and notes.

ZHOU Zhongming. **On the Bank of China notes issued by the Huguo army in Yunnan.** (pp.63-66). When the Huguo [Protect the Nation] army moved into Sichuan, they had to use Yunnan Bank of China exchange certificates as military notes. ZHOU looks at (1) the background to the issue of these notes; (2) the circulation of the notes; (3) subsidiary notes; (4) how the notes were cashed in.

WANG Chuanjin. **Coins of ancient Egypt.** (pp.67-70). Looks at coins of the Ptolemies and Alexander.

LI Tiesheng. **Security measures in the euro notes.** (pp.71-72).

NEW PUBLICATIONS / REVIEWS

(p.25) **Zhedong geming genjudi huobi shi** [A history of the money of the Eastern Zhejiang revolutionary base area], edited by ZHANG Junli, Ningbo chubanshe, 2002. In 2 parts: (1) the Sino-Japanese War; (2) the War of Liberation. Arranged chronologically, with 6 parts and 23 chapters. Includes 119 types of money, 45 types of 'rice note'. 119 illustrations, 272 pp.

(p.50) **Zhongguo Xizang qianbi** [Tibetan money], edited by the Tibet Numismatic Society (ZHU Jinzhong, WANG Haiyan, WANG Jiafeng, ZHANG Wuyi, WU Hanlin), Zhonghua shuju, Beijing, 2002. In 4 parts: (1) Tibetan coins, their history and background; (2) Tibetan coin/note design and production, looking at new discoveries of archival material, minting machinery, steel dies, printing plates, coins and notes; (3) picture catalogue: of coins, coin-weights, moulds and archival material; (4) appendices: chronology of events in Tibet, Tibetan numerals, comparative denominations, Tibetan calendar and alphabet. Over 1,000 illustrations, 490 pp.

(p.66) **Yu-Wan-Su geming genjudi huobi shi** [A history of the money of the Yu-Wan-Su revolutionary base area], edited by WANG Lihai, Xi'an ditu chubanshe, Xi'an, 2002. Includes 30 chapters of original material, 10 plates.

(p.66) **Zhonghua renmin gongheguo liutong bi yanjiu** [Studies on the circulating money of the People's Republic of China], edited by ZHANG Xinzhi, Zhongguo caizheng jingji chubanshe, 2002. Over 400 illustrations. Reviewed in *ZGQB* 2002(1).

(p.66) **Shijie Aolinpike jinianbi** [Coins commemorating the Olympics], edited by LIANG Yibin and LI Tiesheng, Zhongguo shangye chubanshe, Beijing, 2002. Colour photos of Olympic commemoratives from around the world with detailed captions (design, denomination, diameter, weight, metal, quantity issued), in preparation for the Beijing Olympics in 2008. 230pp.

(p.66) **Jiu-fu-yu-min – Shanghai qianzhuang piao tushuo** [Jiu-fu-yu-min: an illustrated catalogue of notes issued by the private banks of Shanghai], edited by FU Weiqun, Shanghai shudian chubanshe, 2002. In colour, 400 illustrations, 160 pp.

(pp.73-74) Review by JIN Deping of **Zhongguo Shanxi minjian piaotie** [The private notes of Shanxi], by LIU Jianmin and WANG Xuenong, Zhonghua shuju, Beijing, 2002.

NEWS

(p.33) **The 33rd International Archaeometry Conference, Amsterdam, 22-26 April 2002.** Attended by 200 delegates from 30 countries, including HUANG Xiquan (paper: 'The smelting and casting technology of knife money in northern China'), ZHOU Weirong (paper: 'The origins and development of brass smelting and casting in China') and WU Yating of CNS.

(p.33) **The 4th Members' Congress of the Jilin Numismatic Society, Changchun, 23 May 2002.** 70 members attended. JIN Deping (CNS Deputy Secretary) opened the meeting. Elected XIAO Yuhuai (President), WANG Chunsheng (Executive Vice President), ZHOU Zhenhai, WU Shunda and WU Zhenwu (Vice Presidents), SHENG Hongzhi (Secretary), ZHANG Shuyi, HU Xueyuan and JIN Guangfeng (Deputy Secretaries).

(p.42) **Renminbi awareness week, 16-22 June 2002,** took place throughout China, under the direction of the State Council. The aim was to inform people about renminbi, how to identify counterfeit notes, and the laws against counterfeit money.

(pp.74-75) **China Numismatic Society 5th Council, Board of Directors:** SHI Jiliang (Director), ZHANG Wenbin, LI Xueqin, YE Yingnan (Deputy Directors), DAI Zhiqiang (Secretary), YAO Shuomin, HUANG Xiquan, JIN Deping, ZHOU Weirong, WANG Yongsheng (Vice-Secretaries). **Honorary Directors/Consultants:** CHENG Muhua, LI Baohua (Hon. Directors), TONG Zengyin, YIN Jiedan, JI Peiding (Consultants). **Academic Board Members:** LI Xueqin (Chairman), DAI Zhiqiang, ZHANG Jiqi, YAO Shuomin, HUANG Xiquan (Vice-chairs), WANG Yongsheng, Gong Baiqing (Secretaries). **Zhongguo Qianbi / China Numismatics:** DAI Zhiqiang (Editor), YAO Shuomin, JIN Deping (Deputy Editors).

(pp.76-78) **The Constitution of the China Numismatic Society**

COLOUR PLATES

Front: A 10-liang gold ingot of the Wanli reign period, Ming dynasty.

Inside front: The Tang dynasty silver tax ingot from Yangshuo county (pp.55-56); The Northern Song silver ingot mould unearthed in Qishan county (pp.57-59); Security features on the euro notes (pp.71-72); The rare Xianfeng tongbao, 1-cash, of the Taiyuan mint (pp.34-38); The Anhui 9-star 10-wen copper dollar (pp.54-55);

Inside back: Exchange certificates issued by the Protect the Nation Army in Yunnan (pp.63-66)

Back: Medals commemorating the 10th and 20th anniversaries of the China Numismatic Museum.

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ARTICLES

ZHANG Weiwin and KONG Weiwen, **Switching from the tael to the dollar**, (pp.3-6). The authors start from the meeting on 7 July 1932, when Minister of Finance, Song Ziwen, confirmed his three principles for the change: (1) abolition of the silver tael (*liang*) in favour of the silver dollar, in order to unify the currency; (2) old silver dollars to remain in use; (3) only when the value and weight of the silver dollars was confirmed would new silver dollars be made. The process would start in Shanghai and gradually be followed elsewhere. The first part of the article tracks the process; the second part explains the factors that ensured its success.

CHEN Xinyu, **A review of the policies relating to the legal currency issued by the Nanjing KMT Government**, (pp.7-11). Following on from the change from the tael to the dollar, CHEN explores the legal currency issued by the KMT: (1) the background; (2) ongoing battles with the British, US and Japanese; (3) the contents of the policies; (4) the functions and influences of the policies.

YAO Huiyuan, **Paper money issued in Liaoning under the Northern Warlords**, (pp.12-15). YAO describes the efforts in 1912 to unify the currency, but notes that the time of the Northern Warlords (1912-27) was a period of disunity of Chinese currency. He describes Liaoning as an exception, and discusses the 'fengpiao' notes of Liaoning in three periods: (1) 1905-13: the success of the notes issued by the Fengtian guanyinhao (Fengtian Official Silver Shop); (2) 1914-17: the fall in value of these notes; (3) 1917-24: the transformation into stable remittance notes. He concludes that 'fengpiao' were the most stable currency during the Warlord period.

FANG Jianchang, **Currency warfare (paper money forgery) during the Japanese invasion and its effect on the Chongqing government**, (pp.16-18). Working on documents left by the Japanese army in China in 1945, now in the Beijing Archives, FANG came across a top-secret paper entitled 'Legal Currency Work', which details the Japanese forging of paper money as part of its currency warfare against the Chongqing government.

AI Junchuan, **Textual work on the Quanzhi, part 2**, (pp.19-25).

LI Liang and XIA Xianglie, **Coin plaques: the forgotten tokens of Sichuan**, (pp.26-28). LI and XIA consider the widespread use of tokens in Sichuan between 1916-26, looking in particular at (1) their rise and fall, (2) their characteristics, and (3) their manufacture.

MA Chuande and YANG Rong, **The USA 20 dollar double eagle gold coin, 1933**, (pp.29-31).

LIU Wei, **A Qing dynasty Tianming coin with Manchu inscription**, (p.32). LIU found this coin in the eastern suburbs of Liaoyang (diam. 21.8 mm, hole 4.8 mm, thickness 1.6 mm, weight 6.1 g, dot to left of the hole on the reverse).

SHI Chengyi and ZHENG Renjie, **The unknown general on a commemorative medal, and a discussion of the An-wu-jun commemorative medal**, (pp.33-34). A portrait on a bronze medal made at the Tianjin Mint (see colour photo) is now identified as that of DUAN Zhigui. An almost identical medal with the inscription Jinian An-wu-jun [Commemorating the An-wu-jun] has the portrait of NI Sichong. The authors give details of these two men from Anhui province who lent their support to YUAN Shikai's plan to become emperor.

WANG Wei, **On the silver dollar military note issued by the 37th Route Army**, (pp.35-36). Eleven notes were found during removal of a roofbeam in a building in Xinbin county, Liaoning province, in August 1994. All were local military notes issued in the resistance against the Japanese: 10 were 5 jiao notes; 1 was a 1 jiao note. Since then, TANG Juwu has brought to light a further 47 such notes. WANG describes the notes and the background to the 37th Route Army, and shows how they were issued for just one month in September 1932.

ZHENG Qingsen and LI Ming, **Qing dynasty silver ingots found in Shangqiu, Henan**, (p.36). Nine silver ingots were found in clay ground at a secondary school in Shangqiu, Henan province, in July 1999. The location corresponds to the administrative, economic and cultural centre at Guide-fu, founded in 1511. The ingots each weigh approximately 100g, and the inscriptions name location, money-shop or good luck wish.

ZHANG Yigang, **Copper dollar stamped with a mark from the Chinese soviet found in Enan**, (pp.37-38). In 1983 villagers working in Tongcheng county, Hubei province, found a hoard of 48 copper dollars by a hillside. Most were worth-20s and Government of Sichuan worth-50s, a few were worth-10s and CCP 1 fen coins. The latest was dated 1938. One coin had been over-stamped with a five-pointed star, hammer and sickle (diameter 37.5mm, 18g); the coin's obverse inscription: 'Made by the military government. Sichuan copper coin, worth-50 wen'; reverse inscription: 'Republic of China, year 1, Han'. ZHANG suggests that the coin was stamped in a soviet area within in Hubei province during the Agrarian Revolutionary War (1927-37), most probably by the Xiang-E-Xi soviet.

XU Xiufang, **Notes of the San-yi-cheng coin shop: early specimens of anti-Japanese resistance money found in Changyi, Shandong**, (pp.39-40). Details of 6 notes are given in the table: 2 are 1-jiao notes; 4 are 5-jiao notes. The San-yi-cheng coin shop was established in 1937, and issued notes from spring 1938.

HE Jiyang, **Charms found in the foundations of the Li Pagoda in Songjiang county, Shanghai**, (pp.41-42). During conservation work in 1995, over 60 objects were unearthed from the foundations of the pagoda: iron pagoda, silver reliquary pagoda, silver and bronze figures (one silver figure is dated 1457), silver ding-vessel, stone bowl, glazed jug, jade, amber, crystal, coins, and 3 bronze charms. Two of the charms featured Zhang Tianshi driving away demons, and the zodiac; the third featured the Star Official and the zodiac.

LIU Jianping, **A Tianqi tongbao worth-3 coin found in Huzhou, Zhejiang**, (p.42). This rare late Yuan dynasty coin was found in Huzhou in late 1998.

WANG Zhiqiang and LIN Zhaoyu, **'Roof-beam coin' modelled on Wang Mang knife-money found in Fuzhou**, (pp.43-44). This piece measures 70mm in length, 36.5mm diameter, 17.5mm thick, and weighs 14.75g. The obverse inscription reads: 'Daoshan zudian - shangliang yong' [Daoshan ancestral hall - for use on the roof-beam]; reverse: 'Tongzhi wuzhen - dong zhongjian' [rebuilt in the winter of 1868].

DENG Zhaohui, **The bronze seal of the Wushi hui tong qianju in the Hunan Museum**, (p.44). Collected in the 1950s and handed over to the Hunan Museum, this seal was probably made for one of the hundreds of coin shops in Hunan in the late Ming or early Qing.

WANG Lihai, **Exchange certificate of the Jinan Farmers' Co-operative**, (pp.45-46). WANG recently found two Jinan Farmers' Co-operative notes: a 1 jiao and a 2 jiao note. A 5-jiao note is published in Daxi 11. They were issued in 1940 in the anti-Japanese resistance.

WU Zhenqiang, **Collecting renminbi (6)**, (pp.47-52). On vouchers and certificates issued by numerous banks between the 1940s and 1980s.

LI Tiesheng, **Collecting world coins (8)**, (pp.53-55). Discusses quantity of issue and value.

ZI Jin, **Horses on ancient Greek coins**, (pp.55-56).

GUAN Hanheng (Hong Kong), **From coin inscriptions to poems - essays on collecting coins (5)**, (p.57).

WANG Gang and JIA Yanmin, **Chinese silver ingots - a general knowledge**, (pp.58-60). For collectors, how to look at (1-3) the characteristics of the silver in its cast form, (4) inscriptions and marks, (5) how the silver colours in circulation, as well as the different forms, rarity, origins, weight, function, issuer, assayer, and various good luck wishes.

SHEN Mingdi, **A tale of small silver ingots**, (p.61). How the author established that two small silvered ingots were fakes. Inscription: 'Guizhou, guanqianju, gu ping, yi liang, zu qian'.

LIU Hao (USA), **More on the YUAN Shikai and XU Shichang worth-10 copper dollars**, (pp.65-68). LIU's response to an article in *ZGQB* 2000/4 by filling in details relating to the date of issue, Luigi Giorgi, Dr Giuseppe Ros, and the terms 'kaiguo' and 'gonghe'.

BAI Qinchuan, **Song dynasty coins and typology - the wrong approach**, (pp.69-70). BAI refers to LIU Sen's article in *ZGQB* 2002/1, and disagrees with LIU's method.

JIANG Haiming, **Timurid coins and their influence on the Silk Road**, (p.71) [reprinted from *Yazhou qianbi*, 2000/1].

DING Jinjun, **Corrections to the book Reference materials relating to the history of money in modern China**, (pp.71-72). DING recognises the importance of this important reference work, published in 1964, which brings together archive material from the period 1840-1911, but points that some of the material is from secondary sources and thus not primary evidence. Having been through the relevant Qing dynasty documents in the China No.1 Archives, he points out discrepancies in the book. [reprinted from *Lishi dang'an*, 2001/2]

HAN Zhenfei, **Large iron ingot unearthed at the Yuhong Pagoda, Ganzhou**, (p.72). In May 1992 the Jiangxi Institute of Archaeology and the Ganzhou Museum unearthed a large iron ingot while clearing the Yuhong Pagoda in Ganzhou. The ingot was the only find (cast, inscription on top 'zhong-liu-di-zhu', 168mm thick, 660mm long, 345mm wide, waist 245mm wide, weight 76.5g). Probably made in 1594-95 when the pagoda was built. Now in the Ganzhou Museum, it is considered to be the largest Chinese charm. [reprinted from *Nanfang wenwu*, 2001/4]

Index to ZGQB 2001 and 2002 (pp.73-78).

NEW PUBLICATIONS / REVIEWS

(p.28) **Zhongguo qianbi tushu zuanyao** [Bibliography of Chinese numismatics], ed. by SI Li, Zhongguo jinrong chubanshe, 2002. Covers the period from the Jin-Northern and Southern Dynasties to April 2000, listing over 1,000 publications. In 3 parts: (1) to the Qing dynasty; (2) 1911-1949; (3) on world coins. 337 pp.

(p.38) **Zhongguo qianbi lunwenji 4** [Collection of Chinese numismatic theses, 4], ed. by China Numismatic Society, Zhongguo jinrong chubanshe, 2002. Includes 50 articles. 500pp, 8 colour plates. Contact details given.

(p.62) **Zhongguo yinhang zhibi tuji** [Collection of illustrations of Bank of China notes], by LIU Mingkan (Director, Bank of China) (ed-in-chief), Bank of China Institute of International Finance and Jiangsu province branch bank (eds), Zhongguo jinrong chubanshe, 2002. Contact details given. Review by XU Feng.

(pp.63-64) **Zhedong geming genjudi huobi shi** [History of the money in the Eastern Zhejiang revolutionary base area], ZHANG Junli (ed-in-chief), Ningbo chubanshe, 2002, 256 pp. From the anti-Japanese resistance to the War of Liberation. Review by SHENG Guanxi.

(p.78) **Zhongguo lidai jin yin bi tudian** [Illustrated Catalogue of China's gold and silver coins through the ages], LI Xiaoping (ed), Zhejiang daxue chubanshe, 2002. A total of 1021 coins are listed:

43 gold, 978 silver, each with details. 334 pp. Price: 98 yuan. Contact details given.

NEWS

(p.6) **The opening ceremony of the new China Numismatic Museum**, on 18 October 2002. The China Numismatic Museum was established in 1992. Its premises are the buildings once occupied by two former banks: the Dalu Yinhang and Baoshang Yinhang. The old Baoshang Bank building has been renovated for displays of money – it now has displays on three floors: special exhibitions on the ground floor; Chinese money through the ages on the first floor; and Chinese money of modern times (late 19th – early 20th century). The old Dalu Yinhang will be developed for displays of financial and monetary history.

(p.11) **Creation of a gallery devoted to the financial history of the Central Revolutionary Base Area at Ruijin**. In 2002, to celebrate the 70th anniversary of the Guojia Yinhang (National Bank) of the Zhonghua Soviet Republic, the People's Bank of China Head Office agreed to fund the restoration of the Guojia Yinhang at Yeping, Ruijin: to improve the sites of the Central Mint and Central Banknote Printing Plant; and to build a new gallery to show 'The Financial History of the Central Revolutionary Base Area'.

(p.18) **Exhibition of Austrian coins in Beijing opened at the China Numismatic Museum**, 15 September – 15 November 2002. The exhibition was arranged by the China Numismatic Museum and the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna. Over 900 objects were displayed, including 871 coins and 72 medals.

(p.38) **The 2nd meeting of the Northwestern Five Provinces Numismatic Societies** took place in Tianshui, Gansu, 4-7 August 2002. Attended by WANG Yongsheng (Deputy Secretary, CNS), YANG Mingji (Head of Gansu Numismatic Society) TAO Jundao (Deputy Head of People's Bank of China – Lanzhou Central Branch), WANG Xiaoping (Head of PBC – Tianshui Central Branch), MIAO Puchang (Secretary, Gansu Numismatic Society) and over 64 representatives from the five provinces/regions. A total of 26 papers were submitted.

(p.40) **Subscription details**.

(p.46) **The 2002 Beijing International Stamp and Coin Festival** took place at the International Trade Centre, Beijing, 26-29 September 2002. Organised by China Gold Coin Co, China Stamp-collecting Co, China Coin and Banknote Co and China Numismatic Museum. Theme: Collecting in the new century, covering the whole world. Coin traders: 30 foreign, 40 Chinese. Stamp traders: 50. Exhibition 'Private notes of Shanxi', curated by Shanxi Numismatic Society, managed by China Numismatic Museum. The People's Bank of China issued a special silver commemorative medal of the festival.

(p.46) **Conference on dealing with and preventing forgeries of renminbi** organised by the People's Bank of China – Fuzhou Central Branch and the Fujian Numismatic Society, held in Fuzhou, 8-10 August 2002.

(p.56) **Chinese Coin Forum held in Changsha**, 10-12 September 2002. A total of 29 papers were received at this national level meeting.

(p.60) **Obituary: JIANG Qixiang**, China's foremost scholar of Islamic coins, died on 2 June 2002, aged 71 years.

(p.68) **Announcement: ZGQB** is now included in various archive-lists of Chinese academic journals on the web.

COLOUR PLATES

Front:

Inside front: The opening of the new China Numismatic Museum (p.6); The 9th ICOMON meeting (p.29); two commemorative

medals of the Republic of China made at the Tianjin Mint (pp.33-34); Tokens of Sichuan from the early years of the Republic (pp.26-28); Note issued in Liaoning during the resistance against the Japanese; Notes issued by the Sanyi qianzhuang in Shandong during the early years of the resistance against the Japanese; 2-jiao exchange certificate issued by the Jinan Farmers' Co-operative (pp.45-46).

Inside back: The \$20 double eagle gold coin issued in the USA in 1933 (and the Fengtian 1-liang silver dollar) (pp.29-31)

Back: Horses on ancient Greek coins (pp.55-56).

The Coinage of Safi I (AH 1038-1052)

By Stan Goron

When Shāh 'Abbās I died none of his sons or brothers were left to succeed him. They had either all been murdered or died of natural causes. The Safavid throne therefore passed to his grandson Sām Mirzā, who ascended it, at the age of 18, under the name of Safi. Safi had grown up in the harem, had not been trained in the skills of government and throughout his reign showed little interest in affairs of state. Instead, he is reported to have preferred to devote himself to the pleasures of life, where drink and drugs featured somewhat prominently. Effective power was in the hands of the holders of high civil and military office. Although their tenure of both office and life were far from certain because of the Shāh's capricious nature, government during the reign was competent and life for most people continued without undue alarm. This was due to no little extent to the measures taken by 'Abbās I to consolidate central power and to the signing of a peace-treaty with the Ottomans that lasted reasonably effectively for the remainder of the Safavid period.

The coinage

At this period, the coinage struck on the authority of the Shah was in silver. No gold coinage appears to have been struck in gold during this reign. Copper coins did not bear the ruler's name and were struck on the authority of the local municipal authorities and governors. This article therefore deals only with silver coinage.

Shāh 'Abbās I had introduced a silver coin known as the 'Abbāsī, consisting of 4 Shāhī. At first, this was based on the toman standard of 2400 *nokhod* and weighed 9.22 g. In AH 1005, the standard was reduced to 2000 *nokhod*, resulting in a reduction in weight of the 'Abbāsī to 7.68 g. This standard continued throughout the reign of Safi, and indeed lasted into the first years of the reign of 'Abbās II.

The vast bulk of Safi's coinage, therefore, consisted of Abbāsī. Smaller coins of 2 and 1 Shāhī were struck but in much smaller quantities except at the mints of Huwayza and Dawraq, in Khuzistan, where a tradition of minting 2 Shāhī coins had developed during the reign of 'Abbās I.

The mints

During the latter half of the reign of 'Abbās I, the number of mints in operation was greatly reduced. This may, to some extent, have been due to fluctuations in the amount of coinable silver available, but also to the inclusion of far more lands as crown property under the control of the shah, rather than the local nobility. The minting of coin could be a profitable business and the shah will have preferred the proceeds to go into the royal treasury rather than the pockets of local chiefs.

If geologically, Iran had silver deposits it does not appear to have exploited them. Most of its silver supply entered the country via the Ottoman empire and, to a lesser degree, through Russia. Iran had a positive balance of trade with the Ottomans, but, on the other hand, there was a large outflow of specie to India.

At the present time coins in the name of Safi I are known from 25 mints. Only a few of these operated over any length of time as can be seen from the table, below. In fact there is only one mint, Tabriz, for which coins are known for each year of the reign.

Most of the active mints were situated in the north-west where they will have processed the silver received from the Ottomans and Russia. Leaving aside Huwayza and Dawraq, whose 2 Shāhī coins are undated but which may have been struck throughout the reign, no fewer than 12 of the remaining 23 mints were active during only one or two years. The coins for the mints of Herat and Zegam are undated but all very rare and thus were probably struck only for a very short period. There is also an undated coin of Nakhjavan in the Tübingen University collection that has been ascribed to Safī, but the obverse style is crude (apart from the mint-name, which is in a cartouche different in shape found on any other Safī coins) and the ruler's name obscure, while the reverse is more akin to the style used on coins of 'Abbās I. It has, therefore, been omitted from further consideration here.

Coin legends and types

Two different legends are to be found on the obverses of the Abbāsī (and their fractions) during this reign.

Type 1: At the start of the reign, i.e. in AH 1038 (and 1039 in Tiflis), Safī continued to use the legend employed by his grandfather, except for the inclusion of his own name.

صفي بنده شاه ولايت

safti bande-ye shāh-e velāyat

Safī, servant of the king of the Velāyat

The expression "king of the Velāyat" refers to the fourth caliph, 'Alī bin Abī Tālib and his special relationship with God. Mint and date are also to be found on the obverse, though not always visible on the flan.

Coins of this type are so far known struck at Baghdad, Ganja, Iravan, Isfahan, Tabriz and Tiflis, all dated 1038, except Tiflis (1039).

Type 2A. Later in 1038 (apart from Tiflis) the obverse legend changed to:

هست از جان غلام شاه صفي

hast az jān gholām-e shāh safti

From his soul, he is the slave of Shah Safī

This refers to the eponymous founder of the Safavid line in the 14th century AD. Again, mint and date are to be found on this side, when visible on the flan. The arrangement of the legend varies. For example, on some coins the word *gholām* can be found at the top, while on others it is at the bottom. This legend occurs on coins of all the mints listed in the table.

Type 2B. In AH 1050 the obverse design was altered to show the mint-name in a circle, below the rest of the legend. The date can be found either within the circle alongside the mint-name or outside the circle. On some coins of Tiflis of this type, the mint-name is half in and half outside the circle! Coins of this type are known for Ardabil, Ganja, Iravan, Isfahan, Rasht, Tabriz, Tiflis and Zegam.

Type 2C. The 2 Shāhī coins of Dawraq and Huwayza have the mint-name in a large central circle and the *hast az jān* legend around in the margin, often only partially visible.

Type 2D. The coins of Dehdasht, issued in 1044, have the mint-name and date in a large central circle in the midst of the *hast az jān* legend.

The reverse of all the coins comprises the Shiite formula (Kalima). There are two varieties of the formula, one with *muhammad rasūl allāh*, the other, much rarer, with *muhammad nabī allāh*. Of the first variety, there are three arrangements. By far the most common is the one where the divider between the first two lines is formed by the elongated tail of the letter *yā* of 'Alī. The second layout has the divider formed by an elongated version of *Muhammad*. This layout has been noted on coins of Ardabil (1039), Isfahan (1038, 1040, 1041), Kashan (1040) and

Qazvin (1040, 1045). Others probably exist. The third variety which is found on most of the 2 Shāhī coins of Huwayza and the 2 Shāhī and some 'Abbāsī of Dawraq has the '*alī walī allāh*' in a central circle with the rest of the formula around it. The *nabī* variety has been noted by the present author only on some coins of Kashan of uncertain date.



Reverse 1 ('Alī type)



Reverse 2 (Muhammad type)



Reverse 3 (circle type)



Reverse 4 (Nabī type)

The coins

The following illustrated listing does not aim to include every variety of layout and mint-mark but to show all main types from all the mints so far recorded. Two and one Shāhī coins are not shown where they are the same type as the 'Abbāsī.

Type 1 – Velāyat type

Baghdad – reverse 1



Ganja – reverse 1



Iravan – reverse 1



Isfahan – reverse 1, normal obverse layout



Isfahan – reverse 2, unusual obverse layout



On this coin, *safi* is to the right of the mint-name.

Tabriz – reverse 1



Tiflis – reverse 1



Type 2A: - *hast az jân* type

Ardabil – reverse 1



Ardabil – reverse 2



Ardanush – reverse 1



This is the only Safavid issue from this place, identified as Ardenuç in modern north-eastern Turkey, not far from Georgia. It had previously been an occasional Ottoman mint. At the time of issue, 1043, there were many frontier skirmishes between the Ottomans and Iran with the outcome alternating between one side and another. Presumably during this course of this activity, Ardanuç fell briefly into Iranian hands. (Tübingen University collection)

Baghdad – reverse 1



Baghdad was reconquered by the Ottomans in AH 1048 and remained in their hands until the First World War.

Dawraq – reverse 1



Dawraq – reverse 3



Farahabad – reverse 1



A town in Mazandaran, close to the Caspian Sea. Rare issues were struck here during the reign of 'Abbās I and Safī. (Tübingen University collection)

Ganja – reverse 1



Hamadan – reverse 1



Herat – reverse 1



(Tübingen University collection, overstruck on earlier coin)

Iravan – reverse 1



Isfahan – reverse 1, normal obverse layout



Isfahan – reverse 1, unusual obverse layout



With this layout the legend is in three sections, with the elongated tail of the *yā* of *safī*, and *hasht* acting as dividers. Dates for this variety not clear, possibly 1044 and 1045.

Isfahan – reverse 2, normal obverse layout



Kashan – reverse 1



Kashan – reverse 2



Kashan – reverse 4



The date of this variety is not clear as it appears to have been altered on the die giving the appearance of 1050 over 1040!!

Nimruz – reverse 1



Nimruz, in the far east of the country, operated sporadically as a mint-place from the reign of Isma'il I, but after the reign of Tahmasp I, issues are rare and the coins, at times, quite crudely engraved.

Qazvin – reverse 1



Qazvin – reverse 2



Rasht – reverse ?



Although Rasht, in Gilan, operated a mint sporadically throughout the Safavid period, none of its issues are common. For that one has to wait until the Zand and Qajar periods.

Shimakhi – reverse 1



Shiraz – reverse 1



Shiraz, the capital of Fars province was ruled by the powerful Imām Qulī Khān until his execution in 1642 (AH 1042/3), whereupon the whole area became part of the crown lands. The dates on the known coins are 103x, 104x and 1041 so the coins may have been struck in 1039 to 1041. Presumably the Imām himself profited from the coining.

Tabriz – reverse 1



Tehran – reverse 1



All issues of Tehran prior to the reign of the Qajar ruler, Fath 'Alī Khān, are rare.

Tiflis – reverse 1



Tiflis coins can be rather crudely engraved.

Urdu – reverse 1



Only known for the year 1045, the year that the fortress of Iravan fell to the Ottomans. Perhaps this issue was struck during the Safavid counter-offensive the following spring.

Yazd – reverse 1



Type 2B – *hast az jān* type with mint-name in circle

All coins of this type so far noted have reverse 1.

Ardabil



The date, 1052, is rarely visible on these Ardabil coins. Other dates may exist

Ganja



The date, 1050, 1052 is outside the circle. Coins of 1051 may exist.

Iravan



Dates: 1050, 1051, 1052. On coins of 1050 the date is outside the circle, on those of 1051 both outside and within the circle, on those of 1052, within the circle.

Isfahan



Date: 1050, outside the circle.

Rasht



Dates: 1050, 1051 outside the circle.

Tabriz



Dates: 1050, 1051, 1052. Position of dates as for Iravan.

Tiflis



Dates 1051, 1052 all within the circle. On most coins, the mint-name extends beyond the circle.

Zegam



This place lies in Georgia between Ganja and Tiflis. It struck rare issues from the reign of Tahmaps I through to 'Abbās II. The coins are mostly rather crudely engraved.

No date visible. (Tübingen collection)

Type 2C – *hast az jān* type, mint-name in circle, legend around in margin – 2 Shāhī coins

Dawraq



Huwayza



Some Huwayza coins have a type 1 reverse similar to those used during the reign of 'Abbās I.

Type 2D – *hast az jān* type, mint-name and date in circle amid legend

Dehdasht – reverse 1



Table showing the mints for Safi I and the years known for each mint

	1038	1039	1040	1041	1042	1043	1044	1045	1046	1047	1048	1049	1050	1051	1052	ND
Ardabil	X	X	X	X	X			X	X						X	
Ardanush						X										
Baghdad	X		X		X		X	X	X	X						
Dawraq										X						
Dehdasht							X									
Farahabad												X				
Ganja	X	X	X	X	X		X	X		X			X		X	
Hamadan	X	X										X				
Herat																X
Huwayza																X
Iravan	X	X	X		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	
Isfahan	X	X	X	X	X	X	X						X			
Kashan	X		X	X												
Nimruz																X
Qazvin	X	X	X		X			X	X	X						
Rasht	X	X	X	X								X	X	X		
Shimakhi	X		X	X	X	X							X			
Shiraz		103X		X												
Shushtar					X											
Tabriz	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	
Tehran				X												
Tiflis		X	X	X		X		X						X	X	
Urdu								X								
Yazd		X	X													
Zegam																X

Dehdasht was a mint in Kuhgiluya which operated sporadically during the reigns of Tahmasp I, 'Abbās I and Safi. (Tübingen collection,)

Type 2A: - *hast az jān* type (omitted from above)
Shushtar



The author would be interested to hear of any major types not listed above. He is very grateful to Lutz Ilisch for providing illustrations of and permission to publish coins in the Tübingen collection as indicated above. He is also grateful to Steve Album for providing relevant information in various publications and documents.

A Cambodian query

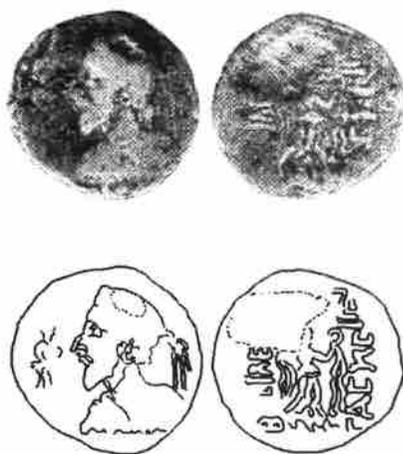
Wolfgang Schuster (wschuster@chello.at) found this small, uniface, silver item in Phnom Penh among a lot of fuangs of

known type. It weighs 1 g, has a diameter of 11 mm but has a triangular symbol and several pellets instead of a Hamza bird. Wolfgang wonders whether it is some form of token or amulet and would be pleased to hear from anyone who might be able to throw some light on the subject.



A new Sases coin, and a contribution to the Gandharan chronology?

By R. C. Senior



82) This new coin weighs 4.78 g and has a diameter of 21mm. Both sides have some surface loss (marked by the dotted areas) and the coin is generally worn and a bit battered. The reverse Nike and obverse portrait suggests that it falls into the Arachosian Indo-Parthian series but of a hitherto unknown denomination and variety.

The closest coin is the 'drachm' 206.1D of Sarpedones (Indo-Scythian Coins & History ISCH, Vol. II, p. 176). The obverse portrays the bust of the king left, wearing a diadem with what appears to be three ties. It is indistinct but there is possibly a figure - Nike? - before the king's face. On the reverse Nike walks right holding a wreath aloft in her right hand. To the left is the legend B[A]ΣΙΑΕ[ΩΣ] and to the right Σ(?)ΑΣηΣ. There are letters also below [ΜΕΓΑΣ?] and above. It appears, therefore, to be a coin of Sases. This most unusual form of the king's name, which is usually given as CACOY is matched by the silver drachms of Seistan (ISCH Issue 240) where it is abbreviated to ΣΑη or on a few very rare coins to ΣΑΣη. There does not seem to be any other possibility. The long 'E' (η) occurs on no other coins apart from issue 240 of Gondophares-Sases. Both Sarpedones and Sases adopted the title 'Gondophares' as successors of Gondophares I.

This brings me to the chronology of the period which I have explained in some detail in ISCH Volume I. I contend that Gondophares I falls into the period BC and that he was a contemporary and successor of the *sole* King called Azes. In Arachosia and elsewhere, Gondophares I was followed by Sarpedones but in Gandhara he was followed by his nephew Abdagases and then by Gondophares-Sases I arrived at my conclusions concerning the chronology by studying mostly the coin sequences and hoard evidence. The latter showed that after the death of Azes there was a prolific coinage of posthumous 'Azes' coins of just two of his three main later issues - the Pallas and the Zeus Nikephoros types. The former circulated in the area to the north of Charsadda, occupied by the Apracharajas, and the latter in the area of Taxila and its surrounding provinces. Both these coinages exhibit a debasement from the regal issues of Azes with a concomitant slight increase in weight. The Pallas coins do not actually bear the name Azes but a corruption of it. This latter coinage forms a distinct group which can be shown to evolve over time into an even more debased series which ends in the coinage of Aspavarma, on the one hand, and Indravasu, on the other.

The coins of Indravasu (Issue 177) are the only ones that bear his title 'Apracharaja' and the name of his father, Vijayamitra. Both Aspavarma and Indravasu used symbols on their coins which are distinctive to them and which appear on the last of the 'unnamed' imitation Azes coins (Issues 175.300 - 650)

and it seems that they were both heirs of Vijayamitra, the Apracharajas' dynastic founder. We can thus identify these Pallas coins as all being Apracharaja coins.

The third type of Azes was the Zeus-right issue (so called Poseidon) and this was adopted by Gondophares I. In fact Gondophares issued a few Pallas coins and scarce Siva issues on the lighter standard before introducing the heavier 10 g standard for his Zeus-right series. In effect, what we have and what is borne out by the hoard evidence is that;

1) After the demise of Azes, Gondophares acceded to Gandhara and introduced this heavier-standard debased coin on Zeus-Right issues.

2) A few Pallas coins were issued by him but then the Apracharajas were given or allowed complete autonomy to strike their own coinage under their founder, Vijayamitra, but bearing a corrupt 'Azes' legend and on the 10 g standard.

3) In the Taxila region similar semi- or independent satraps continued to strike Zeus-Nikephoros issues bearing the name Azes on this heavier standard.

All three issues are contemporary. After Gondophares' death Abdagases continued the arrangement and struck *no* Pallas coins and initially no Zeus-Nikephoros coins. Towards the end of his reign he *did* introduce a Zeus-Nikephoros series at Taxila and his successor, Gondophares-Sases adopted both the Zeus-right and Zeus-Nikephoros types. The Pallas issues continued to be struck by the Apracharajas or their commander, Aspavarma. The latter king seems to be related to Gondophares-Sases; hence the fact that of all the provinces that Sases struck coins in, it was the Apracharaja territory he left independent.

Assuming that Azes founded the Vikrama Era I 57/8 BC, the chronology seemed fairly clear in that, after his demise, following a long reign, he was followed by Gondophares I and the Apracharajas towards the end of the first century BC. The relic casket of Indravarma published by Bailey bears an inscription dated in the 63rd year of Azes (5/6 AD) and contains the name of the Apracharaja Vijayamitra and a 'year 25' tacked on at the end of the inscription. If one took this 25 as Vijayamitra's regnal year it would suggest that his reign began (on Azes' death) in 20 BC. This would certainly confirm the chronology as indicated by all the other factors derived from the coinage and hoard evidence. Prof R. Salomon however thought the 'year 25' was added later to the inscription when the casket was re-buried.

Prof. Salomon has now unearthed a new inscription which gives an exact date for the inception of Vijayamitra's reign. In summary the important part reads: "In the 27th year in the reign of Lord Vijayamitra, the King of Apaca, in the 73rd year which is called Azes, in the 201st year of the Yonas (Greeks) etc. etc."

This gives the inception of Vijayamitra's reign at 12 BC and he was still reigning in 15 AD. This conforms exactly to the chronology as I suggested it though there is a slight amendment of 8 years in the date of Azes' death. It also confirms Prof. Salomon's suggestion that the '25' was added later to the Indravarma casket inscription.

The Takht-i-Bahi inscription which was previously used to support the old dating of Gondophares I is dated in year 26, in the year 103 (of Azes) which equates to 45 AD with the regnal inception of this Gondophares in 19/20 AD.

Since we know that Gondophares I ruled long before he acquired Gandhara and that his occupation of that territory coincided with the introduction of the Apracharaja coinage and the new weight standard of 10 g we know that Gondophares I, as contemporary of Vijayamitra, was in Gandhara by 12 BC. The Takht-i-Bahi inscription cannot therefore refer to Gondophares I but one of his successors who bore that title. The only contender is Gondophares-Sases.