



ONS NEWS

Obituaries

Remembering a Doyenne – Dr Shobhana Gokhale



Eminent historian of ancient Maharashtra, numismatist and epigraphist, Dr Shobhana Gokhale breathed her last at Pune on 22 June 2013. Dr Gokhale, fondly addressed by her students as ‘Bai’, was associated closely with the Deccan College where she worked and taught for her entire professional life and with other prominent institutions like the

Bharata Itihasa Samshodhaka Mandala, the Tilak Maharashtra Vidyapeeth and the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute.

She was born in Amaravati, in the Vidarbha region of Maharashtra, née Bapat. The great indologist, V V Mirash, was her Guru for some time when she read for her degree in Sanskrit. After her marriage to L N Gokhale (a scholar in journalistic studies), she moved to Pune. For her post-graduate studies she chose archaeology and did her PhD under the guidance of the well-known archaeologist, Dr Hasmukh Sankhalia.

Dr Gokhale’s career spanned over fifty years and saw the publishing of many important discoveries in the field of epigraphy and numismatics. Pre-5th century Maharashtra was a focus of her own research, but she guided several PhD students on the pre-Islamic period as well. Amongst coins, the Satavahanas and their times were her ‘forte’. Her interest in history and culture of the Satavahana period saw her publishing many important Satavahana coins. One of her abiding gifts was her temperament – she was softly-spoken, erudite and extremely well-mannered. Her qualities helped her to build a rapport with eminent coin-collectors from various cities, such as Dr Shantilal Purwar and Balasaheb Patil from Aurangabad and Paithan, Balasaheb Chumble of Nasik and Lance Dane in Mumbai (it is indeed a very sad thought that one by one, all these stalwarts have now left us in close succession, within the past few years!) She was also a mentor to coin-collector communities in Mumbai, Nasik and Pune – her help and advice proved important for Dr Anand Kelkar, Aravind Athawale, Purushottam Bhargave, Sanjay More, Laxmikant Verma and many others. Through the access she gained to these collectors, she was able to publish a number of significant coins of the Satavahana period, and some of them are illustrated here – noteworthy is a potin elephant-type coin with an ‘amphora’, a coin of Kochhiputa Satakani, a lead coin of ‘Junnar lion’ type of Nahapana which is now in the Ashmolean Museum collection, and a coin of the Satavahana Queen Naganika. She also published a ‘Junnar lion’ type coin of Vasithiputa Isimula as ‘Mahakshatrapa’ – however,

she read the legend as ‘Isa Mahisa’, perhaps influenced by her Guru, Prof. Mirashi’s assertion of a ‘Mahisha’ dynasty. Apart from Satavahana coins, Dr Gokhale was well-known for her discovery of copper coins of the Kalachuri ruler, Krishnaraja, which were discovered on the island of Elephanta, famed for its wonderful cave temples. She was also instrumental in studying and publishing a hoard of silver Western Kshatrapa coins, found at Ranjangaon near Pune. Her contribution to numismatics was recognised by the Numismatic Society of India by awarding her the ‘Biddulph Medal’ in 1985 and the ‘P L Gupta Medal’ in 2007. She attended the International Numismatic Congress in Brussels in 1993 and chaired a session on Oriental numismatics. She was also a fellow of the Royal Numismatic Society of Great Britain.



Gajalakshmi coin



Junna lion-type coin of Vasithiputa Isimula



A coin of Kochhiputa Satakani



A lead coin of ‘Junnar lion’ type of Nahapana



A Satavahana potin elephant-type coin with an 'amphora'

Perhaps equally important were her strides in epigraphic discoveries. Very early in her career, she brought to notice the earliest inscription using the appellation 'Shaka Era' – this was the Shaka 380 inscription of the Vakataka ruler, Devasena, found at the village of Hisse-Borala in the Washim district of Maharashtra, which records the building of a water-tank. Reminiscing on this important find, 'Bai' used to fondly narrate the story of how she manoeuvred the stone slab, broken into two and fallen into a dry river-bed, with the help of local village-men. Her small frame was unbelievably strong when it came to intrepid adventures in pursuit of inscriptions engraved on inaccessible cliffs, crypts and chasms! She dauntlessly climbed down a ravine at Kanheri to find several inscribed brick fragments accumulated in the thickets as a result of a thousand years of debris. The book that resulted from this adventure, 'Kanheri Inscriptions', is a very important insight into the working and the nature of the Buddhist monastic community at Kanheri. Apart from stone inscriptions, Dr Gokhale also edited and published some historically significant copper-plate charters, noteworthy amongst them being the Matvan plates of the Traikutaka rulers, Madhyamasena and Vikramasena.

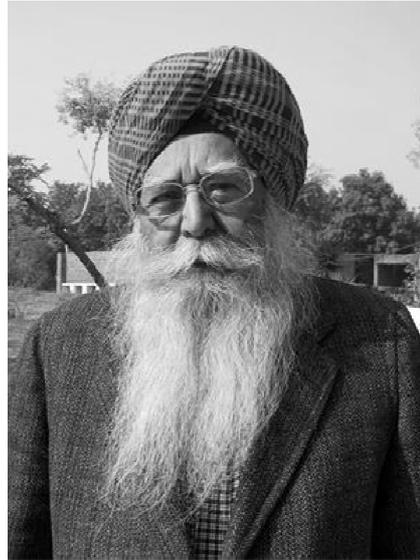
'Bai' remained active in Indological research and learning for a long time after her retirement from Deccan College. She was nominated on governing bodies of Bharata Itihasa Samshodhaka Mandala and the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute and taught at the Tilak Maharashtra Vidyapeeth. She wrote over ten books and 150 articles. Her Marathi books *Purabhilekha-Vidya* and *Bharateeya Lekh-Vidya* are important primers on epigraphy in the language. A collected volume of her articles on Satavahana coins was brought together in *Lords of Dakshinapatha: Coins, Trade and Trade-centres under the Satavahanas* by Dr Dilip Rajgor of Reesha Books International.

I knew 'Bai' for almost two decades – I first met her in Mumbai in the late 1980's at Dilip's house and subsequently several times in Mumbai, Pune and Nasik. She participated in colloquia held at the IIRNS and was often seen visiting coin collectors with her photography equipment. I was fortunate to be present a number of times when she documented coins with collectors like Lance Dane or Balasaheb Chumble. Her passion for the subject was immense and she literally could not stop discussing and talking about the Satavahanas. The cave complexes at Junnar and Naneghat formed a particular 'bond' for her and visits in her company to these sites were 'legendary' amongst her students! Apart from her being a Guru and mentor, I also had the fortune of having her as one of my PhD examiners and it was she who took my viva-voce exam for nearly three hours on one pleasant March afternoon in 1999! She was full of admiration for my thesis and would constantly prod me to publish it.

With Dr Gokhale's demise, we have lost an eminent numismatist and epigraphist of the 'Old School', when Indology was learned not through scholarly articulation of secondary sources, but through the hands-on approach of learning the languages, scripts and methods to 'decode' the sources at first hand. 'Bai' leaves behind her legacy, particularly in the Tilak Maharashtra Vidyapeeth, where her students are carrying on her mantle with making these traditional methods of learning accessible to a younger generation. She will be sorely missed, for her mentoring role as well as her erudition, scholarship and expertise.

Shailendra Bhandare

Dr Surinder Singh, Sikh Numismatist and Historian



It is with great sadness that I inform you of the passing of Dr Surinder Singh at Chandigarh on 27th June, 2013. He had been suffering from a heart ailment and was being treated at the Fortis Hospital where he completed his cycle of life.

Dr Surinder Singh was an eminent historian and Sikh numismatist, born at Haripur Hazara, Pakistan in 1930. He had been in government service for many years from

where he retired in the 1980s. An imposing personality standing over 6 feet tall, he was introduced to me by my father in 1987, when I was 12 years old. I had started collecting coins and hence had a common interest with him. He was very encouraging about the few common Sikh coppers I had with me and pushed me into concentrating on collecting Sikh coins. Later I met him while he was completing his PhD thesis on Sikh coins, which was published as 'Sikh Coinage – A symbol of Sikh Sovereignty'. He gave a Sikh approach to interpreting the legends on the coins. His latest publication was 'Rediscovering Baba Banda Singh Bahadur' where he tried to give a new approach to the great warrior, rejecting the old theories of the Mughal chronicles and S. Rattan Singh Bhangu.

He was working on the Battle Strategy of Baba Banda Singh Bahadur amongst a few more projects. In his own words he was 'literally living the life of Baba Banda Singh', when I last met him earlier this year. The research on Baba Banda Singh's life was a great passion for him; he commissioned figurines and paintings of him, in addition to the ground work at Lohgarh Fort, a place he was very keen to develop as a memorial. May he rest in eternal peace.

Jeevandeep Singh

Meetings

Seventh Century Syria Numismatic Round Table

The next meeting of the *Seventh Century Syria Numismatic Round Table* will be held in the new library building in Worcester, called *The Hive*, on Saturday, 28 September 2013 and Sunday, 29 September 2013. Lectures will start at 10.00 am each day. The round table will end at 6.00 pm on Saturday and about 4.00 pm on Sunday. A conference dinner will be organised on the Saturday evening for those who are interested. *The Hive* is less than 10 minutes walk from Worcester Foregate Railway Station and 3 minutes from the bus station. There is a large pay-and-display car park adjacent to *The Hive* and there are numerous hotels and B&B establishments within a short walk. To register your interest in attending please [redacted]

Please bring this round table to the attention of friends, colleagues and students who may be interested.

Programme as of 6 July 2013

Gabriela Bijovsky: "Arab-Byzantine coins from excavations in Israel - an update"

Tony Goodwin: "Aspects of 7th century Egyptian coinage"

Lutz Ilisch: "The copper coinage of Khizânat Halab AH 147-148; a clue to marks on early Islamic copper coins?"

Trent Jonson: "The early Islamic copper coinage of North Africa"

Charlie Karukstis: “Flan preparation patterns of pseudo-Byzantine coinage”

Cecile Morrison & Vivien Prigent: “New reflections on the coinages of Justinian II and the Standing Caliph”

Andrew Oddy: “The phase 2 coinage of Scythopolis under Mu’awiya and his successors”

Marcus Phillips: “Coinage and the nature of the Arab state”

Henri Pottier: “A secondary mint in the eastern part of the empire under Persian rule”

Ingrid Schulze: “Can we believe what is written on the coins? – Enigmatic die links and other puzzles”

Wolfgang Schulze & Andrew Oddy: “The spear on coins of the Byzantine-Arab transition period”

Frank Trombley: “The coinage of the Seleucia Isauria and Isaura mints of Herakleios (ca. 615-618) and related issues”

Frank Trombley: “Coinage and the use of currency in the 7th century papyri”

Tasha Vorderstrasse: “Byzantine and early Islamic coins from the excavations at Jericho”

David Woods: “Some chronological problems in the chronicle of Theophilus of Edessa”

Hassan al-Akra: “Coins from the excavations at Baalbek”

James Howard-Johnston: “The Sasanian empire at its apogee in the early 620s”

Utrecht Meeting

A reminder that the annual meeting at Utrecht will take place on 19 October 2013 at the Geldmuseum. For more information please contact Jan Lingen: lingen@wxs.nl In due course, full information about the meeting will be available on the ONS website.

New Members

UK Region

2018	[Redacted]
[Redacted]	[Redacted]

European Region

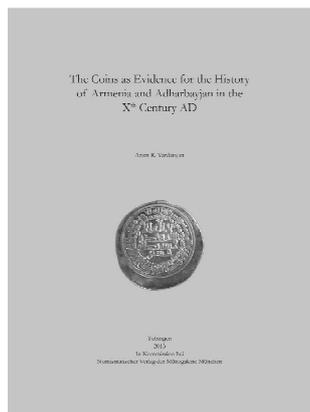
2020	[Redacted]
[Redacted]	[Redacted]

[Redacted]	[Redacted]
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Lists Received

1. Tim Wilkes ([Redacted] www.wilkescoins.com; tim@wilkescoins.com) list 20 of oriental coins.

New and Recent Publications



Aram Vardanyan’s book *The Coins as Evidence for the History of Armenia and Adharbayjan in the Xth Century*, Tübingen 2013, should now be available from the Münzgalerie, Munich, Germany, for around 48.50 Euros plus postage. Hard cover, glossy paper, 287 pp., ca. 180 ill., ISBN 978-3-926195-03-6. For more information please see JONS 212, p.6. To order the book please contact Mrs Maria Boehm at mgm@muenzgalerie.de

A book of the proceedings of "Rasmir: Oriental Numismatics" conference (Odessa, Ukraine, 29-31 July 2011) has been printed. The book contains 167 pages and is illustrated with colour and black/white illustrations, soft cover. ISBN code: 978-966288-0083.

The main part of the book is in Russian, but there is an Abstracts section in English. Among the papers published is a very important article on the newly found coinage of the Syr Darya Oghuz state by E. Goncharov and V. Nastich.

Papers with translated abstracts are:

- A. N. Alyoshin: “Coins of Kobadian and their countermarks” [short abstract]
- Y.M. Lemberg: “Identification of Barqa mint on dirhams struck in Ifriqiya province in AH 170” [detailed abstract]
- E. Yu. Goncharov & V. N. Nastich: “New numismatic artefacts of the IX century from the Eastern Greater Aral Sea (A newly found coinage of the Syr Darya Oghuz state)” [detailed abstract]
- A. I. Grachev: “Minor denominations in the money circulation of the late Qarakhanids” [short abstract]
- M. Younis: “Dinars of Isfahan AH 512 and the military confrontation between Sanjar and Mahmud” [full article]
- A.O. Bragin: “A new date of Timurid Khalil Sultan silver tanga die (811 / 1408-1409)” [detailed abstract]
- A.O. Bragin: “On the die of a Timurid Baysunghur silver tanga” [detailed abstract]
- A.A. Kazarov, Y. V. Studitskiy & R. Yu. Reva: “Coins of Murtaza bin Ahmad -The final stage of the Golden Horde coinage” [short abstract]
- V.P. Alexeev & P.G. Laboda: “New coins of Olbio” [short abstract]
- O. V. Ivchenko: “On the entrance of Roman denarii during the first to the beginning of the second century in Chernyakhovska culture” [short abstract]
- A. C. Boiko-Gagarin: “On a find of a forged Venetian ducat in the Crimea” [short abstract]
- V. V. Bezpalko: “Money-carrying costume accessories of the Volyn population (according to material from the Lutsk district books 1580-83)” [short abstract]
- S. Kudin: “Imitation of a Dutch ducat of 1729 found in the Volyn region” [Short Abstract]
- A.A. Kazarov & A. Krivenko: “The recently discovered Juchid mint of Aqcha Kerman” [short abstract]
- A. Crivenko & S. Sreckovic: “The Bujak hoard: the results of preliminary research” [detailed abstract]
- I. Paghava & S. Turkia: “New data concerning the minting of Safavid currency in the Kingdom of Kakheti (Georgia)” [short abstract]
- A. Laptev: “Coins from Saltiv Monument sites on the Upper Donets Basin (4th Verkhniy Saltiv catacomb and Netailivka Ground necropolis)” [short abstract]

More information can be obtained at : rasmir.odessa@gmail.com or at the English section of the "Rasmir" forum at: <http://rasmir.com/FORUM/index.php?topic/6279-conference-proceedings-rasmir-oriental-numismatics-2011/>

The next "Rasmir: Oriental Numismatics -2013" conference is due to take place in Odessa, Ukraine on 1-3 August 2013.

Sikka and the Raj: Currency Legislations of the East India Company, 1772-1835, by Sanjay Garg, New Delhi, 2013, hard cover, 544 pages, with illustrations, ISBN 978-81-7304-970-5.

"In the process of colonisation of India by the British, currency proved to be a vital weapon as it directly affected almost every aspect of the economic life of the society. The book encapsulates the story of Indian currency during the early days of colonial rule in India. It presents a comprehensive account of the currency policy of the British East India Company, which it pursued to establish a uniform currency in India. The process of currency legislation enacted by the Company, the circumstances leading to the adoption of these pieces of legislation, as well as their effects on the prevailing economic conditions in the country, have been analysed with a view to establish a relationship between the stability of the currency vis-a-vis the economic colonisation of India by the East India Company. By integrating numismatic data with the archival sources, the book scrutinises various internal and external forces which were at work in shaping the monetary structure during the early days of colonial rule in India, and presents a new insight into the role of currency in the colonisation process of India. The objective of this study is not merely to have a 'cause and effect' understanding of the currency reforms carried out by the East India Company, but also to delve into the often-overlooked or neglected detail of the what and how of its process. All related archival material - a series of 39 Regulations (1793-1833) and two Acts (1835) - has been incorporated into the appendices, which makes this book a veritable tool for reference and further research."

Ernst Günther Weber, *Arabo-Sasanidische Drachmen*, in: Bremer Beiträge zur Münz- und Geldgeschichte, Hg.: Bremer Numismatische Gesellschaft. 2013. 120 pages, with colour illustrations throughout, A4, hardbound. Price: 24 euros plus postage (2 euros within Germany, otherwise 6 euros).

In this book the author has catalogued the 208 pieces in his own collection and struck between AD 651/2 and 793/4. In amongst them are 20 extremely rare coins published for the first time. Each coin is illustrated with details about its weight, diameter and legends. References are made to the four most important works on the subject, together with detailed comments by the author about items that have most struck him as interesting.

The book is in German but the author provides a separate three-page English introduction in which he explains, inter alia, the abbreviations used, his system of transliteration. The book does not have a historical introduction as he did not want to reproduce what is already available in the works of Walker, Gaube and the more recent Ashmolean Museum catalogue. Countermarks on the coins are gathered together in an appendix.

The book may be ordered from Auktionen & Münzhandel, Dr. Christoph Stadler e. K.

Issue 6 of *Numismatique Asiatique*, published by the Société de Numismatique Asiatique, France, in June 2013 is devoted to the coinage of Cambodia. It includes the following items:

"First coin of ancient Khmer kingdom discovered" by Joe Cribb
"Les trésors d'Angkor Borei d'après Guillaume Epinal"

"La ferme Vandelet & Faraut et la sapèque cambodgienne (1888)"
by François Joyaux

"La collection cambodgienne de la Monnaie de Paris"

"Archives: Documents et références concernant l'introduction des presses monétaires au Cambodge (1854-1991)"

For more information about the Society please write to: numis.asia@orange.fr in French or English.

Other News

The Central Asian Numismatic Institute will have presentations exploring new aspects of Golden Horde coinage and economic relations with Europe and Central Asia. The meeting is open to the public and will take place on Thursday, 26 September, at the Royal Asiatic Society (near Euston Square) at 14 Stephenson Way, London NW1 2HD from 1:00 to 4:400 pm. The topics will reflect the recent conference in Kazan, Russia, jointly sponsored by the institute and the Tatarstan Academy of Sciences. Please contact the director at ca.numismatic@gmail.com for further details or a wish to contribute to the topic. All are welcome.

Articles

A PARCEL OF COINS OF KING HATAZ OF AKSUM

By Vincent West

A parcel of 24 copper coins of king Hataz of Aksum (late sixth or early seventh century AD) recently appeared in trade in London¹. They were apparently some of the finer specimens from a hoard of about a hundred coins of the same type found in a monastery close to Aksum². Very few hoards of Aksumite coins have been described and it is a pleasant duty to record this parcel. All the coins are of type AC³ 141, Hahn⁴ 65 which may be described as follows:

Obverse: crowned and draped bust of king facing holding hand-cross in front of chest, Ge'ez legend *ngs Htz* "King Hataz". There may be symbols by the chin (see AC).

Reverse: Greek cross in diamond-shaped frame with cross at each angle, Ge'ez legend *shl l'Hzb* "Mercy to the peoples". There are differing cross types.

The catalogue below records for each coin any obverse symbols, the reverse cross type, the die axis (taken from the cross before the Ge'ez B on the reverse), the weight and diameter.

Several of the obverse symbols in the parcel have not been previously noted. These are:

crescent left, open to right (no. 2)

Greek capital I right (nos. 4, 16 and 21 – all from different obverse dies). This symbol may alternatively be a Greek capital H, or Ge'ez Z, on its side.

crescent above pellet right (nos. 7 and 17 from the same obverse die).

¹ Spink auction 26-7 March 2013 lots 23-4. Lot 23 consisted of coin nos. 3, 4, 7, 8, 11, 12, 15, 16, 19, 20, 23 and 24 in the catalogue here provided; lot 24 of coin nos. 1, 2, 5, 6, 9, 10, 13, 14, 17, 18, 21 and 22.

² Another parcel of 24 Hataz copper coins apparently from the same hoard appeared in the Gorny and Mosch (Munich) sale 213 in March 2013.

³ Munro-Hay S and Juel-Jensen B, *Aksumite Coinage*, Spink, 1995.

⁴ Hahn W, *Die Münzprägung des Axumitischen Reiches, Litterae Numismaticae Vidobonenses* 2, 1983.

In addition, the crescent left open upwards (no. 19) was first recorded in Spink auction 30 November 2005 lot 588.

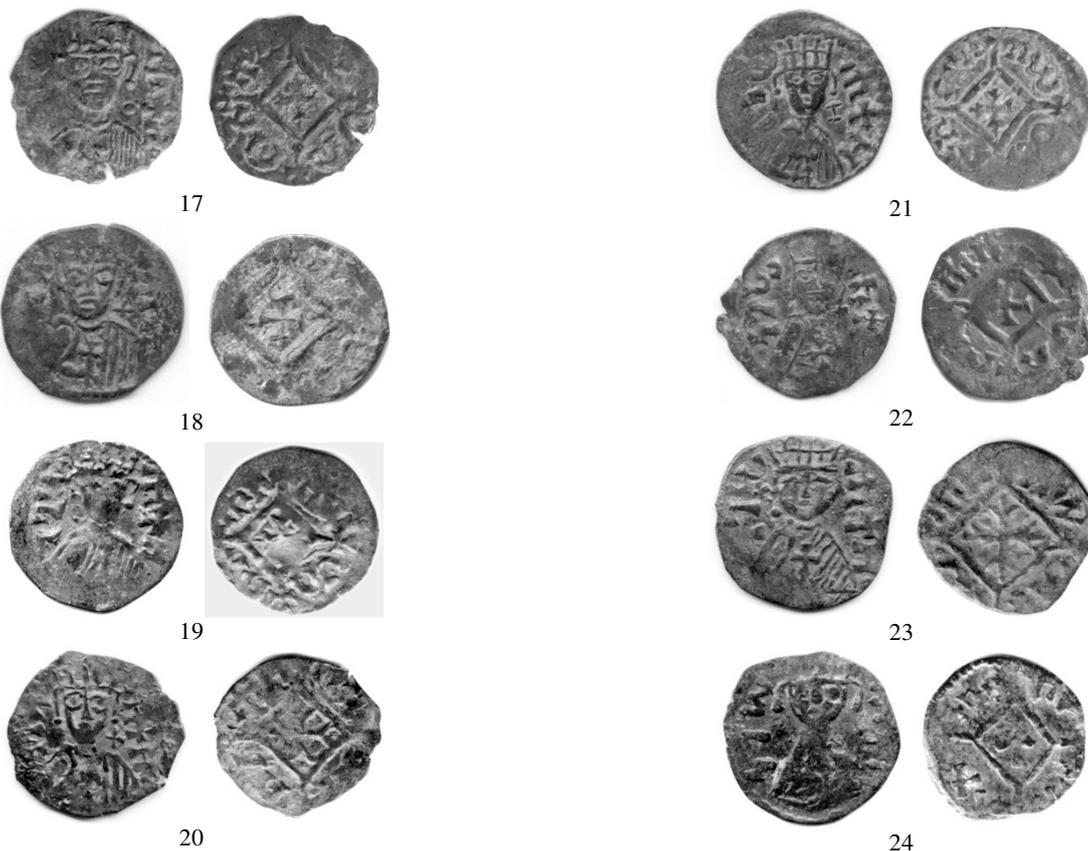
Two main types of central reverse cross are distinguished:

type 1 – with tripartite ends, sometimes with pellets between the arms

type 2 – plain to pattée.

The author is most grateful to Barbara Mears of Spink for drawing the author's attention to the parcel, for encouraging its publication and for providing the photographs. The photographs are reproduced here somewhat enlarged.





CATALOGUE

No.	Obverse Symbol (by chin)	Reverse Cross Type	Die Axis	Wt. gm.	Diam. mm.	Notes
1	Cross r.	1	12:00	0.84	14	
2	Crescent l., open to r.; pellet r.?	1	12:00	1.18	16	The pellet may be a blemish on the flan
3	None	2	-	1.00	16	Obverse doublestruck
4	Greek I r.	2	10:00	(0.87)	17	Chipped
5	None	1	09:00	0.92	15	
6	None	1	08:00	0.83	15	
7	Crescent above pellet r.	1	06:00	1.06	16	There may be separator (colon) on the obverse after the Ge'ez S*
8	Cross r.	1	02:00	1.11	15	
9	Cross r.	1	11:00	0.84	17	
10	None	2	01:00	0.72	16	
11	Cross r.	1	03:00	0.99	14	
12	Cross r.	1	11:00	1.09	15	
13	Uncertain symbol l.; cross r.	1	06:00	1.18	15	The uncertain symbol may a vertical bar
14	Pellet l.	1	11:00	(1.01)	16	Chipped
15	None	1	06:00	0.66	15	
16	Greek I r.	1	11:00	1.28	18	
17	Crescent above pellet r.	1	03:00	0.84	15	See note on no. 7
18	Cross r.	1	03:00	1.07	14	
19	Crescent l. open upwards	1	06:00	0.99	17	
20	Cross r.	1	07:00	0.72	16	
21	Greek I r.	1	10:00	0.91	17	
22	Cross r.	2	12:00	0.75	17	
23	Pellet l.	1	05:00	0.88	17	
24	None	2	07:00	0.98	16	Crude dies

* See West, V., Ge'ez Punctuation Marks on Aksumite Coins, *Oriental Numismatic Society Newsletter* 166, Winter 2001, pp.4-5.

A “STANDING CALIPH” FALS WITHOUT MINT NAME*

By Nikolaus Schindel



The coin discussed here weighs 2.83 g, has a maximum diameter of 20 mm and a die axis of 5 h. It is said to have been acquired from a coin dealer in Jerusalem and is at present kept in an Austrian private collection. Even if showing some wear and corrosion, the reverse is reasonably well preserved for a quite peculiar feature to be clearly made out: there is no mint indication, neither to the left nor the right of the “symbol on steps” on the reverse.⁵ Admittedly, this is not an absolutely unique feature of “standing caliph” fulus. Rare coins from a mint in al-Jazira,⁶ and from Amman which feature an “M” on the reverse,⁷ also lack the mint name; in the latter case, a die link to a signed Amman fals proves beyond doubt the attribution.⁸ Our coin, though, is different from them. Style, as well as typological details (especially the rendering of the reverse image) show that it belongs to a larger group of coins normally bearing the mint name Damascus. On these issues, the circular part of the “symbol on steps” often covers most of the length of its vertical element. The only other mint to show this peculiarity is Amman, but there the central element is ellipsoid rather than round, as is the case in Damascus. The position of the caliph’s right arm and the sword, too, advocates an attribution to Damascus, as does the execution of the reverse legend (the obverse legend being mostly illegible). The blundered rendering of the legends as well as the inferior style are also typical for this group. While there certainly might be more specimens like the coin shown here, I know only one single specimen published so far. This coin is basically of the same style as our specimen, but shows a six-pointed star instead of the mint name in the right reverse field.⁹

If the attribution of our mintless fals to Damascus is accepted, then the question arises why the mint name was omitted. From a purely technical point of view, I would suggest that first the “symbol on steps” as well as the circular legend were engraved into the die. In the case of our coin, after this had been done, there

simply was not enough space left to add the mint name, so it was omitted.

Despite the fact that I believe that it is really as simple as that, another explanation may be considered possible if one browses the recent literature on “standing caliph” fulus. Ingrid Schulze has studied the issues from Damascus in some detail, paying especial attention to their style. On the basis of a convincing style analysis, she was able to identify several different groups.¹⁰ The most common one is the same to which also our coin belongs; a noteworthy feature is the mint name which is rendered in most cases as دمشق rather than دِمَشق.¹¹ Rarer groups show stylistic links with the issues from the mints of Amman and Hims, while bearing the mint name of Damascus.¹² Equally rare are coins which have a style of their own.¹³ According to Schulze, the main group does not belong to the official Umayyad mint of Damascus at all, but rather to some other production place.¹⁴ Our coin would fit into this line of argument quite nicely, if one accepts Schulze’s interpretation, i.e. since the coin was not struck at Damascus anyway, the lack of the (pseudo-)mint indication did not matter at all.

However, I am highly sceptical about whether Schulze’s interpretation of the stylistic evidence really holds true. As she emphasizes herself, the coins bearing the mint name دِمَشق/Dimashq from the other three style groups are very rare. At least in the case of the “Amman-related” coins Schulze doubts whether they, too, were struck in Damascus at all.¹⁵ That would leave us with the really astonishing fact that “standing caliph” copper coins from the capital of the Umayyad Empire, the seat of ‘Abd al-Malik’s government, were rarer than those of such minor mints such as e.g. al-Ruha¹⁶ or Qurus. There is one Damascus coin in the catalogue of Album and Goodwin¹⁷ which shows a perfectly regular style of its own, but which Schulze apparently also does not accept as an official issue.¹⁸ Al-Ruha accounts for one coin, Qurus for two.¹⁹ Walker lists just one specimen which Schulze labels regular,²⁰ as opposed to two and one coin respectively from the two above-mentioned mints.²¹ Of the large-style group she does not attribute to Damascus, ten and six coins respectively are catalogued by Album/Goodwin and Walker.²²

Admittedly, patterns of minting not necessarily always mirror exactly our concepts of administrative geography: in the 1st century AD, Roman Imperial precious metal coinage for some time was issued in Lyons rather than in Rome, the residence of the emperor. Also in the 4th century, the mint of the old imperial capital was not always the most prolific one, compared e.g. to Siscia. However, in these cases the reasons were military activities and the resulting monetary needs of the armies stationed on the Rhine and Danube frontiers respectively. I do not think that we have any indication that Umayyad pre- or post-reform copper coinage served primarily military purposes. Rather to the contrary: most fals mints (and the most productive ones, come to that) were situated well inside the Umayyad realm, whereas border regions like e.g. Cilicia did not produce any coins at all during the Umayyad period. If we look at the patterns of minting of post-reform coinage, we easily see the importance of the mint of Damascus. Apart from the fact that the majority of Umayyad gold dinars were struck there,²³ it was also

* I have to thank Ingrid Schulze for this valuable discussion.

⁵ For some recent comments on the reverse image W. Schulze, Symbolism on the Syrian Standing Caliph Copper Coins: A contribution to the discussion, in: A. Oddy (ed.), *Coinage and History in the Seventh Century Near East 2. Proceedings of the 12th Seventh Century Syrian Numismatic Round Table held at Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge on 4th and 5th April 2009*, London 2010, p. 11–22; S. Heidemann, The Standing Caliph Type - the object on the reverse, in: Oddy (as note 1), p. 23–34; N. Schindel, A lead tessera and its potential importance for understanding the reverse image of ‘Abd al-Malik’s standing caliph coins, *JONS* 209, 2011, p. 12 f.

⁶ J. Walker, *Catalogue of the Arab-Byzantine and Post-Reform Umayyad Coins*, London 1956, p. 29, no. 98; I. Schulze/W. Schulze, The Standing Caliph Coins of al-Jazira, some Problems and Suggestions, *Numismatic Chronicle* 2010, p. 346–349; they advocate an attribution to Harran.

⁷ Walker (as note 2), p. 32, no. 104; S. Album/T. Goodwin, *Sylloge of the Islamic Coins in the Ashmolean. Volume 1: The Pre-Reform Coinage of the Early Islamic Period*, Oxford 2002, pl. 46, no. 716.

⁸ T. Ramadan, A Brief Note on a “Skinny” Standing Caliph Arab-Byzantine Coin presumably from Amman, *JONS* 209, 2011, p. 13 f. I owe this observation to Ingrid Schulze.

⁹ I. Schulze, The standing caliph coins of Damascus: new die links – new questions, *JONS* 204, 2010, p. 3, no. 4b (obverse), p. 4, no. 4b (reverse).

¹⁰ Schulze (as note 5).

¹¹ Schulze (as note 5), p. 3 f.

¹² Schulze (as note 5), p. 5 f.

¹³ Schulze (as note 5), p. 5.

¹⁴ Schulze (as note 5), p. 5.

¹⁵ Schulze (as note 5), p. 5.

¹⁶ Schulze/Schulze (as note 2), p. 339 f. were able to collect 16 specimens, struck from 3 obverse and 5 reverse dies.

¹⁷ Album/Goodwin (as note 3), pl. 46, no. 715.

¹⁸ Schulze (as note 5), p. 5.

¹⁹ Album/Goodwin (as note 3), pl. 44, no. 688, pl. 43, nos. 672 f.

²⁰ Schulze (as note 5), p. 5, note 21.

²¹ Walker (as note 2), p. 28, nos. 92 f., p. 40, no. J.2.

²² Album/Goodwin (as note 3), pl. 45; Walker (as note 2), p. 26 f.

²³ Walker (as note 2), p. LV–LIX.

the only dirham mint in the Syrian region.²⁴ Still more important for us is the evidence of copper coinage. In his PhD thesis, Harry Bone made use of 500 post-reform fulus from Damascus as opposed to 280 from Hims, and 289 from Tabariya. Al-Ruha and Qurus account for only 13 and two coins respectively.²⁵ If we compare this with his listings for the “standing caliph” period, we arrive at very similar patterns of minting, even if Aleppo (153 coins) is more common than both Damascus (74 coins) and Hims (69 coins).²⁶ This is true, however, only under the assumption that the Damascus coins of the style of our fals were in fact struck in the official Umayyad mint of the capital, and not in some unknown other location which, as Schulze would have it,²⁷ was perhaps not even under the control of the central government. The latter assumption can be ruled out, I believe – apart from the reasons discussed here – also because whatever it might represent, the reverse image of the “standing caliph” coins is closely connected with the Marwanid branch of the Umayyad dynasty.²⁸ Therefore, it seems exceedingly unlikely to me that some non-Umayyad or even anti-Umayyad minting authority (whatever that may be) would have employed it on its coinage.

If we are looking for further continuity between the “standing caliph” issues and the Umayyad post-reform period, one should mention the rare pre-reform dinars which are generally attributed to Damascus.²⁹ Also Sasanian-type silver drachms, probably experimental issues, are known from Damascus.³⁰ The only other Syrian silver mint is Hims,³¹ which, as stated above, ranks among the most commonly attested production places for “standing caliph” as well as for post-reform fulus. Here, the patterns of minting by and large show the same trends. Therefore, I believe it is highly unlikely that Schulze’s re-attribution of the bulk of “standing caliph” fulus bearing the mint name of Damascus holds true. Not only would we have to assume that in the imperial capital hardly any petty coinage was issued at all during the “standing caliph” period; we would also have to look for another place which, for a rather short period, produced a tremendous amount of copper coins. Schulze suggests that the word Dimashq might refer not to the city, but rather to the entire province (*jund Dimashq*).³² Even if this is difficult to disprove with absolute certainty, there are no parallels in the “standing caliph” series – rather to the contrary: the only mints – Iliya, Ludd, and Yubna – to employ a provincial name, viz. Filastin, add it to the respective city’s.³³ On isolated post-reform issues from the *junds al-Urdunn* and *Filastin*, the provincial names replace the usual mint designation.³⁴ Still, these issues are exceptions rather than the rule, so I doubt whether they have any bearing on an allegedly different meaning of the word Dimashq. To claim that the normally faulty spelling مشق was supposed to convey this difference certainly means to overstretch the evidence considerably. In my opinion, Umayyad post-reform copper coinage was primarily meant to meet the monetary needs of local markets. Why should such a need have no longer existed in Damascus, without doubt one of the economic centres of the Umayyad Empire, while at exactly the same time arising somewhere else? One also has to bear in mind that a plethora of mints (often barely prolific in terms of their output, e.g. the aforementioned Qurus) came into being during the “standing caliph” period. The idea of setting up mints in provincial towns

while at the same time closing down the capital copper mint simply makes no sense to me.

Concentrating on the “standing caliph” coinage, I leave aside here the “Pseudo-Damascus” mint in the chronological layer of “Umayyad Imperial Image” coinage. While a plethora of short notes and remarks on “Pseudo-Damascus” coinage has appeared in the last two decades,³⁵ I think that a really sound discussion will become possibly only once the second part of the so-called Irbid Hoard³⁶ of these coins is finally published.

What appears to be one of the main arguments against the attribution of these “standing caliph” fulus to Damascus are some die links presented and discussed by Schulze.³⁷ Admittedly, they link to some really strange and undoubtedly unofficial pieces; but still, this does not prove that the entire group cannot belong to Damascus. On the one hand, neither style nor striking in the Damascus main group is of high quality, so that hybrid die combinations are a phenomenon that would fit quite well into the overall picture. This in itself is no argument against regularity; one just has to think of Late Roman small coppers of the 5th century AD which are of often almost bizarre execution, but still undoubtedly official products of imperial mints. On the other hand, individual dies might have been sent to provincial mints,³⁸ or even might have been misappropriated. That dies or die engravers were sent from one mint to another is proven – apart from other examples – also by the “Amman-” and “Hims-related” fulus discussed by Schulze.³⁹ The main question is whether one is prepared to attach pivotal importance to such phenomena which, seen as a whole, are not too common, or whether one rather sees them as isolated special cases for which a definite explanation is not always at hand – we should not forget that we are still very far away from a complete understanding of early Islamic coinage in the Syrian region.

To sum up: the coin discussed here, as I believe, results from a die cutter’s error who did not allot enough space to add a mint name. It certainly cannot be used as an argument against attributing this and related “standing caliph” fulus to the imperial Umayyad mint of Damascus. From the point of view of mere probability, I believe the assumption that, in the Umayyad capital, hardly any “standing caliph” copper coins were struck at all to be very unlikely. It also contradicts the evidence of precious metal as well as post-reform copper coinage. Therefore, even if some of the die links remain quite puzzling, I think we should better leave the majority of “standing caliph” fulus in Damascus. As so often, only through the publication and discussion of more material will we be able to arrive at safer conclusions.

AN EMERGENCY COINAGE IN ANTIOCH: AD 540 - 542, SOME ADDITIONAL EVIDENCE

By S J Mansfield

In JONS 207 (Spring 2011), I posited the idea of an unofficial mint in Antioch that issued coins following the Persian sack of the city in June 540. Twelve coins were described, all of which muled reverses dateable to 537 - 539 with obverse dies, almost certainly irregular, naming either Anastasius I (reigned 491 - 518) or Justin I (518 - 527).

Since publication, five more coins have come to light. While one of these coins appears to add significant weight to the argument, it is convenient first to describe the three coins belonging to the typology already used in JONS 207. Coins of

²⁴ M. Klat, *Catalogue of the Post-Reform Dirhams. The Umayyad Dynasty*, London 2002, p. 129–150. The next mint, geographically speaking, is Harran in the Jazira, active only in the 80s AH, Klat (as note 20), p. 114 f.

²⁵ H. Bone, *The Administration of Umayyad Syria: The Evidence of the Copper Coins*, unpublished PhD thesis, Princeton 2000, p. 318.

²⁶ Bone (as note 21), p. 317.

²⁷ Schulze (as note 5), p. 5.

²⁸ Schindel (as note 1).

²⁹ Walker (as note 2), p. 42 f., nos. P.13 f.; Album/Goodwin (as note 3), p. 94 f.

³⁰ N. Schindel, *Sylloge Nummorum Sasanidarum Israel*, Vienna 2009, p. 16–30.

³¹ Album/Goodwin (as note 3), pl. 21, no. 305.

³² Schulze (as note 5), p. 6.

³³ Album/Goodwin (as note 3), p. 94.

³⁴ Bone (as note 14), p. 383.

³⁵ Album/Goodwin (as note 3), p. 86.

³⁶ R. Milstein, A Hoard of Early Arab Figurative Coins, *Israel Numismatic Journal* 10, 1988/89, p. 3–26.

³⁷ Schulze (as note 5), p. 4.

³⁸ T. Goodwin, Die Links between Standing Caliph Mints in Jund Qinnasrīn, in: Oddy (as note 1), p. 35–40.

³⁹ Schulze (as note 5), p. 5.

type 1a bear obverse inscriptions that may be read as Anastasius and those of type 1b as Justinus.



Figure 1; type 1a. D. O. 213, MIB N131¹.
11.92 g. 190.

M between two eight-pointed stars,
 Δ beneath, *CONTOAS* below.



Figure 2; type 1b⁴⁰
13.42 g.

M between two eight-pointed stars,
 ϵ beneath, *CONTOAS* below.



Figure 3; type 1b. MIB 131.
13.20 g. 150.

M between two six-pointed stars,
A beneath, *CONTOAS* below.

The obverse of the fourth coin, particularly the presentation of the garbled inscription naming Anastasius, strongly resembles type 1a. The reverse die is well made and might be regular. The manufacture of copper coinage at Byzantine mints seems rarely to have been characterised by strict controls and, if the coin does form part of the emergency coinage, the mint signature CON should not be regarded as particularly surprising. In view of the new mint signature, this might be termed type 3.



Figure 4; type 3.
12.27 g. 190.

M between two eight-pointed stars,
 Δ beneath, *CON* below.

⁴⁰ Leimonstoll collection. While certainly a mule of the kind described here, the coin is of good style and I am not sure that it is a product of the emergency mint.

The fifth coin is the most interesting. The mint signature is again new to this series and the coin might reasonably be classed as type 4. Unfortunately, the image is poor⁴¹, and a fuller description of the obverse will be helpful:

DN ANIACTA GIVGPPAV

Profile bust right with diadem, cuirass and paludamentum.

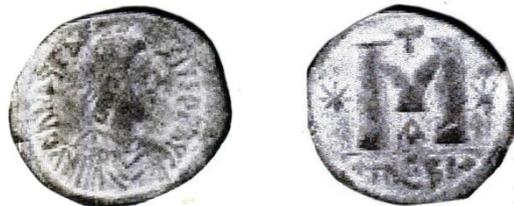


Figure 5; type 4.
11.71 g.

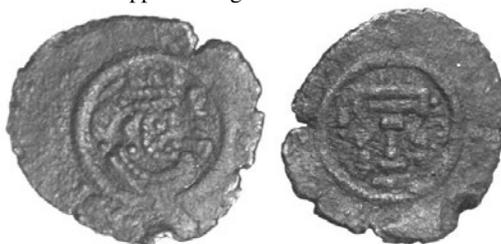
M between two eight-pointed stars,
A beneath, +*TN* ϵ BC+ below.

It is curious that the obverse inscription makes a much better attempt to name Anastasius than on the coins noted hitherto. Coupled with the garbled rendering of the normal mint signature +*THEUP*+ (used for the regular Antioch coinage just 10 years before, in 528 or 529 to 532⁴²), it will be seen that this is another example of the workers at the emergency mint providing familiar looking coins while taking care not to offend the sensibilities of the Persians by naming the current ruler, Justinian I (527-565).

TWO ENIGMATIC IRANIAN COINS FROM LATE ANTIQUITY

By Nikolaus Schindel

New, so far unrecorded coin types turn up fairly frequently in relatively little-studied numismatic areas such as the coinages of the Iranian world. In many cases, especially when dealing with copper issues, bad striking or corrosion may obliterate some elements of images or legends so that for the reconstruction of their full original form, more than one specimen is needed. However, as long as one is not aware of their existence, and thus does not know what to look for, such additional coins might simply go unnoticed. When confronted with unknown coins which in themselves do not answer all relevant questions, one either has to wait for more material to emerge, but thereby risk withholding numismatic data which otherwise might elicit more coins, or to present these new coins anyway, even if some or even most of the questions they pose cannot yet be answered in a fully satisfactory way. In the present case, I obviously chose the latter path, and, therefore, present here two Iranian copper coins from Late Antiquity neither of which features in the recent 2nd edition of Rika Gyselen's corpus of Arab-Sasanian copper coinage.⁴³



⁴¹ This coin appeared on EBay in May 2012 and permission was given to publish it. The promised high resolution image never materialised, however, and the poor quality picture used here is, nonetheless, the best that could be obtained from the EBay site.

⁴² Hahn, W., *Money of the Incipient Byzantine Empire*, Vienna, 2000, page 60.

⁴³ R. Gyselen, *Arab-Sasanian Copper Coinage*, Vienna 2009².

The first one comes from the Schaaf collection (its catalogue by the present author is currently in print). It is made of bronze, weighs 1.31 g, has a maximum diameter of 17 mm, and a die axis of 2 o'clock. The obverse features a bust in Sasanian fashion to the right. While the basic type as such is common, some peculiar typological details do not fit with any known Sasanian King of Kings; nor is this image attested so far in the Arab-Sasanian coin series. The person depicted is bearded, wears a tunic, as well as the usual earring. He also wears a double pearl diadem, first introduced by king Valkash (484–488).⁴⁴ The rendering of the diadem ribbon in the left field is unusual since the ribbon is shown in a broad and square fashion. The three elements to the left of the diadem end first appear under Khusro I (531–579), and provide a further clue for dating this coin to the Late Sasanian period. The crown above the diadem consists of three elements resembling the usual Sasanian merlons, or mural elements, as they can be seen e.g. under Zamasp (496–499), Ardashir III (628–630), and Yazdgerd III (632–651).⁴⁵ Other than under these Sasanian Kings of Kings, however, on our coin the korymbos (the covered ball of hair above the skull) is missing. The reverse image shows a fire altar without the usual attendants, but rather with lion's paws, a type introduced by Ardashir I (224–240) and last used in the same form under Yazdgerd I (399–420).⁴⁶ Neither obverse nor reverse show any traces of astral symbols outside the rim, a canonical feature (even if in varying form) from the 2nd reign of Kawad I (499–531) onwards. This is a truly remarkable feature of our coin. There is no doubt that the reverse type does not provide the date when the coin was struck (which at first glance would be the early 5th century) since the treatment of the diadem end definitely proves that the *terminus post quem* for our coin is the reign of Khusro I, i.e. more than a century later. This feature, as well as the double pearl diadem, certainly excludes a possible attribution to the reign of Shapur II, who had (only at a first, superficial glance) similar coins struck.⁴⁷ Taking into account also style, I would date the coin to the 7th century AD, thus later than Khusro I who offers, it has to be emphasized, only a *terminus post quem*. The depiction of the diadem end with three elements remains in use until the end of Sasanian-type coinage.

What we have not discussed so far is the legend. The reverse is anepigraphic, another highly unusual feature both in Late Sasanian and in Arab-Sasanian copper coinage (save for the barbaric copper coins from a hoard kept in the Eretz Israel Museum, Tel Aviv).⁴⁸ On the obverse, there is an inscription, consisting of three or four Pehlevi letters. While the coin as such is reasonably well-preserved, the reading is not too easy due to the ambiguities inherent to the Pehlevi script. The first letter seems to read "T", the last either "D" or "L". In the middle, there seems to be an "A", "H" or "S". From comparison with both imperial Sasanian as well as Arab-Sasanian copper coins, one would expect a name at this position. What is clear to me is that the obverse legend does not cite any of the Sasanian Kings of Kings, or an official already known from Arab-Sasanian copper coins. Another faint possibility, given the unusual lack of a reverse legend, is to assume that the mint indication has been moved to the obverse. If we were prepared to read the last letter rather as a "T", which is, however, quite problematic from a paleographic point of view, then a reading as TART (for the mint Tawwaj in Fars)⁴⁹ becomes theoretically possible. Since this mint is attested only for Arab-Sasanian coins, it would follow that our copper piece also belongs

to this period. However, it has to be re-emphasized that the reading TART is far from certain, and maybe not even very likely because of paleographic reasons – after all, apart from the problem of reading the last letter as "T" rather than "D" or "L", one letter is missing from this, as long as one is not prepared to read the left vertical stroke of the "T" and the first stroke of the "A" as the same stroke on the coin. Considering the high degree of centralisation of coin designs in the Late Sasanian period as opposed to the great typological diversity in Arab-Sasanian coinage, I am tempted to attribute this coin to the later 7th century, i.e. after the Arabic conquest of Iran. As regards the mint, no obvious candidates occur to me since I cannot find unequivocal stylistic links with any safely attributable Arab-Sasanian coin type. Still, a localisation in the core area of Arab-Sasanian copper coinage – Fars, and to a lesser degree Khuzistan and Media – seems quite likely to me. Finally, despite the several unusual features of this coin, I see no indication that it might be a modern forgery; but we are well advised always to bear this possibility in mind.



In the case of the second coin, I think that this danger does not exist. It is weakly struck, the flan is bent, and there can be hardly any serious doubt about its authenticity. It, too, is made of bronze, weighs 0.63 g, and has a maximum diameter of 19 mm. The die axis is 6 o'clock. We can be sure that it belongs to the Arab-Sasanian period since, on one side, it bears an inscription which is without doubt Arabic. The script of the other side is definitely not Arabic, but Pehlevi. Both sides are aniconic. As might be expected, the problem of this coin is the legibility of the legends. On the Arabic side, the word in the upper line is clear: it reads عشرين , "20". Despite the basic ambiguities of the Kufic script, I am confident that this reading can be regarded as certain. Unfortunately, the second line is much obscured by weak striking, and therefore it cannot be read with certainty. At the beginning, the letter و can be made out, followed by a ۱. However, in order to read the first letter as a و, one has to assume that the dot at the left end of the first line, following the word عشرين, does not represent a letter at all, but rather is placed there as a by-mark. If the reading and interpretation so far is correct ("twenty and"), then the letter ۱ must mark the beginning of another numeral, and taking into account the faint traces which follow, اربع, "4" is the most plausible candidate. This unusual arrangement of decade and unit position can also be found e.g. on Balkh fulus dated AH 93,⁵⁰ and thus is no definite argument against this reconstruction. The remainder of the Arabic side is very obscure, but the traces might hint at a reading as بدرهم, "to a dirham". The full legend thus would read عشرين و اربع بدرهم, "24 to a dirham". It needs to be emphasized that this is fairly speculative even if fulus bearing a similar formula to indicate their value to the dirham are encountered in the east of the Arabic Empire in the 8th century – after all, it is their existence which inspired the hypothetical reading proposed here. One naturally tries to use the Pehlevi side to see if this hypothesis can be substantiated. Unfortunately, the reading of the Pehlevi side is even more complicated, and more ambiguous, than that of the Arabic one. It seems certain to me that the Middle Persian phonogram for "20", wʸst (i.e. the literal

⁴⁴ N. Schindel, *SNS Paris-Berlin-Vienna III: Shapur II. – Kawad I. / 2. Regierung*, Vienna 2004, vol. 1, p. 421.

⁴⁵ For an overall overview R. Göbl, *Sasanian Numismatics*, Braunschweig 1971.

⁴⁶ Schindel (as note 2), vol. 1, p. 323.

⁴⁷ Schindel (as note 2), vol. 2, pl. 3, no. 33–A9.

⁴⁸ N. Schindel, *Sylloge Nummorum Sasanidarum Israel. The Sasanian and Sasanian-type coins in the collections of the Hebrew University (Jerusalem), the Israel Antiquity Authority (Jerusalem), the Israel Museum (Jerusalem), and the Kadman Numismatic Pavilion at the Eretz Israel Museum (Tel Aviv)*, Vienna 2009, Appendix 1.

⁴⁹ S. Album/T. Goodwin, *Sylloge of the Islamic Coins in the Ashmolean. Volume 1: The Pre-Reform Coinage of the Early Islamic Period*, Oxford 2002, p. 67 f.

⁵⁰ N. Schindel, *The Balkh AH 93 Fulus revisited*, in: B. Callegger/A. d'Ottono (eds.), *The 2nd Simone Assemani Symposium on Islamic Coinage*, Trieste 2010, p. 70–89.

translation of *عشرين*) is not encountered. Still, this does not necessarily mean that it is absolutely impossible that the Pehlevi side offers a translation of the Arabic text since also the respective numeral could have been used. In the first Pehlevi line, one might read the first letter as “G” or “Y”, the second as “K”, followed by two or three more letters. The last sign with all probability is a “Y”. The second line in all probability starts with a “P”; then follows a series of small strokes which can represent almost every possible combination of e.g. “A”, “H”, “S”, and “Y”. At the end, probably a “W” or final “Y” can be read. If one were to forcefully bring the Pehlevi legend in accord with the (in itself highly conjectural) Arabic version, then one might try to read the first word as *ZWZWN* (logogram for *drahm*, “drachm”), followed by the *ezafe*-sign “Y”. The second line, in accordance, would have to be read as *p` 20 4*, for *24 pashiz*. The Pehlevi version would thus read *drahm-i pashiz 24*, “dirham of 24 pashiz”. While there are parallels for abbreviations of an entire Middle Persian word on fully bilingual Arab-Sasanian weights,⁵¹ there are no parallels known to me for the letter “P” being used as an abbreviation for the word *pashiz*. The sign for the numeral 20 also looks different,⁵² I cannot make sense of the last sign in the second line anyway along these lines of reconstruction, and finally the numeral should stand in front of and not after the unit which is counted. Thus, this reading is in all probability overstretching the evidence. Maybe this is due to the fact that my proposed reconstruction of the Arabic inscription is incorrect, too; but for the time being, I cannot think of a more promising alternative. However, there might be an argument that, after all, the two sides really say the same: the patterns of ornaments on both sides of the coin are exactly the same. There are two dots above the upper line, one between the two lines, and once again two dots below the lower line. Both inscriptions are surrounded by a double ridged border. This parallel rendering of the by-marks would make more sense to me if the inscription is meant to say the same in both languages. We can be fairly confident that the emergence of further specimens of this type will allow a contested reading of the Arabic side; and maybe some specialist of Pehlevi is able to offer a correct reading of the Middle Persian side already on the basis of this one coin. For the time being, I have to limit myself to the speculations laid down above. Despite the many problems they include, I preferred to offer some suggestion rather than leaving the reading completely totally open. As regards the broad geographical and chronological setting of our piece, it apparently belongs to the group of copper coins bearing an indication of their value (in this case, especially high in relation to silver, thus certainly a fiduciary coin).⁵³ Therefore, I am inclined to date it to the first half of the 8th century AD, more probably to the middle of the century, i.e. late Umayyad or very early Abbasid period. Due to the absence of images, I think that it is extremely unlikely that our coin belongs to the Arab-Sasanian period, i.e. the time before the introduction of the purely epigraphic Umayyad post-reform dirham by the caliph ‘Abd al-Malik in AH 78 (AD 697/8). Moreover, the Arabic calligraphy does look as though it still belongs to the 7th century to my eye. As for the geographical setting, I would assign it to eastern Iran, i.e. the former Sasanian province of Khurasan. I hope that the emergence of additional material will solve for good most, if not all the questions which these two coins pose.

Postscript to “A Note on the Coinage of the Sasanian King Valkash (484–488)”

By Nikolaus Schindel

⁵¹ R. Curiel/R. Gyselen, Un *poind* arabo-sasanide, *Studia Iranica* 5/2, 1976, p. 165–169; R. Gyselen, Trois *poinds* monétaires arabo-pehleviis, *Mélanges offerts à Raoul Curiel*. *Studia Iranica* 11, 1982, p. 163–166.

⁵² R. N. Frye, Sasanian Numbers and Silver Weights, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain & Ireland* 105/1, 1973, p. 2–11.

⁵³ Schindel (as note 8); L. Ilisch, Anmerkungen zu neuen Materialien aus der Tübinger Sammlung, *FINT Jahresbericht* 2000, 2000, p. 8–18.

In issue 215 of this journal, I published and discussed the second known specimen of a drachm type of the Sasanian King of Kings, Valkash, which exceptionally features a double ridged border not only on the obverse, but also on the reverse.⁵⁴ Through the friendliness Dr Gunter Roth, I am now able to present yet another, third coin featuring this reverse type (4.10 g; 28 mm; 3 o’clock).



Like the first published coin of this type,⁵⁵ it originates from the mint AY (Eran-khwarrah-Shapur, Khuzistan). It belongs to the same style group as the other two coins, but since it was struck from a different pair of dies, it fully amounts to a third attestation of this peculiar typological variant. It is thus even more unlikely that this variant (reverse type 1c)⁵⁶ owes its existence merely to a die cutter’s error: nowadays we would have to assume that the same error occurred on three different dies more or less at the same time. Reverse type 1c rather represents a type variant of the first half of Valkash’s reign. I feel confident that even more specimens will turn up as time goes by and the material basis for Sasanian numismatics increases, and that the situation will, thereby, become yet clearer.

‘ABDALLAH IBN AL-ZUBAYR AND HIS COINAGE

By Clive Foss

The historical record usually treats ‘Abdallah ibn al-Zubayr as a fairly minor figure, an actor in the second Arab civil war (682–692), a rebel and pretender to the caliphate. In fact, he almost succeeded in replacing the ruling Umayyad dynasty altogether, and ruled, however precariously, over the greater part of the Islamic domains for a decade. During that time, he and his subordinates issued an abundant coinage which can help to understand the extent of ibn al-Zubayr’s rule, and can be confronted with the literary sources to the benefit of both. A sketch of the history will provide a context for the coinage.⁵⁷

‘Abdallah ibn al-Zubayr (622–692) had some remarkable qualifications: he was the nephew of the Prophet’s wife Aisha, grandson of the first caliph, Abu Bakr, and supposedly the first child born to the new Islamic community in Medina. His father, al-Zubayr, was one of the earliest converts to Islam, and had been a member of the council appointed by the caliph ‘Omar to choose his successor. After playing an active role in the wars of conquest and in the abortive revolt of his father against the caliph ‘Ali in 656,

⁵⁴ A Note on the Coinage of the Sasanian King Valkash (484–488), *Journal of the Oriental Numismatic Society* 215, 2012, p. 4–6.

⁵⁵ W. Szaivert, Ein bisher unbekannter Drachmentyp des Sasanidenkönigs Walaxš, *Mitteilungen der Österreichischen Numismatischen Gesellschaft* 21/4, 1979, p. 42–43.

⁵⁶ N. Schindel, *SNS Paris-Berlin-Vienna III: Shapur II. – Kawad I. / 2. Regierung*, 2 vols., Vienna 2004.

⁵⁷ For brief sketches of his life, see John Walker, *A Catalogue of the Arab-Sassanian Coins* (London 1941) xlii, and the article of H.A.R. Gibb in *ET2*. G. R. Hawting, *The First Dynasty of Islam* (London 1986) 46–56 provides a summary of the period. For more detail and full reference to the sources, see Rudolf Sellheim, *Der zweite Bürgerkrieg im Islam (680–692)* (Wiesbaden 1970); Abd al-Ameer Abd Dixon, *The Umayyad Caliphate* (London 1971) and Gernot Rotter, *Die Umayyaden und der zweite Bürgerkrieg* (Wiesbaden 1982). Leone Caetani’s, *Chronographia Islamica* (Paris 1912) 651–874 is of great value for specific information.

ibn al-Zubayr lay low. Trouble began when Mu'awiya, who had achieved great success as caliph since 660, requested the Arab leaders to swear allegiance to his son, Yazid, as the next head of the community, proposing an hereditary succession that struck many as alien to Islam. Several traditional-minded leaders refused. Nevertheless, Yazid succeeded upon his father's death in April 680. He requested ibn al-Zubayr, who was then in Medina, to take an oath of loyalty. Rather than submit, ibn al-Zubayr fled to Mecca together with another recusant leader, Husain, grandson of the Prophet and son of the caliph 'Ali, who had been defeated by Mu'awiya in the first civil war (656-661). Husain rose in revolt, heading for Kufa which had been his father's base and where he could count on support. On the way, his small band was attacked by the forces of 'Ubaydallah ibn Ziyad, Yazid's governor of Iraq, and wiped out on 10 October 680, a date that would become sacred for the followers of 'Ali, the Shiites.

Ibn al-Zubayr built up such a considerable following in the holy cities, where many secretly swore allegiance to him, that in AH 62/681-2 he could lead the pilgrimage to Mecca himself and prevent Yazid's governors from participating. He claimed no official title, but called himself 'the fugitive at the sanctuary'; the following year, he was in open revolt. Yazid responded with force: his army seized Medina in 64/August 683 and besieged Mecca itself in September, during which the sacred Kaaba was burnt to the ground. Just at this point, though, Yazid died (64/10 November 683), and his troops withdrew. The Umayyad family, with its leader, Marwan ibn al-Hakam, joined them. Yazid's young son, Mu'awiya II, was only nominally caliph for a few months, attracting virtually no following. His death left a power vacuum that Ibn al-Zubayr was swift to fill, being proclaimed caliph in 64/March 684. He restored the Kaaba and extended his control over the holy cities.

Meanwhile, the whole Islamic domain was in turmoil. The two garrison cities of Iraq, Kufa and Basra, expelled 'Ubaydallah ibn Ziyad and soon yielded to the forces of ibn al-Zubayr. Shiite revolts broke out in Iraq while the extremist Kharijites took up arms in Iraq, Arabia and Khuzistan.⁵⁸ In the east, Khorasan, Sijistan and parts of Iran were virtually in a state of civil war. Damascus, the Umayyad capital, proclaimed a governor who intrigued for ibn al-Zubayr, while the governors of Homs, Qinnasrin and Palestine declared openly for him. Only Jordan (al-Urdunn) remained loyal to the Umayyads. The richest province of all, Egypt, sent a delegation to Mecca to recognise ibn al-Zubayr, whose governor arrived in Fustat in 64/April 684. Ibn al-Zubayr, whose claim to the caliphate was as good as anyone's and superior to that of the Umayyads, was recognised throughout the Islamic world. He seemed to be on the path to supremacy.

The senior Umayyad leader, Marwan ibn al-Hakam, had taken up residence in Damascus, where he was inclined to swear allegiance to ibn al-Zubayr. In the Spring of 684, however, 'Ubaydallah ibn Ziyad arrived in the Syrian capital and persuaded Marwan to make a play for supreme power. In June, the Umayyads gathered and rallied behind Marwan. Soon after, a revolt in Damascus drove out the pro-Zubayrid governor and proclaimed Marwan caliph. By August, he had defeated his rivals in Syria and by the end of 684 had reconquered Egypt. A force commanded by Mus'ab ibn al-Zubayr, 'Abdallah's brother, was driven back from Syria, now lost to the Umayyads, but ibn al-Zubayr still commanded a vast realm – Arabia, Iraq and Iran. For a moment, the old dividing line between the Roman and Persian realms seemed restored, though both under Islamic rule.

Control of this region was not easy; ibn al-Zubayr's domain was plagued by revolt, civil war and sectarian violence.⁵⁹ It never had the stability achieved by the Umayyads, Marwan and his son, 'Abd al-Malik, who succeeded him in 65/April 685. The great military bases of Basra and Kufa were sunk in constant turmoil:

already in 65/November 684, the Shiites of Kufa had revolted, demanding revenge for the death of Husain. They were crushed by 'Ubaydallah ibn Ziyad, the former governor, sent by Marwan to wrest control of Iraq. Although he made no further progress and ibn al-Zubayr regained Kufa, the threat from Syria was constant: early in 685 an Umayyad force occupied Medina; ibn al-Zubayr had to call in troops from Basra to drive them out. From 64-66/684-686 Basra itself was threatened by the Kharijites, who had built up power in Khuzistan. After they defeated a Zubayrid force, the people of Basra turned command over to Muhallab ibn Abi Sufra who pushed the Kharijites back to the regions of Isfahan and Kirman late in 66/May 686. Meanwhile, civil war, compounded by attacks from the Ephthalites and their rivals beyond the frontier, raged in Khorasan and revolt broke out in some cities of the Jazira (upper Mesopotamia). All the while, ibn al-Zubayr remained in Mecca, where he restored the damaged Kaaba and led the annual pilgrimage. By ruling from the holy cities, he was advertising his piety by self-consciously following the examples of the Prophet and the first caliphs, however unrealistic it was to try to rule a now vast empire from remote Arabia.

The worst blow for ibn al-Zubayr came in 66/September 685, when the Shiites of Kufa revolted, drove out his governor and installed al-Mukhtar. This enigmatic figure - important for the later development of Shiism - had considerable support from *mawali*, clients or dependents of the ruling Arabs, including a body of Persian cavalrymen whose ancestors had joined the Arab cause at the time of the conquest. Mukhtar claimed to be acting in the name of Muhammad ibn al-Hanafiya, son of the caliph 'Ali, whom he addressed as the *Mahdi*, the rightly-guided one who would restore peace and stability. Mukhtar espoused the cause of Husain, massacring everyone he could find who had participated in the disaster of Kerbela. He formed a regular government in Kufa, sending his representatives and tax collectors out to Mesopotamia, Armenia and Iran. He also tried to trick ibn al-Zubayr into an alliance by sending a force against the Syrians who had occupied a region north of Medina, but ibn al-Zubayr, not fooled, attacked and defeated them.

The Umayyad caliph 'Abd al-Malik, never abandoning his intention to reunite the entire Islamic realm, had sent 'Ubaydallah ibn Ziyad to Mesopotamia, where he spent a year subduing the local tribes. He advanced to the neighbourhood of Mosul, where Mukhtar's general Ibrahim ibn al-Ashtar met, defeated and killed him in 67/August 686. 'Abd al-Malik had dispatched another army to Medina, which it occupied for a month in 66, then returned the following year, but was driven out each time. Ibn al-Zubayr had to face other dangers in Arabia that constantly threatened his communications as Kharijites took over Bahrain and much of central Arabia and, by 68/687-8, had established themselves in Yemen.

'Abdallah's most valuable collaborator was his brother, Mus'ab, whom in 67/686 he named governor of Basra, where he collected revenue that subsidised 'Abdallah in Mecca. In 67/April 687, with the aid of troops brought from Fars, Mus'ab defeated and killed Mukhtar. He took over Kufa and sent his lieutenants out to the Jazira and against the Kharijites of Basra. Other Kharijites had taken advantage of the troubles in Iraq to attack central Iraq and Iran, where they besieged Ray and Isfahan before withdrawing into the mountains of Kirman in 68 or 69/688-689. All the while, 'Abd al-Malik was on the move, trying to stir trouble in Kufa and Basra and bringing his army up to the Euphrates for attacks on the Jazira, itself plagued by tribal strife, and applying constant pressure on the route to Medina.

The Zubayrids hardly had a moment of peace or controlled a region without problems. The beginning of the end came in 71 when 'Abd al-Malik, leading his army in person, broke through the frontier defences into Iraq where he defeated and killed Mus'ab in a decisive battle (72/November 691). Kufa rapidly surrendered, followed by Basra. 'Abd al-Malik appointed governors there and moved to take control of Iran, where the Kharijites, under a formidable new leader, Qatari ibn al-Fuja'a, were still a menace. The commander whom ibn al-Zubayr had sent against them, Muhallab ibn Abi Sufra, however, joined 'Abd al-Malik when the news of Mus'ab's death arrived. Further east, the long-serving

⁵⁸ For the Kharijites, see Dixon 169-182 and C. Foss, "The Kharijites and Their Coinage", *ONS Newsletter* 171 (2002) 24-34, both with further references.

⁵⁹ For the tribal aspect of these problems, see Dixon 83-120.

Zubayrid governor of Khorasan, ‘Abdallah ibn Khazim, alone refused to submit, but soon succumbed.

Ibn al-Zubayr, left only with Arabia, had no chance of surviving when ‘Abd al-Malik sent an army under al-Hajjaj against him. He left Kufa in 72/November 691, and began to besiege Mecca the following April after another Umayyad force had captured Medina. The siege lasted six or eight months, ibn al-Zubayr’s followers deserted him, al-Hajjaj entered the city, and ibn al-Zubayr died fighting in 72/18 September 692. The Islamic realm was finally reunited.

The coinage of Ibn al-Zubayr and his followers is abundant and complex. It consists overwhelmingly of silver drachms of the Arab-Sasanian style, bearing the image of the last great Sasanian ruler, Chosroes II (591-628), with a Zoroastrian fire altar on the reverse.⁶⁰ All bear dates and mintmarks and almost all of them the name of the caliph ‘Abdallah or his governors. They were issued over a vast area (though with some surprising gaps) and closely reflect the names, dates and places recorded in the written sources.

The following tabulation summarises the coins geographically by mint, arranged by prefecture and district. Names of governors in Roman are Zubayrids, in *italics* their opponents (mostly Umayyads); **boldface** indicates names attested in the sources; dates in square brackets are from the sources, without brackets are the years that appear on the coins. Where the coins give the title of caliph (in the Pahlavi equivalent of *amir al-mu’minin*), the name appears in CAPITALS. The list includes coins of 60-73 only, ignoring officials’ tenure of office before or after those dates.⁶¹

Prefecture of Kufa

Iraq

Kufa (AKWLA)

‘Ubaydallah b Ziyad [60-64] 62 63
Anonymous muhammad rasul allah 63
Bishr b Marwan [73] 73

Ctesiphon (TSFWN): **‘Ubaydallah b Ziyad** 63

Jibal

Jayy (GD):

‘Ubaydallah b Ziyad 60-63⁶²
‘Abdallah b al-Zubayr⁶³ 63
Mus‘ab (?) b Abu Dulaf (?)⁶⁴ 67

⁶⁰ This tabulation reflects the silver coinage and is based on Walker and Stephen Album and Tony Goodwin, *Sylloge of Islamic Coins in the Ashmolean I: The Pre-reform Coinage of the Early Islamic Period* (Oxford 2002; henceforth ‘SICA’ referring to the catalogue or ‘Album’ denoting Album’s comprehensive introduction, p. 1-73). I am deeply grateful to Steve Album for his helpful comments and corrections to this discussion. Copper coins were issued only sporadically and are much less informative. All published examples so far come from Fars province; see below, notes 14, 16, 20, 21, 23. For an overview, see Ryka Gyselen, *Arab-Sasanian Copper Coinage* (Vienna 2000) and, with analysis of their context and chronology, Luke Treadwell, “The Copper Coinage of Umayyad Iran”, *NC* 168 (2008) 331-381.

⁶¹ For the dates, I have relied on Caetani, with some modifications suggested by Rotter, Sellheim and Dixon. Because of contradictions within the tradition, some dates are disputed, but usually not by more than a year or two. The dates and mints of the coins are derived from Walker and SICA, with supplementary information about Kirman from Malek Mochiri, “Kirman, terre de turbulence”, *Iran* 30 (2000) 33-48. I have taken the coins at their face value, accepting the dates that they bear, even though Album has made a case for erroneous dates caused by muling, the use of old dies, or frozen dates: see pp. 11, 12, 15, 19, 20, 22, 37. Note his warning (p.20): ‘Numismatists must be careful not to infer “historical” information from coins struck with mismatched dies, lest the historian seeking information from the numismatic source be led astray.’

⁶² There is also an issue of 68, SICA 300, which Album p. 16 n.64 rightly describes as ‘a curious piece’ since ‘Ubaydallah was killed early in 67; cf. *ibid.*, 25 n.133, suggesting that the coin might be a mule of an old obverse with a new reverse.

⁶³ Where ‘Abdallah’s name appears in lower case here, the coin only bears his name and patronymic, not the caliphal title.

‘Attab b Warqa⁶⁵ [68] 68
Asram b SWPHAN⁶⁶ 70

NY (Nihavand?)

‘Ubaydallah b Ziyad 60 62 63

AYRAN (Hulwan in western Jibal?)

‘Ubaydallah b Ziyad 60 61

Prefecture of Basra

Iraq

Basra (BCRA):

‘Ubaydallah b Ziyad [60-64] 60-64
‘Umar b ‘Ubaydallah [64] 65?
al-Harith b ‘Abdallah [65-66] 65
Mus‘ab b al-Zubayr [66-70] 66
Khalid b ‘Abdallah [71-3] 73

Dasht-i Maysan (DSHT)

‘Ubaydallah b Ziyad 60-64
al-Harith b ‘Abdallah 65
Mus‘ab b al-Zubayr 67

SYWKW/SYWKAN⁶⁷

‘Ubaydallah b Ziyad 59 60 63
al-Harith b ‘Abdallah 65

ShWShN (Susa?)⁶⁸

QATARI b AL-FUJA ‘A 69

Fars

Arrajan (WYHC):

‘Umar b ‘Ubaydallah [67 68] 67-71
Khalid b ‘Abdallah 73
*Numayrah b Mālik*⁶⁹ 73

Ardashir-Khurra (ART):

‘Ubaydallah b Ziyad 65⁷⁰
‘Abdallah b al-Zubayr 65-67
‘Umar b ‘Ubaydallah 68-70
Humran b Aban⁷¹ [71] 72
‘ABD AL-MALIK [71-73] 73

Tawwaj (TART):

‘Abdallah b al-Zubayr 67

Bihqubadh (WYH):

‘Ubaydallah b Ziyad 63

Bishapur (BYSh):⁷²

‘Abd al-Malik b ‘Abdallah⁷³ 66 67
‘Umar b ‘Ubaydallah 67-70
QATARI b AL-FUJA ‘A⁷⁴ 69

⁶⁴ Since the region of Jayy was in the hands of Ibn al-Zubayr in these years, I have supposed that these unknown governors were Zubayrids: see Album 25f.

⁶⁵ Album p.25 lists ‘Attab as a Marwanid governor, but Tabari II.762-4 (translation XXI.110-133) has him defending Isfahan, twin city of Jayy, precisely in the year this coin was struck, though without giving him a title.

⁶⁶ See note 8 above.

⁶⁷ For the location of this mint, whose name is still uncertain, see Album p.25 n.130

⁶⁸ Known only from a unique coin in the collection of Alan de Shazo (to whom my thanks); the identification of the mint is quite uncertain; it may have been a previously unknown place in Fars. See also note 18 below.

⁶⁹ See Alan de Shazo, “Numaylah b Malik”, *ONS Newsletter* 180 (2004) 4f.

⁷⁰ This information comes from a copper coin, of the same type as the silver, published by Gyselen as Type 1, p. 117.

⁷¹ Humran appears in Tabari II.817-818 (tr. XXI. 192f.) as briefly governing Basra in 71, but is not mentioned specifically in connection with Fars (which was subordinate to Basra in any case).

⁷² Walker, nos. 242 and 243, published anonymous copper coins of this mint, apparently of the year 68.

⁷³ This official briefly governed Basra in 64, but his activity in Fars is not attested.

- Khalid b ‘Abdallah 73*
*Muqatil b Misma*⁷⁵ [72] 72 73
- Darabjird (DA)⁷⁶
‘Ubaydallah b Ziyad 60-62
Anonymous caliph 64
‘ABDALLAH b al-ZUBAYR 64-70, 72
‘ABD AL-MALIK 72
- Jahrum (DA+G)
‘ABDALLAH b al-ZUBAYR 65
- Fasa (DA+P)
‘ABDALLAH b al-ZUBAYR 65 67
‘ABD AL-MALIK 72
- Istakhr (ST)⁷⁷
‘Ubaydallah b Ziyad 60-62, 64
*‘Abd al-‘Aziz b (Madur?)*⁷⁸ 61
‘ABDALLAH b al-ZUBAYR⁷⁹ 66
‘Umar b ‘Ubaydallah 69-70
- Yazd (YZ):
‘Ubaydallah b Ziyad 60 62
‘Abdallah b. al-Zubayr 66 67 69
- Kirman**
- GRM-KRMAN (“warm” Kirman)
‘Abdallah b al-Zubayr 69
*Anonymous Kharijite*⁸⁰
Atiya b al-Aswad 72
- Kirman (KRMAN):
Anonymous caliph 64
‘Umar b ‘Ubaydallah 65
‘Abdallah b al-Zubayr 65 67 69
‘ABDALLAH b AL-ZUBAYR 65 66
Atiya b al-Aswad 71-73
- KRMAN-AN
Mus‘ab b al-Zubayr 69
Atiya b al-Aswad 72
- KRMAN-ANAN
Atiya b al-Aswad 72
- KRMAN-ANWAT
‘Abdallah b al-Zubayr 63
- KRMAN-AT
Atiya b al-Aswad 72 73
- KRMAN-BN (Bamm?)
Atiya b al-Aswad 71 72
- KRMAN-GY (Jiruft)
‘Ubaydallah b Ziyad 60-61, 63-64
‘Abdallah b al-Zubayr 63
- ‘ABDALLAH b al-ZUBAYR** 66, 67
Atiya b al-Aswad 72 73
- KRMAN-HPYC (Khabis)
‘Abdallah b al-Zubayr 63 67
Atiya b al-Aswad 72 73
- KRMAN-NAR (Narmashir)
‘Ubaydallah b Ziyad 59-64
‘Abdallah b al-Zubayr 63, 67-68
Anonymous caliph 64
Mus‘ab b al-Zubayr 71
Atiya b al-Aswad 71-73
- KRMAN-NAWGY:
‘Abdallah b al-Zubayr 62-63, 66-69
‘ABDALLAH b al-ZUBAYR 67
‘Umar b ‘Ubaydallah 65
Atiya b al-Aswad 72 73
- KRMAN-SR
Mus‘ab b al-Zubayr 69
- KRMAN-SRC[N]:
‘Ubaydallah b Ziyad 60, 61, 63
‘Abdallah b al-Zubayr 63 67
Atiya b al-Aswad 72 73
- Khorasan**⁸¹
- Abarshahr (APR or APRSh):
‘Ubaydallah b Ziyad 60
Salm b Ziyad [60-64] 63-4
‘Abdallah b Khazim [64-72] 65, 67-69
- Anbir (ANBYR):
‘Abdallah b Khazim 63
*Ephthalite*⁸² 66 68 69
- AYFTAK:
Salm b Ziyad 64
- BBA (camp mint, moving)
‘Ubaydallah b Ziyad 62
Salm b Ziyad 64 67
‘Abdallah b Khazim 67-8
- Herat (HRA):
Salm b Ziyad 66, 67, 69
Muhammad b ‘Abdallah b Khazim [64-65] 67
? Qatan b (Udayy?) 67⁸³
- Merv (MRW):
Salm b Ziyad 62-65, 67-70
‘Abdallah b Khazim 63-67, 69-73
*Ephthalite*⁸⁴ 68
- Merv alRudh (MRWRWT):
Salm b Ziyad 62-4, 67, 70, 71
‘Abdallah b Khazim 69-70

⁷⁴ Known from only one coin (Walker I.46, p.112), which Album (p.30) sees as anomalous and possibly an imitation. But note the other piece of the same year struck in ShWShN. According to Steve Album, ShWShN also appears on some DA coins of ‘Ubaydallah ibn Ziyad dated YE 48 & 49 (=AH 59-61), suggesting that ShWShN might refer to some sort of a mint or submint in the Darabjird region.

⁷⁵ He appears in Tabari II.822 (tr. XXI.200) as financial officer in charge of Ardashir-Khurrah named by Khalid b. ‘Abdallah, governor of Basra.

⁷⁶ Coins of this mint, alone in Fars, are dated by the Yazdigerd era, solar years counted from June 632. It produced a series of anonymous copper coins, of the same type as the silver, from at least YE 47 (AH 58) to YE 68 (AH 80). One of them, dated 60 (AH 72) would have been issued under the Zubayrids: see Gyselen 125-128, Type 10.

⁷⁷ There is also an anonymous copper coin, apparently of the year 60: Gyselen 135f., Type 19.

⁷⁸ Known only from a unique coin in the Hermitage.

⁷⁹ The sole Zubayrid copper was struck in Istakhr, apparently in the name of ‘Abdallah b al-Zubayr; the date is missing: Gyselen 162, Type 63.

⁸⁰ See C. Foss, “A New and unusual Kharijite Dirham” *ONS Newsletter* 182 (2005) 11-13.

⁸¹ Note that the coins of Salm (62-71) and Ibn Khazim (63-73) overlap considerably, even though Salm was replaced as governor by Ibn Khazim in 64 and never returned to Khorasan. They may represent continuing activity of Salm’s (Umayyad) partisans in opposition to the Zubayrid regime, during the continuing chaos and tribal strife in the province. Alternatively, the coins may reflect the use of old dies. See Album 22-24, who notes that ‘many of the coins are not authentic mint products but imitations, probably struck at undetermined mints under Ephthalite control’.

⁸² See Album 23, 41 for a discussion of the Arab-Ephthalite coins. They bear inscriptions in Bactrian as well as Pahlavi and the names of both Anbir (apparently the Ephthalite capital) and Merv. Another series has an enigmatic mintmark PHRZZ. They evidently represent a time when the Arabs temporarily lost control of the outer regions of Khorasan.

⁸³ Because of their coarse epigraphy and design, Album (p.25) raises the possibility that these coins may be an imitation based on an unknown type.

⁸⁴ See note 26 above.

Sijistan

Sijistan (SK):

Talha b ‘Abdallah [62 64] 64 66

‘Abdallah b Khazim 64?

‘Abd al-‘Aziz b ‘Abdallah b Amir 66 69 72

Malik b. Aws⁸⁵ 66

? *‘Abdallah b Ariq* (or Hariq) 66

BST (Bust)

Salm b Ziyad 67 (?)⁸⁶

The coins present a panorama of Ibn al-Zubayr’s domains that supplements and often corrects the historical record. They give clear evidence of the problems he faced and some suggestions for the economy of his territories, underlining the instability of the period. Most striking, perhaps, is the confirmation they provide for the histories that were written two centuries or more after the events and are generally considered to reflect a long oral tradition. In this case, virtually all the governors named on the coins are in the places and times given by the historians, indicating a notable accuracy of transmission and suggesting that detailed records were kept and long survived. This is not an original point, but is worth stressing.⁸⁷ On the other hand, the coins provide some information that does not appear in the sources and can be used to reconstruct a more comprehensive picture of the times. Their evidence may be summarised in the attached table, where the following abbreviations are used: Kufa Pr. = Prefecture of Kufa, U = Umayyad, Z = Zubayrid, M = Mukhtar, K = Kharijite, A = anonymous. Square brackets indicate that information is from the sources, not the coins:

AH	Kufa	Kufa Pr.	Basra	Fars	Kirman	Khorasan
60	[U]	U	U	U	U	U
61	[U]	U	U	U	U	
62	U	U	U	U	U Z	U
63	U	U Z	U	U	U Z	U Z
64	[U] [Z]		U Z	U A Z	U A	U

⁸⁵ This official is attested as *sahib al-shurta* (head of the police) in Sistan under Talha ibn ‘Abdallah: C. Bosworth, *Sistan under the Arabs* (Rome 1968) 45. He presumably gained a promotion and switched to the Zubayrid side afterwards. Note that Album (p.37) regards these issues of 66, which name four different governors, as manifesting a frozen date. Quite possibly, but note the rapid succession of governors in the preceding years: Talha b ‘Abdallah 62, al-Aswad b Sa‘id 62-63, ‘Abdallah b Talha 63-64, Talha again 64 (Bosworth 45); and cf. Basra which had at least three governors in the year 64: ‘Abdallah b. al-Harith, ‘Umar b. ‘Ubaydallah, al-Harith b. ‘Abdallah. For the chaotic situation in Khorasan, see Bosworth 44-49.

⁸⁶ Album p.37 treats the date 56 that appears on this coin as a frozen date, but it could as well be in the post-Yazdgerd era, thus equivalent to AH 67, within the chronological range of coins that name Salm.

⁸⁷ In this context, note the remarks of Patricia Crone, *Slaves on Horses* (Cambridge 1980) 16: ‘...the lists include the names of governors who can be checked against the evidence of numismatics, papyrology and epigraphy, and against the testimony of non-Muslim sources, and the result of such a test is unshakeable, surprising and impressive agreement’.

65	[Z]		Z	Z	Z	Z
66	[Z] [M]	[M]	Z	Z	Z	U Z
67	[M] [Z]	[M]	Z	Z	Z	U Z
68	[Z]	Z	[Z]	Z	Z	Z
69	[Z]		[Z]	Z K	Z	U Z
70	[Z]		[Z]	Z		U Z
71	[Z] [U]		[U]	Z	Z	U
72	[U]	[U]	[U]	Z U	K	Z
73	U	U	U	U	K	

Numismatics can give some insight into the growth and decline of Zubayrid power, and make suggestions about its economic strengths and weaknesses. In terms of chronology, it shows that Ibn al-Zubayr was already widely recognised while Yazid was still in power, with coins being struck in his name in Jayy, four mints in Kirman and two in Khorasan. His coins of the year 63 bear only his name, without a title, confirming that he did not claim to be caliph until the next year, after the death of Yazid. The anonymous issues of Darabjird and two of the Kirman mints no doubt reflect uncertainty about who had succeeded Yazid as caliph, just as the historians report that ‘Ubaydallah ibn Ziyad in Basra and his brother, Salm, in Khorasan had homage paid to themselves provisionally when the news of Yazid’s demise reached them.⁸⁸ By 64, Ibn al-Zubayr appears on the coins as caliph, a title that becomes widespread in Fars and Kirman in the following years, even though the simple patronymic continues to exist side-by-side with it. The coins also reflect Zubayrid collapse, with Fars and Kirman being the only mints left striking in 71. Ibn al-Zubayr’s last issue was from Darabjird in Fars in 72 by which time his power was virtually confined to the holy cities of Arabia; but no coins were ever minted in Arabia during the Zubayrid period.

The coins also suggest the instability and weakness of the Zubayrid regime. They illustrate the continuing struggles for supremacy in Khorasan where the issues of Ibn al-Zubayr’s governor, ‘Abdallah ibn Khazim, confront a parallel series struck in the name of the deposed Umayyad, Salm b Ziyad, apparently reflecting an ongoing division. In some cases, a mint issued coins in the names of both contenders in the same year. The mechanism by which this operated is not at all clear. In Fars, the coins suggest that Qatari, who had only recently become leader of the Kharijites, enjoyed at least momentary success in 69 when Bishapur struck in his name.⁸⁹ Here is potentially a new piece of historical information, for the sources record only that the Kharijites, after raiding Khuzistan and Iraq, had withdrawn to Fars and Kirman. In Kirman, Qatari raised men and money for further attacks on Iran and Iraq, making it his base till his death in 78 or 79. Otherwise, the name of Qatari does not appear on the coinage until 75. Kharijite issues of Kirman dated 72-77 bear the name of Atiya ibn al-Aswad, who only appears in the sources as a seemingly

⁸⁸ Anonymous issues: Album p.20; homage: J. Wellhausen, *The Arab Kingdom and its Fall* (Calcutta 1929 and reprints) 169. Note, in this context, the anonymous Kharijite dirham of GRM-KIRMAN yr. 70: see above, n.24.

⁸⁹ See notes 12 and 18 above.

ephemeral figure who fled from Oman to Kirman in 67. The coins indicate a different degree of importance, with him dominating all Kirman (though nowhere else) for at least five years, his coinage issuing from two mints in 71 but from ten in 72.⁹⁰

The Zubayrid coinage offers another surprise: its almost total absence from the prefecture of Kufa, which included the northern parts of Iraq and Iran as well as whatever the Arabs controlled in the Caucasus. There are no Zubayrid coins at all from Kufa itself, and only two issues, struck in Jayy in 63 and 68 - that is, in the region of the prefecture closest to Fars. Although Iraq and Mesopotamia suffered from tribal conflicts, uprisings and the Kharijites, there is no doubt that Kufa and many of its dependencies were in the hands of Ibn al-Zubayr from 64 through 71, except for the brief interlude of Mukhtar's domination (66-67). There is no obvious explanation for this absence. On the other hand, the coinage of Fars is abundant, with the mint of Bishapur being the most productive of the whole Arab-Sasanian series from 67-83 (as Basra had been in 56-64).⁹¹ To judge by the coins, Fars would seem to have been the economic stronghold of the regime, with a longer period of stability than other provinces.⁹² In the case of Fars, sources and coins offer some mutual reinforcement. In 72, 'Abd al-Malik's governor of Basra appointed fiscal administrators to collect the taxes in Ardashir-Khurrah, Bishapur, Darabjird with Fasa and Istakhr - exactly the sites of the major mints of the province, suggesting (perhaps not surprisingly) that coins were struck in the places where the state revenue was raised.⁹³

Ibn al-Zubayr was famed for the piety which finds some reflection in the coins, where novel religious slogans appear, replacing the characteristic *bism Allah*, 'in the name of God' that had regularly been inscribed on the margin of the obverses since the conquest.⁹⁴ In 65, al-Harith ibn 'Abdallah, followed by Mus'ab ibn al-Zubayr the next year, put *hasabahu Allah*, 'God sufficeth him' on his coins of Basra; Mus'ab added his own name, the first time a governor's name appeared in Arabic on the Arab-Sasanian coinage. Al-Harith also employed the novel slogan *bismillah rabbina*, 'in the name of God, our lord'. From 67-72 the abundant issues of 'Umar ibn 'Ubaydallah struck in Fars are inscribed *lillah al-hamd*, 'praise to God'. In the same period, the coins of 'Abd al-Malik ibn 'Abdallah, governor of Bishapur in 66 and 67, introduced an innovation of great importance, adding part of the Islamic *shahada* or profession of faith - *muhammad rasul Allah*, 'Muhammad is the prophet of God' to the traditional *bism Allah*.⁹⁵ In Sistan, the Zubayrid, 'Abd al-'Aziz ibn 'Abdallah, put the entire *shahada* on an issue of 72 - but in Pahlavi, which has been translated as 'One God, but He; another god does not exist; Muhammad is the messenger of God'.⁹⁶ In this case, the three-line inscription replaces the normal fire altar, foreshadowing the aniconic coinage soon to become universal. 'Abd al-'Aziz ibn 'Abdallah's example was followed by an Umayyad official, Khalid ibn 'Abdallah, at Basra and Bishapur in 73 and 74 - and by many others in the future.⁹⁷

⁹⁰ For these questions, see Foss (above, n.2).

⁹¹ Album, p.21

⁹² In this context the copper coin of 'Ubaydallah ibn Ziyad, struck in Ardashir-khurrah in 65 poses a mystery, for that Umayyad governor had been expelled from Kufa and Basra in 64 and is only recorded as fighting in Iraq and Mesopotamia the next year, with no hint that he could have reached the heart of Fars. See also n. 6 above.

⁹³ Tabari II.822 (tr. XXI.199f.)

⁹⁴ For what follows, see Album 21 and Stuart Sears, "The Legitimation of al-Hakam b. al-'As: Umayyad Government in Seventh-Century Kirman", *Iranian Studies* 36 (2003) 5-25 at 17f.

⁹⁵ Sears (previous note) 17 calls this 'the earliest mention of the prophet's name in any epigraphical context'. Robert Hoyland, *Seeing Islam as Others Saw It* (Princeton 1997) 550-553 pointed out the significance of these coins as meaning that 'the earliest Islamic profession came from an opposition party'.

⁹⁶ Album 27.

⁹⁷ Note that issues of 'Abdallah ibn al-Zubayr from Fars (except Darabjird) and Kirman bear in the obverse margin Pahlavi letters, words or monograms which have not been interpreted: Album 21.

The Zubayrid coins so far considered were struck on the Persian model, in places the Sasanians had ruled, and consisted largely of silver dirhams (copper coinage in Fars during this period is no longer considered of extreme rarity). Yet, followers of Ibn al-Zubayr also controlled parts of Syria, where the primary coinage was of copper, with types derived from the Byzantine. In a meticulous study of one series, Ingrid Schulze has suggested that coins bearing the inscription *al-wafa lillah*, 'good faith is of God' or 'God is to be trusted' might have been issued by Zubayrid loyalists in Palestine or Jordan in the confused period after the death of Yazid and before the definitive subjection of Syria by the Umayyads, 684-685. She sees the pious legend as suggesting Zubayrid propaganda.⁹⁸ These coins bear no date or mintmark.

Found in northern Israel and Jordan -- overwhelmingly in what had been the province of al-Urdunn -- they appear to be the product of more than one mint and related to other series of unattributed anonymous coins that also lack a mint name. Their weight suggests that they were struck between 647 and 658, but their types and style relate them to coins of Tabariya that probably belong to the reign of Mu'awiya. Their inscription, 'honesty belongs to Allah', 'Allah is to be trusted' or 'good faith is with Allah' has been interpreted as a pietistic slogan suitable for Zubayrid propaganda. It should, however, be seen in the context of the *wafiya* 'full weight' on coins of Damascus, probably early issues of Mu'awiya and *wāfin* of similar meaning on the Standing Caliph coinage of the reign of 'Abd al-Malik struck in the province of Qinnasrin. Reference to full weight or honesty was not confined to the Zubayrids. If anything, the slogan almost sounds like something the extremist Kharijites might proclaim, considering that their motto was *la hukma illa lillah* 'judgment belongs to Allah alone', but there is no evidence for Kharijite activity in greater Syria.⁹⁹

Find spots pose a serious problem for a Zubayrid interpretation, for al-Urdunn was precisely the one part of Syria that was unshakably loyal to the Umayyads during the civil war.¹⁰⁰ Qinnasrin and Homs followed Ibn al-Zubayr, Damascus remained neutral under a governor who secretly favoured the Zubayrids, while Filastin had a pro-Umayyad governor who was soon overturned by a Zubayrid. If these coins had been struck anywhere other than al-Urdunn and if they belong to this period at all, they could have been considered Zubayrid, but a civil war coinage of al-Urdunn would have been issued under Umayyad authority.

In the same discussion, the pro-Zubayrid head of the Judham tribe, Natil ibn Qais, who took over Filastin from a pro-Umayyad, was considered the patron of this series, using it to express Zubayrid propaganda. After the Zubayrids were overcome by Marwan, Natil took refuge with Ibn al-Zubayr in Mecca. Nevertheless, he still had followers in Syria and the next year, in Spring 685, retook control of Filastin at a time when the new caliph, 'Abd al-Malik, faced serious opposition from the Byzantines and had to make a humiliating treaty with them.¹⁰¹ This Zubayrid managed to keep power only about six months before being finally defeated and killed by 'Abd al-Malik. With him vanished the last vestige of Zubayrid control in Syria. In any case, it would be uncharacteristic for a tribal leader to issue coins, which are normally the product of settled societies. The Tanukh, who struck coins in northern Syria might seem to offer a parallel, but it would be misleading, for they were settled and hardly to be considered as tribal in the bedouin sense.¹⁰²

⁹⁸ "The *al-wafa lillah* Coinage, A Study of Style (work in progress)", *Coinage and History in the Seventh Century Near East*, ed. Andrew Oddy (London 2010) 111-121.

⁹⁹ See Foss (above n.2).

¹⁰⁰ For events in Syria in these years, see Tabari II.467-481 (trans. XX.47-64) and the detailed analysis of Gernot Rotter (above, n.1) 107-151.

¹⁰¹ Rotter 172f., 182f.

¹⁰² C. Foss, *Arab-Byzantine Coins* (Washington DC 2008) 80; cf. Rotter 130: "kein Stamm im eigentlichen Sinn, sondern mehr eine Völkerschaft"

It seems, then, that though Zubayrids held power in much of Syria in 684 and in Filastin in 684 and 685, no coins can yet be attributed to them.

A case has also been made for the Zubayrid origin of a series of Byzantine-style bronzes portraying a standing figure with hands raised in an attitude of prayer. Evidence of find spots indicate that these were issued in al-Urdunn. A careful study of Wolfgang Schulze interprets this decidedly Islamic type as 'a sort of political protest against 'Abd al-Malik in al-Urdunn'.¹⁰³ Once again, al-Urdunn is a problem since it was continually in support of the Umayyads. Filastin, perhaps a more promising site for such a protest, seems not to be the source of these coins. In any case, the mechanism for a mint striking coins of such subtle propaganda in a province ruled by 'Abd al-Malik is not at all obvious. When he was in full control, after all, he imposed a far more Islamic image on his realm than had ever existed.

NUMISMATIC EVIDENCE OF A MODIFICATION IN THE POLITICS OF THE LAST MARINID RULER

By Ludovic Liétard

In the western Muslim world, the caliph is the temporal and spiritual leader and he bears the title of "Commander of the Faithful" whereas the other Muslim sovereigns content themselves with that of "Commander of the Muslims". A "Commander of the Muslims" can only be a vassal.

The difference between these two titles stems from the recognition by Islam of the other two monotheistic religions (Judaism and Christianity), the "faithful" are then the Jews, the Christians and the Muslims. A "Commander of the Faithful" has more responsibilities than a "Commander of the Muslims" and, as "Commander of the Faithful", the caliph guarantees the peaceful cohabitation of the three communities. In theory, there is only a single caliph but this rule was not always respected as certain sovereigns claimed the caliphate for themselves. Sometimes, power struggles led to periods with two, or even more, opposing caliphs ruling at the same time.

This article introduces a new half dirham (based on a weight of 1.5 g for a full dirham) struck by the last Marinid ruler, 'Abd al-Ḥaqq II (AH 823 – 869 / AD 1420 – 1465). It can be demonstrated from coins or inscriptions on foundation plates in Fas that 'Abd al-Ḥaqq had the title of "Commander of the Muslims" indicating that he was a vassal of the Hafsīd caliph. However, the new half dirham introduced in this article clearly shows that 'Abd al-Ḥaqq II also bore the title of "Commander of the Faithful", this title being also attested by an inscription on a gravestone.

The political context of the last Marinid ruler is recalled in section 1 whereas section 2 describes this new coin. Its historical and political interest is pointed out in the conclusion.

1. Political context

The Marinid dynasty reigned over Morocco and partially over North Africa between the 13th and the 15th century. The last Marinid sultan, 'Abd al-Ḥaqq II, ruled in Fas from AH 823 to 869 (AD 1420 – 1465) and his reign can be divided into two different periods, that of the Wattasid regents and that of the emancipation from the Wattasids.

1.1 Period of the Wattasid regents AH 823 –863 (AD 1420 – 1459)

'Abd al-Ḥaqq inherited the throne at the age of one in AH 823 (AD 1420) and his regent was Abu Zakariyya Yahya ibn Zayyan al-Wattasi. This regent was a member of the Banu Wattas family (who later established the Wattasid dynasty) and he had great

political ambition. He died in AH 852 (AD 1448) and he was replaced by his nephew, 'Ali ibn Yusuf, who died in AH 863 (AD 1459)¹⁰⁴. He, in turn, was succeeded by a son of the first regent and this son was to be the last of the regents.

During this period of the Wattasid regents¹⁰⁵, 'Abd al-Ḥaqq was nothing but a puppet in the hands of the Banu Wattas family with the title of "Commander of the Muslims". In particular, this is attested by two foundation plates both dated AH 840 (AD 1436 – 1437) in Fas where 'Abd al-Ḥaqq bears the titles of *sultan* and "Commander of the Muslims". It can also be seen on these plates¹⁰⁶ that the sovereign is minimised whereas his Banu Wattas regent is glorified: it is the regent who occupies all the space and who has the most beautiful titles. There is also another inscription¹⁰⁷ to celebrate a restoration in Fas and dated AH 840 (AD 1437) where the name of 'Abd al-Ḥaqq is missing and where the only name to appear is that of the Banu Wattas regent: "...al-Shaykh, the saint, the admirer, the pious, the fighter, Abu Zakariyya Yahya ibn Zayyan...".

This title of "Commander of the Muslims" for 'Abd al-Ḥaqq is a recognition of the Hafsīd caliph. We learn from history that in AH 827 (AD 1424), the Hafsīd caliph, 'Abd al-'Aziz, took Tlemcen and was about to enter Fas¹⁰⁸. He turned back once the Wattasid regent, Abu Zakariyya, had accepted his suzerainty. Later on, in AD 1437, 'Abd al-Ḥaqq confirmed his submission to the Hafsīds¹⁰⁹.

On his coinage, the sultan 'Abd al-Ḥaqq¹¹⁰ has the title of "Commander of the Muslims". One particular half dirham¹¹¹ bears on the obverse the legend *'Abd al-Ḥaqq Commander of the Muslims* while the reverse bears *'Abd al-'Aziz Commander of the Faithful*. The caliph 'Abd al-'Aziz being the Hafsīd caliph, this half dirham provides evidence of 'Abd al-Ḥaqq's recognition of Hafsīd suzerainty.

1.2 Period of emancipation AH 863 –869 (AD 1459 –1465)

In AH 863 (AD 1459), 'Abd al-Ḥaqq freed himself from the Banu Wattas family and murdered almost all the members of this family¹¹² with the exception of two brothers who had organised some resistance and contributed to the period of anarchy which followed¹¹³.

A few years after his emancipation from the Wattasids, in AH 865 (AD 1461), 'Abd al-Ḥaqq lost his young daughter, Amina. The different historical sources do not mention this Marinid princess but the inscription on her gravestone is of great interest since the name of her father 'Abd al-Ḥaqq is written with the titles of *caliph* and of "Commander of the Faithful"¹¹⁴. This inscription clearly shows that, once liberated from the Banu Wattas family, 'Abd al-Ḥaqq took the most prestigious title, that of a caliph.

'Abd al-Ḥaqq was murdered¹¹⁵ in a rebellion in Fas a short time later, in AH 869 (AD 1465). The dynasty of the Wattasids could then be established.

2. The change in 'Abd al-Ḥaqq's title: numismatic evidence

As mentioned above, all the previously known coins bearing the name of 'Abd al-Ḥaqq give him the title of "Commander of the Muslims". As a consequence, it is possible to claim that these coins were struck during the first period of his reign (AH 823 –863 / AD 1420 – 1459) or at most before AH 865 (AD 1461).

However, the following unpublished half dirham (0.80 g and 19x19 mm) clearly shows the title of "Commander of the Faithful"

¹⁰⁴ See [4] page 470.

¹⁰⁵ See, as examples, [4, 7, 9].

¹⁰⁶ These plates are studied in [1], pages 207 and 212.

¹⁰⁷ This inscription is described on page 217 in [1].

¹⁰⁸ See [9] pages 91 and 108, [10] page 256, [11] page 203.

¹⁰⁹ See [9] page 108, [10] page 256.

¹¹⁰ See [2, 3, 6].

¹¹¹ Arroyo [2] fig. 17, El Hadri [3] 399, Hohertz [6] 280, Mitchiner [8] 504.

¹¹² See [4] page 471 and [5].

¹¹³ See [1] page 253, [4] page 471 and [10] page 256.

¹¹⁴ See [1] page 251 and [10].

¹¹⁵ See [5] to have more details about the circumstances of his death and a critical view of the different historical sources.

¹⁰³ "The Syrian 'orans figure' copper coins", *Arab-Byzantine Coins and History* (London 2012) 131-144.

for ‘Abd al-Ḥaqq. Consequently, this half dirham can be dated to the last six years of his reign: AH 863 –869 (AD 1459 –1465).

Obverse:



عبد الحق
امير
المومنين

The obverse can be translated as "‘Abd al-Ḥaqq / Commander / of the Faithful".

Reverse:



الحمد لله
رب
العلمين

This reverse bears the first verse of the Qur’an which can be translated as "Praise be to God / Lord / Of the universe".

3. Conclusion

A new half dirham issued by the last Marinid ruler, ‘Abd al-Ḥaqq II (AH 823 – 869 / AD 1420 – 1465), has been described in this article. This half dirham differs from the other already published coins struck by ‘Abd al-Ḥaqq since it gives him the title of "Commander of the Faithful" instead of "Commander of the Muslims". As a consequence, it is the first known coin which can be dated to the last six years of his reign (AH 863 –869 / AD 1459 – 1465).

This new title shows a radical change in his position with respect to the Hafsid. During the period of the Wattasid regents (AH 823 –863 / AD 1420 – 1459) ‘Abd al-Ḥaqq was a vassal of the Hafsid (he was a "Commander of the Muslims"); he rejected this submission after AH 863 (AD 1459) and he became "Commander of the Faithful".

As far as we know, this coin is the second known piece of material evidence attesting a change in ‘Abd al-Ḥaqq’s title, thus giving this coin a high historical interest (all the more important because the first piece of evidence – a gravestone – seems to be lost or, at most, inaccessible¹¹⁶).

¹¹⁶ In 1957, this gravestone was kept in the "École des Langues Orientales" in Paris and it was studied [10] by Marie-Madeleine Viré (a picture of it can be found in her article). For his PhD thesis - defended in 1991 – Lhaj

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A NEW OBVERSE VARIETY OF OTTOMAN AKCHES DURING THE REIGN OF BAYEZID II

By Andrei Crivenco

One main type of silver akche remained the basic unit in the money market of the Ottoman Empire during the reign of Sultan Bayezid II (1481-1512), as it had in the times of previous rulers. The use of only one basic type of akche was due to the strong state centralisation of monetary affairs.

The design of Sultan Bayezid I (AH 1389-1402), a namesake of Bayezid II, was used as a model for the akche of the latter. Both the obverse and reverse are equally divided by one horizontal line. At the top of the obverse, the legend "sultān bāyezīd" is placed. At the bottom of the obverse, there is the legend "ben khān mehmed". On the reverse, the legend "azze naşruhu đuribe" is placed at the top of the coin's field, while the mint name and "sene 886" are placed at the bottom.

S. Srećković¹¹⁷ presented two main varieties of the obverse based on the differences in the way the word "khān" is engraved. While the letters "khā" and "nūn" are engraved separately from each other in the first variety, the letter "nūn" crosses the letter "khā" in the second variety.

In addition to these main obverse varieties, L. Popa and E. Nicolae¹¹⁸ presented variants that differ according to the diacritical dot(s) and its (their) position in the word "khān". Based on this, S. Srećković made 5 versions for each of the varieties and presented all known dies combinations of Bayezid II akches for every mint¹¹⁹.

Only one basic type of Bayezid II akche was described until recently. One of the distinguishing features of this standard type is the way of engraving the word "sultān" in which the letter "nūn" is

Moussa Aouni contacted this school to get some more information but no reply was forthcoming (see a footnote page 251 in [1]).

¹¹⁷ Srećković (1987), 65-66

¹¹⁸ Popa, Nicolae (1992), 140

¹¹⁹ Srećković (2000), 101-102

placed over the beginning of the word and does not cross other letters (Fig. 1).

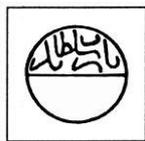


Fig.1¹²⁰

In 2009, S. Srećković and A. Crivenco began working on the attribution of a big complex of Ottoman akches found near the village of Bujak in the south of Moldova. The hoard consisted of 4,736 coins, of which 4,631 are Ottoman coins¹²¹. Fifty-three Ottoman akches were attributed as the issues of Bayezid II. The die analysis of the coins showed that one akche featured an unusual way of writing the word “*sultān*” (catalogue no.1), where the letter “*nūn*” crossed the letter “*lām*”. Until recently, it was thought that this way of writing the word “*sultān*” was found only on the akches of Suleyman I. The subsequent re-checking akches attributed to Bayezid II in some collections and coin databases available online helped to identify another 19 coins of this variety¹²², including 4 akches in the collection of A. Crivenco, 3 akches in the collection of S. Srećković (Belgrade, Serbia), 1 akche in the collection of R. Islamov (Izmail, Ukraine), and 4 akches on the website “Osmanisches Museum Europa” (catalogue nos. 2-13). In addition, 7 coins were made available by N. Schindel for the study.

It, thus, seems logical to define a new variety of Ottoman akches of Bayezid II that differs from the rest of the akches (standard type) in the way the word “*sultān*” is engraved on the obverse of the coin, i.e. with the letter “*nūn*” crossing the letter “*lām*”.

The study of the legend of all 20 identified coins suggests three variants of this new variety. They are distinguished from each other by the position of the letters “*bā*” in the word “*bāyezīd*” (fig. 2):

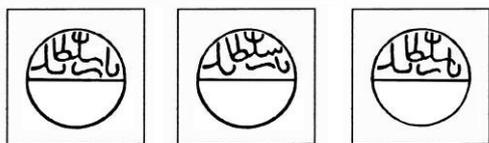


Fig.2

Variant 1: The “*bā*” is located in front of the word “*sultān*”, as it is on the obverse of the standard-type akche.

Variant 2: The letter “*bā*” is located below the letter “*sīn*” in the word “*sultān*”. The letter “*sīn*” has the form of writing in the shape of a wave, which is not used in the legend of the rest of Bayezid II’s akches.

Variant 3: The letter “*bā*” in the word “*bāyezīd*” crosses the letter “*sīn*” in the word “*sultān*”.

Among the 20 coins that were available for this study, there 5 akches of the first variant were found, 5 akches of the second variant and 9 akches of the third variant. For the only coin with the B*a variant of the obverse, the new variety could not be determined because the letter “*bā*” in the word “*bāyezīd*” was off the flan.

Most of the identified akches belong to issues of mints located in Kratova (12 coins) and Novar (5 coins). The remaining three

coins were minted in Edirne (1 coin) and Bursa (1 coin), and at an unidentified mint (the numus incusum).

The available metrological data of the presented coins (catalogue) does not show any significant differences from the majority of Bayezid II’s akches.

All coins with the new variety of the obverse minted in Kratova, Novar and Edirne belong to variants with the diacritical dot to the right of the word “*khān*”. There are presumably A*b (Kratova - 2 akches, Novar - 1 akche) and B*b (Kratova - 10 akches, Novar - 4 akches, Edirne - 1 akche, and an unidentified mint - 1 akche). For some coins (catalogue nos. 2, 3, 4, 6, 11, 12), the variant of the variety (A or B) was only conjecturally identified due to the fact that some letters of the legend cannot be distinguished very well. Only the akche minted in Bursa has presumably the obverse variant of B*a (without the diacritical dot).

In combination with the previously described¹²³ varieties of varieties of Bayezid II’s akches (depending on the way the word “*khān*” is written and the location of diacritical dots), the following variants of the obverse¹²⁴ can be identified (Fig. 3): A1*b, A3*b, B1*b, B2*b, B3*b.

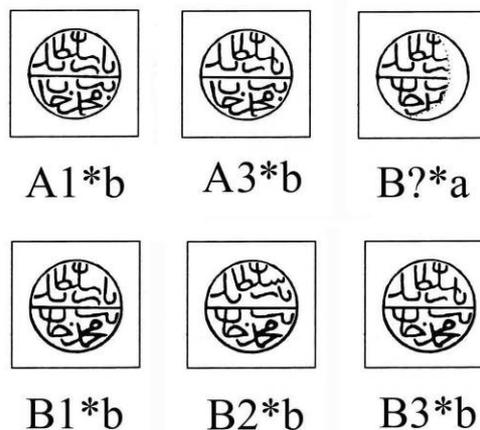


Fig. 3

The typological analysis of the coins presented gives the following die combinations (Fig. 4-11), which complement the combinations described by S. Srećković¹²⁵.

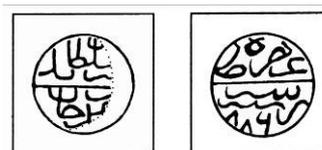


Fig. 4 Akche, Bursa, AH 886 (catalogue no.1)

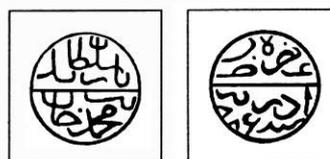


Fig. 5 Akche, Edirne, AH 886 (catalogue no.2)

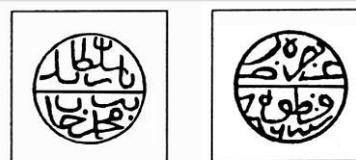


Fig. 6 Akche Kratova, AH 886 (catalogue nos.3-4)

¹²⁰ The drawings of Srećković (2000) were used to create all of the drawings of the paper.

¹²¹ The preliminary results of attributions of coins from the Bujak hoard were presented by Crivenco, Srećković (2013).

¹²² The author is grateful to Slobodan Srećković, Ravil Islamov, Rainer Engelhardt and Nikolaus Schindel for the coins kindly made available for the study.

¹²³ Srećković (2000), 101

¹²⁴ For the names of the obverse of akches, it was decided to add the number of the variant of the new variety (1, 2 or 3) to the akche classification (A, B) adopted by S. Srećković (2000), 101

¹²⁵ Srećković (2000), 107-121

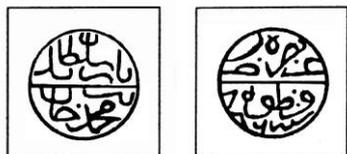


Fig. 7 Akche, Kratova, AH 886 AH (catalogue nos.5-6)

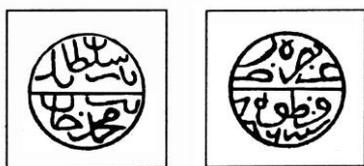


Fig. 8 Akche, Kratova, AH 886 (catalogue nos.7-9)

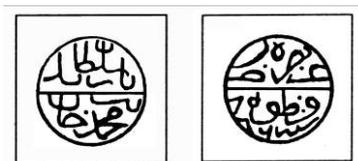


Fig. 9 Akche, Kratova, AH 886 (catalogue no.10)

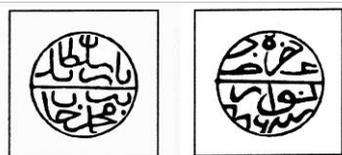


Fig. 10 Akche, Novar, AH 886 (catalogue no.11)

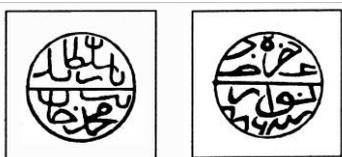


Fig. 11 Akche, Novar, AH 886 (catalogue nos.12-13)

Ottoman akches with the new obverse variety where the word “*sultān*” is engraved with the letter “*nūn*” crossing the letter “*lām*” started to be minted during the reign of Bayezid II. Later this way of writing the word “*sultān*” was used for the design of Suleiman I’s akches.

The fact that there is this variety of the obverse die with the three identified variants (as well as varieties with two ways of writing the word “*khān*” and various positions of the diacritical dot in this word) could have been a way in which the state sought to control the use of the approved dies in the different mints.

The striking of akches of the new variety was limited. Presumably, such akches were produced at a small number of mints, especially in Rumelia (Kratova, Novar). Only one find of akches with the new obverse variety in a hoard is known so far. Presumably, a careful study of Bayezid II akches in other collections will bring more examples of this variety to light. Subsequent analysis of such coins and their variants will help us to get a better understanding of their position within the akche series.

Catalogue¹²⁶

Weight and diameter not available for coins nos. 5, 6, 9, 13.

Bursa

Obv.:B(new?)*a. Rev.:I

1. AR. Akche. 0.53g. 9,5x11mm. (Bujak 2621)



Edirne

Obv.:B?3*b. Rev.:I

2. AR. Akche. 0.80 g. 10 mm. (R.I. coll.)



Kratova

Obv.:A?3*b. Rev.:I

3. AR. Akche. 0.74 g. 10x11 mm. (A.C. coll. 2)

4. AR. Akche. 0.75 g. 10x11 mm. (S.S. coll. 1)



Obv.:B1*b. Rev.:I

5. AR. Akche. (OME 35-36)

6. AR. Akche. (OME 101-102)



Obv.:B2*b. Rev.:I

7. AR. Akche. 0.77 g. 10,5 mm. (A.C. coll. 3)

8. AR. Akche. 0.75 g. 10x11.5 mm. (A.C. coll.4)

9. AR. Akche. (OME 23-24)



Obv.:B3*b. Rev.:I

10. AR. Akche. 0.74 g. 9 mm. (S.S. coll. 2)



Novar

Obv.:A?1*b. Rev.:I

11. AR. Akche. 0.78 g. 10 mm. (A.C. coll. 1)



¹²⁶ Bujak – from the Bujak hoard, A.C. coll. – from the collection of A. Crivenco, S.S. coll. – from the collection of S. Sreckovic, R.I. coll – from the collection of R. Islamov, OME – from the online coin database Osmanisches Museum Europa.

Obv.: B2*b. Rev.: I

12. AR. Akche. 0.69 g. 11x12 mm. (S.S. coll. 3)

13. AR. Akche. (OME 375-376)



12

13

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Not in print. Just published (see

<http://www.zeno.ru/showphoto.php?photo=127280>)

GEORGIAN-BYZANTINE TYPE COINS OF GIORGI II AND DAVIT IV: NEW SPECIMENS

By Irakli Paghava and Roland Spanderashvili

The 11th c. monetary issues of Georgian (West-Georgian) kings bearing the name of the monarch and his Georgian and Byzantine titles (all in contemporary Georgian script and language) on the obverse¹²⁷, and the effigy of the Holy Virgin on the reverse, constitute an extremely significant primary source of information for studying various political, economic and cultural aspects of this period of Georgian history. It is quite regrettable, that not a single monograph summarising the extant relevant articles has ever been devoted to this interesting medieval Georgian series so far. The scarcity of the surviving monetary material is of particular notice: to our knowledge, only up to 150 specimens of three different monarchs (Bagrat IV, Giorgi II and Davit IV), of 8 different types have been preserved in public or private collections.¹²⁸ Hence, the more meaningful become the publications of even single coins, i.e. the objective pursued by many well-known scholars, like Yevgeniy Pakhomov, Davit Kapanadze, David Lang, etc.¹²⁹

¹²⁷ We agree with R. Kebuladze, that the coin side with the royal protocol acknowledging the issuer should be considered the obverse, as opposed to the side with the effigy of the Holy Virgin. Кебуладзе Реваз, "Клад из села Цихесулори", *Нумизматический сборник, посвящается памяти Д. Г. Капанадзе*, ред. В. Леквинадзе (Тбилиси: Мещниереба, 1977), 106-107.

¹²⁸ Cf. კაპანაძე დავითი, *ქართული ნუმისმატიკა* [Georgian Numismatics] (თბილისი: თბილისის სახელმწიფო უნივერსიტეტის გამომცემლობა, 1969), 68.

¹²⁹ Lang David, "Notes on Caucasian Numismatics," *Numismatic Chronicle* Sixth Series, no. XVII (1957): 142-143; Paghava Irakli and Patsia David, "A New Variety of a No-Cross Type Silver Coins of Davit IV of Georgia," *Journal of Oriental Numismatic Society*, no. 198 (2009): 45-47; Paghava Irakli, "Silver Coinage of Davit IV the Builder with no Byzantine Title (Attribution, Dating, Significance)," *Pro Georgia*, no. 22 (2012): 91-110; Капанадзе Давид, "Неизданный вариант грузинской монеты XI века," *Труды Абхазского института языка, литературы и истории* XXX (1959): 101-104; Капанадзе Давид, "Новый тип монеты Давида Строителя," *Византийский временник* VIII (1956): 338-343; Пахомов Евгений, "Неизданные грузинские монеты XI века," *Известия*

The aim of this short article is to publish several previously unrecorded / unpublished coins produced in the name of Giorgi II and Davit IV. These are as follows (the illegible, effaced or unstruck parts of the legend are conveyed by means of ellipsis; the conjectural reading is put between squares, eliminating all the abbreviations; both English transliteration and translation are provided; capital letters correspond to the Asomtavruli letters on the coins).

Coin №1. Issuer: Giorgi II with title: Kesarosi (Ceasar)¹³⁰.

Preserved in the collection of the American Numismatic Society, №1966.87.1 (provenance unknown). The image is available at the ANS website - <http://numismatics.org/collection/1966.87.1>.

Obv.: Marginal legends starts at 6:15h:

ⴁⴂⴃⴄⴅⴆ ... ⴇⴈⴉⴊⴋ

ⴁⴂⴃⴄⴅⴆⴇⴈⴉⴊⴋⴌⴍⴎⴏⴐⴑⴒⴓⴔⴕⴖⴗⴘⴙⴚⴛⴜⴝⴞⴟⴠⴡⴢⴣⴤⴥ⴦ⴧ⴨⴩⴪⴫⴬ⴭ⴮⴯ⴰⴱⴲⴳⴴⴵⴶⴷⴸⴹⴺⴻⴼⴽⴾⴿⵀⵁⵂⵃⵄⵅⵆⵇⵈⵉⵊⵋⵌⵍⵎⵏⵐⵑⵒⵓⵔⵕⵖⵗⵘⵙⵚⵛⵜⵝⵞⵟⵠⵡⵢⵣⵤⵥⵦⵧ⵨⵩⵪⵫⵬⵭⵮ⵯ⵰⵱⵲⵳⵴⵵⵶⵷⵸⵹⵺⵻⵼⵽⵾⵿ⶀⶁⶂⶃⶄⶅⶆⶇⶈⶉⶊⶋⶌⶍⶎⶏⶐⶑⶒⶓⶔⶕⶖ⶗⶘⶙⶚⶛⶜⶝⶞⶟ⶠⶡⶢⶣⶤⶥⶦ⶧ⶨⶩⶪⶫⶬⶭⶮ⶯ⶰⶱⶲⶳⶴⶵⶶ⶷ⶸⶹⶺⶻⶼⶽⶾ⶿ⷀⷁⷂⷃⷄⷅⷆ⷇ⷈⷉⷊⷋⷌⷍⷎ⷏ⷐⷑⷒⷓⷔⷕⷖ⷗ⷘⷙⷚⷛⷜⷝⷞ⷟ⷠⷡⷢⷣⷤⷥⷦⷧⷨⷩⷪⷫⷬⷭⷮⷯⷰⷱⷲⷳⷴⷵⷶⷷⷸⷹⷺⷻⷼⷽⷾⷿ⸀⸁⸂⸃⸄⸅⸆⸇⸈⸉⸊⸋⸌⸍⸎⸏⸐⸑⸒⸓⸔⸕⸖⸗⸘⸙⸚⸛⸜⸝⸞⸟⸠⸡⸢⸣⸤⸥⸦⸧⸨⸩⸪⸫⸬⸭⸮ⸯ⸰⸱⸲⸳⸴⸵⸶⸷⸸⸹⸺⸻⸼⸽⸾⸿⹀⹁⹂⹃⹄⹅⹆⹇⹈⹉⹊⹋⹌⹍⹎⹏⹐⹑⹒⹓⹔⹕⹖⹗⹘⹙⹚⹛⹜⹝⹞⹟⹠⹡⹢⹣⹤⹥⹦⹧⹨⹩⹪⹫⹬⹭⹮⹯⹰⹱⹲⹳⹴⹵⹶⹷⹸⹹⹺⹻⹼⹽⹾⹿⺀⺁⺂⺃⺄⺅⺆⺇⺈⺉⺊⺋⺌⺍⺎⺏⺐⺑⺒⺓⺔⺕⺖⺗⺘⺙⺚⺛⺜⺝⺞⺟⺠⺡⺢⺣⺤⺥⺦⺧⺨⺩⺪⺫⺬⺭⺮⺯⺰⺱⺲⺳⺴⺵⺶⺷⺸⺹⺺⺻⺼⺽⺾⺿⻀⻁⻂⻃⻄⻅⻆⻇⻈⻉⻊⻋⻌⻍⻎⻏⻐⻑⻒⻓⻔⻕⻖⻗⻘⻙⻚⻛⻜⻝⻞⻟⻠⻡⻢⻣⻤⻥⻦⻧⻨⻩⻪⻫⻬⻭⻮⻰⻱⻲⻳⻴⻵⻶⻷⻸⻹⻺⻻⻼⻽⻾⻿ⷀⷁⷂⷃⷄⷅⷆ⷇ⷈⷉⷊⷋⷌⷍⷎ⷏ⷐⷑⷒⷓⷔⷕⷖ⷗ⷘⷙⷚⷛⷜⷝⷞ⷟ⷠⷡⷢⷣⷤⷥⷦⷧⷨⷩⷪⷫⷬⷭⷮⷯⷰⷱⷲⷳⷴⷵⷶⷷⷸⷹⷺⷻⷼⷽⷾⷿ⸀⸁⸂⸃⸄⸅⸆⸇⸈⸉⸊⸋⸌⸍⸎⸏⸐⸑⸒⸓⸔⸕⸖⸗⸘⸙⸚⸛⸜⸝⸞⸟⸠⸡⸢⸣⸤⸥⸦⸧⸨⸩⸪⸫⸬⸭⸮ⸯ⸰⸱⸲⸳⸴⸵⸶⸷⸸⸹⸺⸻⸼⸽⸾⸿⹀⹁⹂⹃⹄⹅⹆⹇⹈⹉⹊⹋⹌⹍⹎⹏⹐⹑⹒⹓⹔⹕⹖⹗⹘⹙⹚⹛⹜⹝⹞⹟⹠⹡⹢⹣⹤⹥⹦⹧⹨⹩⹪⹫⹬⹭⹮⹯⹰⹱⹲⹳⹴⹵⹶⹷⹸⹹⹺⹻⹼⹽⹾⹿⺀⺁⺂⺃⺄⺅⺆⺇⺈⺉⺊⺋⺌⺍⺎⺏⺐⺑⺒⺓⺔⺕⺖⺗⺘⺙⺚⺛⺜⺝⺞⺟⺠⺡⺢⺣⺤⺥⺦⺧⺨⺩⺪⺫⺬⺭⺮⺯⺰⺱⺲⺳⺴⺵⺶⺷⺸⺹⺺⺻⺼⺽⺾⺿⻀⻁⻂⻃⻄⻅⻆⻇⻈⻉⻊⻋⻌⻍⻎⻏⻐⻑⻒⻓⻔⻕⻖⻗⻘⻙⻚⻛⻜⻝⻞⻟⻠⻡⻢⻣⻤⻥⻦⻧⻨⻩⻪⻫⻬⻭⻮⻰⻱⻲⻳⻴⻵⻶⻷⻸⻹⻺⻻⻼⻽⻾⻿ⷀⷁⷂⷃⷄⷅⷆ⷇ⷈⷉⷊⷋⷌⷍⷎ⷏ⷐⷑⷒⷓⷔⷕⷖ⷗ⷘⷙⷚⷛⷜⷝⷞ⷟ⷠⷡⷢⷣⷤⷥⷦⷧⷨⷩⷪⷫⷬⷭⷮⷯⷰⷱⷲⷳⷴⷵⷶⷷⷸⷹⷺⷻⷼⷽⷾⷿ⸀⸁⸂⸃⸄⸅⸆⸇⸈⸉⸊⸋⸌⸍⸎⸏⸐⸑⸒⸓⸔⸕⸖⸗⸘⸙⸚⸛⸜⸝⸞⸟⸠⸡⸢⸣⸤⸥⸦⸧⸨⸩⸪⸫⸬⸭⸮ⸯ⸰⸱⸲⸳⸴⸵⸶⸷⸸⸹⸺⸻⸼⸽⸾⸿⹀⹁⹂⹃⹄⹅⹆⹇⹈⹉⹊⹋⹌⹍⹎⹏⹐⹑⹒⹓⹔⹕⹖⹗⹘⹙⹚⹛⹜⹝⹞⹟⹠⹡⹢⹣⹤⹥⹦⹧⹨⹩⹪⹫⹬⹭⹮⹯⹰⹱⹲⹳⹴⹵⹶⹷⹸⹹⹺⹻⹼⹽⹾⹿⺀⺁⺂⺃⺄⺅⺆⺇⺈⺉⺊⺋⺌⺍⺎⺏⺐⺑⺒⺓⺔⺕⺖⺗⺘⺙⺚⺛⺜⺝⺞⺟⺠⺡⺢⺣⺤⺥⺦⺧⺨⺩⺪⺫⺬⺭⺮⺯⺰⺱⺲⺳⺴⺵⺶⺷⺸⺹⺺⺻⺼⺽⺾⺿⻀⻁⻂⻃⻄⻅⻆⻇⻈⻉⻊⻋⻌⻍⻎⻏⻐⻑⻒⻓⻔⻕⻖⻗⻘⻙⻚⻛⻜⻝⻞⻟⻠⻡⻢⻣⻤⻥⻦⻧⻨⻩⻪⻫⻬⻭⻮⻰⻱⻲⻳⻴⻵⻶⻷⻸⻹⻺⻻⻼⻽⻾⻿ⷀⷁⷂⷃⷄⷅⷆ⷇ⷈⷉⷊⷋⷌⷍⷎ⷏ⷐⷑⷒⷓⷔⷕⷖ⷗ⷘⷙⷚⷛⷜⷝⷞ⷟ⷠⷡⷢⷣⷤⷥⷦⷧⷨⷩⷪⷫⷬⷭⷮⷯⷰⷱⷲⷳⷴⷵⷶⷷⷸⷹⷺⷻⷼⷽⷾⷿ⸀⸁⸂⸃⸄⸅⸆⸇⸈⸉⸊⸋⸌⸍⸎⸏⸐⸑⸒⸓⸔⸕⸖⸗⸘⸙⸚⸛⸜⸝⸞⸟⸠⸡⸢⸣⸤⸥⸦⸧⸨⸩⸪⸫⸬⸭⸮ⸯ⸰⸱⸲⸳⸴⸵⸶⸷⸸⸹⸺⸻⸼⸽⸾⸿⹀⹁⹂⹃⹄⹅⹆⹇⹈⹉⹊⹋⹌⹍⹎⹏⹐⹑⹒⹓⹔⹕⹖⹗⹘⹙⹚⹛⹜⹝⹞⹟⹠⹡⹢⹣⹤⹥⹦⹧⹨⹩⹪⹫⹬⹭⹮⹯⹰⹱⹲⹳⹴⹵⹶⹷⹸⹹⹺⹻⹼⹽⹾⹿⺀⺁⺂⺃⺄⺅⺆⺇⺈⺉⺊⺋⺌⺍⺎⺏⺐⺑⺒⺓⺔⺕⺖⺗⺘⺙⺚⺛⺜⺝⺞⺟⺠⺡⺢⺣⺤⺥⺦⺧⺨⺩⺪⺫⺬⺭⺮⺯⺰⺱⺲⺳⺴⺵⺶⺷⺸⺹⺺⺻⺼⺽⺾⺿⻀⻁⻂⻃⻄⻅⻆⻇⻈⻉⻊⻋⻌⻍⻎⻏⻐⻑⻒⻓⻔⻕⻖⻗⻘⻙⻚⻛⻜⻝⻞⻟⻠⻡⻢⻣⻤⻥⻦⻧⻨⻩⻪⻫⻬⻭⻮⻰⻱⻲⻳⻴⻵⻶⻷⻸⻹⻺⻻⻼⻽⻾⻿ⷀⷁⷂⷃⷄⷅⷆ⷇ⷈⷉⷊⷋⷌⷍⷎ⷏ⷐⷑⷒⷓⷔⷕⷖ⷗ⷘⷙⷚⷛⷜⷝⷞ⷟ⷠⷡⷢⷣⷤⷥⷦⷧⷨⷩⷪⷫⷬⷭⷮⷯⷰⷱⷲⷳⷴⷵⷶⷷⷸⷹⷺⷻⷼⷽⷾⷿ⸀⸁⸂⸃⸄⸅⸆⸇⸈⸉⸊⸋⸌⸍⸎⸏⸐⸑⸒⸓⸔⸕⸖⸗⸘⸙⸚⸛⸜⸝⸞⸟⸠⸡⸢⸣⸤⸥⸦⸧⸨⸩⸪⸫⸬⸭⸮ⸯ⸰⸱⸲⸳⸴⸵⸶⸷⸸⸹⸺⸻⸼⸽⸾⸿⹀⹁⹂⹃⹄⹅⹆⹇⹈⹉⹊⹋⹌⹍⹎⹏⹐⹑⹒⹓⹔⹕⹖⹗⹘⹙⹚⹛⹜⹝⹞⹟⹠⹡⹢⹣⹤⹥⹦⹧⹨⹩⹪⹫⹬⹭⹮⹯⹰⹱⹲⹳⹴⹵⹶⹷⹸⹹⹺⹻⹼⹽⹾⹿⺀⺁⺂⺃⺄⺅⺆⺇⺈⺉⺊⺋⺌⺍⺎⺏⺐⺑⺒⺓⺔⺕⺖⺗⺘⺙⺚⺛⺜⺝⺞⺟⺠⺡⺢⺣⺤⺥⺦⺧⺨⺩⺪⺫⺬⺭⺮⺯⺰⺱⺲⺳⺴⺵⺶⺷⺸⺹⺺⺻⺼⺽⺾⺿⻀⻁⻂⻃⻄⻅⻆⻇⻈⻉⻊⻋⻌⻍⻎⻏⻐⻑⻒⻓⻔⻕⻖⻗⻘⻙⻚⻛⻜⻝⻞⻟⻠⻡⻢⻣⻤⻥⻦⻧⻨⻩⻪⻫⻬⻭⻮⻰⻱⻲⻳⻴⻵⻶⻷⻸⻹⻺⻻⻼⻽⻾⻿ⷀⷁⷂⷃⷄⷅⷆ⷇ⷈⷉⷊⷋⷌⷍⷎ⷏ⷐⷑⷒⷓⷔⷕⷖ⷗ⷘⷙⷚⷛⷜⷝⷞ⷟ⷠⷡⷢⷣⷤⷥⷦⷧⷨⷩⷪⷫⷬⷭⷮⷯⷰⷱⷲⷳⷴⷵⷶⷷⷸⷹⷺⷻⷼⷽⷾⷿ⸀⸁⸂⸃⸄⸅⸆⸇⸈⸉⸊⸋⸌⸍⸎⸏⸐⸑⸒⸓⸔⸕⸖⸗⸘⸙⸚⸛⸜⸝⸞⸟⸠⸡⸢⸣⸤⸥⸦⸧⸨⸩⸪⸫⸬⸭⸮ⸯ⸰⸱⸲⸳⸴⸵⸶⸷⸸⸹⸺⸻⸼⸽⸾⸿⹀⹁⹂⹃⹄⹅⹆⹇⹈⹉⹊⹋⹌⹍⹎⹏⹐⹑⹒⹓⹔⹕⹖⹗⹘⹙⹚⹛⹜⹝⹞⹟⹠⹡⹢⹣⹤⹥⹦⹧⹨⹩⹪⹫⹬⹭⹮⹯⹰⹱⹲⹳⹴⹵⹶⹷⹸⹹⹺⹻⹼⹽⹾⹿⺀⺁⺂⺃⺄⺅⺆⺇⺈⺉⺊⺋⺌⺍⺎⺏⺐⺑⺒⺓⺔⺕⺖⺗⺘⺙⺚⺛⺜⺝⺞⺟⺠⺡⺢⺣⺤⺥⺦⺧⺨⺩⺪⺫⺬⺭⺮⺯⺰⺱⺲⺳⺴⺵⺶⺷⺸⺹⺺⺻⺼⺽⺾⺿⻀⻁⻂⻃⻄⻅⻆⻇⻈⻉⻊⻋⻌⻍⻎⻏⻐⻑⻒⻓⻔⻕⻖⻗⻘⻙⻚⻛⻜⻝⻞⻟⻠⻡⻢⻣⻤⻥⻦⻧⻨⻩⻪⻫⻬⻭⻮⻰⻱⻲⻳⻴⻵⻶⻷⻸⻹⻺⻻⻼⻽⻾⻿ⷀⷁⷂⷃⷄⷅⷆ⷇ⷈⷉⷊⷋⷌⷍⷎ⷏ⷐⷑⷒⷓⷔⷕⷖ⷗ⷘⷙⷚⷛⷜⷝⷞ⷟ⷠⷡⷢⷣⷤⷥⷦⷧⷨⷩⷪⷫⷬⷭⷮⷯⷰⷱⷲⷳⷴⷵⷶⷷⷸⷹⷺⷻⷼⷽⷾⷿ⸀⸁⸂⸃⸄⸅⸆⸇⸈⸉⸊⸋⸌⸍⸎⸏⸐⸑⸒⸓⸔⸕⸖⸗⸘⸙⸚⸛⸜⸝⸞⸟⸠⸡⸢⸣⸤⸥⸦⸧⸨⸩⸪⸫⸬⸭⸮ⸯ⸰⸱⸲⸳⸴⸵⸶⸷⸸⸹⸺⸻⸼⸽⸾⸿⹀⹁⹂⹃⹄⹅⹆⹇⹈⹉⹊⹋⹌⹍⹎⹏⹐⹑⹒⹓⹔⹕⹖⹗⹘⹙⹚⹛⹜⹝⹞⹟⹠⹡⹢⹣⹤⹥⹦⹧⹨⹩⹪⹫⹬⹭⹮⹯⹰⹱⹲⹳⹴⹵⹶⹷⹸⹹⹺⹻⹼⹽⹾⹿⺀⺁⺂⺃⺄⺅⺆⺇⺈⺉⺊⺋⺌⺍⺎⺏⺐⺑⺒⺓⺔⺕⺖⺗⺘⺙⺚⺛⺜⺝⺞⺟⺠⺡⺢⺣⺤⺥⺦⺧⺨⺩⺪⺫⺬⺭⺮⺯⺰⺱⺲⺳⺴⺵⺶⺷⺸⺹⺺⺻⺼⺽⺾⺿⻀⻁⻂⻃⻄⻅⻆⻇⻈⻉⻊⻋⻌⻍⻎⻏⻐⻑⻒⻓⻔⻕⻖⻗⻘⻙⻚⻛⻜⻝⻞⻟⻠⻡⻢⻣⻤⻥⻦⻧⻨⻩⻪⻫⻬⻭⻮⻰⻱⻲⻳⻴⻵⻶⻷⻸⻹⻺⻻⻼⻽⻾⻿ⷀⷁⷂⷃⷄⷅⷆ⷇ⷈⷉⷊⷋⷌⷍⷎ⷏ⷐⷑⷒⷓⷔⷕⷖ⷗ⷘⷙⷚⷛⷜⷝⷞ⷟ⷠⷡⷢⷣⷤⷥⷦⷧⷨⷩⷪⷫⷬⷭⷮⷯⷰⷱⷲⷳⷴⷵⷶⷷⷸⷹⷺⷻⷼⷽⷾⷿ⸀⸁⸂⸃⸄⸅⸆⸇⸈⸉⸊⸋⸌⸍⸎⸏⸐⸑⸒⸓⸔⸕⸖⸗⸘⸙⸚⸛⸜⸝⸞⸟⸠⸡⸢⸣⸤⸥⸦⸧⸨⸩⸪⸫⸬⸭⸮ⸯ⸰⸱⸲⸳⸴⸵⸶⸷⸸⸹⸺⸻⸼⸽⸾⸿⹀⹁⹂⹃⹄⹅⹆⹇⹈⹉⹊⹋⹌⹍⹎⹏⹐⹑⹒⹓⹔⹕⹖⹗⹘⹙⹚⹛⹜⹝⹞⹟⹠⹡⹢⹣⹤⹥⹦⹧⹨⹩⹪⹫⹬⹭⹮⹯⹰⹱⹲⹳⹴⹵⹶⹷⹸⹹⹺⹻⹼⹽⹾⹿⺀⺁⺂⺃⺄⺅⺆⺇⺈⺉⺊⺋⺌⺍⺎⺏⺐⺑⺒⺓⺔⺕⺖⺗⺘⺙⺚⺛⺜⺝⺞⺟⺠⺡⺢⺣⺤⺥⺦⺧⺨⺩⺪⺫⺬⺭⺮⺯⺰⺱⺲⺳⺴⺵⺶⺷⺸⺹⺺⺻⺼⺽⺾⺿⻀⻁⻂⻃⻄⻅⻆⻇⻈⻉⻊⻋⻌⻍⻎⻏⻐⻑⻒⻓⻔⻕⻖⻗⻘⻙⻚⻛⻜⻝⻞⻟⻠⻡⻢⻣⻤⻥⻦⻧⻨⻩⻪⻫⻬⻭⻮⻰⻱⻲⻳⻴⻵⻶⻷⻸⻹⻺⻻⻼⻽⻾⻿ⷀⷁⷂⷃⷄⷅⷆ⷇ⷈⷉⷊⷋⷌⷍⷎ⷏ⷐⷑⷒⷓⷔⷕⷖ⷗ⷘⷙⷚⷛⷜⷝⷞ⷟ⷠⷡⷢⷣⷤⷥⷦⷧⷨⷩⷪⷫⷬⷭⷮⷯⷰⷱⷲⷳⷴⷵⷶⷷⷸⷹⷺⷻⷼⷽⷾⷿ⸀⸁⸂⸃⸄⸅⸆⸇⸈⸉⸊⸋⸌⸍⸎⸏⸐⸑⸒⸓⸔⸕⸖⸗⸘⸙⸚⸛⸜⸝⸞⸟⸠⸡⸢⸣⸤⸥⸦⸧⸨⸩⸪⸫⸬⸭⸮ⸯ⸰⸱⸲⸳⸴⸵⸶⸷⸸⸹⸺⸻⸼⸽⸾⸿⹀⹁⹂⹃⹄⹅⹆⹇⹈⹉⹊⹋⹌⹍⹎⹏⹐⹑⹒⹓⹔⹕⹖⹗⹘⹙⹚⹛⹜⹝⹞⹟⹠⹡⹢⹣⹤⹥⹦⹧⹨⹩⹪⹫⹬⹭⹮⹯⹰⹱⹲⹳⹴⹵⹶⹷⹸⹹⹺⹻⹼⹽⹾⹿⺀⺁⺂⺃⺄⺅⺆⺇⺈⺉⺊⺋⺌⺍⺎⺏⺐⺑⺒⺓⺔⺕⺖⺗⺘⺙⺚⺛⺜⺝⺞⺟⺠⺡⺢⺣⺤⺥⺦⺧⺨⺩⺪⺫⺬⺭⺮⺯⺰⺱⺲⺳⺴⺵⺶⺷⺸⺹⺺⺻⺼⺽⺾⺿⻀⻁⻂⻃⻄⻅⻆⻇⻈⻉⻊⻋⻌⻍⻎⻏⻐⻑⻒⻓⻔⻕⻖⻗⻘⻙⻚⻛⻜⻝⻞⻟⻠⻡⻢⻣⻤⻥⻦⻧⻨⻩⻪⻫⻬⻭⻮⻰⻱⻲⻳⻴⻵⻶⻷⻸⻹⻺⻻⻼⻽⻾⻿ⷀⷁⷂⷃⷄⷅⷆ⷇ⷈⷉⷊⷋⷌⷍⷎ⷏ⷐⷑⷒⷓⷔⷕⷖ⷗ⷘⷙⷚⷛⷜⷝⷞ⷟ⷠⷡⷢⷣⷤⷥⷦⷧⷨⷩⷪⷫⷬⷭⷮⷯⷰⷱⷲⷳⷴⷵⷶⷷⷸⷹⷺⷻⷼⷽⷾⷿ⸀⸁⸂⸃⸄⸅⸆⸇⸈⸉⸊⸋⸌⸍⸎⸏⸐⸑⸒⸓⸔⸕⸖⸗⸘⸙⸚⸛⸜⸝⸞⸟⸠⸡⸢⸣⸤⸥⸦⸧⸨⸩⸪⸫⸬⸭⸮ⸯ⸰⸱⸲⸳⸴⸵⸶⸷⸸⸹⸺⸻⸼⸽⸾⸿⹀⹁⹂⹃⹄⹅⹆⹇⹈⹉⹊⹋⹌⹍⹎⹏⹐⹑⹒⹓⹔⹕⹖⹗⹘⹙⹚⹛⹜⹝⹞⹟⹠⹡⹢⹣⹤⹥⹦⹧⹨⹩⹪⹫⹬⹭⹮⹯⹰⹱⹲⹳⹴⹵⹶⹷⹸⹹⹺⹻⹼⹽⹾⹿⺀⺁⺂⺃⺄⺅⺆⺇⺈⺉⺊⺋⺌⺍⺎⺏⺐⺑⺒⺓⺔⺕⺖⺗⺘⺙⺚⺛⺜⺝⺞⺟⺠⺡⺢⺣⺤⺥⺦⺧⺨⺩⺪⺫⺬⺭⺮⺯⺰⺱⺲⺳⺴⺵⺶⺷⺸⺹⺺⺻⺼⺽⺾⺿⻀⻁⻂⻃⻄⻅⻆⻇⻈⻉⻊⻋⻌⻍⻎⻏⻐⻑⻒⻓⻔⻕⻖⻗⻘⻙⻚⻛⻜⻝⻞⻟⻠

1985 (sold at Crédit Suisse Berne sale 4, 1985, lot 855). In 2009 it was on sale at Stack's auction (The Golden Horn Collection, Moneta Imperii Romani Byzantini, lot 3461).

Rev.: Marginal legends starts at 3:15h:

ԿՐԻՏՊՐԻՔԷ ... ԾԿԻՏԻԵՆԸ

Կրისტի Էժիդի Գևորգի Էփէստոս Ծա Կստի-Կեղեցի

KristE ADIdE GiorgI APKhzta Da KaRTVeLTa

Christ, exalt Giorgi Abkhazians' and Kartvelians'

and continues in the centre:

ԾՔԿ / ՄԵՆԿ / ՕՆԻ

ԾՔ Կ- / -ՄԵՆԿ- / -ՕՆԻ

DA K / ESAR- / OSI

and k / esar- / -osi

Rev.: Effigy of the Holy Virgin, fragments of Greek letters. Traces of double strike (this type of defect has already been published for the coins of this group¹³⁴). A heart-shaped hole (the coin was transformed into a pendant or a decoration of an icon?) Weight 1.22 g, dimensions NA, die axis 12h.

The letters identifying the king (ԿԻ) are only partially visible, but the attribution is based on the indication of the Byzantine title *Kesarosi*, since Giorgi II was the only Georgian monarch who was granted it.¹³⁵ The complete omission of the word *King* merits some attention (albeit not unseen previously¹³⁶). That could also happen because of misarranging the legend letters on the obverse die.



Coin №3. Issuer: Davit IV. With cross in the centre

Preserved in the private collection in Georgia.

Obv.: Marginal legends starts at 5:45h:

...ԿՐԻՏՊՐԻՔ... ԾԿԻՏԻԵՆԸ...

Կրისტի Էժիդի Ծաճիտ Ծեփի ԸՔ ՏեՊաստոսի?

kristE? ADIdE Davit MePE dA SeVaStosi?

Christ, exalt Davit the King and Sebastos

In the centre: cross on base.

Rev.: Effigy of the Holy Virgin, fragments of Greek letters.

Weight 0.75 g, dimensions 24-25 mm, die axis 11:30h.

Coins of this type are extremely rare. Four specimens were discovered in 1909¹³⁷, and to our knowledge none have been added to this number ever since.¹³⁸

Coin №4. Issuer: Davit IV. Modern fake

This piece was circulating between the private Georgian collectors in 2005-2006.



Obv.: Marginal legends starts at 2:30h:

...ԾԿԻՏԻԵՆԸ...

Կրისტի Էժիդի? Ծաճիտ Ծեփի Ծա ՏեՊաստոսի?

kriste adide? Davit MePE Da Sevastosi?

Christ, exalt Davit king and sebastos?

and possibly continues in the centre, where the following graphemes of the Georgian Asomtavruli script are distributed without any specific order:

ՏՔԿ / ՏՏ / Դ

(There is no letter Դ in Asomtavruli; perhaps it was meant for a mirror "I" or "E", i.e. Ի или Է. These letters do not make up any word/s)

Rev.: Effigy of the Holy Virgin, fragments of Greek letters. Weight and dimensions NA, die axis approximately 12h.

In our opinion, this specimen constitutes a modern fantasy fake produced by some malefactor imitating the coinage of Davit IV. Our arguments are as follows: fantasy central obverse legend (which is very atypical for authentic Georgian-Byzantine coins); technical peculiarities of the grapheme engraving on the dies; the arrangement of the graphemes in the marginal legend, the general appearance (texture and style) of the coin, lack of information on its find location and the vague provenance. Nevertheless, we considered it useful for the numismatic community to publish this specimen.

We hope that the publication of these specimens will contribute to the collection and analysis of the existing examples of this series so that, in due course, a scholarly catalogue of the Georgian-Byzantine coins can be compiled.

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¹³⁴ Ibid., 68.
¹³⁵ Cf. თავაძე, "კეისრის ტიტული შუასაუკუნოვან ქართულ პოლიტიკურ რეალობაში."
¹³⁶ Пахомов, *Монеты Грузии*, 70-71.
¹³⁷ Пахомов, "Неизданные грузинские монеты XI века."
¹³⁸ Cf. ქეზულაძე რევაზი, "დავით აღმაშენებლის ბიზანტიურტიტულიანი ვერცხლის მონეტები," [Silver Coins of Davit the Builder with Byzantine Title] *საქართველოს სახელმწიფო მუზეუმის მოამბე* XXXIX-B (1987): 45-51.

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A LEAD COIN OF BHAVANANDI FROM MUGHALPURA (HISAR, HARYANA, INDIA)

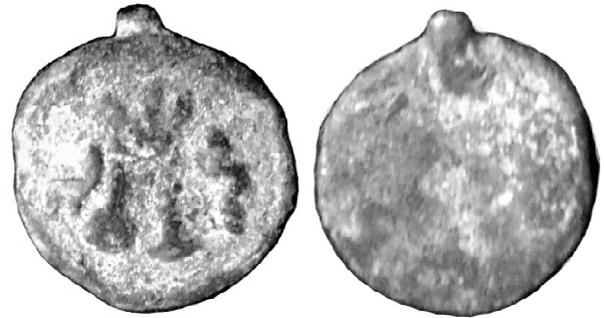
By Devendra Handa

The ancient site of Mughalpura (29° 30' 994'' N / 75° 82' 88'' E) spread over about 60 acres and nearly 13 – 15 m high from the road level lies very close to the town of Uklana in the district of Hisar, Haryana, nearly 50 km NNE of the district headquarters on the Ujkjana-Sirsa road (Fig.1). Dilip K. Chakrabarti and Sukhdev Saini picked up painted potsherds and goblet bases belonging to Late Harappan or Hakra ware besides brickbats strewn over the surface of the mound and have observed that "apart from Rakhigarhi and probably Nachar Khera and Bhirrana, this is the largest protohistoric mound of Haryana."¹ The site yields early historic and medieval relics also.²



Map showing the location of Mughalpura

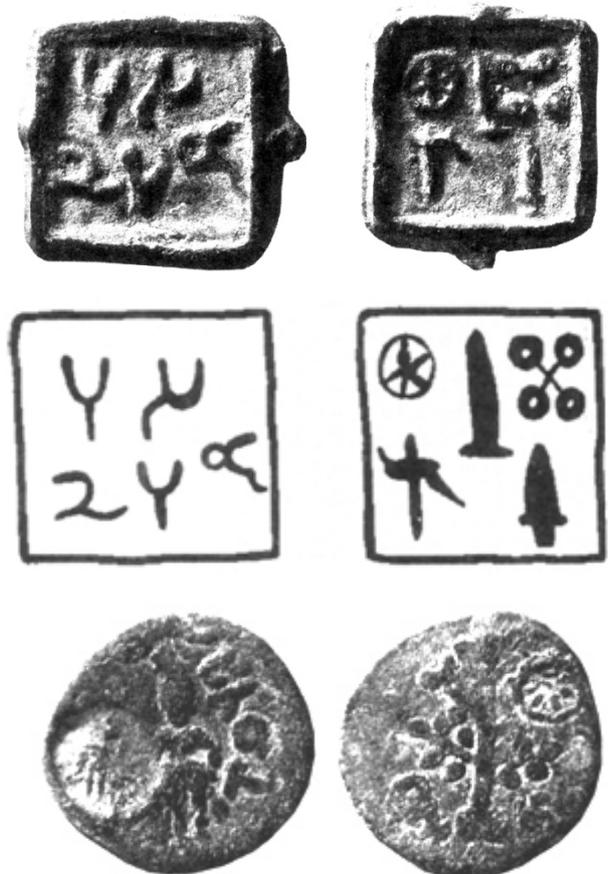
Recently a round lead coin varying from 20 to 22 mm in diameter and weighing 4.03 g was acquired by Shri R.K. Aggarwal of Ambala from this mound.³ The spur on its top leaves no doubt to its having been cast. The obverse shows a symbol resembling the trifurcating spikes of a trident which may be the surviving upper part of the well-known *tri-ratna* symbol found on early Indian coins. The legend in early Brahmi characters of the late third or early second century BC below this symbol reads *Bha⁴vana[m]di*, which obviously is the name of the issuer of this coin. Nothing is known about Bhavanandi from any other source. The reverse is obliterated completely:



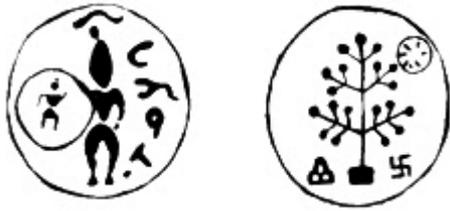
Lead coin of Bhavanandi from Mughalpura, Hisar (Haryana) (image enlarged)

Bhava is one of the names/epithets of Śiva and also has various other connotations like 'existence, world, prosperity, etc.' Numerous names like Bhavabhuti, Bhavadatta, Bhavadasa, Bhavadeva, Bhavaghosha, Bhavagopa, Bhavaraja, Bhavasena, Bhavarman, etc. with Bhava as the first component are known to us from literature, coins, seals, sealings, epigraphs, etc.⁵ Nandi also figures as a name of Śiva as well as his *vahana* 'vehicle'. Nandi has been used as a name-ending too as in the names of Dhruvanandi, Isvaranandi, Simhanandi, Sivanandi and Vishnunandi known from ancient Indian seals.⁶

Two lead cast coins, a square one (19 x 20 mm, 4.62 g) and a round one (16 x 18 mm, 2.32 g), said to have been 'found somewhere in District Hissar of Haryana' seen with a collector of Jind (Haryana) were published by Prashant P. Kulkarni some time back.⁷ The square coin bears the early Brahmi legend *Pusamitasa* on the obverse and a wheel, club, Ujjayini symbol, plough and pestle on the reverse, the first three in the upper row and the last two in the lower row, while the round piece bears a human figure and the legend *Patithana* in early Brahmi characters on the obverse and a tree in railing flanked by an arched hill symbol on left and *svastika* on the right on the reverse, counterstruck on both sides:⁸



Lead coins of Pushyamitra and Patishthana (after Prashant P. Kulkarni). See also the following image.



NOTES ON THE EVOLUTION OF ALCHON COINS

By Pankaj Tandon¹³⁹

Mr. Gulshan Bharadwaj of Jind, the original procurer of these lead coins, told me (on 30. 06. 2011 at Kurukshetra) that the pieces were found from Uklana in district Hisar. I have seen similar lead coins in the collection of Shri Aggarwal who confirms the provenance of these coins to be Mughalpura, which is located very close to Uklana in the district of Hisar.

Kulkarni felt inclined to attribute the square lead coin to Pushyamitra, who was the commander-in-chief of the last Maurya emperor, Brihadratha, and had founded the Sunga dynasty after assassinating him in c. 185 BC. To me, however, this seems to be a Vrishni coin issued by some local ruler named Pushyamitra carrying the usual five Vrishni symbols but with the half-lion and half-elephant symbol replaced by the Ujjain symbol. The round lead coin suggests that Mughalpura was probably known as a big market (Pratishthana) of the empire over which Pushyamitra ruled. On the basis of the discovery of quite a good number of lead coins of Kada, Sujyeshtha, Gomitra and Vishnumitra from Sugh near Jagadhari in Haryana, I had suggested that this region had slipped from the hands of Asoka's successors and become independent.⁹ The lead coins published by Kulkarni and the coin under discussion from Mughalpura, which all are local coins of low denominations, seem to support this view.

Notes and References

1. Dilip K. Chakrabarti and Sukhdev Saini (2009), *The Problem of the Sarasvati River and Notes on the Archaeological Geography of Haryana and Indian Panjab*, New Delhi: Aryan Books International, p. 73. Prof. Manmohan Kumar of Maharshi Dayanand University, Rohtak has made an extensive survey of proto- and early-historic sites of Haryana but has not listed it. For details see Manmohan Kumar, "Harappan Settlements in the Ghaggar-Yamuna Divide", in Toshiki Osada and Akinori Uesugi (Eds.), *Occasional Paper 7, Linguistics, Archaeology and the Human Past, Indus Project Research Institute for Humanity and Nature*, Kyoto, Japan, pp. 1-76.
2. *Indian Archaeology – A Review*, 1980-81, p. 18.
3. I am thankful to Shri Aggarwal and his son, Gaurav Aggarwal, for bringing this coin to my notice and permitting me to publish it.
4. *Bha* here may be confused for *Si* but since the Brahmi *Sa* (palatal sibilant) has a third stroke between the two legs of the letter, which is not visible in the present specimen, and because the palatal sibilant has a horizontal top and the two legs of the letter are vertical, I prefer to read the legend as Bhavanamdi, which is synonymous with Sivanamdi.
5. Devendra Handa (2008), "An Interesting Clay Sealing of Bhavaraja", *JNSI*, LXX, pp. 60 ff.
6. Hemachandra Raychaudhuri (1953), *Political History of Ancient India*, 6th edition, Calcutta: University of Calcutta, p. 536; K.K. Thaplyal (1972), *Studies in Ancient Indian Seals*, Lucknow: Akhila Bharatiya Sanskrit Parishad, pp. 146, 301, 311, 315, etc.
7. *Indian Coin Society Newsletter*, No. 38, Jan-March 2006, pp. 4-7.
8. *Ibid*; "Coinage of Pusyamitra Sunga", *The Journal of Academy of Indian Numismatics & Sigillography*, Indore, Vol. XXIII-XXIV (2009-2010), pp. 5-9 and "Recent discoveries in early inscribed coins of Vidarbha", *Supplement to the Journal of the Oriental Numismatic Society*, No. 205, pp. 4-15.
9. Devendra Handa (2006), *Early Indian Coins from Sugh*, Delhi: Sundeep Prakashan, pp. 72-97.

Organising the coins of the Alchon (or Alkhon or Alkhan) Huns into a coherent series has proven to be a challenging task. In his seminal work on this coinage,¹⁴⁰ Robert Göbl identified many types and tried to create some kind of order for them, but did not make much headway because the coins did not seem to follow a clear chronological sequence. Recently, new energy was imparted to the study of these coins by the discovery and publication by Gudrun Melzer of a copper scroll inscription from the Schøyen Collection which names four of the Alchon kings known from their coins.¹⁴¹ Although the find spot of the scroll is not known, the scroll itself identifies its probable place of origin: a town called Tālagān. Melzer suggested in her paper that this was probably the town of Tālaqān in northern Afghanistan (north of the Hindu Kush mountains), but Étienne de la Vaissière¹⁴² has argued persuasively that it was rather the town of Talagang in Pakistan, just north of the Salt Range and south of the Hindu Kush. The four kings mentioned in the scroll, mahāśāhi Khīngīla, devarāja Toramāna, mahāśāhi Mehama and maharaja Javūkha, are all listed as donors in the establishment of a Buddhist stupa in Tālagān. For the first time, we can feel secure in the identities of these four kings and coins that bear their names can safely be assigned to them, something Göbl had not always done because of possible ambiguities in the reading and interpretation of the coin legends.

This task has been taken up recently by Vondrovec¹⁴³ and Alram and Pfisterer,¹⁴⁴ who have attempted to assign coins to each of these rulers.¹⁴⁵ While this is a clear advance over previous work, it still leaves open the question of the coin sequencing and how the coinage evolved. In her paper, Melzer had suggested that the fact that all four of these kings were mentioned as donors indicates that they were contemporaries and ruled at around the same time. This suggestion would lead naturally to a new strategy for organizing Alchon coins: to arrange them in at least *four* sequences, anchored by the four kings mentioned in the inscription. But Melzer's suggestion has been challenged by de la Vaissière,¹⁴⁶ who pointed out that the listing of the names does not automatically imply that all the kings were alive at the time of the inscription. As de la Vaissière points out, the inscription also mentions Javūkha's father, Sādavīkha, as a donor in the same manner as all the other

¹³⁹ Boston University. An earlier version of this paper was presented at the Fifth Seminar in Central Asian and Middle Eastern Numismatics in memoriam Boris Kochnev at Hofstra University in March 2013. I wish to thank participants at the seminar, particularly Aleksandr Naymark, for helpful comments, Joe Cribb for providing me with images from the British Museum's collection, and Shailendra Bhandare, Joe Cribb, Harry Falk, Matthias Pfisterer, Nicholas Sims-Williams and Klaus Vondrovec for helpful email exchanges. I also wish to thank Ingo Vogelsang for help with German translation.

¹⁴⁰ Robert Göbl: *Dokumente zur Geschichte der Iranischen Hunnen in Baktrien und Indien*, Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1967.

¹⁴¹ Gudrun Melzer (in collaboration with Lore Sander): "A Copper Scroll Inscription from the Time of the Alchon Huns," in *Manuscripts in the Schøyen Collection, Vol. III: Buddhist Manuscripts*, Oslo: Hermes Publishing, 2006, pp. 251-278.

¹⁴² Étienne de la Vaissière: "A Note on the Schøyen Copper Scroll: Bactrian or Indian?" *Bulletin of the Asia Institute*, New Series, Volume 21, 2007 (published 2012), pp. 127-130.

¹⁴³ Klaus Vondrovec: "Numismatic Evidence of the Alchon Huns reconsidered," *Beiträge zur Ur- und Frühgeschichte Mitteleuropas*, 50 (2008), pp. 25-56.

¹⁴⁴ Michael Alram and Matthias Pfisterer: "Alkhan and Hephthalite Coinage," in Michael Alram, et. al. (eds): *Coins, Art and Chronology II*, Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2010, pp. 13-38. I understand that Pfisterer has some new unpublished work on these coins, but I have not seen this.

¹⁴⁵ Vondrovec actually leaves Toramāna out of his analysis and Alram and Pfisterer mention him only slightly, because no Sasanian or Alchon-style silver coins are yet known for this king.

¹⁴⁶ de la Vaissière, *op. cit.*

persons listed. Given that Javūkha was ruling at the time, it is likely that his father was no longer alive. Thus it is entirely possible that some of the other kings mentioned were also no longer alive at the time of the inscription.

Of course, de la Vaissière’s objection to Melzer’s suggestion does not demonstrate that the four kings in question were *not* ruling simultaneously, only that it is possible that they were not doing so. In this paper, I wish to show why there is evidence in the numismatic record that at least three of the four kings did not rule sequentially, and that the strategy of organizing the coins into different sequences can be a productive way of looking at and organizing the coinage. In the process, I publish some previously unrecorded and rare coins of the Alchon Huns that help to make my point and to fill out more of the details of the coin sequences. The point is not to create a new ordering of all Alchon coins, which is a task beyond the scope of this paper; rather, I hope to suggest an approach that might help in this bigger task. This approach is also a first step towards a classification of the coins according to mints of production.

The Early Anonymous Series

All authors agree that the earliest Alchon coins were based on Sasanian prototypes (Göbl types 33-39). These coins used Sasanian designs, but added the word *alchon* (or *alkhan*) and a distinctive Alchon-style tamgha to the obverse of the coins, the so-called “bull” tamgha that supposedly represents the horns of a bull. Actually, considering the important role played by the lunar crescent in the crowns of the kings, it seems more likely that this tamgha represented a lunar crescent rather than a bull’s horns. Be that as it may, the “bull”/lunar tamgha was an important feature of these early coins. Vondrovec refers to these coins as belonging to the period of the “Anonymous Clan Rulers”¹⁴⁷ and Alam and Pfisterer call these the first and second minting phases.¹⁴⁸ These coins do not concern us here. What followed, however, were the first coins with truly new features, and these are the starting point for the analysis in this paper.

In this new phase (Göbl types 40-43), which I am calling the “Early Anonymous Series,” the Sasanian-style bust was replaced by a characteristic Alchon-style bust, in which the king’s head is presented in an elongated form to reflect the Alchon practice of head binding. Apart from the elongated head, these coins have several distinctive features:

1. The bust is bare-headed; in particular, the king wears no diadem or crown.
2. The king wears a necklace with two ribbons attached to it. These ribbons replace the diadem ends typically seen on Sasanian coins.
3. The characteristic “bull”/lunar tamgha of the Alchon is featured in the right field.
4. There is a crescent in the upper left field.
5. A Brāhmī letter is present in the lower left field.

Table one: The Early Anonymous Series



¹⁴⁷ Vondrovec, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

¹⁴⁸ Alam and Pfisterer, *op. cit.*, pp. 15-17. The first phase consisted of coins struck with Sasanian dies that had been modified to include the Alchon elements, while the second phase consisted of coins struck with newly carved dies that nevertheless preserved the basic Sasanian designs.



Coin 1(#476.1) Göbl type 41 var3.84 g, 30 mm



Coin 2 (#482.2) Göbl type 433.63 g, 28 mm



Coin 3 (#446.5) Göbl type 43 var (unpublished) 3.10 g, 29 mm

Note: All coins in this paper are from my personal collection and the photographs are self-taken unless specifically noted. The # number for each coin is its inventory number. The coin images are only roughly to relative scale.

None of the coins identifies an individual king; rather they all bear the legend *alchono* or *alchonano* in Bactrian letters.

Three examples of these types are presented in Table 1. Coin 1 is a variant of Göbl type 41 and shows all the elements in the list above, except that the Brāhmī letter in the left field has been partially obscured. This is part of the reason that this coin is interesting. A close examination reveals that the left field of the obverse die has been re-cut. Originally, the ribbons attached to the necklace were carved in a vertical position closer to the left border on the coin and it is possible that there was no crescent. Then the die was re-cut to re-position the ribbons in the slanted position seen on the coin. This can be seen clearly in the detail image. In the process of the re-cutting, the Brāhmī letter in the lower left field was partially obscured. Why exactly the die was re-cut is hard to know for sure. One possibility is that the die cutter needed to make space for the crescent in the upper left field, either because of a design change or because he had forgotten to include it when first carving the die. Since no coin of this type has ever been found without a crescent, I find the second possibility the more likely

explanation, but we cannot rule out the possibility that the crescent was not part of the original design for this type.

Coin 2 is an example of Göbl type 43, which features the Brāhmī letter *śi* in the left field. In this example, the ribbons attached to the king's necklace take a slightly different form; they form two distinct cylindrical shapes rather than the conjoined triangular shapes seen in coin 1.

Finally, coin 3 is a previously unpublished variant of Göbl type 43, on which the Brāhmī letter is now *pa* (see detail photo at right), previously not noted on any of these coins. We do not yet know the significance of these letters.

These early anonymous Alchon coins form a baseline from which it appears at least three different strands of Alchon coinage evolved. In succeeding sections, I will consider the coinages of each of the four kings mentioned in the Schøyen inscription and suggest coin series that could be created around each of them. We shall see that the coinages of at least three of the kings can arguably be derived directly from these early coins, suggesting the possibility of independent evolution. The goal is not to create an exhaustive listing of all Alchon coins, but only to provide the outlines of what these different series might look like and what some of their constituents would be.

The Khingila Series

Khingila is the first king mentioned in the Schøyen inscription and it is also the case that his coins seem most closely related to the early anonymous coins, so it is appropriate to consider first the series of coins built around his coinage. Table 2 shows thirteen coins (Coins 4-16) that I believe constitute an evolving sequence that starts with the earliest coins of Khingila. The sequence of evolution is discussed in what follows.

The first coin, coin 4 (Göbl type 57), is perhaps the earliest coin type of Khingila and we can see a close similarity to coin 2 in Table 1. As on coin 2, the king is shown here bare-headed with an elongated head, wearing a necklace with two ribbons attached to it and forming two cylindrical shapes. The overall style of the two coins is very similar. The differences are:

1. The tamgha has migrated from the right field to the left field, replacing the crescent on coin 2. Incidentally, this replacement further suggests that the tamgha is meant to hold a crescent, as it performs that function on this coin.
2. The space left open in the right field is now occupied by an inscription in Brāhmī that reads *khigi*.
3. The Brāhmī letter in the left field has been replaced by a somewhat unclear symbol that Göbl identified as a rhombus.

These differences represent normal evolutionary changes that we might expect to see in an evolving or developing coinage.

Table 2: The Khingila Series



Coin 4 (#304.3) "*khigi*" Göbl type 57, 3.45g, 25 mm



Coin 5 (British Museum 1894.0506.201) "*khiggilo šoyo zoobl*" Göbl type 59 (details not available)



Coin 6 (Zeno 76988) "*šoyo alchono*" Göbl type 60, 3.03 g



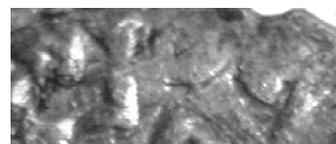
Coin 7 (#607.2) "*khiggilo alchono*" Göbl type 61, 3.66 g, 30 mm



Coin 8 (#668.72) "*šoyo alchono*" Göbl type 70, 3.38 g, 29 mm



Coin 9 (#644.87) "*khinkila alchono*" Unpublished, var of Göbl type 70, 3.51 g, 27 mm





Coin 10 (#327.02) “*devaṣāhi khiṅgila*” Göbl type 81, 3.59 g, 28 mm



Coin 15 (#234.3) “*rājā lakhāna udayāditya*” Göbl type 79, 3.79 g, 26 mm



Coin 11 (Zeno 99188) “*ṣāhi lakhāna*” Unpublished, 3.31 g, 27 mm



Coin 16 (#408.17) “*jayatu ṣāhi javūvlah*” Göbl type 82, 3.52 g, 27 mm



Coin 12 (CNG eAuction 296 lot 136) “*ṣāhi lakhāna*” Unpublished, 4.20 g, 26 mm



Coin 13 (#666.60) “*ṣāhi lakhāna*” Unpublished, 5.60 g, 27 mm



Coin 14 (#665.56) “*alchono rājā lakhāna*” Göbl type 80, 3.82 g, 28 mm

Note: Image of coin 5 © Trustees of the British Museum, used by permission; image of coin 12 used by permission from CNG.

Coin 5 (Göbl type 59) may have been roughly contemporaneous with coin 4, perhaps at a different mint. The style of this coin is quite different from that of coin 4, indicating at least that it was carved by a different hand, and yet it has some of the same key characteristics: the bare-headed bust and the ribbons attached to the king’s necklace. The legend is now in Bactrian letters: *khiggilo ṣoyo zoobl*. Coin 6 (Göbl type 60) does not name Khiṅgila, but can be assigned to him because of its similarity to coins 5 and 7, both of which do name him. Indeed, coin 6 serves as a bridge between coins 5 and 7. It retains the bare-headed bust and the ribbons attached to the necklace as seen on coin 5, but adds prominent shoulder ornaments that have been described as flames or fly-whisks, but which I believe represent wings. Whatever they are, they were probably intended to indicate the divinity of the king.

Coin 7 (Göbl type 61) represents an important stage in the development of Khiṅgila’s coinage. While it retains the shoulder ornaments of coin 6, it introduces a significant new feature: the king now wears a diadem. The diadem sports a crescent at the king’s forehead and, most importantly, features diadem ends that hang from the tie, replacing the ribbons that had previously been attached to the necklace. This coin, therefore, marks the end in the Khiṅgila series of the bare-headed bust with ribbons attached to the necklace. One other aspect of this coin type worth noting is that the bull/lunar tamgha, which had disappeared from coins 5 and 6, makes a reappearance on the coin.

Coin 8 (Göbl type 70) may have been issued in parallel with coin 7. It is the direct successor of coin 6, with which it shares its style and legend, but it introduces the diadem with the forehead crescent ornament and the hanging diadem ends. In addition, as on coin 7, the bull/lunar tamgha is reintroduced, although here it is placed in the left field. The right field introduces a new symbol: an oval rosette like shape that may represent the sun, a *cakra* or a wheel.

Coin 9 is a previously unpublished type that serves as a bridge between coin 8 and the well-known Khiṅgila type seen in coin 10. Coin 9 retains the shoulder ornaments of coin 8 but has a new, finer style. The “wheel” ornament is more clearly delineated and the Bactrian legend to the left of the head is replaced by a Brāhmī legend that is unclear, but which I am tentatively reading as *khinkila* (see detail).¹⁴⁹ The Bactrian legend *alchono* to the right of the head is retained.

Coin 10 (Göbl type 81) is the last coin type that can definitively be assigned to Khiṅgila. Stylistically, it is similar to coin 9 and it retains the tamgha at left and the sun/wheel at right. But it eliminates the shoulder “wing” ornaments, replacing them with crescent tips on both shoulders. In addition, the diadem ends develop a slight waviness rather than hanging limply, and the legend is now all in Brāhmī and reads *devaṣāhi khiṅgila*.

We now turn to extensions of the Khiṅgila series. Coins 11-13 are all unpublished coins of a new type that have recently appeared on the trade market. Two specimens of the type represented by coin 11 were listed on the zeno.ru website; coin 12 was sold in a CNG auction and coin 13 was offered privately to me. It is clear that all these coins belong to the same family. They are stylistically close to coin 10, with a similar bust, crescent tips on the shoulders and a sun/wheel in the right field. Looking at different specimens, I tentatively read the Brāhmī legend as *ṣāhi lakhāna*. Stylistically, these coins form a bridge from the last coins of Khiṅgila to the well-known “*rājā lakhāna*” coins (Göbl type 80, see coin 14 in the Table), and the legend reading, if correct, would further support the idea that these coins were issued in between Göbl types 81 and 80.

Before moving on to coin 14, it is worth noting the unusual weights of coins 12 and 13 (4.20 g and 5.60 g respectively), and the unusual design of the latter, with its double portrait. It is quite possible that this coin is a modern fabrication. The flan is slightly wavy and the reverse is so flat as to suggest the coin was cast. The two portraits are somewhat distinct from one another and I suspect two actual coins may have been used to construct the mould. Indeed, the right-side portrait seems to be die identical to the image on coin 12. This casts some doubt on coin 12 as well, with its own unusual weight, but I have not examined this coin in hand. Coin 11, however, and another example of this type that had been posted on the zeno.ru website do seem genuine and represent a previously unpublished type. These alone could constitute the bridge from the last coins of Khiṅgila to the “*rājā lakhāna*” coins.

Coin 14 (Göbl type 80) is a well-known type that seems very closely related to the last Khiṅgila issue (Göbl type 81, coin 10 in the Table) and also to coins 11 and 15. Stylistically, all these coins are very close, both in the portrait style with the crescent tips on the shoulders and the depiction of the crown and the wavy diadem ends. After the death of Khiṅgila, there may have been no king who felt strong enough to put his own name on the coinage, and that could explain the anonymous *ṣāhi lakhāna* we saw on coin 11 and the *alchono* (in Bactrian) *rājā lakhāna* (in Brāhmī) that we see on coin 14. Alternatively, maybe a challenger to Khiṅgila arose late in his reign, and issued these anonymous coins in order to keep a relatively low profile. This coin also replaces the sun/wheel symbol with a trident. Who Raja Lakhāna was is hard to say.

The next coin in the series is coin 15 (Göbl type 79). This also is closely related to coins 10-14 on stylistic grounds, but presents a new legend in Brāhmī: *rājā lakhāna udayāditya*. Thus we clearly have a new king Udayāditya. His coins differ from previous types in that all symbols and the shoulder crescent tips are eliminated but the style is so close to both the Khiṅgila and the Raja Lakhāna coins that it was surely created at the same mint and most probably by the same hand. Indeed, it might be reasonable to suppose that Udayāditya was the issuer of the Raja Lakhāna coins, given that his own legend reads *rājā lakhāna udayāditya*. Perhaps he did not feel confident placing his name on the coinage until later in his reign.

The final coin that is clearly in the Khiṅgila series is coin 16 (Göbl type 82). Like the coins of Udayāditya, this coin carries no symbols and a legend entirely in Brāhmī that reads *jayatu ṣāhi javūvḷaḥ*. It is stylistically a very close relation of the Udayāditya coins; the one notable difference is the presence of a pearled hoop ear-ring as opposed to the double drop ear-rings seen on virtually all other Alchon coins. Other than this and, of course, the legend, this coin looks as though it could be an Udayāditya issue because of the similarity of the portraits. Melzer,¹⁵⁰ denying Göbl’s rendition, reads the legend on this coin as *jayatu ṣāhi javūkhah*, but this is surely incorrect, as the detail image in Table 2 makes very clear. The legend is doubtless *jayatu ṣāhi javūvḷaḥ*, as Göbl had read it.

We naturally would like to know who issued this coin. With her reading, Melzer would assign this coin to Javūkha, but it seems quite clear that her reading is not correct. Vondrovec,¹⁵¹ while accepting Göbl’s reading *ṣāhi javūvḷaḥ*, still assigns the coin to Javūkha, without providing any further explanation for this attribution. Alram and Pfisterer¹⁵² illustrate the coin as an issue of Javūkha too, but they also provide no further details or explanation. I feel it is hard to make a case for this to be an issue of Javūkha. We illustrate known coins of Javūkha later in Table 4, and it is quite apparent that there is little stylistic similarity between those coins and this one. P.L. Gupta¹⁵³ assigned the type to Toramāṇa. Although he does not say so explicitly, he implies that his reason is the fact that, in the Kurā stone inscription, Toramāṇa is referred to as *maharaja-toramāṇa-ṣāha-jāvūvḷaḥ*.¹⁵⁴ However, as we will see later, coin 16 bears no stylistic similarity to coins in the Toramāṇa series either and the title *jāvūvḷaḥ* or *javūvḷaḥ* could have been adopted by other kings. We saw in coin 5 the use by Khiṅgila of the title written in Bactrian as *zooḅl*, which is surely the same word. Thus I think it is doubtful that coin 16 was issued by either Javūkha or Toramāṇa. It belongs near the end of the Khiṅgila series and was probably issued by a king succeeding Udayāditya.

The Toramāṇa Series

In his study, Vondrovec left Toramāṇa out of the analysis because “no silver drachms bearing this name are known.”¹⁵⁵ Of course, this is not strictly true, as silver drachms of the Gupta style (Göbl type 119) do bear Toramāṇa’s name, but Vondrovec’s essential point is well-taken: there are no known “Alchon”-style drachms of this king. However, there are known copper coins of Toramāṇa that bear a bust in the style of the Alchon coins and these reveal something very interesting. We, therefore, begin the Toramāṇa series (Table 3) with a copper coin (coin 17, Göbl type 120) of that king.

What is most interesting about this coin is that the portrait style is most similar to the one in coin 1 (Table 1), from the early anonymous series, or perhaps coin 6 (Table 2), a very early Khiṅgila type. The bust is bare-headed, with no diadem, crown, or crescent ornament, the head is elongated, and there are ribbons attached to the king’s necklace. In these respects, the portrait is like the one in coin 1. One apparent difference is that there appear to be elements that look somewhat like the “wings” or “fly-whisks” on the shoulders, as on coin 6. Thus it appears that Toramāṇa’s coinage drew inspiration from the very early Khiṅgila types. This seems to suggest that Toramāṇa commenced his coinage before Khiṅgila issued his later types such as coins 9 and 10; in other words, Toramāṇa’s coinage was probably somewhat in parallel with Khiṅgila’s.

In his description of the type 120 coins, Göbl said “Im übrigen bewahren die AE offenbar die ältere Tradition, wonach die

¹⁵⁰ Melzer, *op. cit.*, footnote 77 on p. 261.

¹⁵¹ Vondrovec, *op. cit.*, p. 46.

¹⁵² Alram and Pfisterer, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

¹⁵³ Parmeshwari Lal Gupta: *Coins (India-The Land and its People)*, New Delhi: National Book Trust, fourth edition, 1996, p. 78.

¹⁵⁴ Dines Chandra Sircar: *Select Inscriptions Bearing on Indian History and Civilization*, Vol. 1, Delhi: V.K. Publishing House, 1991, p. 424.

¹⁵⁵ Vondrovec, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

¹⁴⁹ Matthias Pfisterer, in a private email, indicated he thinks the legend at left is a retrograde legend in Bactrian letters that reads *ṣauo*, which may well be correct, although I don’t see that on my specimen. This reading would not affect the place of this coin in my schema.

Halskette das wichtigere Herrschaftssymbol war,”¹⁵⁶ thereby providing an explanation for the old portrait style. But Göbl thought that Toramāṇa was Khiṅgila’s son, and, therefore, felt the need to explain how coins issued supposedly after Khiṅgila’s death nevertheless reflected styles that belonged to early in Khiṅgila’s reign. However, we now know with a fair degree of certainty that Toramāṇa was not Khiṅgila’s son. If he had been, the Schøyen copper scroll surely would have mentioned that fact, since it mentions the names of four fathers in the inscription.¹⁵⁷ Thus, there is no reason to presume that Toramāṇa’s coins were sequentially later than those of Khiṅgila. It is far more likely that the early style exhibited in Toramāṇa’s coins reflects the fact that Khiṅgila’s late coins had not yet been issued. That is why it seems useful to treat the Toramāṇa series as running parallel to at least the latter part of the Khiṅgila series.

We know that Mihirakula was Toramāṇa’s son and we also know that Mihirakula issued silver drachms with the Sasanian-style fabric. Coin 18 (Göbl type 310) is an example of such a coin and is the next coin in the Toramāṇa series. So far, this is the earliest silver coin that we know of in this series. We see that the Mihirakula coin has quite a distinctive style that separates it from any of the coins of the Khiṅgila series. Notable aspects of this style include:

1. A distinctive round-top crown with a prominent brim and crescent forehead ornament.
2. A Brāhmī legend that is written in a continuous arc over the king’s head, rather than being interrupted by the head.
3. The absence of the bull/lunar tamgha.
4. The presence of *two* prominent symbols, one in the right field and one in the left. Here we have a beribboned trident and a *chakra*-standard.

The coin does share with coins from the Khiṅgila series the lunar crescents on the king’s shoulders, which had made an appearance some time mid-way through Khiṅgila’s reign. This perhaps speaks to at least some level of exchange between Khiṅgila’s mints and those of the Toramāṇa series.

Table 3: The Toramāṇa Series



Coin 17 (#663.21) “*tora*” Göbl type 120, 3.16 g, 22 mm



Coin 18 (#568.3) “*jayatu mihirakula*” Göbl type 310, 3.33 g, 25 mm



Coin 19 (Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna) “*jayatu baysara khota laka*” Göbl type 108, (details n.a.)



Coin 20 (British Museum, 1912.1214) “*jayatu baysara*” Göbl type 109, 3.70 g



Coin 21 (#537.7) “*jayatu bhārana*” Unpublished, (3.59 g, 27.5 mm)



Coin 22 (#606.2) “*ṣāhi vaiṣravaṇasya*” Göbl type xxx, 3.82 g, 25 mm

Note: Image of coin 19 from the online exhibition *Das Anlitz des Fremden* of the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna:

<http://pro.geo.univie.ac.at/projects/khm/showcases/showcase9?language=en>, downloaded May 1, 2013.

Image of coin 20 © Trustees of the British Museum, used by permission.

Following Mihirakula, there were at least two other kings whose coins can definitively be assigned to this series, and perhaps a third. Coin 19 (Göbl type 108) is a coin of the king Bazara (or Bazāra, Vazāra or Bazira). The legend on this coin reads *jayatu baysara khota laka*. It is worth remembering that the conjoined letter *ysa* stands for the sound *za*,¹⁵⁸ so the king’s name would be Bazara. One coin has a diacritic that renders the name *baysāra*. On

¹⁵⁶ Göbl, *op. cit.*, Band I, p. 103.

¹⁵⁷ The inscription mentions (1) Opanda, the father of the principal donor, the Tālagānika-Devaputra-Ṣāhi, (2) Buddh..., the Sārada- Ṣāhi, father of the principal donor’s wife, (3) Ho..gaya, father of the mistress of a great monastery Arccavāmanā, and (4) Sādavīkha, father of the great king Javūkha; see Melzer, *op. cit.*, p. 274.

¹⁵⁸ See the detailed discussion on this point in Pankaj Tandon: “The Western Kshatrapa Dāmazāda,” *The Numismatic Chronicle* 169, 2009, pp. 173-187.

another example of type 111, Göbl read the name as *vaysāra*, which would yield a name of *Vazāra*, and Harry Falk has argued for *baysira* on philological grounds,¹⁵⁹ which would make the name Bazira. Regardless of the exact name, it is quite clear that these coins belong in the Toramāṇa series, as they have all the distinctive characteristics listed in the previous paragraph: the round-top crown with prominent brim, the Brāhmī legend running continuously over the king's head, the two prominent symbols, and the lack of the bull/lunar tamgha. The coin also has the shoulder lunar crescents seen on Mihirakula's coins. The symbols here are a fire altar at right, reminiscent of a symbol seen on the coins of Mehama (see coins 23 and 24 in Table 4 below) and a crescent-topped swastika at left.

Coin 20 (Göbl type 110) is another coin of the same king and has all the characteristics of the series, except for one: this coin has only one prominent symbol. The symbol at left has been eliminated here. The symbol at right is now a sun or wheel type symbol mounted on a stand. This symbol provides a link to the next coin in the series.

Coin 21 is a previously unpublished type of a king named Bhāraṇa. This coin has all the distinctive characteristics of coins of this series, including a return to the dual symbols. The legend reads *jayatu bhāraṇa* and the two symbols in this case are the sun or wheel symbol mounted on a stand at right (as on coin 20) and a conch shell at left. Because of the congruence of the sun/wheel symbol, it seems logical to place this coin after the coin of Bazara. One feature of the Bhāraṇa coin that is unusual is that the fire altar on the reverse is very wide, with correspondingly very small attendants on either side.

The last coin I have included in the Toramāṇa series is coin 22 (Göbl type 139). Although this coin type has been known for a while, the legend has not yet been adequately read because of the lack of a legible example. This coin provides the best legend yet seen, and I am reading it as *śāhi vaiśravaṇasya*.¹⁶⁰ If this is correct, we can identify this king for the first time as Vaiśravaṇa.¹⁶¹ Although his coins are stylistically not that close to other coins in the Toramāṇa series, they are not stylistically close to coins of any of the other groups either, so it is problematic to assign his coins to any particular group. I feel, however, that the best decision is to include these in the Toramāṇa series for three reasons:

1. The legend on the coin draws a continuous arc over the king's head, a feature not seen on coins of any other series.
2. The coin features two prominent symbols, here a trident (as on Mihirakula's coins) at right and an unusual symbol at left that has been identified by Göbl as a fly-whisk and by Pfisterer as a three-headed snake, which seems the more likely interpretation.
3. A key symbol seen on most coins of all the other series, the bull/lunar tamgha, is missing here, as on the other coins of the Toramāṇa series.

These factors suggest that this coin is closely related to other coins in the Toramāṇa series, despite the differences in style.

Coins of Mehama

The third king mentioned in the Schøyen copper scroll donor list is Mehama. For the first time, we can be sure of this king's name, since there was ambiguity in the name on the legends of his coins, which had been read by Göbl variously as *mepāmā*, *mipāmā* or *mapāmā*. Now, with more coins with clearer legends and the Schøyen copper scroll, we can be sure that his name was actually Mehama.

I have been unable to find coins of any king other than Mehama that I could place unequivocally into a "series" with his coins, but I do feel there is evidence that Mehama's coinage was issued in parallel with Khiṅgila's and not sequentially. Table 4

shows five coins of Mehama, two of which are unpublished, which shed light on this king's coinage and its evolution.

The first coin is coin 23 (Göbl type 316), which clearly names the king Mehama. Vondrovec published a coin of this type and identified it as a "Later Stage" coin, but did not provide his reasons for why he thought it was issued late in Mehama's reign. I would like to propose that this marks an *early* coin of Mehama, because the tall head is more pronouncedly "tall" and, more important, the bust is bare-headed, lacks any diadem with its hanging diadem ends, and, instead, has ribbons attached to the king's necklace. In these respects, the coin is similar to coins of the Early Anonymous Series or the earliest coins of Khiṅgila. It, therefore, seems likely that this coin was issued some time during Khiṅgila's reign, perhaps before any of his late, crowned coins were issued. Coin 25 provides further strong support for this argument and I will come to this later.

Coin 24 (Göbl type 71), is a variant of the previous coin. It is similar to coin 23 in that the king's bust is bare-headed and the coin features a fire altar at right and a bull/lunar tamgha at left. But it is not clear if there are any ribbons attached to the necklace as the tamgha has occupied that position on the coin. Another key difference from the previous coin is that this one has a crude style and the legend is blundered. It, therefore, seems that, in the early phase of Mehama's coinage, there may have been two different series being issued: a fine-style series epitomized by coin 23 and a crude-style series illustrated by coin 24. We will see a similar division of styles in the later coinage. Perhaps these were the products of different mints or at least were the work of different die-cutters.

Coin 25, previously unpublished, seems to be a transitional issue between the early and the late phases and I believe is an important coin for an understanding of Mehama's coinage. This coin has a fine style similar to that of coin 22, there are ribbons attached to the king's necklace and the letter *ha* in the king's name is well formed. But this coin differs from the previous ones in that the fire altar in the right field has been replaced by the bull/lunar tamgha and the left field is blank. Indeed, it appears that the die originally did have a different element (probably the fire altar) underneath where the tamgha is now, and that there was another element (probably the tamgha) in the left field which was erased from the die. Thus the die was probably similar to the die for coin 23 originally but was then modified. Why it was modified in this way is not clear. It is possible that a decision was made to change the design and an existing die was modified to reflect that change. This coin is therefore a powerful piece of evidence supporting the idea that the coin types with the fire altar and tamgha *preceded* the coin types with fire altar alone. In much the same way as an overstruck coin proves that the overtype was chronologically later than the undertype, it shows that the single-symbol coins came later than the double-symbol coins.

Table 4: Coins of Mehama



Coin 23 (#603.3) "*śāhi mehama*" Göbl type 316, 3.94 g, 29 mm

¹⁵⁹ Private communication.

¹⁶⁰ Thanks to Shailendra Bhandare and Harry Falk for their help with the reading.

¹⁶¹ This is a well-attested name and there was a Magha king with this name; see Gupta, *op. cit.*, p. 50.



Coin 24 (CNG Electronic Auction 110, lot 83) “*śaha mapama*” Göbl type 316 *var.*, 3.42 gm, 29 mm



Coin 25 (665.58) “*śāhi mehama*” Unpublished, 2.88 g, 28 mm



Coin 26 (#655.51) “*śāhi mehama*” Unpublished, 3.15 g, 29 mm



Coin 27 (#449.02) “*śaha mapama*” Göbl type 74, 2.60 g, 28.5 mm

Note: Image of coin 24 reproduced with permission from CNG.

Coins 26 and 27 are the late stage coins of Mehama reflecting the fine and crude styles. Coin 26 is a previously unpublished type that is the fine style version of the late coins. The king now wears a diadem with crescent ornaments and hanging diadem ends. The waviness of the diadem ends recalls the similar treatment of these elements in the last coins of Khiṅgila (see coin 10), the coins of Rājā Lakhāna (coin 14) and especially the coins of Udayāditya (coin 15). Thus these coins appear to be related and may have been issued in roughly the same time frame. The late-stage coin also features only a tamgha at right and no additional element in the left field.

The last coin of Mehama, coin 27, is the familiar “*mepama*” coinage (Göbl type 74), which is just the crude-style version of the

previous coin. This coin has no obvious successor, so it is possible Mehama’s kingdom may have been absorbed into another one.

Where exactly Mehama’s kingdom was is something that is unknown and a matter of some disagreement. In her translation of and commentary on the Schøyen copper scroll, Melzer suggested that Mehama’s realm must have been north of the Hindu Kush mountains. The stupa being celebrated in the inscription was located in the realm of the *tālagānikadevaputraśāhi*, indicating a place called Tālagān. Melzer suggested that this might be a town today called Tālaqān, which is in northern Afghanistan.¹⁶² However, de la Vaissière¹⁶³ has argued persuasively that it was rather the town of Talagang in Pakistan, just north of the Salt Range and south of the Hindu Kush. Although this sort of evidence is hardly conclusive, suppliers of the coins of Mehama have told me that his coins are found south of the Hindu Kush. For example, coin 25 was reportedly found along with a couple of other coins of Mehama near the town of Jalalabad, which is in the Kabul valley. This would support a southern location for Mehama’s kingdom.

The Javūkha Series

Javūkha was the fourth king to be named in the Schøyen copper scroll. The coins with the Brāhmī legend *javūkha* can and have been grouped by some authors with the coins that carry the Bactrian legend *zabocho*. Whether these coins were issued by two different kings (Javūkha and Zabocho) or whether these were all the issues of a single king is a matter that has been discussed and continues to be debated. I would like to argue that these coins were indeed all issues of the same king, and I present new evidence in favour of this argument. I have not been able to define with any clarity the coins that would have preceded Javūkha’s, but present some ideas on their antecedents. The coins of the series are presented in Table 5.

We begin with the coins that carry the Brāhmī legend *śāhi javūkha* and variants thereof. Coin 28 is an example of Göbl type 49 that carries this legend, although the letters *śā* and *hi* are positioned in a very unusual manner. The bust of the king on this coin wears a diadem with the hanging ends and the forehead crescent ornament, so no direct link to the early anonymous coins can be drawn. There are two symbols on the coin: a beribboned club at right and the bull/lunar tamgha at left. Overall, in terms of style, these coins seem to be quite similar to the early coins of Khiṅgila such as coin 7 in Table 2 (Göbl type 61), although they feature crescent tips on the shoulders instead of the wings seen on coin 7. The shoulder crescent tips were a feature of the late Khiṅgila coins such as coin 10 (Göbl type 81), but were not present on the later coins of the Khiṅgila series, such as the coins of “Rājā Lakhāna” and Udayāditya. Javūkha’s coins, therefore, may have been issued sometime late in Khiṅgila’s reign, perhaps contemporaneously with coins such as coin 10 (Göbl type 81) but before coins such as 14 (Rājā Lakhāna) and 15 (Udayāditya).

Table 5: The Javūkha/Zabocho Series



Coin 28 (#656.32) “*śāhi javūkha*” Göbl type 49, 3.16 g, 30 mm

¹⁶² Melzer, *op. cit.*, p. 256.

¹⁶³ de la Vaissière, *op. cit.*, p. 129.



Coin 29 (#644.86) “*šāhi jāūkha*” Göbl type 51, 3.16 g, 29.5 mm



Coin 34 (#327.06) “... *zabocho*” Göbl type 96A, 3.46 g, 23 mm



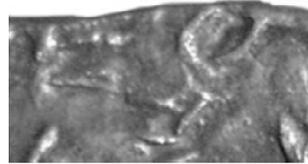
Coin 30 (#616.24) “*jaya šāhi ?*” Göbl type 52, 3.44 g, 29 mm



Coin 35 (#587.12) “*zabocho ...*” Göbl type 106, 3.20 g, 22 mm



Coin 31 (#513.07) “*šāhi jāvūkha*” Göbl type 117, 3.16 g, 20 mm



Coin 36 (#641.22) “*šāhi jāvū(kha)*” Unpublished, 3.04 g, 23 mm



Coin 32 (#513.06) “*šāhi jāvūkha*” Göbl type 117 var, 3.30 g, 21 mm



Coin 37 (private collection) “*mīrosoṇoṣoo oomono*” Göbl type 86, Weight n.a., 31 mm



Coin 33 (#449.01) “... *zabocho*” Göbl type 96, 3.54 g, 23 mm



Coin 38 (British Museum) “*mīrosoṇoṣoo oomono*” Göbl type 86, 3.77 g, 23 mm



Coin 39 (#327.07) “trilo(ka)” Göbl type 115, 3.44 g, 23 mm



Coin 40 (British Museum) “pūrvāditya” Göbl type 92, 3.63 g, 21 mm



Coin 41 (#499.2) “śrī” Göbl type 150, 3.76 g, 27 mm

Note: Image of coin 37 from the online exhibition *Das Anlitz des Fremden* of the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna: <http://pro.geo.univie.ac.at/projects/khm/showcases/showcase8?language=en>, downloaded May 1, 2013.

Images of coins 38 and 40 © Trustees of the British Museum, used by permission.

Coin 29 (Göbl type 51) is very similar to coin 28 in both style and content, but it differs in an important respect: the name of the king is spelled here *jaūkha* rather than *javūkha*. This points to an important conclusion: the name, being a foreign one, did not have a clear spelling in Brāhmī. When considering whether the names Javūkha (or Jaūkha), written in Brāhmī, and Zabocho, written in Bactrian, are the same or different, this is a useful fact to keep in mind. We will return to this point later.

Coin 30 (Göbl type 52) appears to have a blundered legend that Göbl read as *jaya śāhi*. Since the coin does not name a king, we cannot attribute it definitively, but it appears to belong with the previous two coins on stylistic ground, and therefore might tentatively be attributed to Javūkha. Other than the legend, all its other characteristics conform to Javūkha's coins, except that the club in the right field has here been replaced by a conch shell. The significance of this will become apparent when we consider the “Zabocho” coinage.

Coins 31 and 32 are examples of a radically new type introduced by Javūkha, a horseman type inspired perhaps by the horseman type coins of the Gupta kings. Coin 31 (Göbl type 117) features the same club symbol carried by Javūkha's bust type coins. Coin 32 also carries that symbol, but is an unpublished variety with a different legend arrangement. The king's name is inscribed in retrograde letters, as seen in the detail image.

Coins 33-35 are examples of coins distinguished by the presence on them of a legend in Bactrian letters that names a king *zabocho*. The similarity of this name to the name *javūkha* naturally

leads to the question of whether they were really the same name that had to be written differently when using different scripts. To begin with, Brāhmī has no letter for the sound *z*, and the letter *ja* is often used as a substitute. For example, some of the coins of the Western Kshatrapa king Dāmazāda are inscribed in Brāhmī letters with the name *dāmajāda*.¹⁶⁴ We have already seen that the second consonant in the name Javūkha was somewhat ambiguous, since the name is spelled *jaūkha* on some coins, and it is worth noting that this was not caused by a “missing” letter *va*; the spelling was consciously different. Neither Brāhmī nor Bactrian had a letter for the sound *wa*, and it seems entirely possible that the syllable *wū* could be represented by the letter *vū* or *ū* in Brāhmī and *bo* in Bactrian. Thus a strong case can be made for arguing that these coins were all issued by the same king, whose name could perhaps have been Zawūkh or Zawokh. Nicholas Sims-Williams indeed treats *javūkha* and *zabocho* as alternative spellings of the same name.¹⁶⁵

This case can be further strengthened by noting that the horse-rider type is known only for the “two” kings Javūkha and Zabocho. Coin 35 (Göbl type 106) is an example of the Zabocho horse-rider type, which features a conch shell symbol that echoes the one on coin 30, which is probably of Javūkha. The horse-rider coins create a strong link between the coins of these two series.

The one argument against concluding that the coins of Javūkha and Zabocho are issues of the same king is that the bust type coins of Zabocho seem radically different from the bust type coins of Javūkha. Coins 33 and 34 (Göbl types 96 and 96A) are examples of the bust type of the Zabocho coins and it is apparent that they are quite different stylistically from coins 28-30. Apart from the obvious difference in portrait style, the Zabocho coins are on much smaller flans, approximately 23 mm in diameter compared to the roughly 30 mm Javūkha coins. Vondrovec has summarised this argument against the “one king” theory: “All coin types with the ζαβοχο legend seem to belong to a very distinct group with the same style of die-engraving. Their diameter is also considerably smaller than those of the portrait types by Javūkha.”¹⁶⁶ A similar posture is adopted by Errington.¹⁶⁷

Coin 36 is a previously unpublished coin that provides a response to this objection to the identity of Javūkha and Zabocho, as it constitutes an important bridge between the coins of these two groups. The coin has the same small format of the Zabocho coins, the king wears a crown very similar to the one on those coins, and the symbol at right is the double-diamond shape of a thunderbolt, as on coin 34 of Zabocho. But the legend on the coin is in Brāhmī and names Javūkha. Note the similarity of the letter forms with those on coin 32. Thus this coin is clearly an issue of Javūkha, and demonstrates a style and format similar to the Zabocho coins, providing an important new link between the two series.

A final argument in favour of treating Javūkha and Zabocho as the same king is that the coins of the next king in the series, Aduman, also come in two formats, large and small. Coins 37 and 38 (Göbl type 86) are two examples of this king's coins. They carry a club symbol at right very similar to the symbol on Javūkha's coins and they are known in a 31 mm size as well as a 23 mm size. If the differences in the formats of the coins of Javūkha and Zabocho can be explained by their production at different mints, which seems like a reasonable explanation, then these two coins indicate that Aduman inherited at least two of these mints and continued coin production in each using the previous formats. The presence of the club symbol and the existence of these two formats suggest that Aduman indeed followed Javūkha.

Coins 39 (Göbl type 115) and 40 (Göbl type 92) are representative examples of the coins of two more kings who

¹⁶⁴ See Tandon, *op. cit.*, for a detailed discussion.

¹⁶⁵ Nicholas Sims-Williams: *Bactrian Personal Names* (Iranisches Personennamenbuch II/7), Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2010, number 139.

¹⁶⁶ Vondrovec, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

¹⁶⁷ Elizabeth Errington: “Differences in the Patterns of Kidarite and Alkhon Coin Distribution at Begram and Kashmir Smast,” in Michael Alram, *et. al.* (eds): *Coins, Art and Chronology II*, Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2010, pp. 147-168.

belong in the Javūkha series: Triloka (or Bhaloka)¹⁶⁸ and Pūrvvāditya. Both these coins are in the small format of the Zabocho coins and carry the rosette on lotus symbol seen on coin 33. The Triloka/Bhaloka coin has the same portrait style as the Zabocho coin as well, with its sharp, pointed nose. The Pūrvvāditya coin, on the other hand, inherits the snub-nosed style portrait seen on the coins of Aduman. They clearly belong in this series.

These last two coins also share another common feature: a new style of crown with two crescent ornaments. The crown on coin 33 and other coins in the Zabocho series featured a large crescent on the top of the crown in addition to the usual small crescent at the forehead. On the coins of Triloka and Pūrvvāditya the large crescent above seems to have disappeared, but there are now two small crescents ornamenting the diadem, one at the forehead and one further back. This new style of crown then leads directly to the style on the last coins of the series, which were assigned by Göbl to a king named Narendra. Coin 41 (Göbl type 150) is an example of one of these coins. From the analysis here, we see that these coins seem to follow logically from the other coins of the Javūkha series.

Conclusion

In this paper, I have sought to divide the Alchon coinage into at least five different series in order to better understand its evolution. The first series consists of early anonymous coins which cannot be assigned to any individual ruler in the present state of our knowledge. The other four series are anchored by the four kings named in the Schøyen copper scroll inscription: Khīṅgīla, Toramāna, Mehama and Javūkha. Even if, as de la Vaissière maintains in opposition to Melzer’s suggestion, these four kings were not all alive and reigning at the same time, I have argued that it is useful to consider their coinages as parallel, rather than sequential, series. At least three of the series seem to have their origins in the early anonymous coins and so it is quite possible that they evolved independently. Considerations of style allow us to assign various other kings to one or the other of these four series. Each of the series may well have been the output of a separate mint or group of mints.

The purpose of the paper was not to create a new ordering of all known Alchon coins, but only to suggest an approach or framework for doing so. The bigger task lies ahead. I would hope that my paper may make a small contribution to approaching this task.

CLASSIFICATION OF THE REPOUSSÉ GOLD COINS OF MAHENDRADITYA

By Sanjeev Kumar

In JNSI XV, 1987, LS Nigam and RK Singh published a paper entitled ‘Rare Silver and Copper coins of Prasanamatra’, in which they opined “a large number of repousse gold coins has been discovered from the Chattisgarh region of Madhya Pradesh and it’s adjoining areas, such as Orissa and Vidarbha region of Maharashtra”. Even today, 26 years later, we continue to hear about new hoards being found in the same region.

In May 2013, new reports from that region reported that ‘excavations have started on an ancient city buried for 2000 years, which was discovered in 2008 at the Tarighat village in Durg district in Chattisgarh’. According to these reports, continuing excavations at this site are yielding many artifacts, jewelry and coins.¹



Over the past century many scholars have published papers recording discoveries of the repoussé coins from the Mahakosala region of central India but there is a major void when it comes to providing a complete classification of the *Mahendraditya* coins which constitute a major category of the coins from this region. Operating within this void, archeologists and numismatists continue to classify the entire group of the coins with the legend *Sri Mahendraditya* with one broad brush.

From the repoussé coins found so far from this region, there are a total of eight rulers known to exist – Mahendraditya, Kramaditya, Prasannamatra, Varaharaja, Bhavadatta-varmana, Arthapati, Stambha and Nandanaraja. The Garuda (the mount of lord Vishnu) is shown as the device on coins of the first three rulers while the Nandi (mount of lord Shiva) is shown as the device on the coins of the balance of the later rulers. A few rare coins of Prasannamatra also show a Chakra (wheel) as the main device on his coins.²

Scholars have debated the identity of the king who issued the coins with the legend *Mahendraditya* and these debates date back to 1930 when Prayag Dayal attributed these coins as token currency of Kumaragupta I whose *biruda* (imperial title) was *Mahendraditya*. Balchandra Jain attributed these coins to a king ‘not far removed from King Prasannamatra’³ while Nisar Ahmad skips the attribution of these coins by concluding that ‘the coin was struck on a Gupta Model, by a Kosalan ruler’.⁴ Sohoni debated the attribution of these coins to a Kosala King named Mahendra who was defeated by King Samudragupta as written on the Allahabad Pillar inscription and then re-instated by Samudragupta to continue to rule the Mahakosala region, but also concedes that that the *biruda* of *Sri Mahendraditya* actually referred to King Kumaragupta I.⁵

The purpose of this paper is not to add to this debate. One hopes that new discoveries made from new excavations in the region will lead to a clearer picture of the rulers of the Mahakosala region. The purpose of this paper is to provide a full and complete classification system based on the known varieties of the *Mahendraditya* coins. In 1969, Nisar Ahmad proposed a classification system based on whether the Garuda was depicted with a body or without body and further grouped them on the basis of which side the *Shankha* opened.⁶ That classification system is no longer tenable and a new classification is presented below. Additionally, for the first time, this paper sheds light on two new classes of coins with a completely new device in the design - snakes coiled around the Garuda’s neck and body.

The layout of the designs on these coins also closely resembles the design used on copper coins of Chandragupta II, where we see the Garuda prominently featured in a frontal view on the top half of the coin and a legend with the name of the king on the bottom half of the coin.

The script used on these coins uses a box-headed style of characters of the *Brahmi* script prevalent in central India during the 3rd to 6th century and bears the legend *Sri Mahendraditya*.



These coins range in size from 19 mm to 24 mm and weights range from 1.03 g to 1.7 g. The coins are struck in a repoussé style on a

¹⁶⁸ The reading of the name as *Triloka* is by Göbl. In an email, Pfisterer informed me that he reads the name as *Bhaloka*.

thin gold flan with only an obverse design and the reverse is blank. These gold coins always have a beaded border along the rim and show the Garuda bird (which was the royal emblem of the Gupta dynasty) on the top half, seated on a branch with the legend below. The Garuda is depicted in differing styles, sometimes with one or two snakes, sometimes wearing a turban, sometimes with a human body with hair, breasts, arms, legs, stylised feet, beads, ear-rings and in some cases with a full bird body with a big beak, a *cuda* (crest on top of the head), feathers and big claws.

On each of these coins, flanking the Garuda, there is almost always a *Chandra*, the moon, on the left top quadrant of the coin and the *Sūrya*, the Sun, on the top right quadrant.⁷ The Garuda is shown holding a *Chakra* in his right hand. On the left of the Garuda sits a conch shell *Shankha* which, on most coins, opens to the left side and in some rare varieties opens to the right side. On a solitary coin of Class III, Var. H, the Garuda is shown holding a mace. Garuda was the bird that lord Vishnu rode upon. Vishnu is always depicted holding a *Shankha*, lotus flower, *Chakra* and a mace in his hands. Below the legend there is sometimes a solitary letter next to a cluster of dots, single bold dot or a *Kalasha* (a metal vessel to hold water).⁸



Fig. 1 Vishnu on Garuda, Brooklyn Museum, Acc. no. 86.227.140

Coins of Class I and II are extremely rare and are known only from the coins published for the first time in this paper.

The *Mahendraditya* coins are divided into three classes:

CLASS I - Garuda with turban and snake

Variety A - with letter *Va* and 6 dots

Variety B - with letter *Sha* and 7 dots

Variety C - with letter *Sha* and *Kalasha*

CLASS II - Garuda with a big snake around its body

Variety A - with letter *Ru*

Variety B - with letter *Ru* - no sun symbol.

CLASS III - Garuda without a snake

Variety A - 7 dots below legend with letter *Ru*

Variety B - Garuda with *mala*, 7 dots and letter *R*

Variety C - *Kalasha* below legend with letter *Ru*

Variety D - *Sūrya* below legend with letter *Ru*

Variety E - *Kalasha* below legend with letter *Sha*

Variety F - No symbol below legend with letter *Ta*

Variety G - No symbol below legend with letter *Na*

Variety H - No symbol or letter, legend on two lines

The drawing below shows how the single letters appear on the coins.



CLASS I - Garuda with face and a beak-like nose. It wears a turban, and earrings. It is shown with a full breasted body with three-clawed feet. A crescent is on its proper right, the Sun is on its proper left and it holds a stylised *Chakra* in its right hand and a *Shankha* in its left hand. Two snakes are draped around the Garuda's neck. Protruding upwards above the head is the Eagle Crest - *Cuda*. The Garuda sits on a tree branch with round finials at both ends. Below the branch is the legend *Sri Mahendraditya*. Coins of Class I always depict a well-executed and pleasing design. These coins are very rare and so far only known from the two specimens pictured below.

Variety A: Garuda sits on a branch with rounded finials. Below the legend there is a letter *Va* and a six dot grouping. The *Shankha* opens to the left.



Fig.2, Shivlee Collection - 19 mm (all images enlarged)

Variety B: Garuda sits on a branch with rounded finials. Snake coiled around the neck. Crescent moon has a star within. Below the legend there is a letter *Sha* and a *Kalasha*. The *Shankha* opens to the left.



Fig.3, Pankaj Tandon Collection - 17.5 mm

Variety C: At both ends of the branch we can see a forked twig facing upward. A crescent moon is shown with a star within. Below the legend there is a letter *Sha* and a seven-dot grouping. The *Shankha* opens to the left.



Fig.4, Shivlee Collection - 22 mm

CLASS II - Garuda is shown with a face, mouth and a beak like nose. The hair is depicted with beads. The snake covers the full

body of the Garuda and curls its head facing towards it while draped over the left shoulder of the Garuda. The snake has a prominent eye and an open mouth. Two claw-like feet are depicted below the eagle's body. Protruding above the head is the Eagle Crest - *Cuda*. Garuda holds a *Chakra* in its right hand and sits on a branch which is forked at both ends. A *Shankha* is shown in the left field. Legend: *Sri Mahendraditya*.

Variety A: This variety has a crescent moon on the Garuda's proper right and a sun within an incised inner rim.⁹ The letter *Ru* is below the legend. The *Shankha* opens to the left.



Fig.5a, Shivlee Collection – 21 mm Fig. 5b, Shivlee – 22 mm

Variety B: This variety has a crescent moon on the Garuda's proper right but does not show the Sun. The letter *Ru* is below the legend. 22mm. The *Shankha* opens to the left.



Fig.6, Shivlee Collection – 22 mm

CLASS III – Garuda does not have a snake wrapped around its neck or body. It is shown with a distinctive face, a bold beak-like nose and beaded hair or sometimes a *mala* (garland). In some cases feathers can be seen on the body, which has prominent legs and feet that look like boots. The Garuda holds a *Chakra* in its right hand and a *Shankha* is shown on its left. Both the crescent moon and the sun are visible. Protruding above the head is the eagle crest - *Cuda*. Legend: *Sri Mahendraditya*.

Variety A: Garuda has boot-like feet, with long claws and is perched on a branch forked at both ends. Below the legend there is a cluster of seven dots and the letter *Ru*. The *Shankha* opens to the left.



Fig.7, Shivlee Collection – 20 mm

Variety B: Garuda's body is shown as big round thighs and wears a *mala*. It has claws and which sits on a branch with round finials at both ends. Below legend there is a cluster of seven dots and the letter *Ru*. The *Shankha* opens to left.



Fig.8, Shivlee Collection – 20 mm

Variety C: Garuda shown with beaded hair style; its body is depicted with rounded thighs and stick feet and sits on a branch which is forked at both ends. Below legend there is a *Kalasha* (metal pot to hold holy water) and the letter *Ru*. The *Shankha* opens to the left.



Fig.9a, Shivlee Collection – 20 mm Fig.9b Shivlee – 24 mm

Variety D: Garuda shown with beaded hair style, its body is depicted with rounded thighs and stick feet and sits on a branch which is forked at both ends. Below the legend there is a single round dot (*Sūrya*) and the letter *Ru*. The *Shankha* opens to both the right and the left.



Fig.10a, Shivlee Collection – 21 mm Fig.10b, Shivlee – 20 mm

Variety E: Garuda shown with beaded hair style, its body is shown with feathers and sits on a branch which is forked at both ends. The crescent moon shows a star within. Below the legend there is a *Kalasha* (pitcher) and the letter *Sha*. The *Shankha* opens to the right.



Fig.11, Shivlee Collection – 20 mm

Variety F: Garuda shown with a prominent *cuda* on top of its head, with eyes and a long beak-nose. Beaded hairstyle continues to form a *mala* which covers a rounded body and feet with claws. It sits on a short thick branch. The crescent moon is visible on its right, however the sun is absent on its left. Below the legend there

is no device, no dots and no *Kalasha* and just the letter *Ta*. The *Shankha* opens to the right.



Fig.12, Shivlee Collection – 22 mm

(The image above shows both the obverse & reverse of the repoussé coin).

Variety G: Garuda almost resembles a cartoon figure where the spokes of the *chakra* almost look like fingers of a hand. It shows a beaded hairstyle which continues on to form into a *mala*. The rounded body is shown with stick feet and no claws. It sits on a curved branch which is forked at both ends. Below the legend there is no device, no dots, no *Kalasha* and just the letter *Na*. The *Shankha* opens to the left. 1.30 g.¹⁰



Fig.13, Classical Numismatic Gallery India Auction 7, Lot 63 broad flan, size not available

Variety H: Garuda shown with a beaded hairstyle, sharp long beak nose and wide outspread wings. It holds a *chakra* in its right hand and a *mace* in its left hand. The rounded body is shown with boot-like feet with claws. It sits on a branch which is forked at both ends. Below the branch, the legend is written on two lines: *Sri Mahendra* on the first line and *ditya* on the second line. The script is not box style as found on other coins. There is no device such as the cluster of dots, *Kalasha* or *Sūrya* and no solitary letter under the legend.¹¹



Fig.14, MGM Museum Raipur, MP. Size not available

No doubt with time more coins will be found and it is possible that additional varieties will be discovered. However, the above classification is complete as of the time of the publication of this paper and comprehensively covers all known varieties of these *Sri Mahendraditya* coins known or published to date. It is hoped that, with the publication of this paper, the various auction houses and researchers will refer to the expanded classification of varieties

listed above rather than lumping all these coins under a broad catch all group.

Kramaditya Repoussé Coins: In 1960 Balchandra Jain published three extremely rare coins with the legend *Sri Kramadityasya* which were found in a hoard along with forty six coins with the legend *Sri Mahendraditya*.¹² All three coins also featured the solitary letter *Ru* under the legend, similar to the coins of *Sri Mahendraditya*.

Another specimen, in a private collection, of such a coin with the legend of *Sri Kramadityasya* is shown below:



Fig.15, Private Collection, Size not available.

To a major extent, these *Sri Kramadityasya* coins follow the same layout and design as the coins with *Mahendraditya*.¹³ Some important features and differences of these *Sri Kramadityasya* coins as compared to the *Mahendraditya* coins are:

Legend	<i>Sri Mahendraditya</i>	<i>Sri Kramadityasya</i>
Size	19 mm – 24 mm	17 mm
Weight	1.03 g - 1.07 g	1.30 g -1.33 g
Snakes	Yes in Class I & II	No snakes
Symbols on top half	<i>Chakra, Shankha, mace, sun, moon</i>	<i>Chakra, Shankha, moon</i>
Symbols below legend	Single bold dot, 6 or 7 dots cluster, <i>Kalasha</i>	Two dots.
Letter below legend	<i>Va, Sha, Ru, Na, Ta,</i>	<i>Ru</i>

While a conclusion on the attribution cannot be solely based on these legends, one could possibly draw a straight correlation from the *biruda* (imperial titles) found on these repoussé coins to the imperial titles used by the Gupta kings who ruled and held sway over that region during the same time period. The *biruda* of King Kumaragupta I (AD 414-455) was *Mahendraditya* and the *biruda* used by Skandagupta (AD 455-467) was *Kramaditya* which was also used by Ghatotkachagupta on his coins and inscriptions. Ghatotkachagupta served as a provincial governor under his father, Kumaragupta I.

With the new discoveries and excavations in that region, we look forward to finding new inscriptions and conclusive evidence which can then help us provide more clarity to the attribution for these magnificent coins.

Acknowledgement

I should like to thank Dr Dilip Rajgor for his help in reading the letters on the various coin.

Notes and References:

¹ 2500 year old city discovered in Chattisgarh, Times of India, March 13, 2013. The image of a coin from Class III, Var. B was featured in this news story.

²JNSI XV, 1988, p. 30, “Rare silver & copper coins of *Prasannamatra*”.

³ JNSI XL, 1979, Balchandra Jain, “New hoards of repoussé gold coins”.

⁴JNSI XXXIII, p. 115, Nisar Ahmad, “On some repoussé coins”.

⁵JNSI XLV, 1983, SV Sohoni, "The repoussé pieces of Mahendraditya etc".

⁶JNSI XXXI, p. 160, Nisar Ahmad, "Classification of the repoussé gold coins of Mahendraditya".

⁷This depiction of the Sun and the Moon is common in Gupta period iconography. See *The Śāmalājī Viśvarūpa; A Major Contribution to the Development of Multiple Iconography in Western India*, Chap.3, T.S.Maxwell, Oxford University Press, 1988.

⁸ The significance of the letter under the legend has not yet been conclusively determined and we find similar letters on a few types of Gupta dynasty coins. Some scholars have conjectured it to be the name of the issuing king or the name of the town where the mint was located. It is important to note that coins of the *Prasannamatra* or *Nala* kings however do not show any solitary letters under the legend. Jain further suggests in JNSI XL, that 'the letters may be numerals denoting the regnal years of the issue of the coins as there was a general custom prevailing in the South Kosala (and also in other parts) to date the events in the regnal years of the ruling king.'

⁹ In Gupta iconography Śiva is usually shown seated between Candra and Sūrya. See *The Śāmalājī Viśvarūpa*; 1988.

¹⁰ Classical Numismatic Gallery, India. Auction 07, Lot 63. Size not listed.

¹¹ This coin (Class III, Variety H) was presented in a paper by Balchandra Jain, "New hoards of repoussé gold coins", JNSI XL, 1979, and covers the Kulia, Madhya Pradesh hoard. Jain's description is very minimal and limited to "besides minor change in symbols flanking the figure of the winged Garuda, the two line legend *Sri-Mahendra* is in first line and *ditya* in second...". He describes the size as "somewhat smaller than other coins" ... Coin assumed to be part of the MGM museum cabinet, Raipur, MP.

¹² JNSI XXII, 1960, pg 184, "Hitherto unknown repoussé coins of Kramaditya".

¹³ Out of the five *vaishnava* symbols the sun symbol is missing on these coins. It is possible that other varieties may be found with the sun symbol prominently depicted on the coins in the future.

AN UNEXPECTED TIBETAN 10 SRANG COIN

By Wolfgang Bertsch and David Holler



Fig. 1

Year 16-22. Reverse: 2 engraved over 3, 10 engraved over *bcu*.
Diameter: 32.5 mm
Collection David Holler



Fig. 1a

Enlarged section of the reverse of the coin illustrated in figure 1, showing the overdate and the figure "10" engraved above the word *bcu*

The Tibetan 10 Srang issue which was introduced in 1948 are the circulating coins with the highest denomination struck in Tibet. They replaced the previously issued banknotes of the same denomination and were struck in an alloy which contains only about 10% silver.

Several Tibetan 10 srang coins are known which were struck with reverse dies featuring re-engraved dates, also referred to as "overdates". However, a 10 srang coin which features both an altered date and a re-engraved denomination has not been previously recorded (fig. 1).

The background which may explain the existence of the 10 srang coin illustrated as fig. 1 can be reconstructed as follows: towards the end of the year 16-22 (AD 1948) the Tibetan mint had already prepared reverse dies for the striking of slightly redesigned 10 srang coins. Apart from the change of the date from 16-22 to 16-23, the denomination of the coin was changed from *srang bcu* to *srang 10*, using figures instead of the word *bcu* ("ten") in the second line of text which is placed above the two jewel-disgorging mongooses. New obverse dies were prepared which feature a moon to the left and the sun to the right of mount Kailash (Fig. 4).

Probably during the last month of the year 16-22 the mint may have been instructed to produce a certain amount of coins with the date 16-22. This order may have taken the mint by surprise. All the reverse dies of the coins struck earlier in 16-22 had probably been destroyed or had been ground down in order to serve for the engraving of the new dies for the coins dated 16-23.¹⁶⁹ Therefore, one of the die engravers may have had the idea of changing one of the new reverse dies with the date 16-23 in order to make it suitable to be used to strike coins with the date 16-22. For this purpose he engraved the figure "2" over the figure "3" of the date and engraved the figure "10" over the word *bcu* on the reverse die. By mistake this re-engraved reverse die was matched with one of the new obverse dies with moon to the left and sun to the right, reserved for the issue of the year 16-23, or the engraver did not care to engrave a sun over the moon of the new obverse die. The resulting coin was like the one which is illustrated as fig. 1.

Since the 10 srang coins bearing the date 16-23 which are struck with the obverse die featuring sun and moon are quite rare, we can presume that coins struck from these two dies were only produced for a short time, most probably late in the year 16-23 (fig. 4). The large majority of the 10 srang coins which were produced during 16-23 are struck from obverse dies with two suns (fig. 3), the same as those which were used for the 10 srang coins with the date 16-22 (fig. 2). Most probably many obverse dies from the issue of the year 16-22 were left over at the end of that year and those which were still in good condition were used for the striking of 10 srang coins with the new date 16-23. Only when all these dies were not serviceable any more, were the newly designed obverse dies with moon and sun put into use towards the end of the year, and in the following years they were used for all additional 10 srang issues which bear the dates 16-24, 16-25 and 16-26.



¹⁶⁹ Several obverse and reverse dies of the 10 srang coinage are illustrated in a publication by Zhu Jinzhong et. al., p. 219-221. Reverse dies dated 16-22 and 16-23 are conspicuously absent among the illustrated dies which allows us to conclude that none of them had survived since they were destroyed or re-used after having been ground down. Cf. Zhu Jinzhong (chief editor), Wang Haiyan, Wang Jiafeng, Zhang Wuyi, Wu Hanlin, Wang Dui [dbang 'dus] and Tsering Pincuo: *Zhong guo xi zang qian bi* [The Money of Chinese Tibet] Xi zang zi zhi ou qian bi xue hui [Tibet Autonomous Region Numismatic Society], Zhong hua shu ju, Beijing 2002.

Fig. 2
Year 16-22. Weight: 16.60 g. Diam: 32.7 – 32.8 mm.
Reverse: denomination given as srang 10.
Collection W.Bertsch



Fig. 3
Year 16-23. Weight: 16.67 g. Diam: 32.5 mm.
Reverse: denomination written as srang bcu.
Collection W. Bertsch



Fig. 4
Scarce variety, dated 16-23 with moon and sun on obverse. Diam.:
32 mm
Collection David Holler

SOME FRENCH INDIAN COINS FROM THE DAVID FORE COLLECTION¹⁷⁰



Arcot coinage, struck at Pondicherry: nazarana-style broad-flan rupee, 33 mm, in the name of Shah 'Alam II, AH 1183 year 9, struck for Mahé (KM 16).

It is reported that broad-flan rupees, with full legends visible, were struck at Pondicherry for Mahé. See in particular the article "Le monnayage de Mahé" by Daniel Cariou in *Numismatique Asiatique* Numéro 4 (Dec. 2012). Such rupees as the present one and those following below, however, never seem to turn up with the normal signs of circulation so may have been used solely or primarily as presentation pieces.



As previous coin but dated AH 1185 year 10, 33 mm



As previous coins but dated AH 1198 year 32, 33 mm



As previous coins but dated AH 1233 year 58, 32 mm



Half rupee in the name of 'Alamgir II, year 7 (KM 11)



Half rupee in the name of Shah 'Alam II, year 4 struck from half rupee dies (KM 14)



Quarter rupee in the name of Ahmad Shah Bahadur, year 3 (KM 6), struck from quarter rupee dies



Silver fanon, Pondicherry, 1720 issue, obverse crown over fleur de lis, reverse fleur de lis within ornate cross design (KM 41)

¹⁷⁰ These coins are due to feature in the forthcoming auction of the David Fore collection, part III, in London, 26 September 2013 (Baldwins Auction).

