



Editor: [REDACTED]

ONS News

Annual General Meeting of the Society

This year's AGM duly took place at the British Museum on Saturday 15 July. There was a very good attendance of around 30 people including members from several countries. Both the Council's report on activities and the accounts were approved. In addition to the two talks mentioned in Journal 187, Nasim Khan reported on recent work at Kashmir Smast, the Kidarite-Hun period Saivite Shrine in Gandhar; Pankaj Tandon gave the Michael Broome memorial lecture entitled "A new light on the Paratarajas", and Dr S. Suresh spoke on Roman coin finds in India.

From the Editor

A reminder that the index to the Newsletter/Journal can be found at the Society's website www.onsnumis.org. The index has been expanded to include a column with the page numbers of each article.

New Regional Secretary for South Asia



Dr Dilip Rajgor has taken over from Farokh Todywalla as the ONS Regional Secretary for South Asia. We are very grateful to Farokh for his services to the Society over a number of years. Dilip will be well-known to many collectors of Indian coins. He is a commerce graduate with a Ph. D. in Indian numismatics, an M. A. in archaeology and a P.G. Diploma in linguistics. He has contributed sixty research articles to various journals and books. He has also published 13 books on Indian numismatics, as well as participating in various international and national seminars and conferences.

Dilip was awarded the *Lowick Memorial Grant* of the Royal Numismatic Society, UK in 1991; and the *Indological Research Fellowship* of the Asiatic Society of Bombay in 1994-95. He is also a recipient of the prestigious, *Prof. H. D. Sankalia Young Archaeologist Award* (1997).

Presently, Dilip is working as Director of the University of Mumbai Dinesh Mody Numismatic Museum, and is also editing the *ICS Newsletter*.

Members' News

Pankaj Tandon has commenced work on a new type-catalogue of Kushan coins. He would very much welcome two sorts of contributions from members: (1) information on new types not

listed in the catalogues of Göbl or Mitchiner, with images and data on the weight in grams, the diameter and the die axis, and (2) images of particularly nice specimens of known types, along with the measurement data as before. Contributors will receive acknowledgement in the catalogue, at their option. Information can best be sent by email to [REDACTED]

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Origin, Evolution and Circulation of Foreign Coins in the Indian Ocean by Osmund Boperachchi & D. P. M. Weerakkody ISBN: 81-7304-229-2

“This book contains a variety of papers covering a wide range of fields from the origin of Chinese and Greek coins to modern bank notes; Islamic coins and coins for presentation and display in early modern Europe; and Roman, Chinese, Indian and Islamic coins circulating in Sri Lanka and several other countries of the Indian Ocean. Of special interest are the papers on the early European coins and paper money produced in Europe for circulation in Sri Lanka.”

African Elites in India – Habshi Amarat African Elites in India – Habshi Amarat edited by Kenneth X Robbins & John McLeod, published by Mapin Publishing Pvt. Ltd, Mumbai and Grantha Corporation, Ocean Township, NJ, USA, 2006. Hard covers, illustrated throughout with 244 colour and 95 black and white illustrations, 272 pages. ISBN 81-88204-73-0 (Mapin), ISBN 1-890206-97-0 (Grantha).

“Sub-Saharan Africans have a longstanding and distinguished presence in India, where they are most commonly known as Habshis or Sidis. In 1996, the Anthropological Survey of India reported sizeable communities of African ancestry in the states of Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka in southern India, Gujarat in the west, and the metropolises of Delhi, Kolkata and Mumbai. In the last decade there has been a vertiable explosion of scholarship on Habshis and Sidis in India. This book is a contribution to this growing field, but with a difference. Rather than the groups hitherto studied, its focus is on the elite of Sub-Saharan African-Indian merchants, soldiers, nobles, statesmen and rulers who attained prominence in various parts of India between the 15th and 20th centuries, and on Africans who served at courts of Indian monarchs as servants, slaves, eunuchs or concubines. The book comprises a series of snapshots, in the form of essays by specialists in the history, numismatics, architecture and art history of South Asia.”

Contributions of numismatic interest are “The Habshi Sultans of Bengal” by your Editor, and “The Coins of the Sidis of Janjira” by Shailendra Bhandare.

Other News

SK Bose informs us that the three latest volumes of the North-East India History Association are now available to non-members outside India at a price of \$21 per volume. Each of the volumes are mines of information on north-east India covering numismatics, history, economy, social science and political aspects, written by the scholars of the region. The volumes contain, on average, 40 papers in 400 pages. Interested members may write to Prof. Manorama Sharma, General Secretary of the organisation. Her e-mail address is neihags@yahoo.com

Review

“*Coins of Indian States Part A*” by S C Gupta. Published by Kapoori Devi Charitable Trust (Regd.) Gurgaon, India, 2005 (first edition is a limited print of 1000 copies); 259 pages. Available from: DK Agencies (P) Ltd., A/15-17, D. K. Avenue, Mohan Garden, Najafgarh Road, NEW DELHI- 110 059, India.

Since the 1980 edition of Krause Publications’ *South Asian Coinage and Paper Money* became out-dated, some time in the mid ‘80s, the only catalogues available to collectors of Indian Native (“Princely”) State coinage, apart from some specialist catalogues covering one state, and articles appearing in various numismatic journals, have been the Century editions of Krause’s *Standard Catalogue of World Coins*. Since most collectors of Indian coins do not collect coins from other parts of the world, there has always been a certain feeling of resentment about the need to purchase one of these large volumes every year or so, only

Lists Received

New and Recent Publications

Dr R A Barker *The Historical Cash Coins of Viet Nam. Vietnam’s Imperial History as Seen Through its Currency. Part I: Official and Semi-Official Coins*, Singapore, 2004, SSII, 386 pages; illustrated in colour and with black and white rubbings; laminated boards. Price: £30 from Spink, London and presumably similar prices from other sources.

Norman Doug Nicol *A Corpus of Fatimid Coins*, Trieste, 2006, A4 size, hard bound, 500 pages (including 68 plates), covering 2720 coin types from 49 mints. Price: €140 plus €15 postage. Published by Giulio Bernardi SRL, P.O.Box 560, I-34100 TRIESTE (Italy).

Newsletter no. 37 (July-December 2005) of the Indian Coin Society has been received. This includes the following articles:

P. Kulkarni: “New discoveries in coins from Narmada Valley: geographical and historical implications”;

D. Handa: “Yaudheya coin with a new legend”;

P. Pokharna: “Circulation of Indo-Sassanian coins”

N. Rhodes: “Possible Mughal coins struck in Tripura”.

De Muntmeester is a new Flemish language magazine published by the Diestse Studiekkring voor Numismatic in Diest, Belgium. The first issue includes an article by Patrick Pasmans on “The coinage of the Parthian king, Mithridates II”. For mor information please contact Mr Pasmans at patrick.pasmans@muntmeester.be

Michael Fedorov has had some articles published in various publications, viz: “New data on monetary circulation in medieval Andukan and Shelji: coins from the Andizhanskoe and Kirovskoe *Vodokhranilishche*” in *American Journal of Numismatics*, 16-17, 2004-5; “Notes on the numismatics of ancient Khwarezm” in *Revue Numismatique*, 2005; “On some articles in the recent issues of *Numismatics of Central Asia*” in *Central Asiatic Journal*, 49 (2005)2, Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden, Germany.

ICS Newsletter no. 38 (January-March 2006), published by the Indian Coin Society, contains various articles on ancient and medieval Indian coinages. It is obtainable from Reesha Books International, www.reeshabooks.com (ISSN 0973-1938).

to discard or ignore nearly \$50-worth of each volume. Therefore, there have been, over the years, numerous vociferous calls for the publication of an up-to-date edition of the South Asian Catalogue, with or without the paper money section. Up to now, Krause have rejected these calls on perfectly proper and reasonable financial grounds, as it has been thought unlikely that the number of copies purchased would enable the project to pass the break-even point. There has, however, been a significant increase in the number of collectors of Indian coins in the last few years, and this objection may no longer be valid. The alternative of getting a new publication to cover the coins of the Indian Native States has never seemed very likely.

It was with great joy and relief, therefore, that we heard about the publication of a catalogue dedicated to Indian Native State coins, to appear in two volumes (only one of which is available at present) at a cost of less than £16 per volume, and which, the publishers intend, shall be re-issued in new editions, duly corrected and up-dated (regularly?). The book in my hands is a hardbound volume printed on very good quality paper, mostly in full colour and with an attractive blue dust jacket. There is a contents page, an introduction, a short bibliography, preface, message from the author, and six appendices, some of which are of limited usefulness, because of poor layouts, the use of copies of handwritten Nagari and Persian script without sufficient explanations or translations, some errors of language and some factual inaccuracies. The comparative table of Hijra to AD dates starts too late, at 1801 AD.

The main part of the volume is a catalogue, occupying 225 pages, lavishly illustrated by colour and black & white photographs, with some line drawings (some of which we have seen before, in other publications). There are some useful tables of mintmarks and symbols, but these are by no means exhaustive. The author has overlooked much recent scholarship. Consequently, many well-known coins have been omitted. This volume covers states alphabetically from Alwar to Jaora, and Part B will complete the series. It is disappointing to note that what are termed "Independent Kingdoms" in the Krause catalogues (such as Assam, the Bangash Nawabs of Farrukhabad and the Nawabs of Broach) are missing from this catalogue. This is despite the fact that the Nawabs of Awadh and Cambay have been included. Bhatner, Coorg, Cochin and Jaisalmer do not make an appearance either, whereas Bhilwara has been included as a separate state. The spelling of some ruler and state names may be unfamiliar to readers outside India, but this is of minor significance. Unfortunately, some names are spelled differently at different places in this book.

Regular readers of the KP catalogues have become familiar with the use of some illustrations of an incorrect size and/or wrong orientation; sometimes we find the wrong illustration altogether, or note the use of one photograph to illustrate more than one "type". All of this has been an irritant. I have to say that these problems have not gone away with the publication of this book. Examples of all of these types of error are to be found in the pages of this volume. The background text for each state and type is lightweight and less useful than the Krause equivalent.

In large states like Gwalior, the layout is not so user-friendly as we are used to. The corpus is arranged by ruler, with types set out in mint order under each ruler. Not all types are included, and the information given for each type (date lists, years, weights and metals) is not always complete. Approximate values in the Indian market are given in rupees for three grades (good, fine and extra fine), and each type and variety is graded as common, scarce or rare.

This was a fine opportunity for the production of a new catalogue for which the demand had been felt for many years, and the appearance of the book gives cause for hope that the next edition might be better organised, more complete, have more (and more useful) background text, and contain illustrations of a more consistent quality. In truth, the production of a catalogue of this kind is too big a task for one man, as Krause knows very well. We like to complain about the work of committees ("the camel is a horse designed by a committee"), but there is sometimes a great

need for co-operation of this nature, and I venture to suggest that this is just such an occasion. And the world still needs camels! I hope we can all offer Mr Gupta our support and encouragement in his efforts, congratulate him on what he has achieved, and give unstintingly of our time, help, suggestions and data, as called upon in Dr Sorabh Gupta's message at the front of the book. We must all hope that he and his well-wishers go on to provide us with much-improved second and subsequent editions. It will only happen with the assistance and co-operation of us all, and if Mr Gupta takes on board the advice and suggestions he will undoubtedly be sent.

Buy it, read it and be one of those who attempts to get it improved.

Barry Tabor

Articles

Five types of copper coins of Sultan 'Ala al-Din Tekesh By Nicolas Ivanov (Moscow)

Not far away from the small turkmenian town of Kunya-Urgench [Old Urgench], lie the remains of the once imposing town, the former great capital of Khwarezm – Gurganj. This town was twice razed to the ground, firstly during the invasion of the Mongols, and after that by the army of Timur. Now it is no more than a salt desert.

Between the small town and the desert, we can see magnificent architectural memorials – the tombs, which were not destroyed by invasions and time. The most stunning of these – is the tomb of Sultan Tekesh.

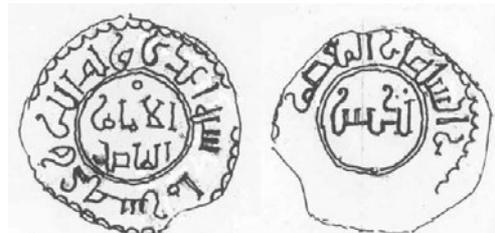


Surprisingly, only little numismatic testimony of his rule exists, particularly when compared to the abundance of evidence which remained after the rule of his son, Muhammad.

During his three visits to the old town in 1963, 1964 and 1969, the author of this report collected a considerable number of old coins. For quite a long time I did not pay any attention to them because I attributed them to the rule of Muhammad bin Tekesh by mistake. After closer examination I detected five various types of copper coins struck in Khwarezm during the rule of Sultan 'Ala ad-Din Tekesh bin Il-Arslan, who ruled from 1172 (567 AH) to 1200 (596 AH).

My numbering of the types is arbitrary, but the first type is represented by the only dated coin.

Type 1. 581 AH (1186-87).



Obv.: within the linear border is a two-line inscription with the short title of the caliph in decorative Kufic script: "al-imam / al-nasir". Between the inner linear border and the outside wavy border is the circular legend: "year five hundred and eighty one", which was read by V.N. Nastich.

Rev.: within the linear border: “tekesh”. Around, between the two borders, as on the obverse, circular: “al-Sultan al-mu’azzam ‘ala al-dunia wa’l din”.

Copper. Diam. 23 mm., wt. 1.85 g. One example.

Type 2. Without date. The field of both sides formed by tripartite geometric designs with either a double triangle or double trilobe in the centre, inscriptions engraved as in the drawings. There are two varieties of this type. On one variety the obverse has the design with the double triangle in the centre, and on the other with the double trilobe in the centre, with the reverse having the other design.

Type 2/1. Obverse with double triangle, reverse with double trilobe at centre.



Obv.: in segments between the linear border and the sides of the double triangle “al-sultan / al-mu’azzam / tekesh”.

Rev.: in segments between the same border and the sides of the double trilobe: “zarb / khwari / zm”.

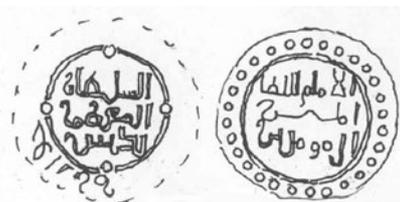
Two examples. Diam. 15-19 mm., wt. 1.31, 1.51 g.

Type 2/2.



Obverse with double trilobe, reverse with double triangle in the centre. Inscription as on type 2/2.

Type 3.



Obv.: within a linear border a three-line inscription: “al-sultan / al-mu’azzam / tekesh”, outside the border – traces of the legend: “zarb khwarezm”

Rev.: a complex border of dots is placed between the two linear borders; in the field a three-line inscription: “al-imam al-nasir / amir / al-mu’minin”.

Eight examples. Diam. 17 to 20 mm., wt. 2.26, 0.86, 0.68, 0.49, 1.71, 1.05, 1.40, 1.24 g.

Type 4. Without date.



Obv.: within a linear border, a two-line inscription: “al-sultan / al-mu’azzam”.

Rev.: within a border of large dots a two-line inscription: “tekesh / khwarizmshah”. No marginal legend.

One example. Diam. 17 mm., wt. 2.12 g.

Type 5. This coin is dated approximately to the period of Caliph Al-Mustadi’s rule – 1171-1180 AD (566-575 AH).



Obv.: within a circle, four-line inscription: “al-malik al-a’zam / ‘ala al-dunia wa’l din / abu’l muzaffar tekesh / [bin il-arslan]”. Traces of a marginal legend can be seen.

Rev.: ornate cartouche formed by double square with an outward bulge in the centre of each side. Within, a four-line inscription: “al-imam / al-mustadi / amir / al-mu’minin”.

The shape of this coin is rectangular: 20 x 24 mm., wt. 1.55g. This was probably a “black dirham”.

The Qarākhānid mint die from Aq-Beshim hillfort.

By Michael Fedorov and Alexander Kamyshev

About 55 km east of Bishkek (the capital of the Kirghiz Republic capital) lies the Aq-Beshim archaeological site. Archaeologists identified it with the ancient town of Suyab. It was founded in the 5th century AD by Sogdian colonists as an emporium-settlement on the Great Silk Road in the Chu valley. In 603 AD the Turk qaganate split into western and eastern qaganates. Suyab became the centre of the Western Turk qaganate (603-704). By its walls an *Ordu* (camp, headquarters) of the qagan was set up. Most probably for this reason and about that time Suyab received its second name, Ordukend (Town of the *Ordu*). By the middle of the 7th century it was a flourishing town. The Chinese monk, Hiuen Tsiang (629-645) described Suyab as a town where Sogdians and foreign merchants lived. Merchants from all countries arrived at the annual Suyab fair. The circumference of Suyab’s wall was 6-7 li (3-3.5 km). In 704, the Tiurgesh qagan, Uch Elig, killed the last qagan of the Western Turk qaganate and made Suyab the capital of the Tiurgesh qaganate (704-766). In 748 Suyab was captured and devastated by a Chinese army. But in July 751 the Chinese were defeated by Arabs at the Talas river not far from Atlakh. The battle was won with the help of Qarluqs, who, at the crucial moment, attacked the Chinese from the rear. In 766, the Qarluq federation of nomad tribes defeated the last Tiurgesh qagan. So the Qarluq qaganate was created and Suyab/Ordukend (or simply Ordu) became one of its main towns (Istoriia 1984, 270, 226-227, 283, 239, 252; Bernshtam 1952, 114). The name Ordukend (or simply Ordu) was mentioned in written sources. The colophon of the Turkic-Manichaean manuscript “Iki jültiz nom” says that it was written at the beginning of the reign of Chighil Arslan Alp Tarkhan, ruler of Argu-Talas, Qashu, Ordu and Chigilkent. Elsewhere it mentioned Ordu as a town where a Manichaean cloister existed. Scholars have dated this book in different ways: from “739 AD” to “the middle of the 9th century” (Istochnikovedenie 1996, 103-104, 236-238).

Archaeological studies show that Suyab had a *shahristan* (35 hectares) with a citadel. The circumference of the *shahristan* walls was about 3.3 km, so it was the Suyab of Hiuen Tsiang’s time, who wrote that Suyab was 6-7 li (3-3.5 km) in circumference. Later a *rabad* of 60 hectares was built adjacent to the eastern wall of the *shahristan*. Most probably this was the *Ordu* (camp, headquarters) of the qagans fortified after the time of Hiuen Tsiang (629-645). Both the *rabad* and *shahristan* were surrounded by walls with towers and a moat. The walls were built of palsa (blocks of clay) and adobe bricks. The innermost suburbs of Suyab were surrounded by a rampart which was more than 11 km long. Archaeologists discovered at Aq-Beshim (Nusov 1971, 11-15) two Buddhist temples (VII-VIII c.) and a Christian church (VIII c.). There was also a Manichaean cloister (middle of VIII-middle of IX c.) in Suyab/Ordukent (Istochnikovedenie 1996, 236). It is no wonder that the Qarākhānids built themselves a new Muslim town of Balāsāghūn (on the coins it was more often named Quz Ordū) about 6 km south of Suyab/Ordu/Ordukent.

In 2005 a Qarākhānid die (fig. 1-3) was found at Aq-Beshim, south-east of the *shahrīstan*.

It is difficult to overvalue the significance of this find: it is the first authentic Qarākhānid die found in the whole of Central Asia since 1870, when the archaeological study of Central Asia was started.

The die is a bronze (copper 97.9%, tin 2%) cylinder 4 cm high, with a diameter of 2.5 cm. Its weight is 338.4 g. According to W. Hinz (1970, 12-17, 62) the *dirham al-kail* weighed from 3.125 to 3.3 g, and an *a&ba* ' was equal to 2.078 cm. It seems that the intended weight of the die was 100 *dirhams al-kail*. 4 cm is about 2 *a&ba* 's (1.92 to be exact) and 2.5 cm is 1 and 1/5 *a&ba* '. Most probably the original length of the die was 2 *a&ba* ' (4.156 cm) but then it became 0.156 cm shorter because of hammering.

It is a lower die. The lower dies used to be inserted into a special hollow in the anvil. The upper dies were somewhat longer and their upper end was deformed by heavy hammering.

The Aq-Beshim die proved to be the obverse die for the dirhams of AH 4xx (or 406?) struck at Īl Ordū.



fig.1



fig.2 The die as it actually appears



fig.3 Mirror image of the die

Īl Ordū. AH 4xx (or 406?).

Obv. In the field: لا اله الا الله وحده / لا شريك . The marginal legend forms a square on the sides of the central legend: بسم الله ضر / بهذا الد رهم / با يل اردو في سنة (or سنة?) / و اربعمائة . All this is within a border of three circles consisting of two solid lines (inner) and one made of short radial notches (outer).

There is a dent in the die at the place where the mint name starts, but nevertheless, three vertical lines may be discerned, which is nothing else but لا (لا). The letters ر دو are more distinct. After the mintname follows في (in) and then سنة (year) or ستة (six). The date was engraved with a mistake. It is either "in the year and four hundred" (في سنة و اربعمائة) or "in six and four hundred" (في ستة و اربعمائة) .

But one may define the date more precisely. Above the *Kalimah* there is the letter م (*mim*) . Isolated letters in such a position usually denoted the first letter of the die-engraver's name. In the Qysmychi hoard, the letter م above the *Kalimah* is found both on coins of Quz Ordū and Īl Ordū (Fedorov 2000, 178, 184-188). On Quz Ordū coins: AH 397 (Type 1, 2), 400 (Type 2, 3, 5, 9), 401 (Types 1, 2, 3, 4), 402 (Type 1, 5), 406 (Type 4). In all, 13 types (136 coins) with letter with a letter م above the *Kalimah*. On Īl Ordū coins: AH 401. By the way, the AH 401 Īl Ordū coin is an exact replica of the AH 401 Quz Ordū coins (Types 1-4) but the mint name is Īl Ordū, and not Quz Ordū. The letter م is also on the Aq-Beshim die of the Īl Ordū dirham. So die-engraver "م" worked at the Balāsāghūn/Quz Ordū mint in AH 397-406. In 397-406/1006-16 Quz Ordū mint issued 45 types of dirhams. 13 types (28.88%) had the letter م, i.e. the dies for those coins were made by die-engraver "م". This means that in 397-406 about one third of the dies at the mint of Quz Ordū were made by this die-engraver.

After 406, the letter م disappeared from Quz Ordū coins. So we can date the Aq-Beshim die to between 400 and 406. One of the authors (Fedorov 2001, 436) thought that the dies for Īl Ordū dirhams could have been made at the central mint of Quz Ordū and brought to Īl Ordū (the distance between the towns is about 6 km or 1 *farsakh*). The fact that the letter م is found both on the coins of Quz Ordū and Īl Ordū proves this conclusively.

A comparative study of the Aq-Beshim die and the known coins of Īl Ordū shows that coins of Īl Ordū for which the die was made were hitherto unknown. Type 1 AH 401 Īl Ordū coin: *Kalimah* in two lines. Type 2 AH 401 Īl Ordū coin: *Kalimah* in three lines within a double circle, letter م above the *Kalimah*. Type 1, 2 AH 402 Īl Ordū coins: *Kalimah* in two lines. AH 405 Īl Ordū coin: *Kalimah* in three lines with square marginal legend but the letter م is absent. AH 406 Īl Ordū coin: *Kalimah* in two lines.

The mint of Īl Ordū is known only for the Qarākhānid period. The first coins of Īl Ordū were published in 1896 (Markov 1896, 209-213/139, 142, 145, 194) but the location of Īl Ordū was uncertain for about a hundred years until a hoard of AH 393-411 Qarākhānid dirhams was found at Qysmychi hillfort (about 45 km east of Bishkek) on the Kazakh (right) bank of the Chu river (Fedorov 2000, 171-202).

In the second quarter of the 9th century, Satūq, a nephew of the Kāshghar ruler, Qadir Khān, influenced by a Sāmānid, who fled to Kāshghar after an abortive mutiny, clandestinely embraced Islam. He fled to the north, to the fortress of Atbash, and started to raise troops. A strong force of Muslim *ghazis* from Farghāna joined him. He defeated his uncle and took Kāshghar. Satūq died in 344/955-6. In 960, his son, Arslān Khān Mūsā, proclaimed Islam the state religion. So the Qarākhānid khaqanate, the first feudal state of Muslim Turks, was created (Bartold 1898, 131-132; Bartold 1966, 375; Bartold 1963, 318-329; Pritsak 1953, 25). In 380/990, the Qarākhānids started the conquest of the weakening Sāmānid state, which they completed on 23 October 999 having captured the Sāmānid capital Bukhārā (Bartold 1963, 329).

The Qarākhānids, formerly nomads, adopted the socio-economic and cultural achievements of the Sāmānid state which had occupied the more advanced western regions of Central Asia.

One of the important innovations was the introduction of the Muslim monetary system, created in the Arab Caliphate and used in all the lands from Muslim Spain and North Africa to Afghanistan. Bukhara was conquered in AH 389. In 394 Muslim coins were minted in Quz Ordū, in 395 in Īl Ordū and Kāshghar (Markov 1896, 209; Kochnev 1995, 213). So Īl Ordū was one of the first mints opened by the Qarākhānids in the eastern part of the Khaqanate, in lands which never belonged to the Sāmānid state. It took the Muslim monetary system, which had existed by that time in west Central Asia for more than 200 years, only 4-5 years to advance from the eastern borders of the Sāmānid state to Quz Ordū and Kāshghar and beyond, to the frontiers of China.

The mint of Īl Ordū was small, working intermittently during the first quarter of the 11th century. So far coins of AH 395, 396, 401, 402, 405, 406 (i.e. 1004-1016) are known. Coins of Īl Ordū are quite rare. In 2001 one of the authors (Fedorov 2001, 434-436) proved that the mint of Īl Ordū was situated at Aq-Beshim. The main arguments are as follows. Since 1892, 1 dirham of Īl Ordū has been found in Tajikistan, 1 in Kazakhstan, and 3 in Uzbekistan. The provenance of 4 Īl Ordū dirhams in the Hermitage Museum is not clear (some of them may have been found in the Chu valley). Anyway that makes 9 coins found in the whole of Central Asia since 1892. The Qysmychi hoard, found in the Chu valley in 1992 included 32 dirhams of Īl Ordū. The fact that that amount of Īl Ordū coins found in the Chu valley (in a single hoard) surpasses by more than three times the amount of Īl Ordū coins found in the whole of Central Asia for more than 100 years, proves to me that the mint of Īl Ordū was situated in the Chu valley.

Maqdisī (985-989) mentioned that Balāsāghūn and Ordū were in the Chu valley. Mahmūd Kāshgharī (1072-1078) mentioned Balāsāghūn and Ordū, situated close to it. He wrote that Balāsāghūn had also the name of Quz Ordū and that the territory of Ordū was bigger than that of Balāsāghūn (Goriacheva 1983, 58). Near the Burana hillfort (Balāsāghūn) there is the Aq-Beshim hillfort, and the area, occupied by Aq-Beshim, is in fact more than that of Burana. So the mint of Īl Ordū (Ordū with an epithet “Īl” – “people, state”) was in Ordū (former Suyab) near Balāsāghūn, i.e. in Aq-Beshim, 6 km north-west of Balāsāghūn. The fact that the Īl Ordū dirham die was found at Aq-Beshim proves this conclusively. After the Chu valley capital had been transferred by the Qarākhānids to Balāsāghūn, the decline of Ordū/Suyab started. It still existed in the 11th century and even had a mint in 1003-1016. Mahmūd Kāshgharī mentioned it as a town circa 1072-1078. But in the 12th century it was already abandoned. There are no cultural strata of the 12th century at Aq-Beshim. Infrequent finds of 12th century pottery show that some people were still living there but clearly not many (Istoriia 1984, 270, 344-346; Kyzlasov 1959, 236).

A comparative study of Īl Ordū and Quz Ordū (Balāsāghūn) dirhams from the Qysmychi hoard shows that the Īl Ordū dirham of AH 401 is an exact replica of the Quz Ordū Type 4 dirham of AH 401. The obverse of AH 402 Īl Ordū dirhams is the exact replica of the obverse of AH 400 Quz Ordū Types 1 and 7. The obverse of the AH 405 Īl Ordū dirhem is the exact replica of the AH 403 Quz Ordū Types 1, 2, 3, 4 and so on. And sometimes the dies of Quz Ordū and Īl Ordū were made by the same die-engraver whose name started with the letter م. It is another proof that the Īl Ordū mint was in Aq-Beshim.

In AH 394 (Markov 1896, 210 Nr. 141) dirhams were minted with the mintname “Ordū”. But starting in AH 395, the epithet “Īl” was added to this mint name. So the mint of Ordū/Īl Ordū started to work at the same time as the mint of Balāsāghūn/Quz Ordū and was one of the two earliest mints in the eastern part of the Qarākhānid khaqanate. The mint of Kāshghar started to work a year later, and the mint of Yarkend (which is to the east of Kāshghar) started to work in AH 404 (Davidovich 1979, 193).

It is strange that Īl Ordū, situated only 6 km from Quz Ordū had a mint of its own. It could make sense if Īl Ordū and Quz Ordū belonged to different rulers, but Khāqān Ahmad b. ‘Alī was cited on coins of both towns. Was the mint a kind of special privilege granted to Īl Ordū? Or was it the mint given to some tax-

farmer? Certainly tax-farming of the mint was practiced in Bukhara and Khoqand as late as the 19th century and was considered to be very lucrative (Burnasheva 1966, 261).

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The Mint of Elegis (“Alāgīr”) and its Location by Alexander Akopyan (Moscow)

Coins from the mint of “Alāgīr” (الأكير) have been well known to scholars since the XIX century. The mint has long been identified with the town of Alagir in Northern Ossetia. Later numismatists offered different readings of this mint-name, without suggesting a location. However, I believe this identification is no longer tenable based on the results of comparing historical data with the list of coins from “Alāgīr” and the latest geographical researches conducted in this field. This article is an attempt to conduct an investigation of this kind.

Previous identifications of the mint-name

The first to read the mint-name الأكير (el-Aker) on Ilkhānid coins dated AH 741 and 744 was Bartholomaei¹, who pointed out that the mint was apparently located in the neighbourhood of Yerevan. Later, the mint-name was read as الأكير (Alāgīr) by Codrington² and as Al-Ākīr by Zambaur³. Both scholars located it in the

¹ Bartholomaei J. *Quatrième lettre à M. F. Soret sur des monnaies orientales inédites* // *Revue de la Numismatique Belge*, Vol. II, 1864, p.520 (B).

² Codrington O. *A Manual of Musulman Numismatics*. London, 1904, p.133.

³ Zambaur E. *Die Münzprägungen des Islams*. Wiesbaden, 1968, p.52 (Z).

Northern Caucasus and identified it with the town of Alagir in Northern Ossetia.

Pakhomov, in his article about the coins of Eastern Transcaucasia struck between AH 750-810, also listed some coins minted in Alāgīr by Sulṭān Ḥasan Khān in AH 757, as well as some anonymous coins dated AH 759.⁴ Both Markov and Zambaur considered the coins of AH 757 to be issues of the Jalāyirid, Shaykh Ḥasan Būzūrg. Pakhomov refuted this, arguing not only that Shaykh Ḥasan Būzūrg was then already dead⁵, but also that his name was never cited on coins struck in his lifetime⁶.

Anonymous coins were also struck during the Muẓaffarid Mubārīz al-dīn Muḥammad's invasion of Azerbaijan and the Southern Caucasus in AH 759. These coins bore the usual Muẓaffarid expression "Help is from Allah, victory will be soon"⁷.

Later, Gvaberidze⁸, who evidently did not pay attention to Pakhomov's note on Muẓaffarid coinage, also wrote about the mints of Northern Ossetia, among which he also listed Alāgīr. Furthermore, other scholars began to suggest alternative readings for the mint name. Seyfeddini was the first to propose Alākīr or Al-Kūr⁹, which he also interpreted as "fortress in the Caucasus" in accordance with an opinion of Codrington. Rajabli read the mint-name as Alagez¹⁰. However, none of them tried to locate the mint. In a personal communication Steve Album suggested that a name with a Persian form such as Alagez might be more likely.

Coins minted in "Alāgīr"

All "Alāgīr" coins known to me are silver and were struck according to different weight standards (see Table 1 and Figure 1).

Table 1. Coins minted in "Alāgīr"

Year, AH	Average weight	Denomination ¹¹ and references
ILKHĀNID		
Abū Sa'īd (716-736/1316-1335)		
734/5 (33)	2.68 g	2 dirhams ANS nos.1974.26.408; 1930.168.113; 1922.216.400.
Satī Beg (739/1338-1339)		
739	2.16 g	2 dirhams TÜ ¹² GK4E3; G 125.
Sulaymān (739-746/1339-1346)		
741	1.42 g	2 dirhams B 520; Z 52; MA ¹³ 96.
744	1.42 g	2 dirhams AMH ¹⁴ 6917; TÜ GL5F6; B 521; P2 II-469 ¹⁵ ; S II-67; MA 96.

Anūshirwān (745-757/1344-1356)¹⁶

745 1.39 g 2 dirhams
AMH 6961; SHMA¹⁷ 5795-2058, 5796-2059, 5144-2103
14436-1792; P2 II-469; S II-68.

746 1.40 g 2 dirhams
AMH 7035; P2 II-469; MG¹⁸ 96.

747 1.40 g 2 dirhams
SHMA 5769-2035, 5788-2051, 5794-2057; TÜ GM3F3,
GM3F4; ANS 1917.215. 1811; M¹⁹ no.562/p.594; S II-68.

748 1.40 g 2 dirhams
SHMA 5721-1989; P2 II-470.

750 1.24 g 2 dirhams
AMH 7046; SHMA 5801-2064, 5802-2065, 5806-2069; TÜ
2003-16-303; ANS 1958.183.48; LI²⁰; M no.637 / p.596; P1
47; P2 II-471; MA 103.

752 1.24 g 2 dirhams
P2 II-471.

753 no data
P1 47.

754 no data
P1 47.

756 1.24 g 2 dirhams
P1 47; P2 II-472.

JALĀYRID

Shaykh Ḥasan (736-757/1335-1356)

756* No data
Z 52.

SULṬĀN ḤASAN KHĀN

757 1.00 g 1/3 dinar
SHM²¹ 546420, 546440; P1 48; P2 II-472; S I-77.

JUJĪD

Birdī Beg (758-761/1357-1360)

758 0.98 g 2 dirhams
TÜ 94-53-57; M no.435/p.460; Z 52; Sa²² no.31/p.26; P1 48;
P2 II-472; II-621; S II-81.

⁴ Pakhomov E. *Bor'ba feodal'nykh dinastiy za Vostochnoe Zakavkaz'ye s poloviny XIV v. po monetnym dannym // Kratkie soobscheniya Instituta Istoriy Material'noy Kul'tury AN SSSR*, 66, 1956, p.47 (P1).

⁵ Ibid., p.47.

⁶ Album S. *A Checklist of Islamic Coins*. Santa Rosa, 1998, p.112.

⁷ Qu'ran 3:25. About Muẓaffarid coinage see: Album S. *The coinage of Mubārīz al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn al-Muẓaffar at Yazd and Kirman // Le Monde Iranien et l'Islam*. Vol II, 1974, pp. 151-71

⁸ Gvaberidze C. *O novom monetnom dvore v Severnoy Osetii // Numizmaticheskiy sbornik posv'aschennyy pam'ati D. G. Kapanadze*. Tbilisi, 1977, p.124 (G).

⁹ Seyfeddini M. *Monetnoe delo i denezhnoe obraschenie v Azerbayjane v XII - XV vv*. Vol. I, Baku, 1978 & Vol. II, Baku, 1981 (S); Ibid., Vol. II, p. 71; Seyfeddini M., Guliev A. *Numizmatika Azerbayjana*. Baku, 2002, Vol. III, p.84 (SG).

¹⁰ Rajabli A. *Numizmatika Azerbayjana*. Baku, 1997, pp.90, 98.

¹¹ As given by Album (op. cit.).

¹² Tübingen collection (TÜ).

¹³ Mousheghian Kh., Mousheghian A., Bresc C., Depeyrot G., Gurnet F. *History and Coins Finds in Armenia. Inventory of Coins and Hoards (7th AD - 19th AD)*, Vols. I & II, Wetteren, 2003 (MA).

¹⁴ Museum of History of Azerbaijan (MHA), listed in SG, p.288 and further.

¹⁵ Pakhomov E. *Monetnye klady Azerbayjana i drugikh respublik, kraev i oblastey Kavkaza*. Vols. I-IX. Baku, 1926-66 (P2).

¹⁶ In the ANS collection there are also two coins of Anūshirwān dated AH 74x (ANS nos. 1917.215.1812 and 1974.26.408).

¹⁷ State History Museum of Armenia (SHMA), listed in SG.

¹⁸ Mousheghian Kh., Mousheghian A., Bresc C., Depeyrot G., Gurnet F. *History and Coins Finds in Armenia. Coins from Garni (4th BC - 19th AD)*. Wetteren, 2000 (MG).

¹⁹ Markov A. *Inventarny katalog musulmanskiikh monet imperatorskago Ermitazha*. St. Petersburg, 1896 (M).

²⁰ Lutz Ilisch collection (Tübingen).

* A coin of AH 756 was mentioned by Zambaur; no further description is given.

²¹ State History Museum of Moscow (SHM), listed in S, p. 288 and further.

²² Savel'yev P. *Monety Juchidov, Jagataidov, Jelairidov i drugiya obraschavshiesya v Zolotoy Orde v epokhu Tokhtamysha*. Vypusk 1. St. Petersburg, 1857 (Sa).

Anonymous [Mubārīz al-Dīn Muḥammad] (736-759/1335-1358)

759 0.90 g 1/3 dinar
 AMH 6537; SHM 546453, 546461; SH²³ 30188, 30189; P1 48; P2 II-472; S II-84.

Fig. 1. Coins minted in "Alāgīr"



a) AH 739, ILKHĀNS, Satī Beg, 2.11 g, 19 mm (TÜ GK4E3)



b) AH 744, ILKHĀNS, Sulaymān, 1.40 g, 19 mm (TÜ GL5F6)



c) AH 747, ILKHĀNS, Anūshirwān, 1.29 g, 17.5 mm (TÜ GM3F3)



d) AH 747, ILKHĀNS, Anūshirwān, 1.39 g, 19 mm (TÜ GM3F4)



e) AH 750, ILKHĀNS, Anūshirwān, 1.17 g, 17 mm (TÜ 2003-16-303)



f) AH 750, ILKHĀNS, Anūshirwān, 1.19 g, 19 mm (LI)



g) AH 758, JUJĪD, Birdī Beg, 0.79 g, 16 mm (TÜ 94-53-57)

Search for the mint

All previous suggestions for the location of this mint were based purely on the apparent similarity of its name with Alagir in Ossetia, and without any certain historical arguments. In fact, the histories show that the town of Alagir in the Northern Caucasus was never under Ilkhānid, Jalāyrid or especially Muẓaffarid rule. Thus the town in the Northern Ossetia has apparently nothing to do with the mint which produced coins in the Mongol epoch.

While the coinage of the Ilkhānids and Jalāyrids has been adequately investigated, attention should equally be paid to the coinage of the Muẓaffarids, Jujīds and Sulṭān Ḥasan Khān. All mints which struck coins in the name of Sulṭān Ḥasan Khān are situated in the Southern Caucasus. According to the *Sharāf-nāmē*²⁴ and *Mujmāl-i Fasīkhī*²⁵ in AH 759 the ruler of Fārs Mubārīz al-dīn Muḥammad undertook a campaign to the North. For a short while Armenia and the province of Arrān became the northernmost territories of his realm. The route of the Jujīd campaign to Persia of AH 758-759, according to the *Tā'rīkh-i Guzīdē*²⁶ (written by Zayn al-Dīn, the continuer of Ḥamdallāh Qazwīnī) and the anonymous *Tā'rīkh-i Shaykh Uwāys*²⁷, began in Sarāy and passed via the river of Terek to Darband, Shirwān, Aīdam, Barzand, *tuman* Bishkīn and then through Ardabīl and Sarah to Tabrīz. The return route to Dasht-é Qipchaq was similar.

Based on this data the mint لاگیر cannot have been located in Northern Ossetia. Alagir in Northern Ossetia was well to the north of the main historical arena. It should also be noted that the small village lying near the silver mines and also called Alagir²⁸ was founded only in 1850. This gorge still bears the Ossetian name Wællagir (Wællajyr)²⁹ and was known to European and Russian scholars of the XVIII-XIX centuries as Valagir³⁰, Olagir³¹ or Uallagir³² and to the Georgian historian Vakhushṭi as

²⁴ Sharāf al-Dīn bin Shams al-Dīn Bidlīsī. *Sharāf-nāmē*. Vol. II, Moscow, 1967, p. 52.

²⁵ Fasīkh A. *Mujmāl-i Fasīkhī*. Mashhād, AH 1351 (AD 1932). Vol. II, p.90.

²⁶ *Tā'rīkh-i Guzīdē*, in: *Zolotaya Orda v istochnikakh*. Moscow, 2003, p.274 (reprint of: Tiesenhausen W. *Sbornik materialov, odnosyaschikhsya k istorii Zolotoy Ordy. P. II Izvlecheniya iz sochineniy persidskikh*, Moscow, 1941). For the campaign of Janī Beg to Tabrīz also see: Ali-Zade A. *Bor'ba Zolotoy Ordy i gosudarstva Ilkhanov za Azerbayjan XIII - XIV vv.* Baku, 1956, p.35, and Grekov B., Yakubovskiy A. *Zolotaya Orda i ee padeniye*. Moscow, 1998, pp.201-3.

²⁷ *Tā'rīkh-i Shaykh Uwāys*, in: *Zolotaya Orda...*, p.285.

²⁸ Popov K. *Alagir: Ocherk prirody i istorii*. Vladikavkaz, 1996, p.4.

²⁹ Tsagaeva A. *Toponimiya Severnoy Osetii*. Ordzhonikidze, 1975, p.75.

³⁰ Reinegs Ja. *Obschee istoriko-topograficheskoe opisanie Kavkaza*. St. Petersburg, Vol.I, 1796, p.101.

³¹ Koch K. *Puteshestvie cherez Rossiyu k Kavkazskomu pereshjeku v 1837 i 1838 gg.* St. Petersburg, 1843, p.231.

³² Popov, op.cit., p.51.

²³ State Hermitage, St. Petersburg (SH), listed in: S, p.288 and further.

Valagiri³³. It was only from the 1850's onwards that it became known as Alagir, and the medieval Arabic form of its name was probably *والاجير* or *الاجير*.

Numismatic evidence indicates that coins were issued in "Alāgīr" between AH 739 – 759, i.e. under the last Ilkhānids (Saʿī Beg, Sulaymān, Antūshirwān) and then Sulṭān Ḥasan Khān, the Jujīds and Muẓaffarīds. To help locate the mint correctly, a map was drawn showing the intersection of the territories controlled by those four dynasties. The coinage of Abū Saʿīd and the Jalāyrids has not been indicated on this map as their coins are mentioned only once. We should therefore be seeking to locate "Alāgīr" where the realms of the Ilkhāns, Sulṭān Ḥasan Khān, Muẓaffarīds and Jujīds overlapped (see Fig. 2).

The question here concerns the territories of the Southern K'axeti, Arrān, Siwnik' and the Northern and North-Western parts of Iranian Adharbayjan (the regions of Parskahayk', Vaspurakan and P'aytakaran of the Armenian Highland). All four dynasties struck their coins in the mint of "Alāgīr". This territory looks like a rhombus with corners in Qaraaghach in the North, Barda'a in the East, Nakhijawān in the West and Tabrīz in the South. Another mint which produced coins for all these dynasties and which was also located within that rhombus is Ganja. The variety of ways of writing the mint-name (see Fig. 1) demonstrates that the mint was situated outside Arabic-speaking or Arabic-writing areas.

In order to locate "Alāgīr" within this area, works on the toponymy of Transcaucasia³⁴, Azerbaijan³⁵, Georgia³⁶, Turkey³⁷, Armenia and Iran³⁸ were used (in particular the most full and up-to-date *Dictionary of Toponymy of Armenia and Adjacent Territories*³⁹). According to these sources there is no place with a name derived from *الاجير* with one exception (discussed below). There are only a few small and insignificant villages which bear the name Alagez⁴⁰, and there was no place which could be identified as Alāgīr in the South Caucasus and south of the Araxes river⁴¹.

Location of the mint

The most important town whose name conformed with the Arabic way of writing *الاجير* was the fortress of Elegis⁴² (pre-medieval Elegik⁴³, known in the Persian and Turkish languages as *الاجير*,

Alagyoz⁴⁴/Alagöz, Alagyaz⁴⁵/Alagāz or Alayaz⁴⁶), in Vayocdzor *marz* (province) of the modern Republic of Armenia. Elegis was the capital of the *nahang* (district) Elegnadzor ("the canyon of the river Elegis") in the Armenian historical *ashkharh* (land) Siwnik'⁴⁷.

Near the present village of Alayaz, ca. 3 km downstream by the River of Elegis, there are still some ruins of the fortress called Smbataberd (or Cakhack'ar). This fortress was very important and significant from the IX century. In the Middle Ages it was the residence of the Siwni princes and the capital of the province of Siwnik'. After the fall of the Siwnik' Kingdom in 1170 AD, Elegis became a capital of the powerful dynasty of the Orbelians, vassals of the Zak'areans. Although Armenia was in political decline Elegis nevertheless flourished, and there survive from this period many historical monuments from Siwnik' such as churches, *khachk'ars* (cross-stones), secular buildings and the cemetery of the Orbelians.⁴⁸



Fig. 2. Coinage in South Caucasus and its limits, AH 756-759 – Ilkhāns (I, AH 739-756), Sulṭān Ḥasan Khān (S, AH 757-758), Muẓaffarīds (M, AH 759) and Jujīds (J, AH 757-758) mints and Janī Beg campaign of AH 758 (I).⁴⁹

Both the Siwni and Orbelian princes realised the strategic significance of Elegis and strengthened its fortress. A large garrison was always billeted there. The church of *Sb. Zorac* (St. Host, built no earlier than AD 1303, see Fig. 3) has an open space in front of the altar where mounted cavalry could stand to pray, a feature which is unique in Armenia⁵⁰. The construction of this church by the Orbelians in Mongol times would only have been possible if the Armenian princes still had access to the revenues from their lands. This was possible only with close cooperation

³³ Vakhushiti Bagrationi. *Geografiya Gruzii // Zapiski Kavkazskogo Otdeleniya Russkogo Geograficheskogo Obschestva*, kn. 24, Vol. V, Tiflis, 1904, p. 145.

³⁴ Pagirov D. D. *Alfavitnyj ukazatel' k pyativerstnoy karte Kavkazskogo kraya*. Tiflis, 1913

³⁵ Geybullaev G. *Toponimiya Azerbayjana*. Baku, 1986; Āliyev V. *Azərbaycan toponimiyası*. Baku, 1999.

³⁶ Vakhushiti, op. cit., p. 145; Melitauri K. *Kreposti dofeodal'noy i rannefeodal'noy Gruzii*, Vols. I & II, Tbilisi, 1969-71; Gabashvili M. *Sakartvelos qalaqebi XI-XII ss.* Tbilisi, 1981; Lomitashvili D., Songulashvili A., Lezhava J. *Masalebi sakartvelos sopebis ist'orisatvis*. Tbilisi, 1982; Aprasidze G. *Srednevekove goroda Gruzii (XI – pervaya polovina XIII vv.)*. Tbilisi, 1985.

³⁷ N. Akbayan. *Osmanli yer adları sözlüğü*. İstanbul, 2001

³⁸ Barbier de Meynard C. *Dictionnaire géographique, historique et littéraire de la Perse et des contrées adjacentes*. Paris, 1861; *The Geographical Part of Nuzhat-al-Qulūb composed by Hamd-allāh Mustawfī of Qazwīn 740 (1340)*. Leyden-London, 1919; Keyhān M. *Joghrafiyā-i mofassal Irān*. Tehran, AH 1311 (AD 1932); Muḥammad ibn Najīb Bakrān. *Jahān-nāmē*. Moscow, 1960; Bartold V. *Sochineniya*, Vols 3, 4, 7 (Moscow, 1965, 1966, 1971); *Hudūd al-alām*. Ed. By V. Minorsky. London, 1970; Krawulsky D. *Iran – Das Reich der İlkhāne*. Wiesbaden, 1978; Qazwīnī Ḥamdallāh. *Zayl-i tārikh-i guzidē*. Baku, 1990.

³⁹ Hakobyan T., Melik-Bakhshyan St., Barseghyan H. *Dictionary of Toponymy of Armenia and Adjacent Territories*. Yerevan, Vols. I-V, 1986-2001.

⁴⁰ Ibid., Vol. I, p. 56.

⁴¹ The reading and location of the mint "Qarjīn" (قارجین) the Ilkhānid coins of AH 749 and 750) given by Gvaberidze (ibid., p. 118) as a place in Northern Ossetia seems to be incorrect. Zambaur's reading of Farkhīn (فرخين) see Z, p. 184, coins of the same years) is more acceptable, because it is undoubtedly a variant of the name Mayyāfāriqīn (see *Dictionary*, Vol. V, p. 515 for the Armenian variant "Fark'in").

⁴² *Dictionary...*, Vol. II, p. 181.

⁴³ Ibid., Vol. II, pp. 182-3.

⁴⁴ Ibid., Vol. I, p. 62.

⁴⁵ Ibid., p. 56; Vol. V, p. 151.

⁴⁶ Ibid., Vol. I, p. 62.

⁴⁷ Hakobyan T. *Hayastani patmakan ashxarhagrut'yun*. Yerevan, 1968, p. 215.

⁴⁸ Khachatryan A. *Trekhyazychnaya nadpis' iz Elegisa // Kavkaz i Vizantiya*, 3, 1982, p. 124; Barkhudaryan S. *Divan hay vimagrut yan Vayoc Dzor, Elegnadzor ev Azizbekovi shrjanner*. Vol. III, Yerevan, 1967, p. 106.

⁴⁹ I would like to thank the team of www.armenica.org, Mr. V. Avedyan and Mr. S. Amiryanyan, for permission to use their maps as a base for this map.

⁵⁰ Tokarsky N. *Arkhitektura drevney Armenii*. Yerevan, 1946, p. 316.

with the Mongols. From time to time they had to take part in the Mongols' military campaigns as well as to supply the Mongol army with reinforcements.

In 1251-56 prince Smbat Orbelian made arduous journeys to Karakorum to persuade Möngke Khān, son of Chinggis, to make Siwnik' a tax-exempt fiefdom under Möngke's direct patronage. But close cooperation with the Mongol rulers had its price. Several Orbelians died in the Khān's campaigns far from home⁵¹.



Fig. 3. Church of Sb. Zorac (St. Host) in Elegis⁵².

Coins from Elegis in the hoards

It is very important to note that virtually all known coins minted in Elegis were found in the South-Caucasian region, and there is only one instance in the Northern Caucasus⁵³. If the mint is nevertheless identified with Alagir in Northern Ossetia then these coins must have been found in the areas controlled by the Golden Horde, i.e. in the steppe between the Volga and Don rivers.

Even in South-Caucasian hoards, the Elegis coins represent a very small percentage ~ 3.39%. The hoards with Elegis coins are shown in Table 2. There are two very important exceptions, namely the hoards from Hors and Sharur which are the nearest places to Elegis. Thus 23.13% of coins from the hoard of Hors (15 km from Elegis) were struck in Elegis. In the hoard from Bash-Norashen (modern Sharur, located 50 km to the south of Elegis) 85.05% of all coins were struck at Elegis. The South-Caucasian hoards of XIV century represent the production of only local Ilkhānid mints. For instance, the hoard from Garņi included the coins of Garņi, Barda'a, Elegis, Yerevan and Bakuya. There are also no finds of Jujīd coins in the Southern Caucasus before the first half of XIV century. At the same time those hoards with the coins of the Golden Horde do not contain Ilkhānid issues⁵⁴.

⁵¹ For the history of the Orbelians and Siwnik' see: Step'annos Orbelean. *Patmut iwn nahangin Sisakan*. Yerevan, 1942

⁵² *Armeniya. Enciklopediya puteshestvennika*. Ed. by K. S. Khudaverdyan. Yerevan, 1990, p.223.

⁵³ In this very big hoard (AH 717-795) from Voskresenskoe (Sa, p.7 and further; P2 II-621) there were 14350 Jujīd, Jalāyrid and Chaghatayid coins mainly struck in the Khurasān, Persia and Volga region. This hoard was undoubtedly a treasure of the merchants who arrived at the Great Steppe from the Southern Caucasus or came from Persia through the Southern Caucasus.

⁵⁴ Fedorov-Davydov G. *Klady dzhuchidskikh monet* // Numizmatika i Epigrafika, I, 1960, pp.94-192; Fedorov-Davydov G. *Nakhodki dzhuchidskikh monet* // Numizmatika i Epigrafika, IV, 1963, pp.165-221; Fedorov-Davydov G. *Nakhodki kladov zolotoordynskikh monet* // Goroda

Table 2. Hoards of Elegis coins

Years, AH	Coins in hoard	Coins of Elegis / Total	%
Bash-Norashen ⁵⁵ (modern Sharur, Azerbaijan)			
730-748	Ilkhāns	91 / 107	85.05
Hors ⁵⁶ (15 km from Elegis)			
733-740	Ilkhāns	324 / 1401	23.13
Garņi ⁵⁷ (near Yerevan)			
745-747	Ilkhāns	18 / 500	3.60
Nakhijawan ⁵⁸			
748-759	Ilkhāns, Jalāyrids, Sultān Hasan Khān, Jujīd, Muzaffarid	34 / 2437	1.40
Kushi ⁵⁹ (near Shamakhi)			
733-754	Ilkhāns	2 / 59	3.39
Tauz ⁶⁰ (Tovuz, Azerbaijan)			
714-746	Ilkhāns	32 / 2342	1.37
Baku ⁶¹			
746-753	Ilkhāns	4 / 504	0.79
Yerevan ⁶²			
710-750	Ilkhāns	1 / 1190	0.08
Voskresenskoe ⁶³ (District of Dnipropetrivs'k, Ukraine)			
717-795	Jujīd, Jalāyrid, Chaghatayid	1 / 14350	0.007
Yerevan ⁶⁴			
717-746	Ilkhāns	/ 282	?

Conclusions

The following main results have been achieved during the preparation of this article –

- construction of the intersections of the domains of the Ilkhāns, Sultān Hasan Khān, Muzaffarids and Jujīds;
- analysis of toponyms within the territory of this intersection;
- reconstruction of the route of Janī Beg's campaign;
- topography of finds
- confirmation of "Alāgīr" (الاکیر) mint as the fortress of Elegis in the Vayocdzor region of Armenia.

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Povolzhya v Srednie Veka, Moscow, 1974, pp.176-81; Fedorov-Davydov G. *Klad serebryannykh dzhuchidskikh monet s Selitrennogo gorodischa* // Numizmatika i Epigrafika, XIII, 1980, pp.58-76.

⁵⁵ P2 II-470.

⁵⁶ P2 I-157, additions in: VIII-157. Total 3150 coins where 1401 described.

⁵⁷ MG, p.92.

⁵⁸ P2 II-472.

⁵⁹ P2 VIII-I, 156. Total 1604 coins where 59 described.

⁶⁰ P2 II-469.

⁶¹ P2 II-471.

⁶² MA, p. 102.

⁶³ Sa, p.7; P2 II-621.

⁶⁴ Bartholomaei J. *Lettres numismatiques et archéologiques, relatives à la Transcaucasie*. St.Petersburg, 1855, pp.20-38; P2 I-154, MA, p.96.

Some Curious Bactrian Monograms

By L.M.Wilson

There has been a very long and continuing debate on the exact meaning of the monograms found on the Bactrian and Indo-Greek coinage. Several interpretations have been proposed over the years, the main ones being,

- 1) they represent the name of the city or mint from which the coin originated,
- 2) they represent the name of a person eg. a magistrate or 'moneyer' at the mint,
- 3) they represent other mint 'control' marks and/or mint officinae marks.

In the past, much effort had been spent on trying to find the possible city names [as in 1] from the monograms¹ and since many monograms persist for more than 100 years, the link to a mint or city name seemed to be a sensible interpretation. The city name could of course be changed occasionally by a new monarch who re-names it, so a mint continuing in the same location could possibly change its monogram although this would not be expected to happen very often. However [1] has not always been completely convincing and 2] and 3] also have much to support them, especially on comparison with other Greek coinages and related Parthian issues, as well as the fact that the monograms from the same location often appear to change or multiply^{2,4,6}. As Whitehead concluded³, the truth probably lies somewhere in a combination of all these views. Monograms have generally been taken to refer to specific mints or mint workshops and to be associated with these mints, sometimes with several monograms being used at the same mint.

Whatever the monograms really represent, it is curious that some monograms stop being used in Bactria but continue to be used by different kings across the Hindu Kush in 'India', where coinage of a different weight standard normally circulated. This use of the same monogram in completely different places could simply be a coincidence (which seems unlikely) or an actual 'migration' south from Bactria into new mints in different geographical locations. The table below shows some of the main monograms and the main kings (in chronological order) that used them on their coinage, with an indication of their location (based on the location of the monarchs).

The first four seem to be found only on coins issued in Bactria by Bactrian kings. The first monogram (ϕ) begins on coinage of Demetrios I and is probably not located in the capital Bactra, but somewhere further south in Bactria and is probably associated with a new mint⁵ set up by Demetrios I. The A monogram could be associated with Bactra but also appears on the Indo-Greek coinage of Apollodotos I (in association with another monogram) and so was also used south of the Hindu Kush. The (ϕ) monogram could be associated with Bactra or Ai Khanoum^{5,6} but then possibly migrates, as it begins with Diodotos and ends with Zoilos I, who appears to 'revive' this old monogram on his coinage in a very similar form after a long period of absence.

The next monogram (R) first appears on coins of Euthydemos I and is thus purely Bactrian^{5,6} and most likely located in Bactra, but then appears on issues of Apollodotos I, Lysias, Strato I etc. and is thus located south of the Hindu Kush. It also appears on the coinage of Demetrios I, Agathokles, Eukratides I and Antimachos I, and so could conceivably have been minted in the South or East by these kings who are known to have had control of some 'Indian' areas beyond the Hindu Kush but was most likely used by them in Bactria (at Bactra). It may have been 'shared' by Agathokles and Antimachos and then taken over by Eukratides. Its appearance on coins of Apollodotos I at (apparently) about the same time may be because he also shared it with Agathokles/Antimachos or introduced it separately, south of the Hindu Kush. If it was shared then it is interesting that it seems to have been used on the Attic coinage of Agathokles/Antimachos (normally associated with Bactria) as well as the 'Indian' coinage of Apollodotos. If it was not shared at the same mint, it is curious

that it was used on two completely different coinage types, at completely different locations.

Table 1. The Main Monograms (on silver issues).

Used By The Following Kings	Migration (if any)
 Demetrios I, Euthydemos II, Pantaleon, Agathokles, Antimachos I, Eukratides I	Apparently Bactria only
 Antimachos I, Eukratides I, Eukratides II	Apparently Bactria only
 Demetrios I, Euthydemos II, Pantaleon, Agathokles, Heliokles I	Apparently Bactria only
 Euthydemos I, (Demetrios I), Euthydemos II, Eukratides I, Demetrios II	Apparently Bactria only
 Diodotos, Euthydemos I, Demetrios I, Zoilos I	Moves South
 Euthydemos I, Demetrios I, Euthydemos II, Agathokles, Eukratides I, Antimachos I, Apollodotos I, Lysias, Strato I, Philoxenos, Archebios	Moves South
 Demetrios I, Eukratides I, Menander, Antialkidas, Lysias, Strato I, Philoxenos, Archebios	Moves or located in South
 Eukratides I, Apollodotos I	Moves or located in south
 Eukratides I, Plato, Antimachos II, Menander, Lysias	Located in South
 Antimachos I, II, Eukratides I, Apollodotos I, Menander, Zoilos I	Located in South
 Antimachos II, Eukratides I, Menander, Antialkidas, Lysias, Zoilos I, Philoxenos Hermaios	Located in South

In Bactria R may have been used continuously for about 50 years (c.205 to c.150, ending with the later Eukratides I coinage). Then there appears to be a gap before it was used for at least 60 years south of the Hindu Kush, some thirty years or more after Apollodotos I. Much of this gap could of course be filled by Menander if his similar monogram with the cross-bar is actually just a variant of the original (introduced on the coinage of Euthydemos I in Bactria, most likely in the mint of the capital Bactra). It is tempting to see it as a variant of this previous Euthydemos monogram. Although Lahiri⁸ lists the monogram without cross-bar for Menander, it is hard to distinguish it from the next monogram with the vertical cross-bar in the k (especially

on the small drachm coins) and Bopearachchi⁷ does not list it for this king.

The very similar monogram with the cross-bar (⌘) was used by Demetrios I, Eukratides I and Menander, as well as Antialkidas, Lysias etc. and so was either located in the South from the beginning or moved there after Demetrios I or Eukratides. This monogram may have been used continuously for about 100 years. The next ⌘ monogram appears on the earlier Attic coinage of Eukratides I and also on (probably the earliest) Indo-Greek coinage of Apollodotos I. Again, was this used in two different places at about the same time or was it used first in one and then adopted in the other?

The last 3 monograms appear to be based south of the Hindu Kush⁷, being among the main monograms of Menander. The (⌘) monogram is interesting because Plato used this monogram on his silver tetradrachm issues although this Attic weight coinage standard has generally been associated only with Bactria, i.e. North of the Hindu Kush. Actually this is not always true, as there are many other examples of Attic weight standard coins with each of these three supposedly southern monograms (mostly in the coinage of Antimachos I and Eukratides I). Unless this is due to the unlikely repeated migration of the monogram to the north or the use of the same monogram in different locations at the same time, it suggests that these Attic weight issues of Plato were actually minted south of the Hindu Kush. Plato was possibly a usurper (or brother of Eukratides I) taking over some limited area in the South at the expense of Eukratides and Menander or on the demise of Eukratides I, perhaps some border area close to Bactria where he then minted his Attic coins. This also indicates that

Antimachos I issued his Attic coinage with (⌘) monogram south of the Hindu Kush, as did Eukratides I. It has been suggested that the mint with this monogram was located at Begram near Kabul⁷.

This migration of the monograms to the south of the Hindu Kush could be due to the original Bactrian mint setting up a 'new branch' of operations in the southern Indian territories. The Greeks could of course have set up these new minting operations in existing Indian mints, like Taxila, but now with new moneyers issuing their Indo-Greek or 'Bactrian' Greek types. This new minting operation then continued to use the same monogram. Why was the old monogram still used? Of the three alternatives above, [1] can be ruled out as the name of the new mint/city would most likely have been different. If the same family of mint masters or magistrates operated the new mint then [2] is still possible and so of course is [3] as the workers at the new mint could continue to use the same mint 'control' marks. Of course [2] seems less likely than [3], as the possibility of the same family being responsible for mints in completely different locations seems remote although some moneyer's families may have been forced to migrate south due to war or the final collapse of Bactria. On the other hand, not that many monograms reappear in Indian territories but there are many completely new monograms appearing on the coinage of Apollodotos I and Menander.

Perhaps some monograms began life representing the name of the mint/city or the moneyer/magistrate and then became fixed through successive generations until they represented simply the signature of that mint. As a control mark this would have been easily recognisable as an issue of that particular mint, whatever its name or whoever was responsible for it. Even if the same monogram was used in the southern Indian territories, this would not have caused confusion because the weight standard was (usually) different and, in any case, the old Bactrian mints had changed their monograms after Eukratides I and probably most had ceased to exist as Greek mints after Heliokles I (with the fall of Bactria to the nomads). With the increasing nomadic attacks and the final fall of Bactria it seems likely there was an exodus of the Greeks to the new Indo-Greek territories to the south and east, probably over a period of years. Some of the old Bactrian mint operations could of course have migrated at the same time and set up new operations in the Greek controlled Indian territories. A few of these new mints could then have used the same or similar

monograms that they had previously used in Bactria, for example ⌘ with cross bar or the ⌘ monogram.

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The Earliest Issues of Eukratides I of Bactria

By L.M.Wilson

It is well known that the coinage of Eukratides I is divided into two major types, the earlier pre-epithet bare headed type and the later type with the ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ epithet (and helmeted bust). The adoption of the epithet seems to have occurred before 162 BC (due to Timarchos copying the same type, so sometime between about 170 and 163 BC seems reasonable). However, it would be useful to attempt a classification of the pre-epithet types based on their monograms and style in order to identify different phases of these types and in particular to identify the *earliest* of these pre-epithet types and their associated monograms that must have been issued by Eukratides in the first few years of his usurpation, c.175/170 BC. If these monograms can be linked to mints then the monogram succession could give a chronological sequence of mints corresponding to the acquisition of cities from Antimachos I and Agathokles (and Euthydemos II and Demetrios I) as these rivals were defeated by Eukratides I.

The monogram^{1,2} 'mint marks' of Eukratides I (on the silver coinage) are shown in Table 1, although many of the *later* monograms are omitted, as there are too many to list here. Of the 7 monograms found on the pre-epithet tetradrachms, drachms and

most obols of Eukratides I, ⌘, ⌘ (in set C) are known to be the main monograms on the coinage of Agathokles. Likewise the

⌘ monogram was used on the coinage of Antimachos I, so if Eukratides I issued coinage before acquiring mints (associated with these monograms) from his rivals he must have used different monograms and mints. None of the other monograms were used by his immediate predecessors and are only used by

Eukratides I, except for ⌘ (used by Euthydemos I). There are several different possible scenarios and the 2 main possible sequences will be considered; 1] these three monograms were acquired from Antimachos and Agathokles by Eukratides but Eukratides did issue coinage using his own monograms and mints before he used these monograms belonging to Antimachos and Agathokles. His earliest monograms would be expected to be different to these three. Alternatively, 2] Eukratides issued no coinage *before* acquiring monograms and mints from Antimachos I and Agathokles, but issued coinage from mints as and when he acquired them.

The 'early' pre-epithet monograms of Eukratides I can be separated according to the coin style (sets A, B, C in Table 1) or according to the similarity of the monograms. The four monogram 'families' that appear to have similarities could be arranged as follows, 1) ⌘ ⌘

2) ⌘ ⌘ ⌘ (note ⌘ and ⌘ often look similar)

3)  and finally (4) the  monogram.

An examination of the pre-epithet coinage reveals that there are coins that seem to form a separate fairly homogeneous group, having large wide portrait busts with a high forehead and prominent chin on wide flans, the top of the head almost touching the coin border, wrinkles on the corner of the eye, an incuse cut-off shoulder (rather than drapery), the left diadem end often bent upwards or both diadem ends wavy (rather than straight) and a mark of value on the reverse; A for the drachms and Δ on the tetradrachms. These coins all have the first three monograms shown in set A of Table 1, as on the first two illustrated coins of Eukratides, a tetradrachm and drachm, and have a different appearance to the coins with the set C monograms. Set A may represent several mints, but the last two in A have similarities and often look alike, possibly being variants (monogram ‘family’ 1), and so the 3 monograms in A may represent only two mints or even one mint with different workshops. The style of the more common coins with the monograms in set C is quite homogeneous, with smaller busts, drapery on the shoulder, no marks of value and a less artistic style. Some coins, with the monograms in set B, show some features of set A although their appearance is generally much closer to set C. These coins with

 (set B) have elements of the style of set C, with smaller busts and no mark of value but have the cut-off shoulder as set A, while

some coins with  have the style of set C but have the Δ mark of value like set A coins. Most coins with these two monograms have the set C style. The Eukratides portrait looks a little older on

coins with the rare  monogram and it also probably belongs in set B as the coins have similar features to set C except for the cut-off shoulder. It could be a variant of the monograms with A motif,

such as  (see ‘family’ 2) and the main features on coins with these two ‘A’ monograms in set B are very similar (perhaps they were issued at the same mint).

The homogeneity of style in set A or set C could mean all the coins of each set were issued from just one mint per set if the same engraver’s style can be identified (and artists were not shared). The coinage of set A does seem to have such a similarity and it all could have been issued at just one mint, although it is unfortunate that the second group of monograms in A only appear on drachms or obols, so it is more difficult to compare the style, particularly on obols. But the homogeneity of set C coins may not be due to all the coins being issued at just one mint. The coinage of Agathokles and Euthydemus II at about this period also show

similarities in style on coinage with the  and  monograms but it has not been suggested that these two major monograms

( and ) of Agathokles were used at the same mint in the same location but instead shows there was some effort to unify style between mints. In fact there may be some evidence that these two monograms belonged to different mints³.

Table 1. The monograms of Eukratides I (on silver)

Eukratides I	(Early, set A)			
Eukratides I	(Early, set B)			
Eukratides I	(Early, set C)			
Eukratides I	(ALL Early)			
				

Eukratides I (Later, with Epithet)



Whatever mints these (‘Early’ set A and C) monograms of Eukratides do represent, we have a homogeneous group of coins in set A and a homogeneous group of different style in set C, with some intermediate coins (set B). How can these sets be ordered chronologically? Either they go A-B-C or C-B-A or they were initiated at about the same time. There does not appear to be much difference in the age of the portraits on most coins, although it is hard to tell with set C, the style appearing ‘idealised’. There is no clear aging as on the Euthydemus I coinage (although the portrait on the rare tetradrachm with  monogram does look a little older than others).

Another examination of the coins may help to clarify the situation. Comparing the two main sets (A and C) with the early coins of Agathokles (and Antimachos) for the earliest period and with the later Agathokles and the helmeted coins of Eukratides I (with their epithets) shows some similarities. The flans of the set A coins tend to be wide as are those of Euthydemus II, Agathokles and coins of Demetrios I (a trend that started with the later coinage of Euthydemus I, the so-called ‘Bactrian flan’) and their engraving style is ‘good’ as are the pre-epithet issues of Agathokles in this period. The wavy diadem ends (particularly on drachms with the second monogram in set A) puts them closer to the issues of Agathokles with his similarly wavy diadem ends. Their appearance is thus closer to the earliest expected period for Eukratides I, while the set C coinage is closer in appearance to the later issues of Agathokles (with his epithet), which is just as expected since Eukratides I then took over the mints of Agathokles for his own coinage. The wavy diadems and cut-off shoulder of set A are the features found on coins of Antimachos I

(with  and the  monogram, shown on the illustrated coin), again as expected for the earliest period of Eukratides I, while Antimachos still ruled and issued coinage in Bactria. The order thus seems to be A-B-C rather than the other way round, but it is also possible that they all run in parallel and that neither set A nor set C was initiated before the other. Thus the set A coins could be the earliest issues of Eukratides I or they could be contemporary with some of the set C coins, the different styles being merely the preferences of the different workshops. This could be resolved if the mint locations associated with these monograms were definitely identified and it was known if set A were from a different location to the others. It may be significant that the last two set A monograms seem to disappear with the acquisition of the two major Bactrian mints from Agathokles in set C.

It is of course dangerous to base too much on the style of mints, but the monograms speak for themselves and seem to fit into a sequence for the early issues of Eukratides I. So the sets A,B,C could be arranged chronologically (due to comparison with the coins of Agathokles and Antimachos discussed), or the differences could be due to the preferences of the different mints/workshops. The set A coins could all be from Antimachos I mint/workshops (these are better style coins) and set C could all (or nearly all) be from Agathokles’ mints/workshops. If  and  are *both* from Bactra (as seems likely) then these would have been acquired at the same time by Eukratides and the sets could run in parallel.

The sets of monograms are shown in Table 1, and if the three monograms acquired from his rivals are excluded, the only possible monograms that Eukratides could have used on his earliest coinage according to scenario 1] (above) are the second two in set A and the first two ,  in set B. The most likely group are the monograms in set A since these could be the earliest, but they hardly seem possible as they are linked to the

⊖ monogram inherited from Antimachos in set A and are only found on drachms and obols. The other two also seem unlikely because they have either intermediate or later style and are possibly variants of the same monogram with A motif. In fact the first (Antimachos) monogram in A and the second monogram in B often look quite similar, the main difference being the cross bar, and they could possibly be variants produced at the same mint (see ‘family’ 2 above). We do not seem to be left with any good candidates for a coinage of Eukratides *before* mints were acquired from Agathokles and Antimachos in Bactria and alternative 2] seems more likely.

The two monograms ⊖ and ⊖ appear on the coinage of other Bactrian kings, ⊖ on the coinage of Euthydemos I and ⊖ on the coins of Antimachos I (although Euthydemos I also uses a similar monogram- a variant?). The ⊖ monogram is not used by Demetrios I or other Euthydemid successors of Euthydemos I, and appears to have been resurrected by Eukratides I for his coinage. Thus Eukratides could have re-opened an old mint of Euthydemos for his own coinage (perhaps even before he acquired mints from his rivals) if this mint is not actually at Bactra², as discussed above. They both continue into the later coinage of Eukratides I and are used on the larger tetradrachm denomination with ⊖ also used on his ‘pedigree’ coins and are presumably associated with some more important mint(s). It is thus tempting to associate one or both of these with the mint at Bactra. The Antimachos I connection suggests that either Antimachos I captured this mint from Eukratides and held it for some time or Eukratides I captured it from Antimachos early in his usurpation (unless Antimachos I did not actually use this monogram in Bactria). Antimachos also used the ⊖ monogram which does seem to be from the Bactra mint³. The ⊖ monogram may well be from Bactra too, particularly as the coin obverses of Antimachos have the same wavy diadem ends as the Antimachos coins with ⊖ monogram and the coinage of Agathokles. The ‘N’ (in a circle) monogram of Antimachos I could also be associated with Bactra, although here the diadem ends are straight (with one twist) and it seems odd that Antimachos would have yet another monogram from Bactra, so a different mint location is of course possible.

If Eukratides I did capture the mint associated with the ⊖ monogram (from Antimachos) early in his usurpation and it is not Bactra, then the monograms in set A could have been the first to be used on his coinage. If the monogram ⊖ is associated with Bactra², then Eukratides would have obtained it at the same time he acquired other monograms, in particular he would have obtained both ⊖ and ⊖ from Antimachos and Agathokles and sets A and C could be merged together. Since some (rarer) coins of Antimachos I have the ⊖ monogram, with the obverse having wavy diadem ends like the coinage of Agathokles (and Euthydemos II), it supports the idea that Antimachos and Agathokles shared this mint/monogram before Eukratides I acquired it and issued his obverses with straight instead of wavy diadem ends. Of course the coinage of Antimachos I from Bactria (particularly from the Bactra mint) with ⊖ etc. monograms *could* have been issued after the coinage of Agathokles (instead of sharing the mint) or only during the time of the later coinage of Agathokles (with epithet), as it is hard to distinguish different phases of this coinage of Antimachos and there is no pre-epithet coinage.

The chronological monogram sequence for the coinage of

Eukratides I could be as follows; at the start of his usurpation he issued coinage with just the monograms from the ‘Early’ set A, perhaps from just one mint (or two mints), acquiring monogram

⊖ and its mint on the defeat of Antimachos. Then on the defeat of Agathokles he acquired the two major Bactrian mints with ⊖ and ⊖ monograms in set C. As discussed above in 1], if Eukratides issued coinage in his earliest period it seems unlikely that any of the monograms used by Eukratides I could be associated with Bactra if Agathokles and Antimachos still

controlled the capital. If ⊖ is associated with Bactra/Balkh, as seems likely, then Agathokles continued to hold the capital of Bactria during this earliest period and Eukratides I did not capture it until some time after the beginning of his usurpation. At some later period, after Eukratides I himself invaded ‘Indian’ territories south of the Hindu Kush and adopted an epithet, he acquired the major mint of Antimachos I (south of the Hindu Kush) with the ⊖ monogram from Menander and also adopted many other new

monograms. The ⊖ monogram does actually appear on some ‘early’ obols without epithet which must have been minted just before Eukratides adopted his epithet.

On the other hand, if all the set A (and set B) monograms turn out to be associated with Bactra, then Eukratides would seem not to have minted his own coinage until after capturing Bactra and the demise of Agathokles. Agathokles and Antimachos I would have lost much of Bactria when Eukratides I acquired the

major ⊖ and ⊖ mint monograms. While this appears to have been the end of Agathokles, whose reign in Bactria seems to have been short, Antimachos I could have withdrawn to his territories south of the Hindu Kush and continued to rule there. Alternatively he could of course have been killed and succeeded by Antimachos II (if this king is distinct from Antimachos I). The young king Euthydemos II is assumed to have reigned in association with Agathokles and shared his monograms as well as his fate.

The ‘earliest’ monograms of Eukratides I may well all be associated with Bactrian mints (north of the Hindu Kush), although Apollodotos I uses a monogram that appears to be very similar to one of these ‘early’ set A monograms (⊖) on his Indo-Greek standard coins, presumably at a mint to the south-east in his own Indo-Greek domains. Eukratides is the only ‘Bactrian’ king to use it. The other monogram in this pair (⊖) was only used by Eukratides I and then both of these disappear from Bactria. Careful die studies of these early issues, particularly the coins with monograms from sets A and B, would help to clarify the situation at the beginning of the usurpation of Eukratides I. If the actual location or the geographical area associated with the earliest mints could be established it would help to determine where Eukratides I began his usurpation. It has often been suggested that Eukratides I was an army commander responsible for the defence of some part of Bactria under his legitimate monarch Demetrios. So far it is unknown where Eukratides was based, whether on the northern ‘nomad’ frontier around the Oxus or the western ‘Parthian’ frontier or elsewhere, but it does seem that his usurpation did not begin in the capital.



Eukratides I tetradrachm with monogram in Set A



Eukratides I drachm with monogram in Set A



Eukratides I tetradrachm with monogram in Set C



Antimachos tetradrachm with same monogram as Eukratides I in Set A

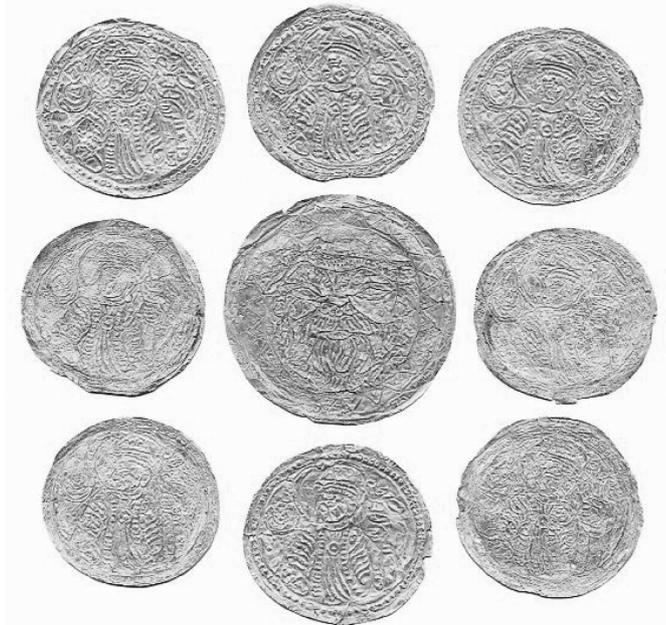


fig. 1

The eight smaller discs (see figs. 2 & 3) measure $2\frac{1}{8}$ inches in diameter, weigh 0.5g and were formed on the same mould.

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Illustrations courtesy of CNG inc.

Nine Gold Kushan Discs

By Peter A. Linenthal

Few early Indian pieces moulded from thin sheets of gold survive. These nine gold foil repoussé discs (see fig. 1)¹ were collected by Prof. Samuel Eilenberg in Pakistan in the 1970s. Over four hundred pieces from Prof. Eilenberg's collection of Indian and Southeast Asian art are now in The Metropolitan Museum. Many appear in *The Lotus Transcendant*². Several pieces from Eilenberg's collection were sold through Asian Rare Art from whom I bought these discs in 2005³.



fig. 3

The single large gold disc (see figs. 4 & 5) is $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches in diameter, weighs 1g and carries a different design.



Fig.2



fig. 4



fig. 5

All nine have small attachment holes pierced around their perimeter and minute grains of sand adhering to both sides. Some discs are more flattened than others. The obverses are shiny while the reverses are somewhat dull and darkened in places. The discs are so thin that it is hard to imagine them being worn. It is possible they were once backed by a stiffening material, but I cannot see any signs of this. The discs may have been moulded in a carved stone mould. Perhaps the discs were part of a burial outfit. They may have been plaques fastened along a belt. The famous Kanishka and Castana (see fig. 6) statues from Mat wear belts like this, as do figures in many Kushan reliefs (see fig. 7). Or perhaps they were simply sewn onto fabric, creating a pattern in the style of the Scythians. It would be fascinating to trace this ancestral, nomadic influence in Kushan art.



fig. 6



fig. 7

Some features in the design of the smaller discs are found on the gold coinage of the Kushan king, Huvishka (approximately 146-184 AD)⁴ (and see ¹) He "...produced more gold coins than all other Kushan kings combined."⁵ This output, the amazing variety of opulent clothing, and the dozen crowns he wears on his coins seem to describe the pinnacle of Kushan prosperity.

The nimbate portrait on the smaller discs resembles many of the youthful portraits of Huvishka (see fig. 8).



fig. 8

Coins with middle-aged portraits of Huvishka show a stockier monarch with side whiskers. He never wore the full beard worn by both his father and grandfather, Kanishka and Vima Kadphises. "From the time of Huvishka until the Kushano-Sasanian coins, no more beards appear in Kushan issues..."⁶ Rosenfield raises interesting questions about Huvishka's coin portraits. He describes coins with the middle-aged portraits as "stylistically fine" while "...the coins whose portraits appear most youthful and without a reverse...contain a large number of ... confused and blundered reverse images."⁷ Either Huvishka's early years were a troubled period, or troubles came later and youthful portraits were used on the coinage of the aged king.

The helmet in the disc portrait seems domed or triangular as in all but one of Göbl's sketches of Huvishka's helmets⁸. The helmet has a small ornament on the rim at the forehead as do Göbl's. It also has a pearly rim as do several in Göbl's sketches. Helmets of the kings following Huvishka are usually more elaborately pearly.

Ribbons stream from the helmet on the disc. On Huvishka's gold coin portraits, these ribbons are more like those worn by Huvishka's grandfather, Vima Kadphises, than like those of his father and immediate predecessor, Kanishka. Huvishka also revived Vima Kadphises' portrait bust emerging from clouds or mountains. The bust on the gold disc is very similar but without clouds or mountains. Kanishka used a full-length portrait.

The king on the disc wears a long open overcoat, closed at the chest by a single button (see fig. 7). This style is worn by Huvishka on his gold coins but with a two-button closure. He wears a mantle closed by a single button or broach on some coins. These buttons are discussed in an article by Katsumi Tanabe⁹. There are nine examples published by Göbl¹⁰, who finds Huvishka's portrait on five. I know of four other examples¹¹. Vasudeva, Huvishka's immediate successor, is always dressed differently, wearing armour.

The king on our gold disc holds a sceptre or standard topped by a bird finial. On Huvishka's gold coins, Mahasena does hold a standard like this, making his first appearance on a coin (see fig. 9).



fig. 9

Mahasena is an epithet of the Hindu war god, Karttikeya or Skanda, and, along with Ganesh, a son of Siva. His appearance may reflect Huvishka's campaigns in Mathura and against the increasingly frequent Hunnic invasions to the north. He was later

featured on Yaudheya coins as their principal deity, and his peacock appears on Gupta coins.

The king faces a crescent in the left field. Beneath, the field is unclear. The moon represented fertility, martial power and royal investiture for the Kushans. Yueh-chi is the Chinese name for the nomadic people who would become the Kushans and seems to mean People of the Moon. This crescent first appears on their coins of Sapalbizis and Agesiles. These also carry the name Nanaia, daughter of the Sumerian moon god, Sin, and an image of her lion. The temple of Artemis/Nanaia in Balkh was an important Bactrian religious centre in the area where the Yueh-chi became Kushans. Carrying a diadem, the moon god floats above Kanishka on the Kanishka Reliquary found under his great stupa near Peshawar. Crescents appear behind the shoulders of the moon god, Mao and Manaobago, on the coins of Kanishka and Huvishka. Small crescents ornament the helmets of Kanishka "...and especially Huvishka..."¹² and are found on the helmets of later Kushan kings.

Other features in the design of the smaller disc connect it to the coinage of Huvishka's successors, Vasudeva I, Kanishka II (see fig.8), Vasishka, Kanishka III, and Vasudeva II (approximately 190-320 AD)¹³.

Huvishka's often-depicted wart is missing and never appears on portraits of kings following Huvishka. It is possible that this sign of dynastic succession was too small to mould in gold foil. The king's pose, with his left hand behind him holding a standard or sceptre, is used by all these successors. It is the pose used by Kanishka and is not used by Huvishka, who holds his left fist clenched in front of his chest. The nimbus and curling ribbons are also standard on kings following Huvishka.

A two-button version of the overcoat seen on the discs is worn by Kanishka II, Vasishka, Kanishka III and Vasudeva II. These kings sometimes carry standards that seem to have bird-shaped finials.

The single large disc was a puzzle at first; for several years, it was thought to show a lotus-like, probably Buddhist image. Joe Cribb solved the mystery. He inverted the lotus and suddenly found the head of Silenus (see figs. 4 & 5), Dionysus' teacher, with typical snub nose, full beard and drunken squint. We see Silenus on a leaded bronze disc found in Swat and dated 1st C. BC – 1st C. AD¹⁴, and an earlier Silenus head on a drinking bowl found in a Macedonian tomb in Vergina (see fig. 10).



Dated 317 BC, the tomb is believed to be that of Philip III Arrhidaeus, Alexander the Great's half-brother. The Vergina Silenus has both the dotted treatment on the ivy wreath and the double-V border of sun rays seen on the large disc. It is gilt on silver; the large disc is gold foil, perhaps a reminder that Dionysus gave Midas the golden touch to reward the king for the kindness he showed Silenus.

For ages before Alexander the Great, Greeks believed that Dionysus had taught grape-growing in India during his travels

around the world. Perhaps he had; many grape varieties have an Afghan ancestry. Alexander's mother Olympias was a devoted follower of Dionysus. Alexander believed he had finally found Dionysus' birthplace in the city of Nysa in India's Indus valley, and believed that it was the only place in India where Dionysus' sacred ivy grew. It is no wonder the cult of Dionysus had a huge following in Alexander's empire. Dionysus' panther and grapes would later appear on coins of Indo-Greek kings.

While a fat old drunk may seem an odd decoration for a burial outfit, it made sense to the Kushans. Silenus taught Dionysus, whose grape vines wither, die and are reborn in the spring. Dionysus came to symbolize life, death and rebirth. Mysteries were revealed to initiates of his cult and celebrated through drinking and ecstatic dancing. These Dionysia festivals, called Bacchanalia in Rome, were regularly limited, a perceived threat to Imperial order.

I think these nine gold discs were sewn to the belt of a wealthy Kushan who was perhaps connected to the court as part of a burial costume late in Huvishka's reign or shortly thereafter, approximately 175-250 AD.

Imagine a small crowd by an open grave in the city of Sirkap, 200 AD. The corpse of Jayadasi the pearl merchant lies on a couch. A few of his family and fellow guild members neatly arrange the folds in his coat and trousers. Others carefully slide an ornate belt under his waist and fasten it at the largest golden disc. During Jayadasi's fifty years, fewer and fewer pearls had come to Sirkap. More caravans were raided by the wild eastern Hu each month. Jayadasi's father could remember when pearls arrived by the basketful, but that had been under King Huvishka. Vasudeva is king now, and although his portrait is on all the small gold discs on Jayadasi's belt, the jeweler had been careful to make the portrait resemble Huvishka too, the king of better times. Kings are gods; we must always deserve their favour.

Jayadasi's father had been a pearl merchant too, rich enough to dedicate a well in the monastery of Sakyamuni Buddha's followers. Jayadasi's family worshipped at Dionysus altar too, and took part in the Dionysia each spring. A friendly portrait of Dionysus' teacher and his wisest follower glistens at Jayadasi's waist, a bit of hope for the next world. A rumour was being passed around among the merchants recently – the festival of Dionysus might be banned in Rome. It was hard to imagine that happening. The reports of Hu attacks are also alarming. Times are changing. Jayadasi is lowered into his grave. Prayers are chanted for his journey.

Notes

I would like to thank David Jongeward for encouraging me to write this and for his helpful suggestions along the way.

1. Images of the discs can be seen at <http://www.griffterrec.com/y/linenthal/kushan AV-disc.jpg> and images of Huvishka's coins at <http://www.griffterrec.com/coins/kushan/kushan5.html> Both are part of Tom Mallon's excellent website The Coins and History of Asia <http://www.griffterrec.com/coins/coins.html>
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3. www.asianrareart.com
4. Jongeward, David, "Distinctive Features of Kushan Coins – part 2", *The Celator*, vol. 20, no. 5, May 2006, p.?
5. Jongeward, David, "Coins of the Kushan Kings - part 2", *The Celator*, vol. 14, no. 5, May 2000, p.24
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7. Rosenfield, p. 61
8. Göbl, Robert, *Donum Burns*, Fassbaender, Vienna, 1993, tafel 30
9. Tanabe, Katsumi, "Kushan Bronze Medallions from Japanese Collections", *Bulletin of the Ancient Orient Museum*, vol.5, 1983, p. 87-103, pl. 1-4
10. Göbl, Robert, "Die Kusanischen Bronze-Appliken mit Königsdarstellungen", *Litterae Numismaticae Vindobonenses*, Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Vienna, 1987, p. 194-202

11. I own one and will be publishing it in this journal. One is illustrated in the Tanabe article⁸. Another is owned by Gallery Ur, Japan. A fourth was sold by Gorny and Mosch Giessener, auction 130, lot 1746, 3-8-04
12. Rosenfield, p. 81
13. Jongeward, "Distinctive Features of Kushan Coins – part II"
14. Allchin, Boardman, Cribb, Hale & Kreitman, *The Crossroads of Asia, Transformation in Image and Symbol*, The Ancient India and Iran Trust, Cambridge, UK, 1992, p. 116

Illustrations

- Figures 1-5, author's collection, sketches by author
- Figure 6, Rosenfield, pl. 3a
- Figure 7, *ibid*, pl. 98a
- Figure 8, author's collection
- Figure 9, *ibid*
- Figure 10, *The Search for Alexander; An Exhibition*, New York Graphic Society, New York Graphic Society, New York, 1980, pl. 33

The Coins of the Ceded and Conquered Provinces of the Bengal Presidency

By Dr Paul Stevens

Introduction

The Nawab Vizier of Awadh, Sadat Ali, was forced into a treaty to cede several of his territories to the East India Company, a treaty which was signed on 10 November 1801. The ceded territory was divided into seven districts: Gorakhpur, Allahabad, Cawnpur, Farrukhabad (actually ceded by the Nawab of Farrukhabad), Etawah, Bareilly and Moradabad. On the removal of the Nawab's officers in 1802, the Governor General, Lord Mornington (afterwards Marquis of Wellesley), created a Board of Commission to determine how the new territories should be run. This was led by the Governor General's brother, Henry Wellesley, whose appointment was not approved of by the Court of Directors in London. Henry Wellesley consequently resigned in 1803 and the Board was dissolved with the Collectors of each district being placed immediately under the control of the Board of Revenue¹.

At about the same time, General Lake was engaged in the second Mahratta war, which led to him capturing, *inter alia*, Delhi on 11 September 1803 and Agra on 18 October.

These territories collectively became known as the Conquered and Ceded Provinces and they brought with them the working mints of Allahabad, Bareilly, Farrukhabad, Saharanpur, Delhi, Agra and possibly Najibabad and Hathras.

By these means therefore, the East India Company acquired at least six and possibly more working mints, which, therefore, fall into the category 'transitional mints', that is mints that were kept operational for some time after they fell into British hands, but whose output continued in the native style². After due consideration the mints at Allahabad, Bareilly, Saharanpur, Agra and Najibabad and Hathras (if they existed) were closed in 1805 and a new mint was built at Farrukhabad to produce a new style of copper and silver coin.

The mint at Delhi was kept in operation for a considerable number of years to supply coins for ceremonial purposes and was not closed until much later.

Following the third Mahratta war, more territories were added to the Bengal Presidency and these included the mints at Saugor and Sohagpur. Sohagpur was soon closed but a new mint was built at Saugor for the production of Farrukhabad style coins for a number of years.

The output of all of these mints fell under the authority of the Bengal Presidency but, with the exception of Farrukhabad and Saugor, were not discussed and catalogued by Major Pridmore. The purpose of the present paper is to bring together new information gathered from the records of the East India Company about a number of these mints and combine this with previously published information from a number of sources. The mints of Farrukhabad, Saugor, Sohagpur and Najibabad will be the subject of separate papers.

Agra Mint

No information about the Agra mint has been found in the EIC records. However rupees exist with dates that fall into the period of British control, suggesting that the mint continued in operation for a short time after. Coins are known dated AH 1219/Ry47 and AH 1220/Ry47 so the mint may have been closed in about May or June 1805³. However, there is a copper pice in the British Museum in the name of Muhammad Akbar suggesting that the mint may have been kept in operation until 1806 or later⁴.



Allahabad Mint

The fortress of Allahabad was ceded to the EIC on 21 February 1798 and the Nawab of Awadh gave 8 lakhs of rupees for its repair⁵. Allahabad district was transferred to the British from the Nawab Vizier of Awadh in 1801⁶. Originally there had been a Moghul mint there, but this seems to have been closed some time before the cession to the British, because it was reopened by them in May 1802 and began producing two types of rupee known as the Lucknow and Shumshary rupees⁷. The Lucknow rupees have the fish symbol also found on the coins struck at Lucknow by the Nawab Vizier, whilst the Shumshary rupees have a sword. A 'pucka house' was rented, at the rate of 80 rupees per month, to act as the mint and treasury⁸.

In 1803 a Mint Committee was appointed, consisting of the Magistrate and the Collector (Mr Richard Ahmuty). This committee was charged with superintending the mint and making suggestions to the Governor General about how it might be better regulated⁹. Their first task was to report to the Governor General their views on the idea of introducing a new copper coinage into the Ceded Provinces¹⁰. They replied to this in September 1803¹¹ and again in December¹². The Mint Committee considered that a new copper coinage would be found useful because the existing pice in circulation were worn almost flat and had lost a certain amount of weight. They considered that a small profit might be derived for Government from such a coinage, but warned that the price of copper would go up once the local merchants came to hear of the proposed new coinage. They therefore recommended that the Government should quickly purchase sufficient copper to manufacture about 3,000,000 pice with a weight equal to that of 1½ rupees for each pice. Their recommendation for the design was that of the Allahabad rupee. However, the Governor General had also asked for advice from Bareilly and Farrukhabad, so the ideas of the Allahabad Mint Committee were not the only suggestions that were under consideration and they did not result in a new copper issue.

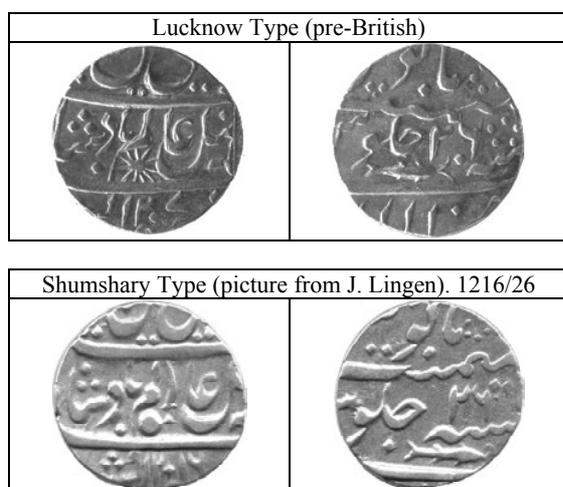
In September 1803 the Mint Committee submitted an account of the coins produced at Allahabad since the mint had been reopened (see table below) and explained that the charges made for re-coining silver brought to the mint had been adjusted to match those at the Lucknow mint, which was controlled by the Nawab Vizier¹³.

Date	Shumshary Rupees	Lucknow Rupees
May to December 1802	128,179	124,283.2.6
January to April 1803	66,664	100,637.8.6
May and June 1803		225,758.5.9

In May 1804 the Allahabad mint was ordered by the Governor General to suspend coinage due to a suspicion that the silver content of the rupees produced there was below standard¹⁴. The matter was further investigated and the suspicion was confirmed¹⁵.

It also became clear that the Collector, Richard Ahmuty, must have known about the debasement and had tried to conceal it. He was dismissed from his post, the dies for the rupees were sent to Calcutta for storage¹⁶ and the mint was never reopened. Richard Ahmuty went on to serve on the Mint Committee at Bareilly but was allowed to resign from the EIC in about 1808¹⁷.

Rupees struck at the Allahabad mint before the arrival of the British, show the perpetual regnal year 26 and the coins can only be assigned to particular years by their AH dates. The earliest AH date that would fit with British period would be 1216 (1801/02) and the latest would be 1218. A Shumshary rupee dated 1216/26 is known (see picture) but no other rupees showing the appropriate dates are known to the author. The mintage figures given above would indicate that the Lucknow type should be more plentiful and I would expect examples of this type will come to light. Although the mint was officially closed in 1804, there is a rupee known (now in the Ashmolean museum) of Allahabad struck in the name of Muhammad Akbar, whose rule began in 1806, which suggests that some minting activity may have been undertaken sometime after the mint was officially closed¹⁸. It seems most unlikely that this issue would have had official authorisation.



Bareilly Mint

Immediately following the cession of the territory by the Nawab Vizier in 1801, the Collectors of Rohilcund, Messers Deane and Leycester, farmed the mint to Atma Ram and his partner, Sheojee Mull, for a price of 9001 rupees per year. However, these two were caught in fraudulent practices soon after they received the farm, and they were committed for trial and found guilty by the Mohammedan law officers, who assisted at their trial, and the farm was annulled. The mint was then brought directly under the control of Government (from 13 March 1802) and a Darogah was appointed at a salary of 80 rupees per month and an establishment of 56 rupees a month for 'mutsudies, peons, paper, pens etc'.

The person first appointed to the office of Darogha was Ali Muzzuffer Khan, a respectable native of Behar. On his being promoted to the position of a Jehsuldar in November 1802, he was succeeded by a person named Muzzubher Hooseyn, a native of Bhangulpoor, who continued in this role until at least December 1803¹⁹.

This correspondence also reveals the reason for the presence of at least two of the letters found on the Bareilly rupees, a subject that has been previously discussed by Sanjay Garg²⁰:

'When the system of farming the mint was abolished, no alteration was introduced into the standard of silver except to rectify the abuses. But, in order to mark the period at which the change of system took place, the Persian letter He (H) which, as the first letter of the name of the late Subah[dar] (Hooseyn Ali Khan) had been stamped upon the rupee, was discontinued, that of Wa (W) being substituted in its stead, in compliment to the Honorable the Lieutenant Governor'.

The Persian letter *Alif* is also found on some of the Bareilly rupees. Since we know that *He* immediately preceded *Wa*, and

since both *He* and *Alif* are dated 1216, it seems likely that the *Alif* marked coins preceded those marked *He*. The *A* may have represented Atma Ram to whom the mint had initially been farmed.

The rupees produced at Bareilly were examined by the Mint Master at Calcutta and reported on in March 1803²¹. His view was not at all complimentary. He considered, *inter alia*, the design to be easily susceptible to drilling, and doubted that an extensive coinage of such a design was practicable.

In June 1803, a Mint Committee was established to superintend the mint and to suggest to the Governor General any regulations that might have been required to improve its activities²². This Committee consisted of the Agent to the Governor General (Mr Fitz Roy) and the Magistrate & Collector. They were asked to provide detailed statements of the money coined since the mint had come under the control of the EIC in 1801. They were unable to provide figures for the first few months (from the date of cession until 13 March 1802) because Atma Ram had left no papers following his removal from office. However, complete records were available from the 13 March 1802 and were provided to Calcutta as requested²³ (see table below).

In 1803, the Mint Committee at Bareilly, like those at Allahabad and Farrukhabad, were asked for their opinion on the value of introducing a new copper coinage into the Ceded Provinces²⁴. The Commercial Resident at Bareilly appears to have been the only EIC source of copper within the Ceded Provinces (21,500 rupees worth). He suggested to Calcutta that this copper should be sent to the mint at Bareilly and turned into coins. The Bareilly Mint Committee were asked for their views on this matter and they were reminded that they should provide their views on the general matter of a new copper coinage for the Ceded Provinces²⁵.

They eventually replied to the matter of the copper coinage in March 1804²⁶ when they considered the matter on two principles:

'1st how far the measure was necessary for the relief of the community and 2^{ndly} whether, though not absolutely necessary, it would be advisable to adopt it, as furnishing Government with means of disposing of a quantity of its copper on advantageous terms'.

On the first principle the Committee compared the rates that the pice were sold at over the last 10 years in large towns, by asking the shroffs for information. However, the results were inconclusive and contradictory.

No pice had been coined in the region since the cession, and the pice in circulation consisted of Nudjeeb Khannees, which had been coined at Najibabad about 45 years previously, and Shumsher Shahis, which bore the figure of a sword and had been produced at Bareilly. Following this, a type of pice called Mutchlee Daurs had been produced, bearing a fish, and then Kuttaur Shahees stamped with a type of dagger. These were the four main types of pice in circulation and, since there seemed to be an abundance of them, the Committee did not consider that a new copper coinage was really necessary on these grounds.

On the second principle of whether Government could make a profit from a copper coinage, the Committee considered this unlikely, and so this also did not provide grounds for supporting a new copper coinage.

However, the Committee did consider that a new copper coinage would be necessary if a new silver coinage was introduced.

The authorities at Calcutta must have considered using the Nudjeeb Khannee pice as the model for the proposed new copper coinage, because the Bareilly Mint Committee wrote to them in August 1804 suggesting that this might not be the best option. This letter also contained much more information about the proposed reformation of the coinage in the Ceded and Conquered Provinces²⁷.

In June 1804, the Bareilly Mint Committee forwarded a letter from a Mr Blake, who had superintended the mint at Patna, with

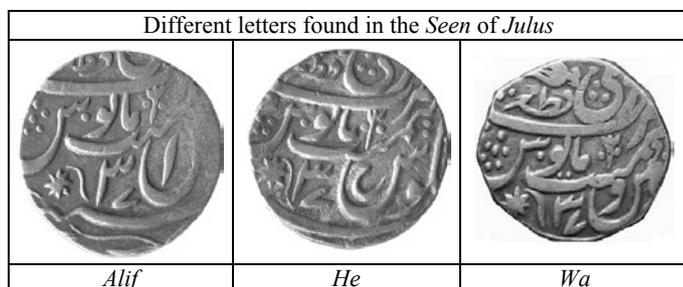
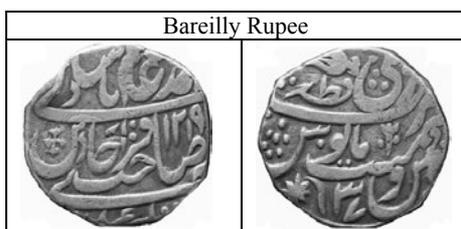
his observations and estimates of costs of a new silver coinage for the Ceded Provinces²⁸. Mr Blake was clearly the expert that was needed to implement a new uniform coinage for the Ceded Provinces, and, subsequent to this letter, he was appointed Mint Master at the Farrukhabad mint (see paper on Farrukhabad Mint to be published later).

The Bareilly Mint Committee wrote again, in April 1805, about the proposals to reform the currency²⁹. Despite having interviewed numerous people they had been unable to obtain any useful information.

Following the decision to close all the mints in the Ceded and Conquered Provinces except for the mint at Farrukhabad (see Farrukhabad paper), the Mint Committee at Bareilly informed Calcutta that their mint ceased operations on 26 September 1805³⁰. The coining implements were sent to Farrukhabad in September or October and the dies were sent to Calcutta in October^{31,32}.

Date.	Value (Rs)
1801-1802.	No figures available
1802 March-December.	1,201,235
1803.	1,023,761
1804.	2,000,235
1805 January-August.	2,500,585

Bareilly rupees exist dated 1216/37, 1217/37, 1218/37, 1219/37, 1220/37, all of which could fall into the era of British rule.



Dehli Mint

Delhi was the site of a Moghul mint from the time of Humayun. Successive Emperors had coins struck with this mint name until AH 1048 when Shah Jahan had a city built near Delhi, which he named Shahjahanabad with the epithet *Dar al-Khilafa*. Coins with this mint name were struck by his successors.

The Moghul Emperor, Shah Alam II, who was nominal ruler of what remained of the empire, was in Delhi for the greater part of his reign, but was a mere puppet. In 1803, during the second Maratha war, Lord Lake took Delhi and thenceforth the rule of the Moghuls was confined to the palace and the Emperor had no official function³³.

Although the British had effective control of the mint at Delhi, it remained nominally under the authority of the Moghul Emperor, and it is therefore debatable as to whether or not it falls into the definition of a transitional mint. However, there are several interesting entries in the records referring to this mint and I have, therefore, chosen to include it in this paper. Sanjay Garg has published much information from the records held in the National Archives of India³⁴ and his paper is worth reading in conjunction with the following information.

The first reference to coinage at Dehli found in the EIC records occurs in 1806 when the Delhi Resident (Mr Seton) wrote a long letter explaining that the Emperor insisted on his stipend (58,000 Rs) being paid in Delhi rupees but that these were not easily available. They had to be bought on the open market, but there was a batta of 3% or more. In the letter he stated:

'No mode of defeating this attempt [i.e. by the shroffs to charge high batta] appeared to me so effectual as that of increasing the local circulation of the Delhi rupees, by coining into that specie the Bareilly rupees then in the treasury. I found however, that from the inferior quality of this last specie and from the expense of coining and the wastage of the Delhi mint, the measure would be attended with loss, and that 100 Bareilly rupees would only produce 94Rs 14ans. Of course, the idea was abandoned'³⁵.

The next reference is found in a series of letters (dated 1813) in which a Mr Fraser, the First Assistant to the Resident, asked for a percentage of the mint duties to be paid to him. This was rejected by Government. However, the letters also state that 'the mint is under the superintendence of the officer in charge of the Revenue Department', thereby confirming the direct control of a British official³⁶.

By 1816 a decision had been made to put machinery into the mint at Dehli. The machinery was actually built in Calcutta and sent to Dehli but there was no one there who knew how it worked³⁷. The plan was to strike Farrukhabad rupees at the Dehli mint and by January 1818 all that was needed were the dies³⁸. The Mint Master at Calcutta was instructed to prepare the dies for Dehli³⁹ but the Mint Committee and the Bengal Government were becoming uneasy about their ability to control the quality of the output of a mint at Dehli^{40,41}. A letter to Metcalf (the Dehli Resident) contains the following statement:

'On the supposition that a regular mint is to be maintained at Delhi, it would undoubtedly be convenient that the impression of the rupees there coined, should correspond with the coinage of the mint at Farrukhabad and that consequently dies should be furnished to [?] the Mint Master at Farrukhabad.

It will, however, in that case be very essential that due precautions should be taken for guarding against any defect in the coinage of the Delhi mint in regard to weight or standard.

For this purpose, besides the regular transmission of specimens to Calcutta, the Vice President in Council is of opinion that a regular establishment should be attached to the Delhi mint, that is to say, that the offices of the Mint Master and Assay Master must be disjoined and that qualified persons should be appointed to those situations respectively. The aid of an European foreman too, will probably be required by the former.

Under the most economical arrangement those objects could not, it is presumed, be attained without an additional expense of about 20,000 rupees per annum.

It becomes, therefore, a question whether the charge of such an establishment will not outweigh the advantages attending the proposed arrangements and whether in a financial view, indeed, it be necessary or expedient to maintain a separate mint at Delhi on any footing.

The Vice President in Council observes that the net revenue of the Delhi mint is stated in Mr Egerton's letter of 28th April 1813, at sicca rupees 20,000 per annum, a sum which would evince that its operations were of some extent and importance. This amount would, however, be absorbed by the proposed increase in the establishment, and if it should therefore appear proper still to maintain the Delhi mint for the public convenience or profit, it will remain to be determined whether notwithstanding the advantages of uniformity in the currency, it may not be advisable to continue to coin at Delhi a distinct currency for local purposes, of which any slight inaccuracy will be comparatively of little importance.

You are requested to furnish Government with a report of your sentiments on the above points. You will of course notice the usual extent of the operations conducted at the Delhi mint,

their influence on the public convenience and the degree in which the coinage there may appear to you to include bullion which would otherwise find its way to the mint at Farrukhabad.

Should it appear to you necessary independently of financial objects to maintain a mint at Delhi from consideration towards his majesty the King, you will naturally notice that circumstance also, although the Vice President in Council presumes a very limited extent of operations would probably suffice to satisfy the feelings of His Majesty.

Pending the discussion of the present questions, you will, of course, refrain from the coinage of Farrukhabad rupees.'

Metcalf replied that he did not consider it necessary to operate a mint at Delhi at all and proposed that not only should the new mint not start operation, but that the existing mint (which was still striking Delhi rupees) should also be shut. He goes on to state that a few coins would be required each year to satisfy the Moghul Emperor (referred to as the King):

'I do not apprehend that it is necessary to maintain a mint at Delhi from consideration towards his majesty the King. At the Delhi mint a new coinage takes place every year commencing on the anniversary of his Majesty's accession to the throne, which is marked with the number of the year of his reign. On the public celebration of the anniversary of the accession, the Resident presents to his Majesty a portion of the gold and silver coinage for the new year, and the continuance of this custom, which would merely require the stamping of a few coins once in a year, is all I imagine that can be requisite to satisfy the feelings of his Majesty.'

In a subsequent letter he gives figures for the output of the mint:

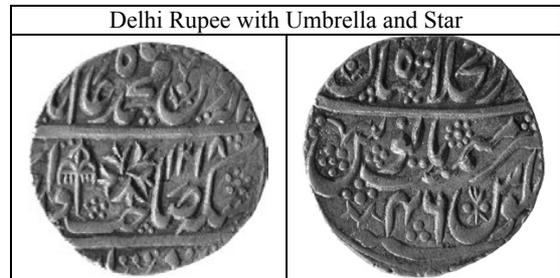
Statement of the Amount of Coinage Issued from the Dilhee Mint and Duties Received Thereon from 1st June 1816 to end May 1817, and from 1st June 1817 to 28th May 1818 inclusive.

		Amount Coined
June 1816-May 1817	Gold Mohurs	457
	Rupees	78,148-12
June 1817-28 th May 1818	Gold Mohurs	41
	Rupees	59,323-12

From this it can be seen that very small numbers of mohurs were minted at this time, with slightly higher number of rupees.

Government agreed with Metcalf's assessment and instructed that the new mint should cease before it started and the machinery should be sent to Farrukhabad. However, the letter continues:

'...still causing however such a number of coins to be annually struck as may be necessary for the purpose of the satisfaction of the feelings of his Majesty.'



It is not clear exactly when the Delhi mint was closed but it continued to produce small numbers of presentation pieces for at least a few more years because in 1821 the following letter was sent by the Delhi Resident to Calcutta⁴²:

'I consider it my duty to report to you that there are several mint implements of apparently excellent manufacture at present deposited in the go-downs of this mint which will assuredly never be brought into any kind of use here.

The natives employed in the mint to coin a few hundred rupees once a year to present to his Majesty on the anniversary of his coronation do not even know the application or use of the articles to which I allude, and it strikes me that much of the apparatus requisite to complete the machinery is wanting.

The implements are lying rotting here to no purpose. If sold on account of Government in this city they would fetch a mere nothing and I should suppose the things might be very serviceable in some of the regular mints.

Perhaps they might be sent with advantage to Benares or Farrukabad or even to the Presidency, but on this point you will be better determined than I can venture to do, and I therefore solicit your orders. It is a pity that such work and such materials should be unemployed.'

The silver and gold mint may have still been used in a similar manner for some years because there was a discussion of the appropriate presentation of nuzars (presentation pieces) to the Emperor in 1835⁴³. However, it is not clear that these pieces were struck in Delhi.

In 1826 serious consideration was given to the construction of a new copper mint in Delhi, to the extent of planning the cost of manufacture and the establishment required⁴⁴

120 pice of 8 massas each to be made out of each one seer of copper the value of which never exceeds	1:13
Manufacture of this one seer of copper into 120 pice	0:1
Total expense	1:14

Establishment

1 mint Darogah including expense of stationary per mensem	40: :
1 Mohurrir	16: :
1 Chupprassy	4: :
20 artificers at different rates of pay average each 6 rupees	120: :
Total monthly expense	180: :
The above establishment per diem Rs6 being competent to coin per diem 2 maunds and 12 seers each at 1 anna per seer is equal to	5:12
The excess of charge per diem	-:4
Will be amply defrayed by the variation in the price of the metal which sometimes falls as low as 1 rupee 6 annas per seer	

The establishment of a copper mint was again proposed in 1829⁴⁵ but was finally rejected⁴⁶.

KM give a listing of coins struck during the British period and that list will not be repeated here. KM catalogues them under the Moghul Emperors and nominally, at least, Delhi was under the Emperor's control. The coins consist of copper pice (with a Latin S) in the name of Muhammad Akbar; silver rupees, both currency and Nazarana, in the names of Shah Alam (illustrated above),

Muhammad Akbar and Bahadur Shah; and gold mohurs, both currency and Nazarana for Shah Alam and Muhammad Akbar.

Etawah Mint

On 17th October 1805⁴⁷ the Collector of Etawah confirmed that there had never been a mint at Etawah under the control of the British:

'In reply to the 3rd paragraph of your letter of 24th August, I beg leave to acquaint you that the mint at Etawah was abolished many years previous to the cession of their territories, and on enquiry I understand that all the dies and instruments of coinage have long since been destroyed.'

Hathras Mint

An entry in the records suggests that there may have been a mint operating at Hathras some time after the assumption of control by the British. On 13 May 1808⁴⁸, a letter from Government to the Board of Commissioners in the Ceded and Conquered Territories stated:

'I am directed to transmit to you the enclosed extracts from the proceeding of Government in the judicial department, respecting a claim preferred by Rajah Dyaram to compensation for the loss sustained from the abolition of the mint at Hatras.

Although the Rajah may not possess any legal claim, strictly speaking, to compensation, yet adverting to the length of time which the mint was established and to all the circumstances of the case, the Governor General in Council is disposed to offer a favourable attention to the claim of the Rajah to compensation for the loss sustained from that cause. You are accordingly desired to consider in the formation of the ensuing settlement of the Rajah's estate, what deduction should be allowed on that account.'

This extract gives no indication of the coins produced at the Hatras mint, although rupees are known of an earlier date. However, a later entry, dated 1832, indicates that pice were produced at Hatras at some time before 1832⁴⁹ so it seems likely that a copper mint existed there.

'The pice current at Hatras are

1. *The Hatras pysa coined by Diaram which fluctuate in value from 36 to 46 for the rupee. Their general value is 45 per rupee.*
2. *The Munsooree of 64 to 66 per rupee*
3. *The Nuwabee 53 to 54 ditto*

The Hatras pice are current only at Hatras, [Surswe], Moorsawn and the villages round about, at Coel even they are at a discount.'

Saharanpur Mint

Saharanpur had been a Moghul mint and later was controlled by the Rohillas. It was taken by the Marathas in 1788 and ruled by a number of governors appointed by Sindhia until 1803 when the area was ceded to the British East India Company. The mint continued to operate for the next two years and appears to have been shut down in 1805/6⁵⁰.

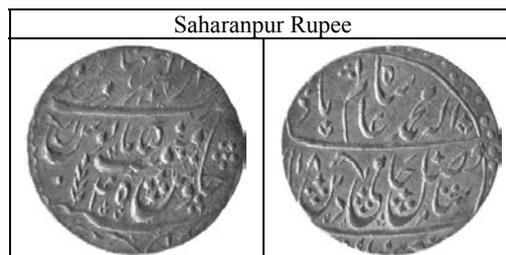
This is confirmed in a letter from Mr Guthrie, Collector of Saharanpur, on 17th October 1805⁵¹. He stated:

'I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter under date the 24th ultimo instructing me to transmit to the Mint Master at Farrukhabad the dies and other implements of the mints of this district.

I beg in reply to state that when the mints under my charge were abolished by order of Government, I did not consider that the dies might be afterwards required, and I ordered them to be broken up. I shall acquaint the Mint Master at Farrukhabad with the circumstance, and should it be necessary, shall furnish him with dies similar to those which I have inadvertently destroyed.'

Rupees of Saharanpur bearing the appropriate dates are known (1218/45, 1219/46, 1220/47) and it is possible that copper coins

may also have been produced there. There is also a rupee dated 1220/49 which may be an error date, or may have been produced after the mint was formally closed.



Acknowledgements

As usual, I would like to thank Jan Lingen and Shailen Bhandare for their help and advice in preparing this paper.

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A Newly Discovered Copper Ticket from Bengal

By Indra Kumar Kathotia

Imagine a scenario when thousands of coolies and skilled labourers are employed in building the fortifications of Fort William, in Calcutta, soon after the battle of Plassey in 1757. Foremen are cursing while undergoing the tedious task of counting millions of cowrie shells in order to pay these employees. Someone who has worked outside Bengal has a bright idea - how much easier it would be if payment could be made in coins! Silver and gold, the only metals used for coinage in Bengal, are too valuable, and the little shells, that served as the currency of the common man, were too bulky and of too little value. Paying the labourers in base metal coins or tokens would be ideal.

The idea falls on willing ears, and the person in charge recommends to the Board in October 1757 that copper or brass coins be struck in order to pay the workers. This was the very first time that base metal coins had been struck in Bengal since an unsuccessful attempt by Barbak Shah (1459-74 AD) to introduce a copper coinage⁶⁵. Now, three hundred years later, the British East India Company made this second attempt to break the monopoly of the cowrie shell⁶⁶.

On 24th October 1757, the proposal was approved, and Mr Frankland was ordered to produce a number of 'tickets' out of Brass or Tutenague, of various denominations, with the value stamped on the back. The coins were accepted, perforce, by the labourers, but they could not always obtain value in the bazaar for these unfamiliar coins. In 1760 the British had to issue an order that the coins had to be accepted at the rate of 270 shells for one copper anna.

This initial experiment with copper 'tickets' continued until 1761, when new copper 'coins' were struck, with the name of Shah 'Alam in Persian, and the date and mint name Kalkata. Whether the 'tickets' were withdrawn at this time, or only later when Princep's copper coins were introduced in 1780, is not recorded, but they are among the rarest of all British Indian coins. When Pridmore published his classic work on the coins of the East India Company, he only knew of one specimen of each of two denominations, a 1 anna and a 6 pice, both in the British Museum⁶⁷. Since then two more examples of the 1 anna have been found in Calcutta⁶⁸, but no examples of smaller denominations had surfaced. Pridmore postulated the existence of a 3 pice coin, but no such piece has yet been discovered.



Brass or Copper 'Ticket' for 2 pice

For the first time, a 2 pice coin is now recorded from a private collection in Calcutta. The owner wishes to remain anonymous, but is happy for the coin to be recorded here. The type is identical

⁶⁵ Goron & Goenka, *The Coins of the Indian Sultanates*, B.558/9.

⁶⁶ Cowrie shells were imported from the Maldiv Islands, and had been the minor currency of choice in Bengal since time immemorial.

⁶⁷ F.Pridmore, *The Coins of the British Commonwealth of Nations*, Part 4, India, Vol.1 East India Company Presidency Series, c.1642-1935, pp.198-99 & 244.

⁶⁸ N.G.Rhodes, "The First E.I.C. Copper Coins for Bengal", *ONS Newsletter*, No.159 (Spring 1999), pp.15-16, illustrating two 1 Anna coins then in the collection of the late Partha Banerji.

with that of the higher denominations, bearing the balemark with VEIC (for United East India Company) and the crossed I, only found on this series. The obverse die is too big for the flan, so may have been used also for one or more of the larger denominations. This particular die has the C in VEIC on its back, and is different from the die used for the other known specimens. The reverse bears a simple numeral '2', within a small circle, indicating the denomination of 2 pice. The weight of 4.7g is commensurate with the higher value pieces, and the diameter is 18mm. As the 1/6th part of an anna, this piece would have been equivalent to 45 cowrie shells, so would have considerably facilitated the payment of workers! It can be noted that this series is unique in the Bengal coinage in bearing the symbol of the balemark.

A New gold mint for Akbar – Bengal

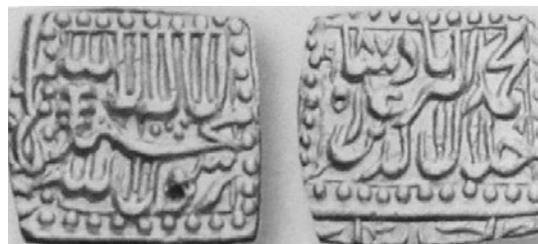
By Nicholas Rhodes

In the *A'in-I-Akbari*, it is mentioned that "in the beginning of this reign (of Akbar), gold was coined to the glory of his Majesty in many parts of the empire; now gold coins are struck at four places only, viz. at the seat of Government, Bengal, Ahmadābād (Gujrāt), and Kābul"⁶⁹. This passage has always presented problems, as, although gold coins of Akbar have been known for many years from Ahmadābād and other mints, no gold coins were known from Bengal or Kābul. The purpose of this article is to record two recently discovered gold coins that appear to have been struck in a mint in Bengal. The two coins are illustrated below:



Coin 1

Coin No.1 is of type G-19⁷⁰, but there is a clear date "987" in the lower right margin, after the name of the Imam 'Ali. The obverse is also clearly dated 987 AH, but there is no trace of any mint name. To have the date on both sides is very unusual, and may indicate that the dies were not originally intended to be used together. The design of the reverse is such that one would not expect there to have been any mint name on the die, as the outer border of lines and dots, seems to completely enclose the legend, and fits nicely within the flan, reminiscent of the coins of Nepal and Assam. The weight is 10.83g, normal for the type. The coin was recently found in the Sonapatti bullion market in Kolkata, and is now in the author's collection.



Coin 2

Coin No.2 is of the same type as the silver rupee S-38, but was not recorded in gold by Liddle. The silver example was attributed to the mint of Katak, following the reading by C.J.Brown of the specimen in the Lukhnow Museum Catalogue⁷¹.

⁶⁹ Asiatic Society, Reprinted 1993, Vol.1, p.32.

⁷⁰ My type references are from Andrew Liddle's new book, *Coinage of Akbar*, Gurgaon, 2005.

⁷¹ *Catalogue of Coins in the Provincial Museum, Lukhnow*, No.546.

Whitehead, in his catalogue of coins in the Punjab Museum, mentioned that a similar gold coin of Katak mint existed but he did not mention the location, and I have not been able to find an example in any of the major published collections⁷². In recent years it has been suggested by scholars such as Stan Goron, Shailendra Bhandare and Prashant Kulkarni, that the mint on the silver rupees of this type should be read as “Bang”, for Bengal, rather than “Katak”, and I agree. The gold coin illustrated here appears to read “Hazrat Bang”⁷³ below the reverse, which would be appropriate for the mint located at the seat of government for the important province of Bengal. The only publication of this Bengal attribution that I have been able to discover is in the CNG Auction Catalogue for January 2006, Lot 1686, where this particular specimen is illustrated and attributed to the “Bang” mint⁷⁴. Interestingly, this coin is struck with exactly the same obverse die as coin No.1 illustrated above. The mint is rather crudely written, and it is not impossible that the mint name was added to the edge of the die after coin No.1 was struck.

As regards the location of the “Bang” mint, it is likely that it was a mobile mint that followed the provincial governor, as he moved around his territory. It was only in 984 AH (1577 AD) that Akbar fully annexed Bengal after the defeat and execution of Daud Shah. Up to then, the Afghan sultans, as tributaries to the Mughal emperor, had ruled Bengal. After the annexation, Bengal was reluctant to accept Mughal rule for several years, which required the new governor to travel around in order to demonstrate his authority.

Similar silver coins, without the dotted border, are known for the “Bang” mint, mostly with the same tree-like mint mark. Examples are known dated 987-992 and 996-999 and also for some later dates (S-39 & S-47) but these have also been attributed to the Katak mint, and the date listing in published sources is very incomplete. A number of examples of these scarce coins have recently been found from Dhaka, in Bangladesh, and some have a relatively clear mint name. These silver coins will form the subject of a later article, but I would like to draw the attention of scholars to this important new gold mint for Akbar, which confirms the reliability of the *A'in-I-Akbari*.

An Unpublished Shara’i Dirhem of Aurangzeb from the Tatta Mint

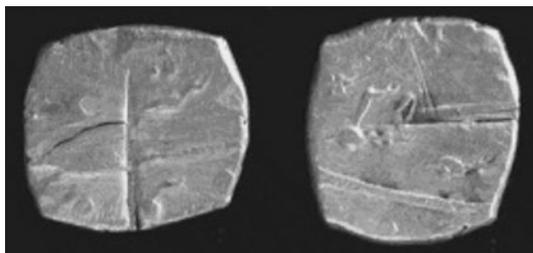
By Waleed Ziad

Muhi al-Din Mohammad Aurangzeb Alamgir

sq. AR Shara’i dirhem

Mint: Tatta, Regnal Year: 35

Weight: 3.04 gm, Size: 13x14 mm



Obv.: Dirhem Shara’i

*shara’i
dirhem*

Rev: Zarb Tatta, Sana 35

*tatta sana 35
b
(zar)*

⁷² *Catalogue of Coins in the Punjab Museum, Lahore*, Vol.III, p.xcv.

⁷³ My thanks to Mr. Ravi Sharma of Kolkata for suggesting this reading.

⁷⁴ This coin is now in the Al-Sayyid collection, and also weighs 10.83g.

“Shara’i dirhem” literally refers to a dirhem as stipulated in Islamic law. The Mughal emperor Aurangzeb introduced this standard of currency during his reign, which was meant to be employed for payments stipulated in the Islamic scriptures and traditions. The dirhem was made to correspond to the weight of the dirhem which circulated during the time of the Prophet Mohammad (PBUH) in the Hejaz, equal to 7/10 of a mithqal, or 2.89 grams.

Only a handful of Shara’i dirhems are known. They are generally square silver coins weighing approximately 3 grams. According to R.B. Whitehead a round one is known, and another round dirhem of the Shahjahanabad mint is listed in the South Asia Coin Group online cabinet. None of the dirhems cite the ruler, reading only “dirhem shara’i” on the obverse and featuring the mint name on the reverse. A single dirhem is known from the reign of Farrukhsiyar. Whitehead, in his introduction to the *Catalogue of Coins in the Punjab Museum, Lahore*, writes that “these strange coins are very rare, but come from some half-dozen mints. I may instance Iahabad, Lahore, Multan, Katak, and Patna.” C.J. Brown, in the *Catalogue of Coins in the Provincial Museum Lucknow*, further mentions the mints of Agra and Shahjahanabad. The Tatta mint was not formerly known to have issued these coins.

The Punjab Museum Catalogue lists one square dirhem of Aurangzeb from the Lahore mint (PMC 1950), dated 1092, regnal year 24, weighing 2.98 grams, featuring the same legend. The Farrukhsiyar square dirhem (PMC 2271), is dated regnal year 6, and weighs 2.72 grams.

Whitehead argues in the Glossary of the Punjab Museum Catalogue that the dirhem was issued by Aurangzeb for the purpose of determining whether a citizen’s property, according to Islamic law, was liable to the alms tax. Since alms were to be paid if a citizen owned more than 200 dirhems worth of property, such pieces were issued “so that subjects might know what a dirhem actually was.” Hodivala, in turn, in N.S. XXVIII, argues that the dirhem was issued for the payment of poll tax. Given the absolute scarcity of these pieces, it is likely that they were used as measuring tools to determine payments such as the poll tax, or in the payment of the *mehr* at the time of marriage, as symbolic currency.

The Rajapur Mint and coinage in South Konkan in the late 17th to the early 18th Centuries: Some Observations

By Shailendra Bhandare

In ONSNL 180, I published an article on coinage of the Angrey family, the hereditary admirals of the Maratha fleet. In this article, I attributed some rare rupees of Rajapur mint, struck in the name of Muhammad Shah, to this family. I also noted that some of these were most probably struck in connection with a significant maritime episode on the Konkan coast, that of the capture of the East Indiaman ‘Derby’ by the Angreys in 1735.

In JONS 186, Prashant Kulkarni penned a note on larin, in which he published a larin in the name of ‘Ali ‘Adil Shah that had a legend ‘(Zarb) Lari Rajapuri’. This is indeed a very important addition to our knowledge regarding the monetary history of the western coast of India and its trade links with the extended Indian Ocean trade world. Discussing Rajapur as a mint name, Kulkarni provides a ‘numismatographic’ account of past research and presents his views on some of the coins attributed as such. As some of these concern my attribution of the Rajapur rupees in the name of Muhammad Shah, I thought it would be appropriate to offer my own views and thus help generate a healthy debate.

The root of the debate about the Rajapur rupees goes back to a note published by G. P. Taylor in JASB-NS 17, 1912. In this note, Taylor attributed a rupee of Aurangzeb bearing the mint-name ‘Islam Bandar’ to Rajapur as evident from details of an old map available to him. The next issues in the Mughal series are those in the name of Muhammad Shah. One such was published by Stanley Lane-Poole in the BM Catalogue of Mughal coins (p. 210, Pl. XXV, no. 1011). Lane-Poole had read the mint-name as

‘Ajayur’ but S. H. Hodivala, subsequent to the note of Taylor on the Islam Bandar coin, corrected this reading to ‘Rajapur’. This is the same coin that I attributed to the Angreys in my paper and is also discussed by Maheshwari and Wiggins (Maratha Mints and Coinage, Nasik, 1989, p. 91) under the mint heading ‘Rajapur’. According to Kulkarni, Maheshwari and Wiggins use ‘careful language’ when they attribute this rupee to Rajapur and are ‘very sceptical about the reading of the mint name’. He then comments that ‘to a certain extent, the doubt of Maheshwari and Wiggins about the reading is well-founded’ and also notes the fact that I have agreed, in my note on the Angreys, with Hodivala’s reading of the mint-name. He further says, “I have attempted to read the mint name on three specimens published by Bhandare. On none is the *re* of Rajapur visible. The third nuqta of *pe* is also absent or off flan on all three coins. There is enough space on the flan to accommodate the *re* the curious absence of which makes the whole reading uncertain. In my opinion what can be read clearly is only Ajayur as Lane-Poole deciphered. So we go back to the 1890’s reading until we find a better specimen showing the rest of the legend.”

These views require further comments especially in the wake of what I had said in my note. I had already acknowledged the omission of the *re* in the mint-name so the assertion ‘I have attempted to read...is the Re of Rajapur visible’ is somewhat uncalled for! Further, in addition to Hodivala’s diligent remarks on how and why the mint-name should be reconstructed to read ‘Rajapur’, I had drawn upon circumstantial and archival evidence on why the coins were almost certainly to be of Rajapur. While concluding that the reading of the mint name is ‘uncertain’, Kulkarni has not taken into account either of these pieces of evidence into account, nor has he tried to refute any of Hodivala’s claims. His basis seems to be only the visible extent of the mint name on all the known coins. As for the *re* being invisible or indeed left out of the engraving, there may be a reason – I have stated the exceptional circumstances in which these coins were issued and these were troubled times. Moreover, it is conceivable that an essentially non-Mughal authority like the Angreys did not have at their disposal a die engraver proficient in either the script or the skills required. Many such instances of ‘misengraving’ are indeed seen on coins of several other Maratha mints – in fact misengraving is the norm rather than exception when it comes to Maratha coins! The mint name on the chief Maratha silver currency of the Deccan, the ‘Ankusi’ rupees, is said to be ‘Muhiyabad Poona’, although on none of the coins is this seen engraved in the right way – in fact the extant mint name looks more like ‘Surat’ and gives rise to the question whether ‘Muhiyabad Poona’ was a worthy suggestion in the first place.

Secondly, if we were to accept the ‘Ajayur’ of Lane-Poole’s suggestion, the onus for indicating where this place was located falls on us. As far as I know, there is no such place known. Kulkarni as such cannot provide a location for the mint name. The question therefore is wider – when it comes to truncated and / or misengraved mint names, are we to restrict our vision only to the ‘extant’ mint-name and allow that to set out a ‘context’ for all other deductive observations? Or, are we to offer a plausible suggestion based not only on an attempt to reconstruct it, but also on the entire historical and monetary context around it? I would plead here for the latter course and therefore I do not see a need to ‘go back to the 1892 reading by Lane-Poole until we find a better specimen showing the rest of the legend’ as Kulkarni has contended.

Kulkarni’s remarks following the historicity of the mint of Rajapur are also worth a comment. He says, “Unfortunately the coin of Islam Bandar published by Taylor is not illustrated. No other coin of Islam Bandar is published anywhere else, which makes the comparison impossible. I have seen only one dateless rupee of Islam Bandar in a private collection and tried to compare the script of Manus Maimanat Julus with that of the Ajayur rupee and I find little similarity between the two”.

At the outset it must be said that it is difficult to ascertain what ‘comparison’ is needed here and what it would prove

anyway. As for the coin from the private collection which Kulkarni ‘compared’ with the ‘Ajayur’ rupee, the inference that ‘little similarity between the two exists’ should be a foregone conclusion – because these are essentially two different coins being compared! One is struck in the name of Aurangzeb, the other in the name of Muhammad Shah; one is struck ostensibly under a transitory Mughal authority, the other was struck in haste by a local warlord-admiral to make exigent payments (vide my article in ONSNL 180); both have totally different contexts and mint-names in any case. In short, I am unable to follow what point Kulkarni is trying to make here with respect to the reading of the mint name.

To set right the fact that the Islam Bandar rupee of Taylor is not illustrated, I take the opportunity to illustrate one of RY 4x from the British Museum collection here (fig. 1).



fig. 1

Kulkarni’s view “no other coin of Islam Bandar is published anywhere else” needs a serious correction in the wake of what seems like a ‘memory lapse’ – one Islam Bandar rupee is published in an article by Ahsan Ibrahim Chowhan in *Nidhi*, a short-lived numismatic journal founded by none other than the Indian Coin Society of Nagpur. Prashant Kulkarni, even though he was not the editor of the journal, has added a footnote in editorial capacity to the article voicing the very views he has on Lane-Poole’s reading ‘Ajayur’! This coin, unlike the BM specimen, has a clear AH date (1116) on it.

I will also take this opportunity to bring another coin of Rajapur to notice – it is a rupee in the name of Aurangzeb, but with the mint name as ‘Rajapur’ instead of ‘Islam Bandar’ (fig.2). It was documented several years ago while in trade in India. Unfortunately the chronological details are truncated but enough of the RY is seen to forward a suggestion that it is a year in the 40’s. Judging by the fact that the ‘Islam Bandar’ rupee published by Chowhan is dated AH 1116, both these coins are evidently issued in the last decade of Aurangzeb’s reign (1697 – 1707).



fig.2

The harbour of Rajapur had been in prominence in the 17th century. Tavernier, in section 142, chapter 12 of the first volume of his book mentions that many travellers did the journey between Daman and Rajapur on the western coast by sea, because the land route was very bad and fraught with danger. In 1638 the English opened a factory at Rajapur. In 1661, owing to a feud between Chattrapati Shivaji, the pre-eminent Maratha king and the English factors at Rajapur, the former attacked and destroyed the factory at Rajapur. He also took English prisoners and held them captive for a few years.

Between Shivaji’s death in 1680 and Aurangzeb’s demise in 1707, three separate instances of Mughal involvement in the region took place. The first happened soon after Aurangzeb’s move to the Deccan from the north and his arrival at Aurangabad in late 1681. Prince Mu’azzam, his eldest son, had been in charge of Deccan affairs on and off from 1667 till this date. He was asked to launch an attack on the region of ‘Ram-Darrah’, (literally ‘Ram Valley’) situated in Konkan. ‘Ram Darrah’ was in all probability

the Ram Ghat pass, an arterial route in the vicinity of Rajapur and Sangameshwar, linking South Konkan with the plains. This attack did not achieve much, so in September 1683, Mu'azzam launched a second campaign that lasted until May 1684. Khafi Khan, the Historian of Aurangzeb's reign and his close confidant, describes it as follows:

"In the beginning of the twenty-seventh year, Prince Muhammad Mu'azzam marched from Ahmadnagar to lay siege to the forts of Ram-darra, belonging to Sambha, which were in a part of the country never before penetrated by an Imperial army. The roll of his army numbered 20,000 horses. On the march through the narrow passes, there were many sharp fights with the enemy, in which numbers of the royal soldiers fell; but the enemy were put to flight. On reaching the village of Sampgaon, the fort of that place was invested. The besiegers showed great bravery, and took the fort in two days. They then entered the country of Ram-darra. It was in a very strong position, and the air of the place did not suit the invaders. The enemy swarmed around on every side, and cut off the supplies. On one side was the sea, and on two other sides were mountains full of poisonous trees and serpents. The enemy cut down the grass, which was a cause of great distress to man and beast, and they had no food but cocoa-nuts, and the grain called *kudin*, which acted like poison upon them. Great numbers of men and horses died. Grain was so scarce and dear that wheat flour sometimes could not be obtained for less than three or four rupees. Those men who escaped death dragged on a half existence, and with crying and groaning felt as if every breath they drew was their last. There was not a noble who had a horse in his stable fit for use. When the wretched state of the royal army became known to Aurangzeb, he sent an order to the officers of the port of Surat, directing them to put as much grain as possible on board of ships, and send it to the Prince's succour by sea. The enemy got intelligence of this, and as the ships had to pass by their newly-erected fortresses, they stopped them on their way, and took most of them. A few ships escaped the enemy, and reached their destination; but no Amir got more than two or three *palas* of corn. The order at length came for the retreat of the army, and it fell back fighting all the way to Ahmadnagar, where Aurangzeb then was."

In 1689, the Maratha, Chhatrapati Sambhaji, was captured at Sangameshwar, north of Rajapur, by Sheikh Nijam alias Muqarrab Khan, a mughal commander. The raid was the last major Mughal involvement in this part of Konkan, after which a local family named Shirkays gained some prominence in the region. Yesu Bai, the queen of Chhatrapati Sambhaji and the mother of Chhatrapati Shahu, was from this family. Although the relations of Sambhaji with the Shirkays had never been cordial, after his death the family acted with good faith towards an emerging Maratha polity and, like the Angreys, enjoyed limited local freedom, albeit under a nominal mughal tutelage.

The dates on the 'Islam Bandar' as well as the 'Rajapur' rupee conclusively prove that the coins were struck long after any such direct Mughal involvement. It is therefore likely that they were produced under some local authority. However, in the absence of further evidence, the exact attribution of these coins may have to be relegated to the future.

The requirement of coined specie in the South Konkan region during the 1690's and the first two decades of the 18th century is an interesting phenomenon indeed. The Mughals were responsible for opening another mint at Dicholi, to the south of Rajapur, in the 1690's. The earliest of these issues bears the RY 35 and has the mint-name written in a curious fashion – starting above the 'Zarb', partly following the words '*Julus Sanah*' and having the 'i' of 'Li' in the *mazhool* form as the divider (fig. 3).



fig.3



fig.4

Another coin dated either 36 or 37 shows the mint name arranged in a normal manner (fig. 4). Both these coins are being brought to notice for the first time; the RY 35 specimen is now in the Ashmolean Museum Collection, while the RY 36 / 37 was documented while in trade. It is worth noting that the RY 35 coin was listed in the Nagpur Museum catalogue but relegated to the 'unattributed' category, presumably because the cataloguers did not manage to read it the way it is written.

The RY 41 coin of the same type goes on to become the prototype of one of the regional Maratha coin series – known as 'Peerkhani' rupees – that was struck at various mints in the region like Sawantwadi, Nipani, Kapsi, Mudhol etc. Like the Shirkays and Angreys, a local Maratha family, the Sawant-Bhonsles of Sawantwadi were responsible for this coinage. I have discussed the coinage of Dicholi mint under the *de facto* authority of Khem Sawant II in an earlier article (Indian Coin Society Newsletter 12, 1992).

In the years following Aurangzeb's death, a few more mints seem to have become active in South Konkan. Two coins, struck in the name of Farrukhsiyar, illustrated here substantiate this fact – one is a rupee struck at Sangameshwar (fig. 5 – JP Goenka Collection, Kolkata/Mumbai) and the other bears the mint name 'Bandar Malwan' (fig. 6 – Kashinath Pandit Collection, Pune).



fig.5



fig.6



fig.7

The mint name on the ‘Sangameshwar’ rupee may also be ‘Sangammer’, but comparing it with the one inscribed on issues in the name of Aurangzeb (fig. 7 – Bastimal Solanki Collection, Pune), it seems more likely that it is ‘Sangameshwar’. The ‘Bandar Malwan’ rupee was published by Dilip Balsekar and Kashinath Pandit in an IIRNS-Newsline issue, but the Sangameshwar coin has hitherto remained unpublished and is therefore a welcome addition to our knowledge about mints in Southern Konkan.

To end with, I must express my sincere gratitude to m/s JP Goenka, Kashinath Pandit and Bastimal Solanki for allowing me to use and publish coins from their collections.

A New Chinese Catalogue of Tibetan Coins by Yin Zheng Min

Reviewed by Wolfgang Bertsch (May 2006)⁷⁵

Recently the following catalogue was published in Lhasa: Yin Zheng Min⁷⁶: *Zhong guo xi zang qian bi tu lu (Illustrated Catalogue of the Money of China's Tibet)*, Xizang Renmin Chubanshe (Tibet People's Publishing House), Lhasa 2004, ISBN 7-223-01686-8, 261 pages, colour illustrated throughout.

This is the first attempt to produce a priced catalogue of Tibetan coins and banknotes. Tibetan coins have previously been included in several Chinese language catalogues which were published during the last 20 years in China and Taiwan, but the listings are merely selective, varieties are rarely included and prices quoted are often high for common and ridiculously low for rare coins. Yin Zheng Min has made an enormous step forward with his catalogue by including several coins which were never published before and by giving ample room to varieties. The prices which he quotes are more or less in line (so somewhat lower) with those given in the latest editions of the well known ‘Standard Catalog of World Coins’ by Krause Publications. The exception to this may be the estimates which Yin Zheng Min is quoting for rare Tibetan banknotes which are substantially below international market prices.

The author is to be congratulated for having compiled the most comprehensive catalogue of Tibetan coins which, as to number of coin types and varieties recorded, surpasses anything published so far in this line in China or in the West. However, some collectors may regret that with the publication of this new catalogue the opportunity to buy a scarce coin or a scarce variety for the price of a common coin in Lhasa's curio market will be something of the past.

Naturally not all the coins which the author describes and illustrates are from his own collection. The following rare coins and banknotes were taken from previous publications:

Nos. 42, 43 and 44 (Xiao Huaiyuan: *Xi zang di fang huo bi shi [The History of Tibetan Money]*, Beijing 1987.)

Nos. 3, 5, 41, 45, 128, 129, 250, 251, 258, 259, 381, 531, 769 and 770 (Gabrisch, Karl: *Geld aus Tibet*, Winterthur and Rikon 1990).

⁷⁵ See also: Rhodes Nicholas: ‘Review: A Catalogue of Tibetan Coins, by Wen Cheng-min, Lhasa, 2004 Price 200 Yuan, 261pp., many illustrations.’ *Oriental Numismatic Society Newsletter*, no. 183, Spring 2005, pp. 2-3.

⁷⁶ The Hongkong coin dealer Y. K. Leung transcribes the author's name as ‘Wen Cheng-min’, while according to mainland Chinese which I consulted, the name should be transcribed in Pinyin as ‘Yin Zheng Min’.

Nos. 46, 530, 532, 533, 534, 866, 873-876 (Zhu Jin Zhong, Wang Hai Yan, Wang Jia Feng, Zhang Wu Yi, Wu Han Lin, Wang Dui and Tse ring Pin cuo: *Zhong guo Xi zang Qian bi (Chinese Tibet's Money)*. Xi zang Zi zhi Ou Qian bi Xue Hui (Tibet Autonomous Region Numismatic Society). Zhong hua shu ju, ISBN 7-101-03360-4/Z.449, Beijing, 2002.

Coin nr. 119, first year Jia Qin may be copied from the following source: Ma Fei Hai (general editor): *Zhong guo li dai huo bi da xi (The Great Series of Chinese Money)*, Vol. 8, Shanghai, 1998, p. 374, no. 1422. The weight, which is not recorded by Yin Cheng Min, is given as 2.7 grams in the Shanghai publication, hence the coin should be considered a ¼ zho or ½ tangka issue. The same coin was also published by Dong Wencho: *An Overview of China's Gold & Silver Coins of Past Ages – the Gold and Silver Coins and Medals of Modern China*. Beijing 1992, p. 152, coin no. 142. Dong Wencho gives the weight of this coin as 3.6 grams and the diameter as 21.2 mm. However, I believe that this weight is incorrect; taking into account the small diameter, the 2.7 grams of the Shanghai publication sounds more convincing.

It is not objectionable to include illustrations from previous works, but these should have been mentioned as sources and listed in a bibliography, which unfortunately is missing in Yin Zheng Min's catalogue.

The editing of the catalogue has been carried out with great care. I noted only one printing mistake: Coin no. 52 on p. 16 is illustrated by mistake with the reverse of coin no. 51.

I would like to list some coins or varieties from Yin Zheng Ming's catalogue which to my knowledge have not been published before:

No. 31. Kong-par tangka of the type ‘pointed date arch’, dated 13-46 with the eight auspicious emblems in reverse order on the reverse of the coin. Similar specimens are known from the collection of the British Museum (formerly collection Carlo Valdetaro) and from that of Nicholas Rhodes.

No. 32. Kong-par tangka, dated 13-46, with missing date arch on obverse. A similar specimen figures in my own collection.

No. 79. Half zho, Qian Long, year 59 (A similar, but very damaged specimen is illustrated in Zhu Jin Zhong et alia, *op. cit.*, p. 65).

No.130. Half zho, Jia Qing, year 6. This coin has Chinese and Tibetan legends on obverse and Manchu legends on reverse. The Tibetan legend reads ‘khri bzhugs’ which is the honorific for ‘khri’ (throne). The word ‘khri’ is spelt erroneously: the ‘rata’ (subjoined letter ‘ra’) is joined incorrectly to the letter ‘kha’. On the zho coins of the same year (nos. 131 and 132) the ‘rata’ is subjoined correctly, but the word ‘khri’ has a prefixed ‘a’ where there should be none. On the lower rim of the ½ zho coin no. 130 one can see the character for ‘pa’, but no characters for ‘six’ (Tib. *drug*) are visible on the upper rim. The complete Tibetan legend on the obverse can be reconstructed as ‘(Jia Qing) throne (year) (six) th’. Tibetan: (Ca Chin) khri bzhugs (drug) pa.



Top: Obverse and reverse of coin no. 30 as illustrated by Wen Zheng Min

Lower left: Mirrored reverse of the same coin with script as it should appear correctly.

Lower right: Reverse of coin no. 131 (One zho, Jia Qin, year 6), bearing the same Manchu legend in slightly different style.

The Chinese legend on the obverse reads “Nian liu” (year six). The Manchu legend on the reverse consists of two groups (vertical lines) which are the same as those found on the zho coins of the same year (nos. 131 and 132), but the two lines are interchanged and are written retrograde as they should have appeared on the die (I hope that the photograph of the reverse of this coin has not been reproduced reversed by mistake). The proper Manchu legend on the zho coins nos. 131 and 132 can be read as “menggün/ningün” (silver money/six) (I am grateful to Prof. Michael Weiers, Germany, for this transliteration and translation). This legend was previously translated as “one miscal” by the late Charles Panish (U.S.A.)⁷⁷ which represents a reading which would make no sense for the newly discovered ½ zho coin no. 130.

The numerous errors on the ½ zho coin nr. 130 and the fact that the emperor's era name is missing in both the Tibetan and Chinese legends (while it is mentioned on all other Sino-Tibetan coins struck in the name of Qian Long, Jia Qing and Dao Guang) gives some reason to consider the possibility that this newly discovered coin may be a fantasy. Nicholas Rhodes, however, considers this coin genuine.

No. 257. Shri Mangalam tangka, similar to the specimen from the collection of Karl Gabrisch which Yin Zheng Min illustrates as no. 258. However, the eight petals are not joined to the surrounding circle on the obverse of coin no. 257.

No. 260. Pattern for the Gaden tangka, probably late 19th or early 20th century.

No. 387. Pattern for a 5 tam coin. The reversed letter “ta” can be seen on the upper rim on the obverse: This is one way to transcribe the Sanskrit retroflex “ta” of the word “tam”. The letter “ma” is written as a small circle (Sanskrit: “anusvara”) placed above the “ta”, but is off-flan on the coin. On the lower rim the letter “la” can be seen. This is the upper part of the combined syllable “Inga”(five), the lower part of which is also off-flan. The weight of the coin is given as 11.6 grams which is equivalent to the weight of the Indian rupee and its Chinese counterpart, the Sichuan rupee. This is somewhat surprising, since the exchange rate of the Indian rupee was about 3 Tibetan tangkas per rupee unit in 1909 when this pattern must have been minted. This date can be deduced from the close similarity in style to the 1 srang coins in the first year of the Xuan Tong era, which is equivalent to the western year 1909 (see nos. 382-386).

No. 426. One zho of Xuan Tong with reverse legend *rin 'khor* instead of *rin khor* (the syllable *'khor* is spelt with three letters instead of only two as on all other coins of this type and denomination). Also the Tibetan legend of coin no. 426 is rotated by about 90° against the central dragon design, when compared to other specimens of this issue (see nos 427-432). I am illustrating a coin struck from the same pair of dies as Yin Zheng Ming's no. 426, but with the reverse in better condition, presenting a more legible Tibetan legend, which can be translated as “Kuping Zho-gang [of the] Xuan Tong [era], Tibetan precious coin”.



⁷⁷ Cf. Rhodes Nicholas and Gabrisch, Karl: “Two Sino-Tibetan Coins”. *Spink s Numismatic Circular*, vol. 88, no. 5, 1980, p. 172.

1 Zho silver coin with the reverse legend *khu phon zho gang shon thong bod kyi rin 'khor* The syllable “*'khor*” is spelt with three letters (Collection Alexander Lissanevitch)

Another specimen with this spelling was found recently (2004) by David Holler, but the reverse is struck from a different die. David Holler is suggesting that *rin 'khor* may be an erroneous spelling for *rin sgor* which means “precious coin”. It should be noted that the 1 skar (*skar gang*) copper issues of Xuan Tong have the same spelling *rin 'khor* (see no. 635), while all the 2 zho (*zho do*) coins in silver (see nos. 433-437) and the half skar coins (*skar che*) in copper (see no. 633) which I have seen have the spelling “*rin khor*” without the prefixed letter “a” in the word *khor*. In my opinion, the full wording *bod kyi rin 'khor* represents an attempt to translate the Chinese *bao zang* of the obverse of these coins. The Chinese *bao zang* is normally translated as “Tibet(an) coin” or “Tibetan money”. According to L. Boulnois this expression can also be interpreted as “Money of the Tibet(an) mint” if one agrees that the syllable *ts'iu* (mint; the transcription is given in the system of Wade Giles which is used by Boulnois) is understood without being spelt out, following the example of Chinese cash coins of the Qing period which record the mint's name in Manchu script on the reverse and where *ts'iu* is not expressed, but has to be understood.⁷⁸ However, this additional interpretation cannot be derived from the Tibetan translation *bod kyi rin 'khor*.

It should be noted that an alternative translation of the Chinese *bao zang* is to be found on some of the earliest coins of the so-called Sino-Tibetan series, i.e. the pattern issues which are dated to the 57th year of Qian Long (see coin nos. 41 and 42). In the central square of the reverse of these two very rare coins we read *bod kyi rin po che*. This has been interpreted by Rhodes and Gabrisch as being a reference to the Dalai Lama.⁷⁹ I think it more likely, however, that *bod kyi rin po che* is nothing but an attempt to translate the Chinese *bao zang*, which has to be understood as meaning “Tibetan treasure” or “Tibetan precious object” in addition to “Tibetan money”. Some Tibetans may object to my assumption, since the word *rin po che* is normally used to refer to incarnate Lamas, but I think it very unlikely that the Chinese officials who were involved in the production of patterns for a new coin series to be issued under joint Tibetan and Chinese authority in 1792 would have allowed putting a reference to the Dalai Lama or another high incarnate Lama on one side of the coins and the emperor's era name on the other, thus giving both rulers an equal standing.⁸⁰ The two coins nos. 41 and 42 actually have a Tibetan transcription of the Chinese *t'ong pao* (in Pinyin transcription *tong bao*) on the reverse spelt as *thung pa'u*. The meaning of this Chinese expression, which is also to be found on cash coins of the Qian Long era, is normally given as “current money” or “circulating money”.⁸¹

No. 627. Possibly a pattern for the ½ zho in copper in the name of Xuan Tong. The eight stars between the two outer circles are missing on this coin.

Nr. 677. Pattern for 2 ½ skar coin which, according to my information, was only discovered in 2004, and is a last minute addition to the catalogue. The date on the coin is 15-58 and not 15-48.

Yin Zheng Min also illustrates several rare Gaden tangka varieties, some, but not all of which were illustrated in western auction catalogues: nos. 271-72; 283, 292 (conch has whorl on the left side instead of on the right side) and no. 298 (north- and west-symbols are identical).

⁷⁸ Boulnois, Lucette: *Poudre d'Or et Monnaies d'Argent au Tibet (principalement au XVIII^e siècle)*. Éditions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Paris, 1983, pp. 164-165.

⁷⁹ Rhodes Nicholas and Gabrisch, Karl: “Two Sino-Tibetan Coins”. *Spink s Numismatic Circular*, vol. 88, no. 5, 1980, p. 172.

⁸⁰ *Rin po che* with the meaning “jewel, gem, precious object” is recorded by Tsepak Rigzin: *Tibetan-English Dictionary of Buddhist Terminology*. Tibetan Works and Archives, Dharamsala, 1986, p. 399.

⁸¹ Boulnois (1983), *loc.cit.*

The Sino-Tibetan coins nos. 46, 62, 84, 133, 163 and 164 are described as patterns and all are characterised by their very similar style. They look very dubious and were probably produced in China after the period to which they belong. The half zho, year 8 of Jia Qing was published previously⁸². It has the combined letter *rgya* in the word *brgyad* (eight) erroneously written retrograde. There also exists a half zho of Dao Guang, first year, of similar vintage.⁸³ Coin no. 134 is also identified as a pattern (Jia Qing, year eight), and although of different style compared with nos. 46, 62, 84, 133, 163 and 164, I also consider it a dubious piece. It is the only coin of this date and denomination which has four fungus-style ornaments on the Chinese side (see also Rhodes N., *op. cit.* in footnote 1).

Most of the forgeries which are illustrated are identified as such. See for example nos. 89, 273, 293, 305, 389, 632, 634, 681, 688 and 837. Also the contemporaneous counterfeits nos. 866-870. However, the author does not seem to realise that coins nos. 7 and 380 are also forgeries. No. 7 is the well known silver striking of a Chinese forgery of the gold coin dated 15-54 which exists also in copper and gold. No. 380 is a Nepalese imitation of the genuine 10 tam coin which the author illustrates as no. 381.⁸⁴ According to my information a forged 10 tam coin was brought to Lhasa about 5 years ago (in 2000) and on one occasion it was offered to me; later, so I heard, it was sold to a Chinese buyer for a very high price. It is most probably the specimen illustrated by Yin Zheng Min.

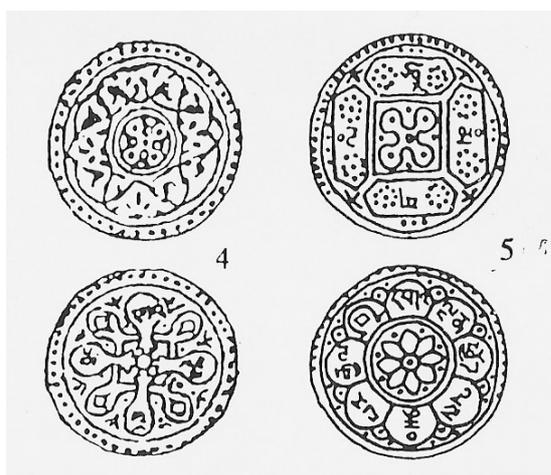
Some coins which are missing in Yin Zheng Min's Catalogue

I would like to list some rare Tibetan coins which are missing from the catalogue and could be included in a future edition:

1-2. Two types of Shri Mangalam tangkas.

Source: Rhodes, Nicholas G.: "The First Coins Struck in Tibet". *The Tibet Journal*, Vol. 15, nr. 4, Dharamsala, Winter 1990, pp. 115-134.

It should be noted that the reverse of coin no. 5 has a variant spelling of the syllable *rnam* with *anusvara* (small circle) above the combined letter *rna* instead of the character for *ma*. This coin is in the collection of the British Museum (formerly in the collection of Carlo Valdetaro).



3-5. Three types of tangkas in the style of a Ranjit Malla mohar. Source: Dong Wenchao, p.142, coin no. 127. The coin is also illustrated in *Zhongguo Lidai*, p. 371, coin no. 1391. A different type of this coin is in the collection of Gylfi Snorrason.

⁸² See Rhodes, Nicholas: „Some Sino-Tibetan Forgeries“. *Numismatics International Bulletin*, vol. 20, no. 11, November 1986, pp. 254-257.

⁸³ Zhi Jinzhong et alia, *op. cit.*, p. 74, coin 1-103.

⁸⁴ Bertsch, Wolfgang and Gabrisch, Karl: „10 tam coins from Tibet“. *Oriental Numismatic Society Newsletter*, no. 128, March-May, 1991.



Collection Wolfgang Bertsch. Diam.: 25.8 – 26.8 mm. Weight: 4.25 g



Obverse: tangka in the style of a Ranjit Malla mohar combined on the reverse with the design of a Kong par tangka. Private collection in Nepal.



Variety of tangka in the style of a Ranjit Malla mohar. Collection Gylfi Snorrason.

6. Kong-par tangka, dated 13-45, with eight dots on obverse and reverse separating the petals instead of eight groups of three dots. The weight of this coin is only 3.7 grams and it may have been intended as a zho rather than tangka issue (private collection in Nepal).



7. Kong-par tangka 15-24 with double circle on reverse. Illustrated in SCWC, 19th Century, p. 1046, coin no. A 13.2. Collection Wolfgang Bertsch. Diam.: 26.5 mm; Weight: 4.15 g



8.-16. Sino Tibetan silver coins in the name of Qian Long, Jia Qin, Dao Guang and Xian Fen from the Palace Museum in Beijing.
Source: Huang P'eng-hsiao: *Coins of the Ch'ing Dynasty*. Old Palace Museum, Beijing, 1937, pp. 39-40, 45, 49 and 144. Photographs of these coins were obtained by the late Gilbert Richardson (U.S.A.) from the Plalace Museum in Beijing. See appendix.

17. 1 zho Sino-Tibetan coin Qian Long, year 58, struck in gold.
Source: Xiao Huaiyuan: *Xi zang di fang huo bi shi (The History of Tibetan Money)*, Beijing 1987, coin no. 3-19.

18. ½ zho of Jia Qin, year 3.
Source: Kalgan Shih: *Modern Coins of China*. Reprint of the Chinese edition. Shanghai 1989 (originally published in 1949), p. 21, coin no. CI-8. Xiao Huaiyuan: *Xi zang di fang huo bi shi (The History of Tibetan Money)*, Beijing 1987, coin no. 3-21. This coin is also illustrated in most editions of the *Standard Catalog of World Coins*, Krause publications, Iola, various dates.

19. Sichuan rupee with emperor facing right.
Source: Ma Fei Hai (general editor): *Zhong guo li dai huo bi da xi (The Great Series of Chinese Money)*, Vol. 8, Shanghai, 1998, p.527, coin no. 2521.

20. Sichuan ¼ rupee. Reverse variety without leaf.

21.-22. 5 zho silver coin in the style of no. 407, dated 15-58 and 15-60. (Private collection in Nepal).

23. Pattern in copper of ¼ zho in the name of Xuan Tong.
Source: Zhu Jinzhong et alia, nr. 1-144. Also published in: Cao Gang: *Zhong guo xi zang di feng huo bi (Chinese Tibet's Regional Currency)*, Sichuan Minzi Chubanshe, Chengdu, 1999, p. 110. Collection Alexander Lissanevitch.



24. Pattern of silver 1 zho (*zho gang*) in the name of Xuan Tong. This pattern was published by Dong Wenchao, p.165, coin no. 169. One example of this pattern was auctioned by China Guardian Auctions Co. Ltd., *Banknotes and Coins*, Beijing, 12th July 2003, lot 2279 (illustrated below). Also illustrated in *Zhongguo Lidai*, p. 381, coin no. 1479. One author suspects that this pattern was struck in the Chengdu mint (Unfortunately I cannot remember the source for the latter opinion).



No. 23 (Diam.: 22 mm)



No. 24 (Diam.: 28 mm; weight: 9 g)

25. Pattern of 1 skar Xuan Tong (collection Alexander Lissanevitch; formerly in the collection of Wesley Halpert). The diameter of normal 1 skar issues is 27 mm.

26. Pattern of copper zho-gang dated 15-51 (collection Alexander Lissanevitch.)
Source: Rhodes, Nicholas and Lissanevitch, Alexander: "New Sho-gang from Tibet". In: *ONS NL*, Nr. 182, Winter 2005, p. 23.



27. Pattern of 10 tam silver coin with obverse in the same style as the 5 zho and 10 tam patterns nos. 497 and 499 and the reverse in similar style as the reverse of no. 497, but with the legend "tam 10" in the centre. This coin is illustrated by Gabrisch as no. 108 (p, 93).

28. Undated pattern of 20 srang coin in silver. The coin reads *tam srang 20* on reverse.
Source: Ju Jinzhong et alia, p. 120, coin no. 1-272.

29. Undated pattern in silver for 20 srang gold coin (sold in Nepal many years ago). This coin may be struck from the same dies as no. 28, but the reverse legend has only *tam srang* and has a blank space instead of 20. See Bertsch, Wolfgang: "The 20th century Pattern Coinage of Tibet". *Numismatics International Bulletin*, Vol. 32, Nr. 1, January 1997.⁸⁵

30. Pattern in brass of 20 srang coin, dated 15-57.
Source: Bertsch, Wolfgang: "A Pattern Struck in England for Tibet". *Numismatics International Bulletin*, Vol. 21, No. 2, February 1987, pp. 33-35. Also: Bertsch, Wolfgang: "The 20th century Pattern Coinage of Tibet". *Numismatics International Bulletin*, vol. 32, no. 1, January 1997, pp. 7-18. Also illustrated in SCOWC, p. 1668.



Collection Wolfgang Bertsch. Diam.: 26.5 mm; weight: 7.23 g.

⁸⁵ Zhu Jing Zhong et alia, p. 201, no. 3-30 and 3-31 illustrate a pair of dies of very similar style to the patterns nos 28 and 29, but the denomination on the reverse die is given as *tam srang 0.5*, i.e. 5 zho. So far no coin struck with this pair of dies is known.

31. Pattern of 50 srang coin as Yin Cheng Min no. 532, but struck in silver.

Source: Zhu Jin zhong et alia, p. 138, no. 1-339.

32. Pattern of 50 srang coin as Yin Zheng Min, no. 533, but struck in silver.

Source: Zhu Jinzhong et alia, p. 137, nos. 1-337 and 1-338

33. Pattern in silver for monk tangka, 1953.

Source: Dong Wenchao, p. 814, coin no. 1410. This pattern is also illustrated in *Zhong guo li dai*, p. 384, coin no. 1505.

34-35. Grain tokens struck over 5 zho or 3 zho copper coins.

Source: SCOWC. Also Bertsch, Wolfgang: "The Tibetan Grain Tokens". *ONS Newsletter*, no. 155, Winter 1998, pp. 23-24.

36. Token for 2 ½ srang in copper.

Source: Zhu Jinzhong et alia, p. 136, coin no. 1-333.

It would also be useful to add a chapter on fractional Nepalese mohars which were widely used in Tibet. All the Nepalese silver coins illustrated on pp. 147-169 are known but they are not copied from Rhodes et alia, London, 1989.

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7. Dong Wenchao: *An Overview of China s Gold & Silver Coins of Past Ages – the Gold and Silver Coins and Medals of Modern China*. Beijing 1992,

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11. Krause, Chester, Mishler Clifford and Bruce II, Colin R.: *1999 Standard Catalog of World Coins*, 26th edition, Iola, pp. 1663-1669.

On pp. 1668-69 Tibetan pattern coins are listed and illustrated. The illustrations were eliminated in subsequent editions of this work.

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21. Xiao Huaiyuan = Xiao Huaiyuan: *Xi zang di fang huo bi shi (The History of Tibetan Money)*, Beijing 1987.

Appendix I

Patterns of Sino-Tibetan coins from the Palace Museum in Beijing.⁸⁶ The reproductions are taken from copies of photographs which were obtained from China by the late Gilbert Richardson (U.S.A.). Richardson considered the Tibetan side as the obverse on these coins.

Qian Long, year 58:



1 tangka, diameter: 27 mm



1 zho, diameter: 23 mm



½ zho, diameter: 20 mm

Jia Qing, year 8



1 zho, diameter: 26 mm



½ zho, diameter: 21 mm

⁸⁶ An article entitled "The Tibetan Coins in the Palace Museum, Beijing" authored by Meng, Zhang Wuyi and Nicholas Rhodes will be published shortly in China. Mr Rhodes kindly showed me the manuscript of this article.

Dao Guang, year 1



1 zho, year 1; diameter: 26 mm



½ zho, year 1; diameter: 21 mm

Xian Feng, year 1



1 zho, diameter: 26 mm



½ zho, diameter: 21 mm

The patterns of the Qian Long and Jia Qing eras were most probably produced in Lhasa and sent to Beijing for approval. There is evidence that at least some of the pattern dies were used for the normal coinage. The Tibetan side of coin no. 140 in Yin Zheng Min's catalogue is struck from the same die as that of the above illustrated pattern of 1 zho of the Jia Qing era.

The same does not apply to the patterns of the Dao Guang and Xian Feng eras. One should note the peculiarity of the date given in the Tibetan legend on the obverse of the pattern coins of these eras. Instead of *lo dang po* which is to be found on all issues of the first year in the name of Jia Qing and the normal issues of Dao Guang one finds a Tibetan transcription of the Chinese *nian yuan* (year one) as Tibetan *nyin yo*. This indicates that the patterns in the name of Dao Guang and Xian Feng were most probably designed and struck in Peking and examples of these may never have reached Lhasa.

Forgeries of the Xian Feng patterns exist. I illustrate one example below. About 12 years ago they were offered by a Hongkong dealer (photograph taken by the late Karl Gabrisch):



Fantasies (forgeries) dated year 3 of Xian Feng era also exist (See Dong Wenchao, p. 771, no. 1280). Also a forged ½ zho Dao Guang year 1 exists (Dong Wenchao, p. 771, no. 1278. See also footnote 8).

Memento *pot duang* gold coin on the funeral of King Phetracha of Ayuthaya

By Vasilij Mihailovs, Ronachai Krisadaolarn (Ronald J. Cristal)

Bullet money, or *pot duang* coins, are commonly stated to have been introduced into the Siamese economy during the Sukhothai period. King Ramkamhaeng, who reigned approximately from 1275 to 1317, is regarded as one of the most important of the Thai kings and is usually credited with the introduction of the first *pot duang*, an indigenous and unique Thai form of money. Although this opinion is widely accepted, there is no documentary evidence confirming this. The Sukhothai period inscriptions indicate that for big purchases, such as land, cowries were used as the measure of price¹. Based on known Sukhothai inscriptions, it is possible now to assume that Siamese knew of no metallic currency before the middle of fifteenth century. The first record that mentions *pot duang* money was made only around 1515², in the middle of the Ayuthaya period. *Pot duang* coins remained the major means of payment in Siam for over three centuries before the introduction of a flat coinage in the 1850s. The production of *pot duang* coins for circulation ceased only in 1886. A decree of 28 October 1904 required their exchange by 26 October 1905. On 29 August 1906 the expired deadline was extended. Then on 24 July 1908 the legal exchange was finally halted as of 31 July 1908. In total about 14 million baht worth of *pot duang* coins were exchanged³ for the new flat coins, but many pieces were retained by the public as curiosities, or for their metal value.

The Kingdom of Ayuthaya was established as an independent kingdom towards the south of the Central Thai Plain, adjoining the territory of Angkor to the east, around the year 1290. Ayuthaya was successively governed by five dynasties until it was overrun by the Burmese in 1767. The first recorded Ayuthayan dynasty was established in 1351 and reigned continuously for almost two hundred years. The other four Ayuthayan dynasties were short-lived. After success in wars with the Lanna, Khmer and Burmese states, Ayuthaya became the most powerful state of the Southeast Asian region by the end of the sixteenth century. Ayuthaya's flexible policies, in contrast to those of other Southeast Asian states, helped keep Ayuthaya free from European colonisation.

The beginnings of the Ayuthaya metallic currency weight system are found in Cambodia in the latter half of the first millennium. This Cambodian system was adopted by Ayuthaya⁴. The system is described in detail by Simon de la Loubere^{5a} as well as fragmentally by many others. It was based on the rice grains weight. The basic unit of weight, the *att*, was equal to the weight of twelve dried rice grains without husks. Multiple units were *pai* (equals to two *att*), *fuang* (four *pai*), *salung* (two *fuang*), *baht* (four *salung*), *tamlung* (four *baht*) and *chang* (twenty *tamlung*). The *pot duang* coins were produced at different times during the Ayuthaya period in denominations of *half-pai* (the word *att* was

used only in referring to base-metal coins later; silver and gold coins of the same value were called *half-pai*, *pai*, *two-pai*, *fuang*, *salung*, *two-salung*, *baht*, *two-baht* and *tamlung* with the weight of a *baht* fluctuating between 13.5g and 15.0g depending on the time and the area and the type of production.

Very little is known about the shapes and marks on Ayuthaya *pot duang* coins.

The **shapes** of Ayuthaya *pot duang* vary greatly, and generally might be seen a better chronological proxy than the marks. The only attribution of the shapes to the specific periods published so far divides the Ayuthaya *pot duang* issues into three chronological periods⁶:

The earliest *pot duang* coins (up to the fifteenth century) are in irregular form, usually struck with only two long oval hammermarks. The ends of the coin generally meet, forming a teardrop or triangular hole between the legs; small, medium and large cuts are quite often found on both shoulders.

Later pieces (from the end of the fifteenth century to the middle of the sixteenth century) are struck with broad hammermarks. The ends of the *pot duang* usually part with little or no space between the legs. Two cuts of medium size are often found on the shoulders.

The latest Ayuthaya *pot duang* coins (from the middle of the sixteenth century to the end of the eighteenth century) display clear round hammermarks and are rounder in overall shape than previous groups. The ends of the coins part and some of the coins possess small cuts on the shoulders. In many cases the coins have a small elliptical nick (known as rice/paddy seed mark), punched into the ingot before it was shaped into a bullet.



Figure 1: Shapes of *pot duang* coins (left-to-right, *baht* at the top and *salung* at the bottom): earliest period (*baht* 14.54g, *salung* 3.68g), middle period (*baht* 14.38g, *salung* 3.42g), later period (*baht* 14.34g, *salung* 3.51g)

This attribution, however, is not widely accepted. Its major drawbacks are that the underlying principle for this chronology remains unexplained, as well as the fact that the attribution does not account for several common Ayuthaya *pot duang* coin shapes.

The situation with *pot duang* coin **marks** is similar. Under commonly stated assumptions that each monarch had used his own mark, and there are no two monarchs using the same mark, only one type of Ayuthaya *pot duang* coins was attributed to the specific king so far (this assumption, however, is doubtful because *pot duang* coins bearing the same set of marks are known to exist for all three shape-based chronological groups listed above). In 1687-1688, the last years of King Narai's thirty-two year reign (from 26 October 1656 to 11 July 1688), the coins then in circulation were described and, more importantly, illustrated by the French Ambassador to Siam, Simon de la Loubere^{5b}:

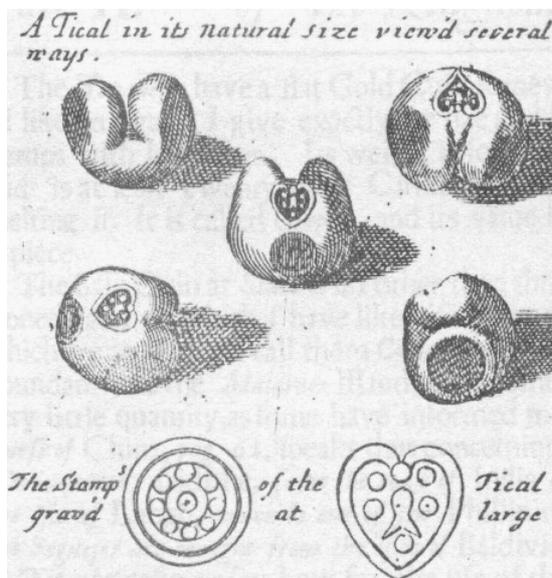


Figure 2: Loubere's drawings of contemporary circulation *pot duang* coins and their marks^{5b}



Figure 3: Actual *pot duang* coins (*baht* denomination, 14.67g) drawn by Loubere

"Their silver Coins are all of the same Figure, and struck with the same Stamps, only some are smaller than others. They are of the Figure of a little Cylinder or Roll very short, and bowed quite at the middle, so that both ends of the Cylinder touch'd one another. Their Stamps (for they have two on each piece, struck one at the side of the other in the middle of the Cylinder, and not at the ends) do represent nothing that we knew, and they have not explain'd them to me. ... They have no Gold, nor Copper-Money. Gold is a Merchandize amongst them, and is twelve times the value of Silver, the purity being supposed equal in both the Metals".

Recently, another important discovery in this area was made by the authors. The text below is quoted from The Royal Chronicles of Ayuthaya⁷:

"Funeral of King Phetracha

... the King thereupon commanded a new holy urn of pure gold be created... After the holy bone relics had been invited inside it, it was invited to come and be kept in a place which was appropriate. As for that old holy urn of pure gold - the King issued a holy royal proclamation commanding the lord functionaries of the Holy Treasury of Grand Wealth to have it made into the form of two-phai coins as He would go to dispense [them as] alms at the Footprint of the Holy Buddha. Now the holy ashes were escorted according to form and taken to be floated [on the river] in front of the Monastery of the Sovereignty of the Buddha.

Royal Pilgrimage to the Buddha's Footprint

... Now, the gold of the holy paramount urn had been converted into two-phai coins and placed inside citron fruits hanging from four kalpa trees in front of the lawns of the Holy [Shrine]. After His Majesty had descended and reached the lawns of the Holy [Shrine], His Majesty dismounted from the holy throne elephant, entered a temporary pavilion and took off the paraphernalia He was wearing. ..."

There is only one type of gold two-pai *pot duang* coin of

Ayuthaya known to exist. This type was produced in a manner similar to a series of silver pot duang coins of a specific shape, which so far has not been attributed to any period of Ayuthaya history - neither by systematic approach, nor by hearsay or intuition.



Figure 4: Silver pot duang coin set of King Phetracha reign with a two-pai memento funeral gold coin (left-to-right, silver salung 3.86g, fuang 1.77g, two-pai 0.89g, pai 0.52g, and gold two-pai 0.89g)

The silver specimens were published earlier⁸ and are comparatively easily available, while the gold piece is extremely rare and is unlisted to the authors' best knowledge. The authors are aware of the existence of only five specimens of the gold pot duang two-pai coins, and all are of the same shape and have the same mark of a conch-shell. The specimen in the picture weighs 0.89g and was analysed using the Energy Dispersive X-Ray Fluorescence technique and found to contain (by weight) 75% gold, 22.8% silver and 2.2% copper⁹. Based on the quoted excerpt, we can now suggest that the silver coins of this type were in circulation during the reign of King Phetracha, which lasted from 1688 to 1703, while the gold piece was produced as the king's funeral memento coin during the first days of the reign of Luang Sorasak, or King Sua, who reigned from 1703 to 1709.

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Zhi-zheng tong-bao Cash coins of the Yuan dynasty Emperor, Shun Di

By V. Belyaev and S. Sidorovich

1. Introduction

Coins with the reign title of the last Mongol Emperor on the Chinese throne, Shun Di (Toghan Temür, 1333-1368 AD) form one of the most common and interesting subjects in Yuan dynasty numismatics. Although coins with that reign title are well-known and described, numismatists are still not agreed on the dating of some of the issues, nor on the authority responsible for issuing some of these coins. The main reason for this is the very limited information about coins of that period which can be found in historical records, the main one of which is the Yuan Shi ("History of the Yuan dynasty"), compiled in a very short time during the early Ming dynasty period.

Yuan Shi includes information about the monetary reform of 1350 AD, as a result of which special Boards (tjusi 提举司) were established in China and the casting of zhi-zheng tong-bao copper coins and the printing of paper money⁸⁷ was begun. Coins were cast with the value of 1, 2, 3 wen (cash) and with the date on the reverse written in the form of a Mongol transliteration (square phags-pa script) of the Chinese cyclical date. This issue was discontinued in 1354 AD and there are no more references in Yuan Shi about zhi-zheng cash coins. Nevertheless, numerous numismatic examples bear testimony to the fact that the casting of zhi-zheng coins continued after 1354 AD, and this, despite that fact that inflation in the Empire grew very quickly and metal cash casting must have become too difficult for the state. In numismatic sources the opinion can be found that all issues after 1354 AD are unofficial and were cast privately⁸⁸.

We do not agree with that point of view, however, because in all types of zhi-zheng coins we can see a certain standard in the calligraphy of the legend, the metrology (weight and size) and, most importantly, in the quality of the alloy used (see Table 1). It is not possible that such parameters relating to cash coins cast in relatively large quantities could be provided by private casting, so we think that any discussion about the private origin of coins cast after 1354 AD is not worthy of serious attention.

2. Coins with the zhi-zheng zhi-bao legend.

This series of very rare coins is represented by 5 denominations. Scholars now agreed with the conclusions of the famous Chinese numismatists, Dai Baoting and Luo Bozhao, that the character Ji on the reverse of this type designates the place of issue - the province of Jiangxi. Peng Xingwei in his work *A Monetary history of China*⁸⁹ showed that the most probable place of casting of zhi-zheng zhi-bao coins was the district of Jian in Jiangxi province. The most important finds of these coins were indeed made in Jiangxi⁹⁰. Peng Xingwei reports that such coins have also been found in the province of Anhui⁹¹. It is a pity that Peng does not provide details of the find spots, especially the stratigraphy of the unearthed items. The province of Anhui has a common border with the province of Jiangxi so coin finds here do not contradict the issuing of the zhi-bao coins in Jiangxi.

⁸⁷ Yuan Shi, juan 97.

⁸⁸ Tani K. (谷巧二). Investigation of coins of the zhi-zheng period (至正钱研究). Collection of articles on the Yuan dynasty coinage (元代货币论文选集). Pp.403-409. Translation to Chinese by Zhou Bingqi (周丙启).

⁸⁹ Peng Xingwei. A Monetary history of China (Zhongguo Huobi Shi). Transl. by E. Kaplan. 1994. P. 488.

⁹⁰ Guan Hanheng 关汉亨. Notes about collecting of coins zhi-zheng zhi-bao quan chao 至正之宝权钞钱收藏小记 // Zhongguo Qianbi 中国钱币. 1998. #1.

⁹¹ Peng Xingwei. Monetary history ... P.487.

If the place where the *zhi-zheng zhi-bao* coins were produced is accepted without doubt, the date of issue of these coins is not so clear. The reason is that, according to Chinese scholars, the calligraphy of the legend of the *zhi-zheng zhi-bao* coins was created by the well-recognised personality of the Yuan dynasty, Zhou Boqi (周伯奇)⁹². Wang Yinjia (王荫嘉) studied the texts of Zhou Boqi's verses *Jinguangji* (近光集) and found evidence that the emperor ordered him to write the *zhi-zheng zhi-bao* legend. The book *Jinguangji* was written from the first to the fifth year of the *zhi-zheng* period (1341-1345 AD), so one view suggests that the casting of *zhi-zheng zhi-bao* coins was started in those years. However, some scholars think that this type of coin refers to the 11th year *zhi-zheng* (1351 AD), when the Yuan government opened mints in the provinces of Henan, Jiangzhe, Jiangxi, Huguan and started casting coins.

We think that there are no reasons to doubt the fact that emperor, Shun Di, ordered Zhou Boqi to write the *zhi-zheng zhi-bao* legend. Peng Xingwei quotes from *Jinguangji*: "During the second winter, there was an edict to circulate coins, and I received an Imperial Order to write the *Zhizheng*'s ... each one comprising a stanza of seven words according to certain verse rules"⁹³. The original copy of the *Jinguangji* has not survived and its is known only in a copy made during the Ming dynasty. So some scribe errors or later editorial additions are possible. The emperor's decree about the starting of coin circulation should be dated to the 11th month of the 10th year of *zhi-zheng*. Hence the expression "the second winter" should be read as "the second winter after the emperor's decree", that means the winter of 1351-1352 AD and corresponds to the opening of additional mints, including the one in Jiangxi.

We undertook an XRF-analysis of the metal content of a few *zhi-zheng zhi-bao* coins, and the results are presented in Table 1. This study shows the good level of alloy refining and confirms that coins were cast at an official mint. Peng Xingwei also had no doubts that coins of this series are official⁹⁴. So we have to conclude that the casting of *zhi-zheng zhi-bao* coins started no earlier than 1352 AD when the mint was opened in Jiangxi.

One more interesting detail: in the numismatic literature there is mention of *zhi-zheng zhi-bao* coins in the numismatic collection of the Bank of Japan. Included among them is a *Quan Chao* coin with the value of 1 qian, and with the additional word *Cheng* (辰) on the reverse written in Mongol phags-pa script⁹⁵. That word designates the 12th year of the *zhi-zheng* period, i.e. 1352 AD. This coin has never been examined by Chinese numismatists and so they do not accept it «officially» but such an occurrence is worth noting here.

The upper time limit for the issue of these coins is much more uncertain than the lower limit. We think the answer has to be looked for in *Yuan Shi*. It is well known that, in the middle of the 14th century, in different parts of China peasant wars broke out against the Mongol regime of the Yuan dynasty. We attempted to follow the progress of rebel Xu Shouhui in Jiangxi province and found that the district of Jian fell to him in the 3rd moon of the 12th year of *zhi-zheng* (1352). No doubt some towns passed from the rebels to government and back to the rebels a few times, but it is clear that, by the 7th moon, Xu Shouhui had gained control over the territories of the modern provinces of Hubei, Hunan and Jiangxi, Southern Anhui and North-Western Zhejiang⁹⁶. In 1360 the territory of Jiangxi already belonged to another rebel, Cheng Youliang. Even if historians have not provided us with any facts on the matter, we believe that the casting of *zhi-zheng zhi-bao*

coins in the period from the 7th moon of the 12th year of *zhi-zheng* (1352 AD) – 1360 AD was almost impossible because of permanent wars in Jiangxi. Hence the upper time limit of the issue of *zhi-zheng zhi-bao* coins is 1352 AD, most probably not later than the 3rd moon. That very few specimens of coins of that type have survived confirms the very short period of their casting – only a few months.

3. Dated coins with the legend *zhi-zheng tong-bao* and with the value of 5 and 10 wen.

The Japanese researcher Koji Tani 谷巧二 in his work⁹⁷ stated that *zhi-zheng tong-bao* coins with the date *Xu* (1358 AD) and *Hai* (1359 AD) are not official coins. He attempted to compare the manufacturing style of these coins with rebel *tian-qi tong-bao* and *da-yi tong-bao* cash coins and drew the strange conclusion that all these coins are similar. Let us put to one side the rebel issues (we are sure, because of their quality, that their coins were cast quite professionally at the official mints, lost by the government) and look closely at the *zhi-zheng* coins.

The Japanese author considers that the quality of coins cast in 1358-1359 AD is quite different from that of coins issued in 1350-1354 AD, and that that points to the fact that they are privately cast coins. However, we think that such an observation is an inadequate basis for drawing such a conclusion. To start with, what is an "official coin"? Official cash coins, cast "for the support of paper money", appeared after the reform of 1350 AD. For that purpose special bureaus were opened in different provinces. So official coins, independently of place of issue within definite limits, should follow the "standard" that defines the legend, metrology, metal content, and calligraphy. Coins of 1350-1354 AD adhere well to these conditions. Coins of 1358-1359 AD, however, are characterised by **their own** standard of metrology, as well as by the style of the legend. Moreover, the metal content analysis reveals the very good quality of the coin alloy and stable percentages of base components. Hence we are sure that coins of 1358-1359 AD were also officially cast. In our opinion, it would be quite impossible to maintain such a standard for coins privately cast in relatively large quantities.

There are more details that speak against the idea of the coins of 1358-1359 AD being privately cast. During the reform of 1350 coins of previous dynasties were allowed in circulation⁹⁸. At the same time we read in *Yuan Shi* (Juan 44, "Shun-di ji 7"): "Second moon [16th year *zhi-zheng*] ... In the day *yi-chou* (4th March, 1356 AD) copper coins were prohibited for smelting and for buying for resale"⁹⁹.

It is hard to believe that in such conditions somebody smelted coins with the purpose of casting new ones in large quantities (while coins of 1358-1359 AD are now scarce, they are not particularly rare, which suggests a relatively large mintage). XRF-analysis of the *zhi-zheng* coin alloy shows a good level of refining which was not so easy to achieve with a private casting technology. Moreover, with the impossibility of using coins as raw material, the sole source of copper would have been utensils, mirrors, etc, which inevitably would have affected quantitative and qualitative structure of the coin alloy.

So, we believe, that *zhi-zheng tong-bao* coins, dated to 1358-1359 AD, were officially minted. Our assumptions need to be confirmed by further investigations, the study of historical records and archaeological data about finds of coins of this type.

As far as we know from communication with some Chinese numismatists, the main finds of the coins of that type were in Shaanxi province. There are interesting records in *Yuan Shi* concerning the mentioned place and time¹⁰⁰:

"Second moon [of the 18th year of *zhi-zheng*], day *ji-si* (15th March, 1358 AD) ... High officials of *zhongshusheng*

⁹² Guan Hanheng. Notes about collecting ...

⁹³ Peng Xingwei. Monetary history ... P.487.

⁹⁴ Peng Xingwei. Monetary history ... P.488.

⁹⁵ Tani K. Investigation of coins ...

⁹⁶ Wu Han 吳晗. Zhizneopisanie Zhu Yuan-zhana (The Biography of Zhu Yuan-zhang 朱元璋传). Moscow, 1980. In Russian (Transl. from Chinese edition of 北京, 1965). Pp.74-75.

⁹⁷ Tani K. Investigation of coins ...

⁹⁸ Franke, H. Geld und Wirtschaft in China unter der Mongolen-Herrschaft. S.97.

⁹⁹ Yuan Shi, juan 44.

¹⁰⁰ Yuan Shi, juan 45.

(中书省) reported to the emperor that, in view of the difficult state of affairs and the multiple tasks [set] for the armies of Shaanxi, the remoteness from the capital, the extreme difficulties and expense in supplying [those armies], [they] request permission to print money directly in Shaanxi, in conformity [with the situation there]. After that, officials were appointed from *hubu* (the board for the accounting of population and taxation), the Treasury and other [departments], and established [in Shaanxi] departments for the printing [of paper money]”.

Paper money was always accounted by the Mongol government as the main currency while coins were considered as auxiliary money in support of the paper money. Moreover, the issue of money (paper and copper) was under the control of *tijusi* – mint control boards. So it is logical to assume that in Shaanxi *tijusi* were established as the sole legal governmental office for the issuing of currency. It is clear, that for the purpose of supporting the paper money issued for the army in that province, the state felt able to allow the unprofitable activity of casting money, because the further destiny of the Empire depended on the army being well supplied.

The relatively inferior quality of coins cast in 1358-1359 AD can confirm the very short period, that the government had for starting their mintage. It is now possible to explain the existence of coins dated to 1358-1359 AD, and link that fact with data from *Yuan Shi*, as well as information about coin finds in Shaanxi.

It needs to be stressed, however, that the above reasoning is still only a matter of hypothesis, which needs to be carefully checked. The study of historical records should help to determine the extent of the territory that was under government control from the beginning of 1358 until the end of 1359 AD. The information about archaeological finds of coins of this period is also very important.

4. The possible dating of zhi-zheng tong-bao coins

We think that the most logical dating of *zhi-zheng tong-bao* coins is as presented in Table 2. We have placed the coin series chronologically, dividing them by values and indicating the relative scarcity. Undated series are located between 1354 and

1358 AD – and this enables us to observe the sequence of withdrawal of lower value coins from circulation. This table inevitably needs further confirmation and improvement, but at the current stage of our understanding we think it represents the most probable picture of *zhi-zheng tong-bao* mintage.

5. Conclusion

Our researches allows us to draw some conclusions about the casting of coins during the *zhi-zheng* period:

- *zhi-zheng zhi-bao* coins were cast during a very short period in 1352 AD;
- undated series of *zhi-zheng tong-bao* coins were most probably minted between 1354-1358 AD;
- *zhi-zheng tong-bao* 5 and 10 wen coins, with the Mongol date on the reverse, were officially cast at governmental mints in 1358-1359 AD.

The work on the dating of *zhi-zheng* coins is still in progress and needs to be done very thoroughly. To our regret we have not had access to information about *zhi-zheng* coins finds.

We would like to express our sincere gratitude to R.Khrapachevsky and S.Savosin for their help in our work with Chinese sources.

Meeting of the Seventh Century Syria Round Table Preliminary Notice

It is hoped to hold the next meeting at the Barber Institute in Birmingham on the week end of May 25-27, 2007. Anyone interested in offering a paper or just attending please contact



Table 1. Results of the XRF-analysis of the metal alloy of coins zhi-zheng.

Sample #	Coin	Type	Cu	Pb	Sn	Zn	Other	Notes	
VB20-4	Zhi-zheng tong-bao	2 wen	>70	>10	4-8		As < 1, Sb –tr.	*	
VB21-4			72-76	5-8	15-20		Sb < 0.5, As < 0.5		
VB22-4		3 wen Chen	85-90	8-10	2-4		Sb < 0.3, As < 0.3		
Z15627			78-83	>10	6-10		As=1-2, Sb	* ** _	
VB23-4		3 wen Si	3 wen Si	84-88	8-12	<0.7		Sb – 1-3, Mn	
Z15487				74-81	12-16	6-8		As=1-2, Sb	* ** _
Z15549				76-83	8-12	8-10		Fe, As=1-2, Sb	* ** _
Z15614				77-82	9-12	8-10	<1	As<1, Sb	** -
Z15616				78-83	10-12	6-8		As=1-2, Sb	** -
Z15621				79-83	8-10	8-10		As<1, Sb	* ** _
Z15623				79-84	10-12	5-8		As<0.8	** -
Z15625				79-83	8-10	8-10		As<0.7, Sb	** -
Z15626				85-89	3-5	8-10		As, Sb	** -
Z15628				74-87	10-15	2-8		As=1-3, Sb	* ** _
Z16099		76-82	3-5	14-18		As<0.7, Sb	** -		
VB24-4		3 wen	3 wen	>65	>10	8-12		As < 0.5	*
VB25-4				70-78	8-12	15-20		Sb < 0.4, As < 0.6	
VB26-4		5 wen	5 wen	74-76	3-5	15-20		As < 0.6	
VB27-4		5 wen	5 wen	76-80	5-10	8-10		As < 0.5, Ag – tr.	

SS2-5		Xu	>60	>10	8-12		As=1-2, Sb-tr., Fe=1-2	*
VB28-4		10 wen	76-80	4-6	14-16		As, Sb – tr.	
VB29-4		Xu	80-84	6-8	8-12		As - tr.	
Z3546			80-82	6-9	8-10	<1	Sb , As – tr.	
Z1511			80-85	4-6	10-15		As, Sb-tr.	
SS3-5		10 wen Hai	80-84	8-10	8-10		As<0.5, Sb-tr., Ag-tr.	
VB30-4		10 wen	76-80	6-8	8-12		As<0.5, Bi<0.5, Ag-tr., Sb-tr.	
Z743			>70	4-8	15-20		Ag, Sb – tr., Fe – 1-3, Bi < 0.5	*
Z3226		Yi liang zhong	78-82	7-9	10-12		As<0.5, Sb-tr., Ag-tr., Bi<0.5	
SS1-5	Zhi-zheng zhi-bao	5 fen	75-80	10-14	6-8		As<0.4, Sb<0.4	
Z6168			>75	2-5	15-20	<2	Ag-tr., As<0.3	
Z6866		1 qian	>83	10-15	<1		As<0.4, Sb<1	
VB1-5		1 qian 5 fen	78-82	8-12	4-8	1-2	As<0.4, Sb-tr.	
Z3809			80-85	5-10	4-8	1-2	As<0.4, Sb-tr.	
VB32-4		5 qian	92-94	1-2		2-4	Sb < 0.5, As < 1	
VB33-4			82-85	5-10	4-6		As < 0.5, Bi – tr.	
Z1150			>60	>10	8-12		As, Sb-tr.	
Z1149			>80	5-10	4-6	Tr.	As<0.3	

Notes:

1. “Tr.” means “traces of a chemical element in the alloy”.
2. Index “Z” in the sample’s number means the number of the coin in the on-line database ZENO.RU (<http://zeno.ru>). It can be seen via Internet access.
3. * - coins are covered with a thick patina, this can lead to slightly higher results for lead and tin.
4. ** - coins with a peculiar common appearance (very rough) and of low quality casting.

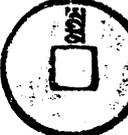
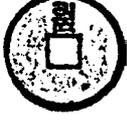
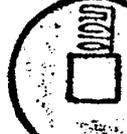
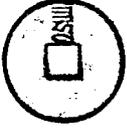
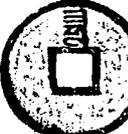
Table 2. The chronology of issues of zhi-zheng tong-bao coins.

<i>Date of issue</i>	<i>Reverse type</i>	1 wen	2 wen	3 wen	5 wen	10 wen
1350 AD (Geng Yin)	Date in Mongol (above the hole)	#1 (*****)	#6 (*****)	#11 (*****)	-	-
1351 AD (Xin Mao)	Date in Mongol (above the hole)	#2 (**)	#7 (*)	#12 (*)	-	-
1352 AD (Ren Chen)	Date in Mongol (above the hole)	#3 (**)	#8 (*)	#13 (*)	-	-
1353 AD (Gui Si)	Date in Mongol (above the hole)	#4 (***)	#9 (*)	#14 (*)	-	-
1354 AD (Jia Wu)	Date in Mongol (above the hole)	#5 (*****)	#10 (***)	#15 (***)	-	-
1355 AD - ???	Value in Mongol (above the hole), in Chinese (below the hole)	-	#16, 17 (*)	#19, 20 (*)	-	#28 (****)
??? – 1357 AD	Value in Mongol (above the hole)	-	-	#18 (****)	#21 (****)	#24 (*)
1358 AD (Wu Xu)	Date in Mongol (above the hole), dot and value in Chinese (below the hole)	-	-	-	#22 (****)	#25, 27 (**)
1359 AD (Ji Hai)	Date in Mongol (above the hole), dot and value in Chinese (below the hole)	-	-	-	#23 (****)	#26 (****)

Notes: 1). The numbers in the table cells designate coin numbers in the *zhi-zheng* period from «Illustrative Plates of Chinese Ancient coins»¹⁰¹ - illustrations can be seen in Table 3. 2). Stars (*) from 1 to 5 indicates the degree of scarcity (* - common coin, **** - extremely rare coin).

¹⁰¹ Liu Jucheng. Illustrative plates of ancient Chinese coins (Zhongguo Guqian Pu). 2nd edition. Beijing 1995. Pp.319-323.

Table 3. The chronology of issues of coins zhi-zheng tong-bao (illustrations).

Date of issue	1 wen	2 wen	3 wen	5 wen	10 wen
1350 AD Geng Yin				-	-
1351 AD Xin Mao				-	-
1352 AD Ren Chen				-	-
1353 AD Gui Si				-	-
1354 AD Jia Wu				-	-
1355 AD - ???	-			-	
??? - 1357 AD	-	-			
1358 AD Wu Xu	-	-	-		
1359 AD Ji Hai	-	-	-		

Some Coins of the Safavid ruler, Tahmasp I
By Stan Goron

Tahmasp I reigned for over 50 years. During this period, the standard for both the gold and silver coinage changed from time to time both in the eastern and western parts of his territories. Details of these standards can be found on pages 127 and 128 of the excellent *Checklist of Islamic Coins* by Stephen Album, second edition, 1998.

In this series of articles I would like to present a selection of silver shahis from various mints struck on the "second western standard" of 6.22 g during the period AH 937-946. In this early period of the reign many mints were in operation, though not necessarily continuously. At some mints, particularly Tabriz, many different types and type combinations were struck. As usual with this series, one side, referred to here as the obverse, has the ruler's name and titles, mintname and date, and the other side has the shi'a kalima and usually the names of the 12 rashidun in the margin. (To be continued).



Ardabil 938 Ruler's name, mint and date within irregular circle; Kalima within rather circular quadrilobe.



Ardabil 938 Ruler's name, mint and date within "pregnant" rectangle; Kalima as in previous type.



Abarquh 938 Kalima within divided circle.



Ardabil 938 Obverse as previous type; Kalima within square.



Abarquh 938 Kalima arranged within circle divided into four quarters.



Ardabil 939 Mint and date within ornamental cartouche, ruler's name and titles in marginal legend; Kalima within square.



Abarquh 936 Kalima within square.



Ardabil 940 Ruler's name, mint and date within larger but similar cartouche as previous type; Kalima within square.



Abarquh no date visible Ruler's name and mint within rhombus; Kalima within square.



Ardabil 941 Mint and date within quadrilobe; Kalima within square.



Arjish 940 Ruler's name, and mint within "pregnant" rectangle, date below; Kalima within square.



Arjish 940 Mint and date within circle, ruler's name and titles around; Kalima within square.



Arjish 940 Ruler's name, mint and date within quadrifoil; Kalima within square.



Arjish date not clear, possibly 940 Mint within small "pregnant" rectangle; Kalima within circle.

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