



ONS NEWS

British Museum Study Day

Oriental Numismatic Society members met for a day seminar at the British Museum on 21 February 2015. Several papers were heard and there were stimulating conversations around the tea and coffee.

François Joyeaux was first, speaking about three unusual trial pieces found in the collection of René Mercier. Mercier worked in Indo-China between 1927 and 1946 but the trials were of types issued in 1907-8. François pointed to some very unusual features of the metal and argued these trials were exploring new production techniques in the 1930s.

The second paper was by Lyce Jankowski who spoke about her work with the East Asian collection of coins in the Ashmolean Museum. This was involving the careful sorting and recording of approximately 15,000 coins. And before lunch Robert Bracey gave a short talk about the coins of Ganapati Naga.

After lunch Howard Simmons presented a group of Indian and Pakistani tokens produced at the mints (see some examples below). Some were used as passes, others were marked with different values of currency. All of them were a reminder of the irony that the one place you cannot allow people to carry money is inside the mint. So for simple things like running a canteen the mint would issue tokens that could be used instead. The final talk was a presentation by Shailendra Bhandare on the iconography of Bhārat Mātā (Mother India).



ONS meeting Pakistan



From left to right: Muhammad Yousaf, Tariq Nauroze, Dr Qaisar Ejaz Mughal, Dr Syed Anwer, Mirza Shafqat Mehmood, Haroon Tareen, Sarkees Najamu

The bi-annual meeting of the Pakistan Chapter of ONS was held on 8 November 2014 at "1969", a local restaurant located in a beautiful wooded area of Islamabad. The meeting was attended by local members. Some unique coins owned by members were discussed in the meeting. The secretary of the chapter drew the attention of the members to the recent discovery of an Ummayyad dirham from a hitherto unlisted mint of Sind. The location of the mint was debated and most members were of the view that the mint must have been located farther east than Deebul and probably represented a trading outpost manned by Arab traders. Dr Kaisser Mughal discussed one of his Kushan staters which, in his view, contained an unusual mark. He agreed to share the image at www.zeno.ru to elicit the opinion of international experts. The origin of dammas (Habbarid) was also debated.

The meeting ended with a sumptuous lunch. An image of participants outside the meeting venue can be seen above.



Recent ONS events in India - A report compiled by Mahesh Kalra

The Oriental Numismatic Society's South Asian chapter saw a flurry of activity with two ONS meetings, one in Mumbai and another in New Delhi, along with two lectures in Mumbai held in association with other organisations. The ONS meeting in New Delhi was held on 21 December 2014 at the Connaught Hotel with the hospitality courtesy of Mr Shatrughan Saravagi of Classical Numismatic Gallery, Ahmedabad. The logistical arrangements for the meeting were made by Mr Goga Jain, President of the Delhi Coin Society, which collaborated with the ONS for conducting the meeting. The meeting was chaired by Dr Sanjay Garg and saw the presentation of five papers, one by Prof. Pratipal Bhatia on 'Adivaraha Coins found from the excavations at Ahichchhatra' with some insights on the types of Indo-Sasanian prototypes of the Gurjara Pratihara ruler, Bhoja I. Dr Akshay Jain presented a paper on 'Horseman gold coin types of Kumara Gupta' which showcased a new way of classifying these much sought-after coins. Karan Singh presented a paper on 'The first numismatic depiction of Durga' which showed the promise of new findings on the use of Durga's icon on Indian coins. Dr Abhishek Chatterjee presented a paper on 'Copper coins of Akbar from Agra mint: a typological classification', depicting the various types of coins from this central Mughal mint under a very important ruler. Mahesh Kalra presented his paper 'The birth of the 'New' Bombay Mint: c. 1790-1830 - The role of Matthew Boulton in the modernisation of Indian coinage' to highlight Matthew Boulton's role in the modernisation of Indian mints in the nineteenth century. The meeting was well attended by ONS members from all over India, including new members from north India who liked the idea of discussing coins from an academic perspective. This was reflected in the long question and answer session where some interesting questions were put to the presenters of the papers.



The expectant audience listening to Mahesh Kalra's introduction



Prof. Pratipal Bhatia taking questions from the audience



Gurprit Singh presenting his new book on the Sikh coins of Amritsar mint



Many of those attending the New Delhi meeting including: Dr Sanjay Garg, Nurussaba Garg, Mahesh Kalra, Jeevandeep Singh, Dr Ashok Jain, Dr Akshay Jain, Madhav Agarwal, Lovleen Seth, Raju Bhatt, Abhay Agrawal and Jagmohan Seth

The ONS meeting in Mumbai was held on 25 January 2015 at St. Xavier's Auditorium in South Mumbai, courtesy of Mr Farokh Todywala of Todywala Auctions. The meeting saw four presentations by ONS members. Amol Bankar spoke on 'Recent sigillographic findings from Kālañjara Fort' with a discussion on important sigillographic discoveries relating to the Vakataka dynasty from the ancient period of the Deccan. Mahesh Kalra presented a paper 'Charting the Ilahi mints of Shah Jahan c. 1628-1658', charting the extant coins in various published catalogues regarding their relative numbers and regnal years in which the mints issued coins with the Ilahi months during Shah Jahan's reign. Mohit Kapoor presented an interesting paper on the Ganpati-Pantapradhan coins of Miraj with a very good historical background and suggestions concerning the striking of the coinage. Shailen Bhandare gave an interesting presentation on the Rohilla coinage with a detailed historical study of the clan's genealogy as well as the mints of Rohilkhand in the second half of the eighteenth century. The Meeting ended with Dr Bhandare's felicitation by ONS members from Rajkot, on whose behalf Mr Husain Makda presenting him with a rare edition of a gold mohur issued in his name! The step was appreciated by all members with a standing ovation in view of Dr Bhandare's track record of mentoring newer numismatists from India



Those attending the meeting at St. Xavier's Auditorium

The next event organised by the ONS was a lecture by Dr Stewart Gordon held in association with the Asiatic Society of Mumbai (established 1804) in the Society's colonial-style Darbar Hall in

South Mumbai on the evening of 4 February 2015. Dr Stewart Gordon, a senior researcher with the Centre for South Asian Studies, University of Michigan, has been researching eighteenth-century Maratha 'Rumaal' documents at the Peshwai Daftar, Pune, India for over four decades. He has to his credit eight works on South Asian History among which he has authored the 'New Cambridge History of India: Marathas: 1630-1818'. He spoke on the topic 'Economic relations between Khandesh, Malwa and Poona in the eighteenth century: special reference to mints and revenue records'. His talk was well attended with the managing committee of the Asiatic Society and ONS representatives, Shailendra Bhandare and Mahesh Kalra, welcoming him. The lecture was attended by a large number of ONS members and the Asiatic Society as the topic appealed to persons of varied interests: historians, numismatists, epigraphists (Modi script is used for Maratha documents), students, researchers and lay members. Dr Gordon began his talk by deliberating on the structure of the Pune Peshwai Daftar archives, going into their history, legacy and current research. He then spoke of how the archives were the best source of getting revenue figures and dwelt on the thorough nature of the Maratha administration, a far cry from the nineteenth-century colonial impressions which were biased against it. He also made an attempt to depict the nature of Maratha rule in the eighteenth century with direct rule under the Peshwas. His lecture also dispelled earlier myths about the poor monetisation of the Maratha economy, by citing rich historical documents citing monetisation under the Peshwas.

Dr Stewart also spoke on the role played by opium cultivation in financing the revenues of eighteenth-century Malwa as a purely cash crop in the region. The lecture was sprinkled with various anecdotes of his experiences at the Peshwa Daftar and elsewhere relating to his research. However, he also enquired and sought information from the numismatists about his research findings. Dr Bhandare supported his findings about Maratha history and quoted how he, too, had tracked the monetisation of Maratha economy through its coinage. The lecture raised many questions among the audience (a sure sign of a good lecture) and one was about whether Dr Stewart had noticed any specific names given to regional Maratha rupees as observed by Maheswari-Wiggins. Dr Stewart replied he had not seen the documents from that angle and would bear that in mind in the future. The lecture ended on a high note with the members of the audience getting their copies of 'Cambridge History of Marathas' signed by him. Dr Stewart was also presented with a set of JONS of 2014 by Dr Bhandare on behalf of the ONS. Dr Stewart had been personally brought from Pune by ONS Member, Pundalik Baliga, who drove him all the way there and back as a goodwill gesture.



Dr Stewart Gordon with Mahesh Kalra and Pundalik Baliga, prior to the meeting

The ONS also supported the first Oswal Lecture Series sponsored by Oswal Auctions. Robert Bracey was officially hosted by the Mumbai-based auction house and spoke on the topic 'The production of Kushan coins and gold supplies: some simple modelling'. The lecture was held in the Shantidhoot Hotel in

Dadar, a central suburb of Mumbai, on the evening of 11 February 2015. The lecture was well attended by ONS members along with a host of archaeologists from the Deccan College, Pune. Robert spoke on the need for die studies in the Indian context and illustrated its use for modern numismatics by contrasting the number of dies vis-à-vis extant specimens in the British Museum. He also elaborated on the Kushan chronology and their major coin types and then elaborated on the die studies conducted on the coins of individual rulers in the series. His talk, peppered with numbers, was a good draw for students but met with a fair amount of scepticism about the probability of the study being based on a flawed premise by Dilip Rajgor and Kurush Dalal. Robert conceded the possibility but stood his ground on the basic premise which was based on die studies. Mr Girish Veera of Oswal Auctions thanked Robert for taking time out for the lecture and also treated a select group of guests along with Robert to a gourmet vegetarian meal at the Aahar Hotel, located in the vicinity of the venue.



Robert Bracey and shadow during his talk

ONS-SA meeting Bangalore.

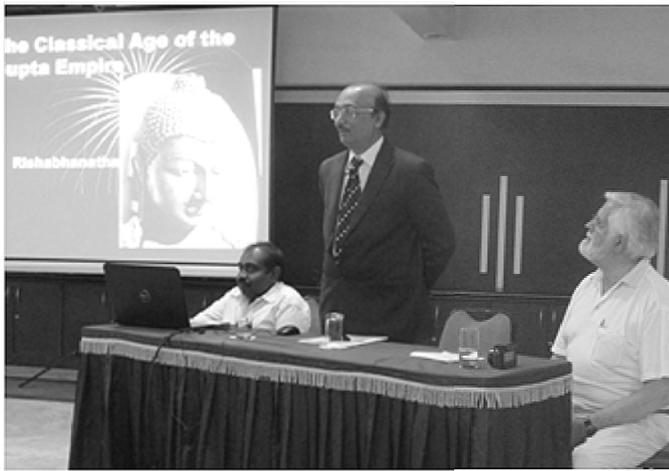
Coinciding with the 6th edition of the National Numismatic Exhibition, the Oriental Numismatic Society – South Asia, held its first meeting in Bangalore on Sunday 22 February 2015 with the presentation of 6 papers on various aspects of Indian numismatics.

As the present Regional Secretary of the ONS for South Asia, Mahesh A. Kalra, was preparing for a three months Ph. D. study tour to Europe, I had the honour of chairing this meeting. After the words of welcome, special attention was drawn to the educational numismatic exhibition, "Indian heritage through coins", which had been set-up on behalf of Kirti and Hardik Parekh of Falcon Coins Gallery in Bangalore. It was a highly professional traveling exhibition, run by volunteers, which sought to create awareness among schoolchildren and students regarding the numismatic, historical and cultural heritage of the sub-continent, for which the organisers deserved our sincere appreciation.

The first paper was presented by Prashant Kulkarni on the Golden Age of the Gupta dynasty and its successors, no doubt a pleasing series of coins which showed the highlights of numismatic art and the originality of the design and motifs.

During a short interlude Rajendar Maru presented a Certificate of Honour to the undersigned: a gesture well appreciated.

The next presentation was by Raman Sankaran on 'Unknown aspects of Pallava coinage'. The number of Pallava coins which have surfaced during recent years, particularly from the area of Kanchipuram, show a bewildering variety in motifs and weights. All coins seem to have been made of an alloy known as potin, but as there is no particularly recognisable weight standard it is unclear how they may have functioned in day-to-day economic life. Raman presented a well-researched paper, but also made it clear that many questions about this series still remained.



Prashant Kulkarni during his talk on Gupta coinage, with Purnanand Sanket and Jan Lingen

Beena Sarasan presented a paper on the silver *Tara* or *Tāram* which circulated in Southern India, and also introduced some copper coins also known as *Tāram* and which had been attributed by Michael Mitchiner to the Ummatur Chiefs of Kongu and prior to that referred to as Kongu Chera coins. Beena Sarasan, however, re-appraised these coins now as being of the Malabar/Cochin area. (For a detailed discussion see JONS 215, 45-50).



Beena Sarasan giving her talk on *Tāram*

The *Shivrais* paisa from Southern India was the topic of Mohit Kapoor, who tried to point out, on historical grounds, that they could not have been issues of the Marathas of Tanjore, but must be attributed to localities controlled by Shivaji, such as Gingee, Arni, etc. The paper gave rise to a lively discussion, particularly as some argued that they were more often found from the Tanjore area.

The favourite subject of Purnanand Sanket is the coinage of Haider Ali and Tipoo Sultan. This time he showed some extremely rare silver coins of Calicut/Feroke mint. In his presentation he focussed on the issue of a rupee with the mint-name Feroke. This coin is of rather crude design, but shows in all details a correct legend and date and, therefore, is assumed to be an authentic issue.

With the last two papers, 'The Coinage of Tranquebar, a Danish settlement' and 'A search for the Mint of Nagapatnam', the undersigned concluded the academic session of this successful ONS-SA meeting.

The meeting also saw an Oriental Numismatic Society South Asia membership drive which helped the ONS-SA Membership, thanks to Purnanand Sanket, Gautam Jantakal and Balaji RB, officially surpass 210 members. Thanks are due to all participants, but particular to the organisers of the National Numismatic Exhibition at Bangalore, Rajendar Maru and Archie Maru, for their co-operation and hospitality to provide the accommodation for this meeting and who promised that they would co-operate in future to

make the meeting of the ONS-SA in Bangalore an annual feature, coinciding with the NNE.

Jan Lingen

New Members

General Region

Interests: Indonesian local coinages and Chinese cash

New and Recent Publications

Those of you interested in the medals of British India will be aware of ONS member Robert Puddester's excellent 2002 publication *Medals of British India, Volume One: Commemorative and Historical Medals from 1750-1947*, published by Spink, London. Robert's second medal book has now been published, this time by Dix, Noonan Webb, also of London. This second volume is entitled *Medals of British India: The Story of the Army of India Medal and the Medal Roll of the East India Company's Land Forces*. For more details of this 559 page book and a review of it see www.ArmyofIndia.com

From Bactria to Taprobane, Selected Works of Osmund Boparachchi,

Volume I *Central Asian and Indian Numismatics* (xiii, 701 pages)

Volume II *Art History and Maritime Trade* (xiii, 466 pages)

Manohar Publishers and Distributors, New Delhi, 2015

ISBN 978-93-5098-069-2. Price 3500 Rs (vol. I); 3000 Rs (vol. 2)

Volume I includes six articles on Pre-Bactrian Numismatics, twenty two articles on Bactrian and Indo-Greek Numismatics, eight articles on Indo-Scythian, Indo-Parthian and Kushan Numismatics, and three articles on the Cultural Heritage of Afghanistan

Volume II includes seven articles on Central Asian and Indian Art, three articles on South Indian and Sri Lankan Art, and eight articles on Maritime Trade in the Indian Ocean.

Black and white and colour illustrations appear throughout and several papers which originally appeared in French are here translated into English for the first time.

Numismatic Digest, vol. 38 (2014), IIRNS Publications Pvt.Ltd, contains the following articles:

Devenda Handa: "Coins from Maheshwar"

Wilfried Pieper: "Earliest Garuda and Vaiṣṇava deities on ancient Indian coins"

Jee Therattil: "The etymology of Muziris"

B.U. Abels: "Two coins of Kosikīputra Sātakarṇi"

Amarendra Nath: "A unique portrait sealing of Āshādhamitra"

Dr Om Prakash Lal Srivastava: "Newly discovered copper seal of Rājāmitra from Kauśāmbī"

Pankaj Tandon: "The coins of Purugupta"

Robert Bracey: "Amirs of Sind coins in Rajasthan"

K.K. Maheshwari: "A plea to give Bhinmmala Drama its due place"

John Deyell: "A new Qunduz hoard sheds light on fiat coinages along medieval India's northwestern trade routes"

Karan Singh: "New variety of horseman type quarter tanka of Muhammad bin Sam"

Jan Lingen: "The light of magnanimity extinguished"

Sanjay Garg: "Persian couplets on the coins and seals of Nur Jahan"

Devendra Handa & M.K. Gupta: "A new unattributable anonymous Chhatrapati paisa"

Jee Therattil: "Kochi issues with initial of Haider Ali"

Issue 12 of *Numismatique Asiatique* (December 2014) is devoted to “Monnaies siamoises du Musée de la Monnaie de Paris”.

“On the portraits of the Samarqandian kings on Sogdian bronze coins” by M. Fedorov & A. Kuznetsov, in *Iran* LII, pp 125-132, published by The British Institute of Persian Studies.

Corrigendum

Two illustrations were inadvertently omitted from Wolfgang Hahn’s article on the coins of Ousanas I and WZB, published in JONS 221. They are shown below. Our apologies to the author for this oversight.



Coins of Ousanas I and WZB



Silver coins of very doubtful authenticity

Articles

ADDITIONAL EXAMPLES OF MEDIEVAL ISLAMIC COPPER-ALLOY WEIGHTS

By Warren C. Schultz

In a recent article, Tony Goodwin deftly summarised the state of research regarding Islamic copper-alloy weights found in the eastern Mediterranean region.¹ These objects come in many shapes, and a systematic typology was established by Lionel Holland in 1986.² They most likely date from the Fatimid era and, in terms of metrology, appear to be based on standards of around 4.2 g for a *dīnār* and 2.9 g for a *dirham*. Goodwin concluded his article with these words: “This article has only scratched the surface of what is a complex field, and my hope is that it will

stimulate others to carry forward research and correct some of my errors. Holland has provided an excellent foundation for the typology and weight standards found in Israel, but comparable data is needed from Syria, Lebanon, and Jordan, and excavation finds must also be properly recorded and illustrated. *However, perhaps the most urgent and easily achieved task is for more inscribed weights from existing collections to be read and published* (emphasis added).³

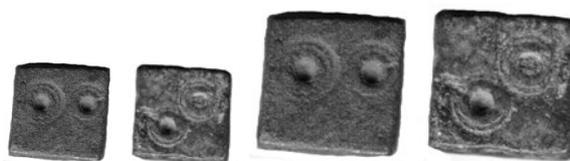
Towards that desired end, this note provides a catalogue of 27 such weights. They are part of a larger lot of objects recently made available to me for study by Mr Alfredo De La Fé of AgoraAuctions.com. Of these 27 specimens, 26 are brick shaped and one is a discoid. The discoid bears an inscription, as do four of the brick-shaped objects. Two of the brick-shaped artifacts bear the “birdseye” design sometimes found on these objects. The remaining twenty brick-shaped pieces are unmarked. Of the five objects bearing an inscription, objects 4 and 7 both feature the word *imrān*. Sometimes thought to be a name, Goodwin has suggested that may be a statement of quality or reliability.⁴ The inscriptions for items 3, 5 and 6 are partial and indecipherable.

Catalogue of Objects 1-7

The typological categories are those established by Holland. All weights are in grams.

Brick-shaped with birdseye design on both faces

1. 5.45 g 12x12x4 mm. Two birdseyes on each face.(2 images: *SchultzJONS-1a* and *SchultzJONS-1b*).



2. 2.85 g 9x9x4 mm. One birdseye on each face. (2 images: *SchultzJONS-2a* and *SchultzJONS-2b*)

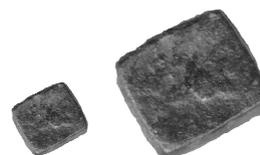


Brick-shaped with inscription on one face

3. 5.71 g 12x9x6 mm. Trace inscription. (1 image: *SchultzJONS-3*)



4. 2.88 g 9x8x6 mm. Inscription: *imrān*. (1 image: *SchultzJONS-4*)



5. 2.65 g 8x8x4 mm. Trace inscription. (1 image: *SchultzJONS-5*)

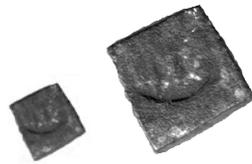
¹ Goodwin, Tony. “Medieval Islamic Copper-Alloy Money Weights from Bilād al-Shām.” *Israel Numismatic Research* 7 (2012): 167-180.

² Holland, Lionel. “Islamic Bronze Weights from Caesarea.” *ANS Museum Notes* 31 (1986): 171-201. C.f. his *Weights and Weight-Like Objects from Caesarea Maritima*. Hadera, Israel: 2009.

³ Goodwin 2012, pp. 175-76.

⁴ Goodwin 2012, p. 172.

6. 2.03 g 9x6x5 mm. Trace inscription. (1 image: *SchultzJONS-6*)



Discoid with inscription on one face

7. 1.40 g 6x3 mm. Inscription: `imrā(n). (1 image: *SchultzJONS-7*)



List of remaining objects (not pictured). All are unmarked and brick-shaped.

- 8. 5.67 g 12x9x5 mm
- 9. 2.95 g 17x7x4 mm
- 10. 2.91 g 8x7x5 mm
- 11. 2.91 g 9x9x4 mm
- 12. 2.90 g 9x7x4 mm
- 13. 2.87 g 9x8x3 mm
- 14. 1.91 g 9x8x3 mm
- 15. 1.81 g 8x8x2 mm
- 16. 1.48 g 7x6x3 mm
- 17. 1.48 g 7x6x3 mm
- 18. 1.46 g 7x6x3 mm
- 19. 1.45 g 7x5x4 mm
- 20. 1.42 g 8x7x2 mm
- 21. 1.41 g 8x8x2 mm
- 22. 1.36 g 5x5x4 mm
- 23. 1.34 g 7x6x2 mm
- 24. 1.34 g 8x5x3 mm.
- 25. 1.24 g 8x7x2 mm
- 26. 0.98 g 7x6x1.5 mm
- 27. 0.93 g

ON THE EARLIEST COINS OF KHACHEN (QARABĀGH)

By Alexander V. Akopyan (Moscow)

Thanks to the recent article by Vyach. S. Kuleshov, devoted to the previously unidentified coins of the eleventh and twelfth centuries from the collection of the State Hermitage Museum (St. Petersburg, Russia) a previously unknown billon dirham of an Abū Maṣṣūr al-Ḥasan b. Sahl was identified. This coin was first described by I. G. Dobrovolsky as belonging to “the circle of the Shaddādids”, while Vyach. S. Kuleshov described it as a “coin of the contemporaries of the last Shaddādids’, vassals of Malik Shāh.”⁵

⁵ Vyach. S. Kuleshov. *Vnov' vīyavleniie monetī praviteley Vostochnogo Zakavkaz'ya v sobranii Ėrmitazha*. In: *Soobshcheniya Gosudarstvennogo Ėrmitazha*. Vīp. LXXII. St. Petersburg, 2014. P. 203–212, no. 12. [*De novo* detected coins of the rulers of Eastern Transcaucasia from the collection of the State Hermitage].



Fig. 1. Billon dirham, Abū Maṣṣūr al-Ḥasan b. Sahl, undated (1075–1092).⁶

No. 1. Billon dirham (The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg, no. ON-V-Azmuz-20756, weight 4.07 g, diameter 20.0 mm, Fig. 1). On the obverse is the inscription –

لا إله إلا الله
 محمد رسول الله
 المقتدي بأمر الله
 أبو منصور الحسن
 بن سهل

there is no god but Allāh | Muḥammad is the messenger of Allāh |
 al-Muqtadī bi-`amri-llāh | Abū Maṣṣūr al-Ḥasan | bin Sahl.

The marginal inscription is not visible. On the reverse is the following inscription in the central field –

السلطان
 المعظم
 ملك شاه

sultan | supreme | Malik Shāh.

On the reverse, above the first line, above and below the middle line and under the last line, there are decorative separators in the form of a line of small circles. No marginal inscription is visible. There are no discrepancies with Kuleshov’s description of the coin that is cited above. The coin was struck on a cast blank by dies bigger than the blank, with the result that no marginal legends are visible.

There is no mint-name on the coin, but calligraphic features, the technique and style of striking, along with elements of the design and decorations resemble those found on coins of the Shaddādids and Shirvānshāhs and leave no doubt as to the Eastern Transcaucasian origin of the coin. The names of the ‘Abbāsīd caliph al-Muqtadī (r. 1075–1094) and the Seljuq sultan Malik Shāh (r. 1072–1092) testify that this coin was struck some time during the period 1075–1092, during the establishment of local Seljuq power in the Southern Caucasus.

We do not know of any Shaddādīd or Shirvānshāh ruler with this name, and there is no title before the name *Abū Maṣṣūr al-Ḥasan b. Sahl* on the coin, as it would be if he was a Shaddādīd *amīr* or Shirvānshāh *malik* (king). The absence of a title on Seljuq coinage was the usual practice for marking low-ranking or local rulers.⁷ But this purely Arabic name *al-Ḥasan b. Sahl* is unknown for any Seljuq rulers, governors, or atabeks. Of course, it could have been some Seljuq official, unknown to us from the sources. However, the problem is that, for the early Seljuq period, they are mostly known to us by their Turkic names, without any patronym (*nasab*), only sometimes accompanied by the Arab honorific titles (*laqab*) and very rarely by a *kunya*.⁸ To find any clue for the

⁶ © The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg. Image of the coin reprinted from the abovementioned article (P. 210).

⁷ Cf. A. V. Akopyan. *Dvin v XI–XII vv. Istoriya goroda v svete novogo numizmaticheskogo materiala*. In: *Πολύτροπος*. *Sbornik nauchnikh statey pamyati Arkadiya Anatol'evicha Molchanova (1947–2010)*. Moscow, 2014. P. 245–275. [Dvin in the 11th and 12th cc. City history in the light of new numismatic materials].

⁸ See for example the names of Seljuq local rulers from the narrative sources – al-Bundarī, al-Ḥusaynī, Ibn al-Athīr, Jūzjānī, Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī; V. Minorsky. *A History of Sharvān and Darband in the 10th–11th Centuries*. Cambridge, 1958; in the abovementioned article (see note 3), and also in – A. Akopyan, F. Mosanef. *Billon coinage of Shams al-Dīn*

identification of this person, it is important to draw attention to the very notable *nasab* “b. Sahl” that occurs on the coin, one that is numismatically (and territorially) close to the Shaddādids of Janza or the Shirvānshāhs of Shirvān.

Among the Christian or Muslim rulers of Eastern Transcaucasia there was no Sahl except the famous Sahl Smbatean from the House of the Aranshahiks (who died after 855) and who was known to Arabs as سہل بن سنباط الارمني *Sahl b. Sunbāt al-Armanī*, according to al-Mas‘ūdī.⁹ Al-Ṭabarī called him *al-baṭrīq al-Rānī*,¹⁰ which is equal to the Armenian “Prince of Khachen”. Khachen (خاجين) is the name of mountainous territory near to the lowlands of Arrān, which were well-known to the Muslims and which were subsequently known as Qarābāgh. It is a mountainous region, adjacent to Gandzak/Janza to the north and extending to “Arrān initials” – Kura-Araxes *mesopotamia* to the east and south, and to the east bordering with Siwnik.

The name *Sahl* is unique for the Aranshahiks and, due to the systematic repeating of the names in Caucasian families (usually from grandfather to grandson)¹¹, it is reasonable to relate Abū Maṣṣūr al-Ḥasan b. Sahl of the coin under discussion also to the House of the Aranshahiks.

Unfortunately, our knowledge about the Aranshahiks at the end of the eleventh century is very poor. Prince C. Toumanoff, who prepared genealogical charts of the Christian ruling houses of South Caucasia, listed for the Arranshahiks (he called them “*Haykides de Siounie, Princes de Khatchēn et de Gardman, etc.*”) during the period in question only Gregory III, son of Philip, who was noted in 1080.¹² Based on some considerations mentioned later it is possible that this Gregory III used for Muslims (and for his coins *i. a.*) the name *al-Ḥasan*. Perhaps this was because of the absence of direct parallels of his name in Arabic (unlike, for example, the Kakhetian king Kwirike III, son of Davit, who called himself قرقی بن داود *Quriqī b. Dā‘ūd* on his coins).¹³ Al-Ḥasan’s formal *kunya* Abū Maṣṣūr (“father of the victorious one”) in fact is a *laqab* widely used by the neighbouring Shaddādids and Shirvānshāhs in the tenth and eleventh centuries.¹⁴

His patronym *b. Sahl* possibly became in the eleventh century something like a frozen family name, used in communications with Muslims because of their familiarity with it. There would be nothing surprising in that – the power of tradition was so intense that even Sahl of the ninth century (Sahl Smbatean), who was the son of Vasak III (sic!), specially used *b. Sunbāt* as his patronym for Arabs, because they knew the name *Smbat* very well. This name was extensively used by the Bagratid Armenian kings – Smbat I (r. 890–913/4), and Smbat II (r. 977–989), and the kings of Siwnik – Smbat I (r. 987–998), and Smbat II (r. 1040–1044/51).

It is also well-known, that Arabic names started to be used by high-ranking Armenians from the tenth century. Precisely the name Ḥasan (*Arm.* Hasan) is noted in Khachen in the twelfth

century (Prince Hasan I Kronavoreal, r. 1142 – p. 1201).¹⁵ It is very important to note that Hasan I was the grandson of Gregory III, and was very possibly named in honour of his grandfather, in accordance with the above-mentioned common Armenian practice. Following this tradition, the name Hasan is repeated twice in the case of the grandsons of Hasan I – they are the famous Hasan II Jalal Dola of Khachen (founder of the House of Hasan-Jalalaens), whose coins will be discussed later and Hasan I of Akana.¹⁶

To be fair, it should be noted that, for the year 1081 a certain *magistros* Hasan¹⁷ is known (from the House of the Hasaneans). He was one of three brothers of Basil, the future Armenian catholicos in 1105–1113. However, no Armenian titles were quoted for this Hasan, and we do not know of any territorial possessions of the Hasaneans, as they were only allies of the powerful Pahlavunis of Bjni.¹⁸ In our view, this person is not significant enough to consider when seeking to attribute this coin.

The sum of these data – the name *Sahl* among his ancestors and his grandson’s name *Hasan*, make it possible to attribute the minting of the coin with name *al-Ḥasan b. Sahl* to Gregory III. Generally speaking, the eleventh century was a time when Islamic and Christian royal houses were so mixed in the Caucasus that Faḍl I Shaddādīd was called *sham‘-i āl-i Baqratūn* ‘lamp of the Bagratuni family’,¹⁹ because his mother was from that house, and Christian kings first started to strike coins of Islamic style and with inscriptions in Arabic.²⁰ After the Seljuq invasion, this tradition overlapped with good relations between Christians and sultan Malik Shāh, who was mentioned by Armenian historian, Vardan the Great, as “peaceable and friendly towards Christians”.²¹ This state of affairs formed the background to the coin production by some Christian ruler of Khachen (Arrān) too.

However, if the attribution of this coin to an Armenian prince in Khachen (Arrān) can still be considered as hypothetical, the following two types of coin were undoubtedly minted in Khachen by an Armenian prince. These two types appeared under Mongol domination and they were struck at many mints. They are the first coins after the death of Chingiz and they are anonymous. They were known before, but not attributed to any ruler, only to the appropriate Mongol Qa’ans.

No. 2. Silver dirhams struck at the mint of Qarabāgh, with two subtypes. The first subtype consists of undated coins struck from different pairs of dies (Forschungsstelle für Islamische Numismatik, Tübingen, nos. GA2B6 – 2.35g, 22 mm, 5h, see Fig. 2a and GA2C1 – 2.90g, 21.5 mm, 1h, see Fig. 2b²²). On the obverse of the coins of this first subtype the Kalima is written in three lines:

لا إله إلا
الله محمد
رسول الله

there is no god except | Allāh, Muḥammad | messenger of Allāh.

Under the last line of coin 2a is a vignette. On coin 2b there is an eight-pointed star above the word محمد. Around are linear (coin 2a) or dotted (coin 2b) circles. On the reverse there is an inscription in two lines:

Eldigüz and his circle (531–622 H. / 1136–1225 CE) // Studia Iranica 40 (2011). P. 69–98.

⁹ Al-Masudī. *Zolotie kopi i rossipi samotsvetov (Istoriya Abbasidskoy dinastii 749–947 gg.)*. Transl. by D. V. Mikul’sky. Moscow, 2002. Part VIII. P. 262–263. [Al-Mas‘ūdī. *Meadows of gold and mines of gems*].

¹⁰ *The history of al-Ṭabarī*. Vol. XXXIII. New York, 1991. P. 76–80, 82, 89–90. See more about Sahl b. Sunbāt in: V. Minorsky. *Caucasica IV // BSOAS*, 15, 1953. P. 505–512.

¹¹ And also from uncle-“patron” to nephew, see more about it in – A. Yu. Vinogradov. *Strategia imyanarecheniya u Bagratidov (do XIII v.)*. In: Πολύτροπος. *Sbornik nauchnikh statey pamyati Arkadiya Anatol’evicha Molchanova (1947–2010)*. Moscow, 2014. P. 130–148. [Bagratids’ strategy of name-giving (up to the thirteenth century)].

¹² C. Toumanoff. *Manuel de généalogie et de chronologie pour l’histoire de la Caucasic Chretienne*. Roma, 1976. P. 237.

¹³ A. V. Akopyan, A. R. Vardanyan. *Moneti Kvirike III, tsarya Kakheti i Éreti*. In: *Semnadsataya Vserossiyskaya numizmaticheskaya konferentsiya*. Moscow, 2013. P. 43–44. [Coins of Kwirike III, king of Kakhet’i and Heret’i].

¹⁴ As Faḍl I Shaddādīd (985–1031) and ‘Alī b. Yazīd Shirvānshāh (1034–1044).

¹⁵ C. Toumanoff. *Op. cit.* P. 239; B. A. Ulubabyan. *Istoriya Artsakha ot nachala do nashikh dney*. Erevan, 1994. P. 71. [History of Arc’ax from the beginning to our days].

¹⁶ C. Toumanoff. *Op. cit.* P. 239.

¹⁷ C. Toumanoff. *Op. cit.* P. 273; C. Mutafian. *L’Arménie du levant (XI^e – XIV^e siècle)*. Paris, 2012. Tome II. Ch. 11.

¹⁸ C. Mutafian. *L’Arménie du levant (XI^e – XIV^e siècle)*. Paris, 2012. Tome I. P. 253–255.

¹⁹ H. udūd al-‘Ālam. ‘The regions of the world.’ *A Persian geography*. 372 A.H. – 982 A.D. Transl. by B. Minorsky. Cambridge, 1970. P. 397.

²⁰ Cf. note no. 9 about coins of Kwirike III of 1014–1037/9.

²¹ *Vseobshchaya istoriya Vardana Velikogo*. Transl. by N. Émin. Moscow, 1861. P. 133. [General history of Vardan the Great].

²² I would like to thank Dr Lutz Ilisch for the images of these coins.

قرباغ
عمرها الله

Qarabāgh | may God make it prosperous

and a bow below. On coin 2a the grapheme *rā* has an eyelet and looks like a *rā-hā* ligature (“قره باغ”?). The Borders are doubly linear (coin 2a) or dotted with eight-pointed stars outside (coin 2b).



Fig. 2. Dirham of anonymous “bow” type, Qarabāgh mint, undated (1240–1241).

The second subtype is dated by an AH 640 specimen in the British Museum, London, no. OR 2574 (2.81g).²³ The coins of the second subtype have the same inscription as the first subtype, but surrounded by a dotted circle on both sides and supplemented by marginal inscriptions with date also on both sides. In the marginal inscription of the obverse one can see:

[...] ضرب هذا الد [ره]م في سنة اربعين وست [...]

... this dirham was struck in the year forty and six [hundred]...

and in the marginal inscriptions of the reverse one can see:

[...] ضرب هذا الد [ره]م في سنة اربعين [...]

... this dirham was struck in the year forty...



Fig. 3. Dirham of anonymous “bow” type, Qarabāgh mint, of AH 640 / 1242–1243.

All three coins of this type show different styles of engraving and three different pairs of dies, a fact that would indicate a reasonable-sized issue. However, we know of only four specimens of these coins (the three above-mentioned ones and one in a private collection), and it is unclear how this discrepancy may be explained.

Despite these coins being anonymous, dated specimens of this type (of AH 638–640 / 1240–1241)²⁴ testify they all were struck during the reign of Great Qa’an Ögedey (1229–1241). Quite rare coins of both subtypes are also known struck at Tabrīz (undated, AH 638, and AH 639),²⁵ Sarāv (undated and AH 639),²⁶ Baylaqān (undated and AH 639),²⁷ Bāzār (AH 639),²⁸ Ganja (date off-flan, AH 639?),²⁹ and other mints (in total “at least a dozen mints” of northwestern Iran, as S. Album noted).³⁰

No. 3. Silver dirhams, struck in Lajīn³¹ (known from three specimens: The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg, no. 14876 – 2.17g, 19–20 mm, chipped, see Fig. 4a;³² S. Album collection – 2.87g, 18 mm, see Fig. 4b;³³ State Museum of Georgia no. 676 – 2.61g, 20–21mm). Only the specimen in the State Hermitage Museum was available for study. On the obverse is the Kalima written in three lines:

لا إله إلا
الله محمد
رسول الله

there is no god except | Allāh, Muḥammad | messenger of Allāh.

The last line is only partially visible. Above is the mintname *ضرب [of] Lajīn*. Undeciphered parts of the date are in the right and bottom margins. In the centre of the reverse is a horse galloping to right and a horseman shooting an arrow backwards, in S-type, the so-called *Parthian turn*.³⁴ At the top is the legend *الغ منقل الوس بيك* – *leader of the Great Mongol administration*.³⁵ No Borders are visible on either side.



a

²⁴ S. Album suggests these coins started to be struck from AH 636 based on Tübingen coin no. GA2C2, but J. Kolbas reasonably commented that this reading was not certain (J. Kolbas. *Op. cit.* P. 120, note 108 *contra* S. Album. *Checklist of Islamic Coins*. Santa Rosa (CA), 2013. P. 212. No. 1973.1).

²⁵ Undated coin: Zeno, no. 54623; dated coins of AH 638–639 mentioned by J. Kolbas (J. Kolbas. *Op. cit.* P. 110).

²⁶ Zeno nos. 79237 and 126727.

²⁷ J. Kolbas. *Op. cit.* P. 109. Plate 4.1, mint incorrectly read as “Baylaqan”. To Baylaqān also belongs a dated coin of “Langoran” (J. Kolbas. *Op. cit.* P. 111 (British Museum no. 1933.4.15.96), that reading of the mint is very doubtful).

²⁸ Possibly in the Ahār region – J. Kolbas. *Op. cit.* P. 110–111.

²⁹ J. Kolbas. *Op. cit.* P. 111 (British Museum no. OR 2753: date missed (AH 639 by Kolbas)).

³⁰ S. Album. *Ibid.*

³¹ See more about these coins in: A. Vardanyan. *Some additions to the coins with the inscription “Ulugh Mangyl Ulūs (Ulūsh) Bek” // JONS*, 190 (2007). P. 11. No. 11.

³² © The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg. I would like to thank Dr Konstantin Kravtsov for the image of this coin.

³³ Image of the coin re-printed from J. Kolbas. *Op. cit.* P. 125, plate 5.1; mint incorrectly read as “Nahjawān,” but there is no place for *nīm-hā-jīm* ligature after the word *ضرب*, no *wāw*, and clearly engraved *yā* in the ligature *yā-nūn*.

³⁴ Trever K. V., Lukonin V. G. *Sasanidskoe serebro. Khudozhestvennaya kul'tura Irana III–VIII vv.* Moscow, 1987. P. 80. [*Sasanian silver. Art culture of Iran in 3rd–8th cc.*].

³⁵ Different researchers read *الوس ulūs* or *الوش ulūsh* on the coin; while another interpretation was proposed by J. Kolbas: *الغ منقل الوس بيك* – *one Great Mongol nation* (J. Kolbas. *Op. cit.* P. 125).

²³ © The Trustees of the British Museum. I would like to thank Dr Vesta Sarkhosh Curtis for the image of this coin.



b

Fig. 4. Dirham of anonymous “archer” type, Lajīn mint, undated (1244–1245).

Both specimens of Lajīn coins were struck from different pairs of dies and have no visible date, but according to dated coins of this type, they were struck in 642–643 / 1244–1245, during the regency of Töregene (r. 639–644/1241–1246), the wife of the late Ögedei Qa‘an and mother of prince Güyük.³⁶

Now some detailed comments about the mintnames of the two last coins. “Qarabāgh” (Arab. قریباغ or later قریباغ), as noted above, was, from mediaeval times, the Turkic name of the middle and southern parts of Artsakh (or Aghwank, as part of Artsakh was joined to Aghwank). From the AD 1100’s this territory also became known as Khachen, from its main river. In the beginning, “Qarabāgh” referred to the lowlands between the Araks and Kura rivers which were used intensively by Turk tribes for wintering. But later this name also included the adjoining mountainous parts (*i. e.* Khachen), rich in pasture that was very important for the Mongol cavalry. Thus this whole territory had the one name “Qarabāgh” that is still in use.

For a long time this placename was usually translated incorrectly as “black garden” (or even paradoxically connected to some tribal name *qarabağlı*, as V. Minorsky did³⁷). But in the special works about Turk toponymy the word *qara* is translated not as “black,” but mostly as “many, rich”, so “Qarabāgh” should be translated as “rich in gardens.”³⁸ This translation has a clear reference to the reason the Turkic cavalry stayed there, in contrast to the obscure “black garden.” It is likely that the placename Qarabāgh began to be used from the earliest Turk invasion of Armenia at the end of the eleventh century, but the placename “Qarabāgh” was first mentioned in *Nuzhat al-Qulūb* (finished *ca.* 1340), a famous geographical work of Ḥamdallāh Mustawfī Qazwīnī (*ca.* 1281–1344).³⁹ It is to be noted that the coin of “bow” type testifies to the use of the toponym “Qarabāgh” in the middle of the thirteenth century, a hundred years earlier than the mention in *Nuzhat al-Qulūb*.

The coins of “bow” and “archer” types are one of the first coins that were struck in the Caucasus after the Mongol invasion. And if coins of the “bow” type are not yet catalogued in detail, information about the “archer” type is certain following the publication of the catalogue by A. Vardanyan.⁴⁰

As Qarabāgh is the name of a region, the exact location of this mint cannot be determined. Nonetheless, two possibilities for its position can be assumed. Hasan Jalal was known as “The Lord of Khachen and Khokhanaberd,” so the first possibility is to place the mint in Khokhanaberd (or Khoykhanaberd), the capital castle on the river Khachenaget, close to the Gandzasar monastery. However, it seems more likely that this mintplace was the same as Lajīn, where coins of “archer” type were struck in AH 642–643 / 1244–1243. *Lachin* (لاچین, Turk. laçın ‘hawk, falcon’) was the

Turkic name of the important castle of Havkakhaghatsberd (Arm. ‘castle where birds play’) a mere 30 km south of the capital castle of Khokhanaberd (see Fig. 5). Lachin is of course not Berdzor (former Laçın), which is more to the south, and was known until 1923 as Abdallar.



Fig. 5. The principality of Khachen before the Mongol invasion, its approximate borders⁴¹ and the castles of Khokhanaberd and Havkakhaghatsberd.

Another interesting question is who was the precise issuer of these coins. It is difficult to agree with the theory that the coins of “bow” type were minted by a travelling mint while the Imperial Dīwān was on the move.⁴² This practice is in fact known for Islamic coins. However in this case, the coins produced at the ambulant headquarters were given special mintnames – Bāzār, Lashkar, Sarāy, Ūrdū, etc. But it is difficult to imagine that coins were struck in any city only while the Imperial Dīwān was there and ended after its departure. Moreover, the coins of these types are very rare, and their link with any tax reform is very tenuous. Furthermore, were taxes taken in monetary form during the Mongol invasion (and later)?

Despite the large number of different taxes raised by the Mongols, only a small part was collected in coins, with the vast majority being taken in kind. Kirakos Gandzaketsi lists two Mongol taxes introduced by the *basqaq* (the official in charge of taxes) and the governor (Arm. *ostikan*) Arghun Aqa,⁴³ that were used during early Mongol rule – *māl* (مال), that was a wealth tax of 10%, and *ghūbjūr* (غوبجور) that was a 1% on livestock.⁴⁴ Only Hülegü added two new taxes to the *māl* and *ghūbjūr* taxes: *taghār* (تغار), that was a poll-tax comprising “100 lbs of wheat, 50 lbs of wine and 2 lbs of purified and brown rice, three sacks, two ropes, one *dirham* (Arm. *spitak* “white”), one arrow, one horseshoe, not counting other bribes. [And] from 20 heads of livestock – one head and 20 *dirhams*”, and *terghū* (ترغو)⁴⁵ that was just ‘provisions, comestibles’.⁴⁶ As can be seen, on the one hand, the

⁴¹ Boundaries based on the map *Zak'aryanneri iṣṣanūt'yunnerə XIII darum ev XIV dari skzbin* [The Zakarian principality in the 13th – beginning of 14th centuries] from: *Hayastani patmut'yan atlas. A mas.* Erevan, 2005. P. 80–81. [Historical Atlas of Armenia. Part I] and B. A. Ulubabyan. *Xaç'eni iṣṣanūt'yunə X–XIV darrerum.* Erevan, 1975. P. 214–217. [Principality of Khachen in the 10th–14th centuries].

⁴² J. Kolbas. *Op. cit.* P. 111. A. Vardanyan also stated his arguments against this view (A. Vardanyan. *Op. cit.* P. 19).

⁴³ This is not Arghun Il-Khan (r. 1284–1291).

⁴⁴ It is planned to collect *ghūbjūr* in 7 *dīnārs* from the wealthy and 3 *dīnārs* from the poor *each year*, but those plans fell through (L. O. Bababayan. *Sotsial'no-ekonomicheskaya i politicheskaya istoriya Armenii v XIII–XIV vekakh.* Moscow, 1969. P. 127. [Social-economic and political history of Armenia in the 13th–14th centuries].

⁴⁵ Armenian names for these taxes are *mal*, *tp'č'ur*, *t'atar*, and *tltu*.

⁴⁶ Kirakos Gandzaketsi. *Istoriya Armenii.* Transl. and comm. by L. A. Khanlaryan. Moscow, 1976. Part 59. P. 227, 309–310. [History of Armenia]; about all four taxes and their meaning; see also: *Istoriya mongolov inoka Magakii, XIII veka.* Transl. and comm. by K. P. Patkanov. St. Petersburg, 1871. P. 9, P. 11; and comments P. 71, note 17; P. 74, note

³⁶ Possibly this coin type was introduced by Baychu Noyan, but not Töregene (A. Vardanyan. *Op. cit.* P. 20).

³⁷ *Tadhkirat al-Mulūk. A Manual of Sefevid Administration (circa 1137/1725).* Transl. and expl. by V. Minorsky. London, 1943. P. 166.

³⁸ R. M. Yüzbaşov. *Dağlıq Qarabağ muxtar vilayətinin toponimiya // Azərbaycan SSR Elmlər Akademiyasının xəbərləri. Yer elmləri seriyası.* 1969. № 2. S. 92. [Toponymy of Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast].

³⁹ Ḥamd-Allāh Mustawfī of Qazwīn. *The Geographical Part of the Nuzhat al-Qulūb.* Transl. and expl. by G. Le Strange. London, 1919. P. 160–179.

⁴⁰ A. Vardanyan. *Op. cit.* P. 19.

collection of *dirhams* was always particularly noted, and on the other hand it was negligible in the overall volume of incoming taxes. The direct Mongol presence in the conquered lands was limited to the appointment of municipal judges (*shahna*) from representatives of the nomadic elite. Prior to the census of 1254 the Mongols did not interfere in the internal administration of the conquered countries.⁴⁷

It is reasonable to assume that, in such an inaccessible region as Qarabāgh, coins were minted by the local ruler. This role can be claimed only by powerful Prince Hasan (whose nickname was Jalal Dola), who reigned in Khachen/Qarabāgh in 1214–1261.⁴⁸ There is an extensive literature about Hasan Jalal Dola, so I will focus on the most significant episodes of his life.⁴⁹ As mentioned before, he was the grandson of Hasan I Kronavoreal, after whom he was named, and who (Hasan I Kronavoreal), in turn, was the grandson of Gregory III, the possible issuer of coin no. 1. Hasan Jalal Dola had close ties with most of the powerful families of the Southern Caucasus – his mother was Khorishah, sister of the famous Ivane and Zakare Mkhargrdzeli (or *Erkaynabazuk*, both of which mean ‘long-armed’),⁵⁰ Armenian-Georgian Princes at the Georgian court, and his grandmother was Mama-khatun, daughter of Kūrike II Bagratid of Lori. Mamkan, the wife of Hasan Jalal, was from the by then extinct secondary line of Siwni kings.

Three other mints are known within Christian states where coins of “archer” type were struck. In Akhlāt they were struck by princess Tamta, another sister of Ivane and Zakare. And in Tiflīs and Dmanīs coins were struck by the Georgian king Davit IV Narin (r. 1245–1299).⁵¹

At the beginning of the Turk invasion in 1227, Hasan Jalal paid 20.000 *dīnārs* and released 700 Muslims to keep Khachen castle out of the hands of Sharaf al-Mulk, the vizier of Jalāl al-Dīn Khwarizmshāh. Ten years later in 1236/7, after the surrender of Avag, Zakare Mkhargrdzeli’s son, to the Mongols under the command of Chormaghun, Hasan Jalal Dola also submitted to the Mongols. In 1239/40 (?) he married his daughter Ruzukan to Bora Noyan, the son of Chormaghun. Hasan Jalal kept his land safe from the ruinous attacks of the Mongols, and, in fact, had good relations with them, the price of which was participation in Mongol campaigns, for example in Bachu Noyan’s triumphant campaign against Ghiyāth al-Dīn Kay-Khosrow II in 1243.⁵² At the end of this campaign, Hasan Jalal Dola helped the ambassadors of the Cilician Armenian king Hethum I (r. 1226–1270) to have an audience with Bachu Noyan. Later, Hasan Jalal Dola married another of his daughters to Oshin, Hethum I’s brother.

In 1246/7 Hasan Jalal Dola suffered heavily from the activities of Kitbuqa Noyan and governor Arghun Aqa, who destroyed some castles in Khachen, but after 1251 he travelled to see Batu. The reason for this was Batu’s son, Sartaq’s conversion to Christianity. Sartaq became Hasan Jalal Dola’s patron until his death in 1256.

In 1255 Hasan Jalal was in the Golden Horde, and together with Sartaq, travelled to Qara Qorum, to Möngke, to whom Hasan Jalal Dola complained about Arghun Aqa. As a result of this testimony, Arghun Aqa was summoned to Mongolia, where he was convicted and shackled. The favour of Batu and his son, Sartaq, can be attributed not only to the latter’s Christian religion, but also to the fact that, when determining the extent of their territories, Chinghiz Khan’s sons in the Ulus Juji included the Caucasus and Asia Minor. Therefore Batu and Sartaq interfered quite actively in the internal affairs of these countries, so that, in particular, Hasan Jalal Dola returned part of his land from the Georgians and Tatars and distanced himself from Georgia and the Zakarean principality.⁵³

Because of a power struggle in southern Armenia, Hasan Jalal Dola was on bad terms with the neighbouring Orbeleans of Siwnik. In 1256, Smbat Orbelean stood bail for Arghun Aqa in Qaraqorum, whereby the latter returned to the Caucasus with his previous authority. Arghun Aqa did not forget his transfer to Qaraqorum and, after capturing Hasan Jalal, he put him to death in Qazwīn in 1261.⁵⁴

In the inscriptions Hasan Jalal called himself “the autocratic Prince of Princes (*ishkhanats ishkan*), lord of Khachen,” “Great Prince of Khachen and lands of Artsakh,” “Prince of Khachen and Aran,” or even “king” (using both Armenian words *arka* ‘king,’ and *tagawor* ‘crown-headed’) etc.⁵⁵ Formally he had to serve as a vassal of the Georgian crown and the Zakarians of Ani, but he never mentioned it and, as is evident, he tended to act quite independently. That Khachen belonged to Georgia, at least in the eyes of foreigners, is confirmed by an anonymous Persian chronicle – “*Hāchīn is a remote province, located in the mountains and forests. This is one of regions of Arrān. There are Armenians [living there]. The Peoples of Abhāz [Georgia] called their ruler (pādīshāh) king (malik).*”⁵⁶ After the Mongol conquest, Khachen became a part of Avagean’s *tūmen*, one of eight administrative units of the *vilayat* of “Gurjīstān”, but along with the Orbeleans of Siwnik they ceased to be vassals of the Zakareans.⁵⁷

As Khachen had a sizeable Christian population and was one of the less Islamized regions of Armenia, coins were struck there only sporadically. After these first coins of Qarabāgh, coinage resumed there at the end of the reign of the Ilkhanid ruler, Anīshīrwān (coins were struck by the local prince, Ivane II Hasan-Jalalean, at the mint of Qarabāgh in AH 748, 750 and 752),⁵⁸ and, later, only in the eighteenth – nineteenth centuries when coins were struck by the local Turk khāns of Qarabāgh at the mint of Panāhābād, which was located in the castle of Shushi (Shusha) in AH 1198–1239).⁵⁹

21 [History of the Mongols by monk Maghakia]. “Monk Maghakia” is a wrong name for Grigor Akantsi.

⁴⁷ L. O. Bababayan. *Op. cit.* P. 123.

⁴⁸ M. A. Seyfeddini almost came to this conclusion, but he only said that this Lachin was called Havkakhghatsberd and was the residence of Hasan Jalal Dola. However, M. A. Seyfeddini did not conclude that Hasan Jalal Dola had struck this coin (M. A. Seyfeddini. *Monetnoe delo i denezhnoe obraschenie v Azerbaydzhanе XII–XV vv.* Book 1. Baku, 1978. P. 161, note 146. [Coins and monetary circulation in Azerbaijan in twelfth–fifteenth centuries]).

⁴⁹ In the first instance, it is worth drawing attention to this old but still valid article: I. A. Orbeli. *Khasan Dzhalal, knyaz’ Khachenskiy* // I. A. Orbeli. *Izbrannye trudī.* Erevan, 1963. P. 146–174. (Reprint of the article of 1909). [Hasan Jalal, Prince of Xachen].

⁵⁰ While Hasan Jalal Dola was named in honour of his grandfather, his two brothers were named in honour of their powerful uncles – Ivane and Zakare.

⁵¹ Possibly one mint was located in the Principality of the Vachuteans if “بونی” = بونق = Bawonq?, but this reading of mine needs confirmation.

⁵² V. Gordlevsky. *Gosudarstvo Sel’dzhukidov Maloy Azii.* Leningrad, 1941. P. 36. [The state of Seljuqs of Asia Minor].

⁵³ L. O. Bababayan. *Op. cit.* P. 130, 132.

⁵⁴ Vardan. *Hawak’umn patmut’ean.* iVenetik, 1862. Ej. 153. [Historical compilation]; *Iz “Letopisi” Sebastatsi* // Armyanskie istochniki o mongolakh. Moscow, 1962. P. 27. [From the “Chronicle” of Sebastatsi]; *Iz “Letopisi” Stepanosa episkopa* // Armyanskie istochniki o mongolakh. Moscow, 1962. P. 35–36. [From the “Chronicle” of Bishop Step’anos]; L. O. Bababayan. *Op. cit.* P. 136–139.

⁵⁵ I. A. Orbeli. *Khasan Dzhalal...* P. 157–158.

⁵⁶ N. D. Miklukho-Maklay. *Geograficheskoe sochinenie XIII v. na persidskom yazıke. (Noviy istochnik po istoricheskoy geografii Azerbaydzhana i Armenii)* // Ucheniye zapiski Institutu vostokovedeniya. 1954. Vol. VII. P. 204–205. [Persian geographical work of the thirteenth century. (A new source for the historical geography of Azerbaijan and Armenia)].

⁵⁷ L. O. Bababayan. *Op. cit.* P. 120.

⁵⁸ A. V. Akopyan. *Il’khanī i ishkhani. Monetnıy armıanskikh knyazhestv perioda zakata Khulaguidskogo gosudarstva (736–759 gg. kh. / 1336–1358 gg.)* // Numizmatika i epigrafika (accepted for publication). [Ilkhans and Ishkhans. Coins of the Armenian principalities struck during the decline of the Ilkhanid state (AH 736–759 / AD 1336–1358).]

⁵⁹ A. Akopyan. *Coins of Nakhichevān and Qarabāgh Khānates* // Journal of Armenian Studies (accepted for publication).



Fig. 6. Relief of Amir-Hasan Proshean, 1321.

The Mongolian state comprised vast territories, and it is not surprising that the only personal thing of Amir Hasan Dola known to us is an Indian dagger handle with his name and title written in Armenian ligatures,⁶⁰ which he apparently acquired during one of his three visits to Qaraqorum.⁶¹ In conclusion it should be noted that figurative motifs inspired by nomadic life (from Parthian to Mongol times), had a strong influence on Armenian culture. The huge impression made by the *Nation of the Archers* (Mongols) on the Armenians is reflected in the sculptural relief of Amir-Hasan Proshean of 1321 from the monastery of Spitakavor in the region of Vayots Dzor (see Fig. 6)⁶² which is very close to the image of the horseman on Hasan Jalal's coin.

VAKHT'ANG IV, KING OF GEORGIA (1442/3-1446): MONETARY HERITAGE

By Irakli Paghava and Giorgi Gogava

The might of the reunited medieval Georgian Kingdom was severely undermined by eight invasions of Tamerlane in 1386-1403 - the state disintegrated into smaller principalities only approximately half a century later, during the reign of Giorgi VIII (1446-1466).

The overall national decline was eloquently reflected by the contemporary Georgian currency, silver coins degrading into tiny billon or even copper scraps of metal (roughly 12-15 mm, weight below 1 g). This period of Georgian numismatic history has been one of the most obscure due to the scarcity (and mediocre preservation) of the surviving material (it was even concluded previously that the dire situation precluded the minting of the national coinage altogether⁶³). Scanty works on this subject have been published⁶⁴, but seemingly even the typology of the Georgian coins of this period has not been clarified exhaustively yet.

⁶⁰ I. A. Orbeli. *Nefritovaya kinzhal'naya rukoyat' s armyanskoy nadpis'yu* // I. A. Orbeli. *Izbrannīe trudi*. Erevan, 1963. P. 135– 145, Table XVIII. (Reprint of the 1909 article). [*Jade dagger handle with an Armenian inscription*].

⁶¹ I. A. Orbeli. *Khasan Dzhalal...* P. 159.

⁶² The left-hand part of a relief conserved in the State Hermitage Museum (inv. no. AP 619); the right-hand part is in the Armenian State History Museum (inv. no. 1320/21/22).

⁶³ კაკაბაძე სარგისი. „საფასის ისტორიისათვის საქართველოში“. *საისტორიო მოამბე*. წიგ. I. (1925) [Kakabadze Sargisi. "On the History of Currency in Georgia"], 10.

⁶⁴ კაპანაძე დავითი. „XV საუკუნის ქართული ფულის გორის განძი“. *საქართველოს სახელმწიფო მუზეუმის მოამბე X-B* (1940): 279-305. [K'apanadze Daviti. "15th Century Gori Hoard of Georgian Coins"]; დუნდუა გიორგი. *სამონეტო მიმოქცევის საკითხისათვის XV საუკუნის საქართველოში*. თბილისი: საქართველოს სსრ

This article is devoted to the numismatic heritage of one of the 15th century Georgian monarchs, Vakht'ang IV, who ruled for about three or four years (1442/3-1446)⁶⁵:

Vakht'ang IV was an elder son of Alexandre I the Great (1412-1442/3). He consolidated his authority over all the domains of his father, and married Siti-Khatun, of the prominent noble family of Panask'ert'eli. The couple had no children and, after Vakht'ang IV's demise in 1446, the realm was inherited by Giorgi VIII, the last king of the united Georgia, yet another son of Alexandre I. Both Siti-Khatun and Vakht'ang were buried in Bana, the famous cathedral in south-western Georgia (Fig. 1). From a political point of view, Vakht'ang IV's short reign seemed to have been relatively uneventful, save for the major military success in 1444 when the Georgian army, led by the king, managed to repulse none other than Jahān Shāh, head of the Qara-Qoyunlu tribal federation. According to the Georgian chronicler, the battle at Akhaltsikhe (a city in the Samtskhe region of Georgia) lasted for all the daylight with no decisive outcome, but the Turks withdrew in the night, thus avoiding the risk of resuming hostilities on the following day, and then retreated.

The victory should have been all the more meaningful as Jahān Shāh had invaded Georgia successfully in 1440 (after Alexandre I, Vakht'ang IV's father and predecessor, had refused to pay the tribute), and even sacked Tbilisi, the capital, as well as the major city of Samshvilde.⁶⁶



Fig. 1. Ruins of Bana, the famous medieval Georgian Cathedral

Despite the brevity of Vakht'ang IV's reign, it left at least five coin types, three of them being published by means of this short article for the first time.

მეცნიერებათა აკადემიის გამომცემლობა, 1964. [Dundua Giorgi. *On the Issue of the Monetary Circulation in the 15th Century Georgia*.; Paghava Irakli, Novák Vlastimil. "Georgian Coins in the Collection of the National Museum-Náprstek Museum in Prague". *Annals of the Náprstek Museum* 34 / 2 (2013): 56-58.

The Mna hoard of the depreciated Georgian coinage of the epoch was studied by Tamar Lomouri; regrettably, the scholar destroyed her own work before publishing it. Of late, Maia Pataridze has been examining this material, while Irakli Paghava has been researching another major hoard of 15th century Georgian coins.

⁶⁵ ვახუშტი ბატონიშვილი. *ქართლის ცხოვრება. ტომი IV. აღწერა სამეფოსა საქართველოსა* (თბილისი: საბჭოთა საქართველო, 1973) [Vakhusht'i Bat'onishvili. *History of the Georgian Kingdom*.], 282-283; ჯავახიშვილი ივანე. *ივანე ჯავახიშვილის შრომები. ტომი IV. ქართველი ერის ისტორია, წიგნი IV* (თბილისი: თბილისის უნივერსიტეტის გამომცემლობა, 1967) [Javakhishvili Ivane. *History of Georgian Nation, Book IV.*], 41-42.

⁶⁶ Ibid., 37-38.

Type 1. Billon (very low standard silver)?



Obv.: Short Georgian Asomtavruli legend spread over the surface:

ⴒⴒ, ⴒⴓⴓⴓⴓⴒ

God, grant victory

Rev.: Short Georgian Asomtavruli legend spread over the surface:

ⴓⴒⴒⴓⴓⴓⴓⴒ

To King Vakht'ang

This was the first coin type of Vakht'ang IV ever published (in 1940)⁶⁷: Davit Kapanadze, the venerated Georgian numismatist, discovered it among the other coins of the numerous Gori hoard, which contained two specimens of this type.

Initially Davit Kapanadze read the obverse legend as

ⴒⴒ, ⴒⴓⴓⴓⴓⴒ - ღმერთო გაუმარჯოს - *ghmert'o gaumarjos*

and this reading was reiterated by Giorgi Dundua.⁶⁸ Later Davit Kapanadze changed his reading to

ⴒⴒ, ⴒⴓⴓⴓⴓⴒ - ღმერთო ემარჯოს - *ghmert'o emarjos*⁶⁹

All three specimens that we have seen bear the letter **ⴒ** and not **ⴒ**, so the latter version is undoubtedly the correct one.

The weight of the two previously published specimens⁷⁰ was 0.65 and 0.85 g. The weight of the third specimen published by means of this article is 0.77 g (die axis 8:15 o'clock).

Type 2. Billon?



Obv.: Short Georgian Asomtavruli legend

ⴓⴒⴒ

⁶⁷ კაპანაძე დავითი. „XV საუკუნის ქართული ფულის გორის განძი“. *საქართველოს სახელმწიფო მუზეუმის მოამბე X-B* (1940) [K'apanadze Daviti. "The 15th Century Gori Hoard of Georgian Coins".], 290.

⁶⁸ დუნდუა გიორგი. *სამონეტო მიმოქცევის საკითხისათვის XV საუკუნის საქართველოში*. თბილისი: საქართველოს სსრ მეცნიერებათა აკადემიის გამომცემლობა, 1964. [Dundua Giorgi. *On the Issue of the Monetary Circulation in 15th Century Georgia.*], 57.

⁶⁹ კაპანაძე დავითი. *ქართული ნომიზმატიკა*. თბილისი: თბილისის უნივერსიტეტის გამომცემლობა, 1969. [K'apanadze Daviti. *Georgian Numismatics.*], 126.

⁷⁰ დუნდუა გიორგი. *სამონეტო მიმოქცევის საკითხისათვის XV საუკუნის საქართველოში*. თბილისი: საქართველოს სსრ მეცნიერებათა აკადემიის გამომცემლობა, 1964. [Dundua Giorgi. *On the Issue of the Monetary Circulation in 15th Century Georgia.*], 57.

ⴒⴒⴒ

King
Vakht'ang

Rev.: Animal (donkey?) right.

This coin type was first published by Giorgi Dundua (in 1964).⁷¹ It came from the Mna hoard (still unpublished as an entity).

The weight of the previously published specimens⁷² was 0.65 (?) and 0.88 g.

Type 3. Billon?



Obv.: Short Georgian Asomtavruli legend spread over the surface (only the following letters are legible)

... ⴒⴒⴒⴒⴒⴒ

Vakht'ang

Rev.: Animal (donkey?) right. The image is unusually refined and realistic.

This is an unpublished coin type. It can be attributed to Vakht'ang IV based on the legible letter V (**ⴒ**), which can pertain to him alone of the Georgian kings of the epoch, all of whom had names without this letter.

This sole known specimen was discovered somewhere in the K'akheti region of Georgia. Weight 0.86 g, die axis 4:30h.

Type 4. Silver?



Obv.: Short Georgian Asomtavruli legend

ⴒ... [ⴒⴒⴒⴒ?]

ⴓⴒⴒ.[ⴒ?]

Vakht'ang

King

Rev.: Winged animal left (?).

This, too, is an unpublished coin type. It can be attributed to Vakht'ang IV also based on the legible letter V (**ⴒ**). This type

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 58.

⁷² *Ibid.*; დუნდუა თედო, დუნდუა გიორგი, ჯავახიშვილი ნიკო და სხვ. *ფული საქართველოში* (თბილისი, 2003) [Dundua Tedo, Dundua Giorgi, Javakhishvili Nik'o et al. *Money in Georgia.*], 67, #166.

differs from Type 2 by means of the animal and different distribution of the legend, as well as the presence of the dividing line on the obverse.

The sole known specimen was discovered somewhere in the K'akheti region of Georgia. Weight 0.63 g, die axis 6h.

Type 5. Silver?



Obv.: Short Georgian Asomtavruli legend

ⴒⴓ.[ⴒⴓ?]

Vakht'ang

Rev.: Winged animal with crowned head left.

This is also an unpublished coin type. It can be confidently attributed to Vakht'ang IV since it bears his name. It differs from Type 4 in the different arrangement of the legend: the king's title is either absent, or *above*, and not *below* the king's name; the wing of the animal is of a different shape.

The crown on the animal's head constitutes quite a remarkable visual element: we have never encountered such an effigy on the Georgian coinage of the period. Its significance, however, remains unknown.

This sole known specimen was discovered somewhere in the environs of Tbilisi, Kartli region of Georgia. Weight 0.56 g, die axis 10:00h.

*

The sample size of the available specimens is certainly insufficient to draw any conclusions regarding the metrology of Vakht'ang IV's coinage. However, it seems plausible or at least tempting to think that various types were minted according to different weight standards. *Vide supra* for the available weights of the published specimens.

The issue is, however, whether the different coin types (of different weight?) *circulated* simultaneously or consecutively during the short reign of Vakht'ang IV – and in the former case, were they *valued* differently, or not? Since the weight and particularly the dimensions of individual coins pertaining to different coin types were most probably hardly discernible, we incline to the idea that the population would hardly have been able to distinguish coins of different weight standards at that time, and hence valued them equally.

On the other hand, the coins pertaining to various coin types differed also in terms of the alloy (as estimated *de visu* only, for the moment); and this could perhaps indicate the ongoing (but intermittent?) depreciation of the national currency in the 1440s.

But again, if of different silver standard, could the coins pertaining to different coin types have circulated simultaneously? Were the coins of lower silver standard imposed upon the population as a token coinage on a par with those of the better standard (containing more silver)? Or were they circulating simultaneously, but *valued* differently? And what was the ratio between, say, the heavier lower silver standard and lighter better silver standard coins?

Unfortunately, for the moment we have insufficient hoard evidence to draw any solid conclusions with regard to the role of Vakht'ang IV's coinage in the national circulation, either during his reign or afterwards.

We can only note that, according to the Gori hoard, by the late 15th-early 16th century the coins of Vakht'ang IV had already almost completely left the monetary market, since the aforesaid

hoard contained only 2 specimens of this Georgian monarch out of 3,415 coins (i.e. 0.06%).⁷³

The substance of the legend on the Type 1 coins is quite remarkable; to our knowledge, no particular attention has ever been paid to it before. The bellicosity of the invocation is, however, unprecedented in Georgian numismatic history. Could the issue of this coin type be related to some military activities? (Confrontation with Jahān Shāh?). And if yes, could its minimum precious metal content reflect the straitened circumstances of the state waging a war against an extremely dangerous enemy? We could also propose two versions with regard the origins of this invocation:

1. The Type 1 legend was a benediction of Vakht'ang IV's ascending the throne, in view of the probable military confrontation with foreign invaders;
2. The coins with Type 1 legend constituted a commemorative coinage devoted to Vakht'ang IV's victory.

There is also the matter of arranging the coin types chronologically.

While sequencing them, we considered both the weight and silver standard of individual coins grouped into coin type categories, as well as the iconography of the various coin types.

We were tempted to list the coin types in descending order by weight. But it was utterly unclear whether the general monetary trend in 15th century Georgia implied the reduction of the weight standard, or the *continuous* reduction down to the lowest weight. The available data, however, testify to exactly the opposite: for instance, the coins of K'onst'antine I (1407-1411) were lighter (approximately 0.40 g?)⁷⁴ than some of Vakht'ang IV's coins of 30 years later, like those of Types 3-5 (the weight of individual coins being 0.86, 0.63 and 0.56 g, respectively).

Therefore, we decided to list the coin types principally according to the silver standard of the coins pertaining to them; low silver standard coins first, higher silver standard coins (Types 4-5) second.

We were almost certain that the 4th and particularly the 5th Types were actually the ultimate one/s (at least out of these five), because they featured the winged animal which was depicted also on the coins of Vakht'ang IV's successors, Giorgi VIII (1446-1466) and Bagrat VI (1466-1478)⁷⁵, and was borrowed as we think from the coins of their predecessor.

We listed the coin type with the invocation first in view of the hypothesis that it was minted when Vakht'ang IV ascended the throne.

Remarkably, the coin types of lower silver standard (billon?) that we listed first were perhaps issued according to the higher weight standards than the higher silver standard (silver?) coin types that we listed last.

For all these reasons, our current arrangement of the coin types of Vakht'ang IV is necessarily rather tentative.

In an attempt to educe the historical significance of the available monetary material (albeit a valid subject of historical research *per se*) we would also note that the diversity of the coin types (five in total) may testify to the perhaps relatively vigorous minting activities during the short reign of this Georgian king.

It is to be hoped that more specimens of Vakht'ang IV's coinage as well as additional hoard data will emerge, enabling the

⁷³ კაპანაძე დავითი. „XV საუკუნის ქართული ფულის გორის განძი“. *საქართველოს სახელმწიფო მუზეუმის მოამბე* X-B (1940) [K'apanadze Daviti. "The 15th Century Gori Hoard of Georgian Coins".], 300-301.

⁷⁴ დუნდუა გიორგი. *სამონეტო მიმოქცევის საკითხისათვის XV საუკუნის საქართველოში* (თბილისი: საქართველოს სსრ მეცნიერებათა აკადემიის გამომცემლობა, 1964) [Dundua Giorgi. *On the Issue of the Monetary Circulation in 15th Century Georgia.*], 55.

⁷⁵ Paghava Irakli, Novák Vlastimil. "Georgian Coins in the Collection of the National Museum-Náprstek Museum in Prague". *Annals of the Náprstek Museum* 34 / 2 (2013): 56-57.

researcher to add greater clarification to the numismatic history of Georgia in this period.

Acknowledgment: We would like to express our gratitude to Mr Goga Gabashvili for his kind support with the coin images, as well as to all the private collectors who kindly granted us permission to publish their coins.

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A CIVIC COPPER COIN OF TIFLIS MINT (KINGDOM OF KARTLI, GEORGIA) DEPICTING A STAG FACING LEFT – WHEN WAS IT STRUCK?

By Goga Gabashvili, Irakli Paghava and Giorgi Gogava

Introduction

With this short paper we would like to discuss the minting chronology of one of the rare anonymous copper types bearing the effigy of a *stag facing left* and issued in Tiflis.

This coin type was (first?) published by Yevgeniy Pakhomov in 1926.⁷⁶ Later on, the data on the metrology of the available

⁷⁶ Пахомов Евгений. *Вес и достоинство медной монеты Тифлиса XVII-XVIII в.в.* [The Weight and Denominatino of the Tiflis Copper Coinage of the 17th-18th c.]. Отдельный оттиск из т. III “Востоковедения”, изд. вост. факультета Аз. Гос. Университета. Баку, 1928. P. 91.

Монеты Грузии (Coins of Georgia), the second part of the author's reputed treatise on Georgian numismatics was ready for publication by the 1910s, but could be printed only in 1970, posthumously. Пахомов

specimens was published by Tinatin Kutelia; we deem it reasonable to summarise the results of their work: Kutelia wrote about 7 specimes being noted by 1979: 6 double pulis with an average weight of 8.51 (range = 8.13-8.85) and 1 puli of 3.86 g.⁷⁷ On the other hand, Pakhomov provided the following weight for the sole puli known to him – 3.77 g.⁷⁸ We do not know whether these scholars were dealing with the same specimen. According to Pakhomov, all the bigger coins (he did not specify the total number) as well as smaller-denomination ones were struck from the same pair of dies.⁷⁹

None of the discussed specimens of either denomination bore a legible date. Pakhomov considered this coin type was issued some time during AH 1014-1075.⁸⁰ According to Kutelia, it followed the undated (with date effaced?) coin type with the name of Šafī [I] (AH 1038-1052 / 1629- 1642), but was minted before AH 1055 (date for the lion-and-sun type).⁸¹ It is worth mentioning here that Irakli Paghava and Severian Turkia, and later Giorgi Gogava discovered and published more copper coin types bearing the name of Šafī.⁸²

A new specimen with a clear date

Fortunately, we were able to study a sufficiently well-preserved specimen (of a heavier denomination) with the full date on the flan. The coin was discovered, presumably by a metal detectorist several kilometers to the south-east of modern Tbilisi (the 17th c. Tiflis).⁸³ It does not differ in terms of the general design and legends, save for the date clearly visible on one side. Moreover, it seems to have been struck using the same pair of dies.⁸⁴ Nevertheless, it would be appropriate to publish a full and updated description, based on the previously known⁸⁵, as well as the new specimen once again.

Evidently, this is a relatively heavy specimen of a double puli (or half-bisti) of the “stag facing left” type, with a clear and fully legible date: [AH 1011] (i.e. AD 1602/3).

Since the majority of Tiflis copper coins, except perhaps for the type depicting a horse, only bore one (frozen?) date, we have some ground for conjecturing that all the coins of the stag facing left type bore the same date (though they could certainly have been struck during several years with a frozen date).

Евгений. *Монеты Грузии*. [Coins of Georgia] Тбилиси: Мещниереба, 1970. Interestingly enough, it contains information only about the bigger denomination, as judged by the dimensions indicated – 25 mm. Ibid., 228. Evidently, Pakhomov familiarised himself with the smaller one only later on, but before 1926.

⁷⁷ Кутелия Тинатин. *Грузия и Сефевидский Иран (по данным нумизматики)*. [Georgia and Safavid Iran (According to Numismatic Data)]. Тбилиси: Мещниереба, 1979. P. 54.

⁷⁸ Пахомов Евгений. *Вес и достоинство медной монеты Тифлиса XVII-XVIII в.в.* [The Weight and Denominatino of the Tiflis Copper Coinage of the 17th-18th c.]. P. 91.

⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁸¹ Кутелия Тинатин. *Грузия и Сефевидский Иран (по данным нумизматики)*. [Georgia and Safavid Iran (According to Numismatic Data)]. P. 54.

⁸² Paghava Irakli, Turkia Severiane. “Another Autonomous Copper Coin Bearing the Name of Safī”. *Journal of Oriental Numismatic Society* 189 (2006): 8-10; Gogava Giorgi. “A Newly Discovered Copper Coin Bearing the Name “Safī”. *Journal of Oriental Numismatic Society* 218 (2014): 11-13.

⁸³ We would like to express our gratitude to the current owner of the coin for his permission to publish it.

⁸⁴ Cf. Кутелия Тинатин. *Грузия и Сефевидский Иран (по данным нумизматики)*. [Georgia and Safavid Iran (According to Numismatic Data)]. Photoplate IV, #27.

⁸⁵ Ibid., 54.



Fig. 1

AE. Weight 9.49 g, dimensions 26 mm, die axis about 7 o'clock⁸⁶; Fig. 1.

Obv.⁸⁷: Legend within a cartouche formed by a linear border:

تفليس ۱۰۱۱
فلوس
ب
ضر

floral motifs and dots in the background.

Rev.: A stag facing left within a cartouche formed by a linear border and outer border of dots; floral motifs in the background.

Does ۱۰۱۱ really mean AH 1011?

If the date on the coin is really AH 1011 (1602/3), this would be the earliest civic copper of the Tiflis mint.⁸⁸

However, ۱۰۱۱ could denote a different date too. It is well known that the dot representing the zero could be shifted to different positions within the date and, generally speaking, was of minor significance for the celator. We would cite examples from the minting history of civic coppers at the Tiflis mint: the type with *lions facing left* on both sides of the coin bore the date ۰۱۱۴ (Tinatin Kutelia has convincingly argued that this date denoted AH 1104 and not 1014 or 1140⁸⁹); the *horse facing left* type coins

⁸⁶ Established by analyzing the obverse and reverse images.

⁸⁷ We consider the side revealing the mint name to be the obverse.

⁸⁸ Kutelia considered the coin type with the name of Šafī I to be the first copper coin of civic type to be ever issued by the Tiflis mint. Кутелия Тинатин. *Грузия и Сефевидский Иран (по данным нумизматики)*. [Georgia and Safavid Iran (According to Numismatic Data)]. P. 52-54.

Later, Paghava and Turkia published another coin type (two fishes) also with “Šafī”, conjecturing that it could have been struck in AH 1045 by Šafī I. Paghava Irakli, Turkia Severiane. “Another Autonomous Copper Coin Bearing the Name of Šafī”. P. 8-10.

Gogava published yet another coin type with the name of Šafī, as well as more specimens of the previously published types, and discussed the series as a whole; *inter alia*, he considered the coins with the name of Šafī to be “the first copper coins struck at the Tbilisi mint (Kingdom of Kartli) during the rule of the Safavid dynasty”, the type with two fishes being the initial issue. Gogava Giorgi. “A Newly Discovered Copper Coin Bearing the Name “Šafī”. P. 11-13.

⁸⁹ ქუთელია თინათინი. „თბილისური სპილენძის ფულის ერთი ტიპის დათარიღებისათვის“. [“On Dating One of the Tbilisi Copper Coin Types”] საქართველოს სახელმწიფო მუზეუმის მოამბე XXXVII-B (1984): 65-70; Кутелия Тинатин. *Грузия и Сефевидский Иран (по данным нумизматики)*. [Georgia and Safavid Iran (According to Numismatic Data)]. P. 52-54.

always bear dates with no zero at all (۱۹۱, ۱۹۳, ۱۹۴, ۱۹۵, ۱۹۶), sometimes just two digits are represented (۹۱), or the digits are engraved on the die in the wrong order (۵۹۱)⁹⁰ - one of the authors has encountered a specimen with the date variant ۰۱۹۵; the *peacock facing right* coin type bears the date ۰۱۱۳ (we agree with Tinatin Kutelia who interpreted it as AH 1103⁹¹); even the Christian Era dates indicated with European-Arabic figures lack the zeros (178 and 179 for correspondingly 1708 and 1709) on the copper coins of Vakht’ang VI.⁹² It seems to be quite remarkable that all these types were struck within a relatively short, c. 30 year period (AH 1091-1120).

Thus, we consider that the actual date on the coin type *stag facing left* could be not only AH 1011, but also 1101 or 1110 (or even 1111).

In terms of calligraphy (the sprawling and bold writing of Tiflis on the early coins seems to be particularly unusual; in our view, the coin types with the name of Šafī, *animal facing right, lion and sun, sun, bull tramping whale, lion facing right*) and the effigy on the *stag facing left* coins bear more resemblance to the later type like *horse facing left* of the AH 1090s or *peacock facing right* of AH 1103; the cartouche of the *stag facing left* type also resembles those of the *horse facing left, peacock facing right* and *rhinoceros facing right* types.⁹³

The *stag facing left* type was not represented in the At’eni, Qandaura, Ts’aghvli hoards⁹⁴ (which contained coins dated AH 1112-1131)⁹⁵, so we think the AH 1101 option is more probable than 1110.

On the other hand, one cannot ignore the unequivocal testimony (1011) provided by the coin published here. Therefore we would refrain for the time being from dating the *stag facing left* coin type to some specific time period. Perhaps additional specimens struck from one or more different obverse dies, and showing a date, would show more variation with regard to the dot position, or, even better, some hoard data would come to the researcher’s help.

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⁹⁰ Ibid., 57.

⁹¹ Ibid., 58.

⁹² Пахомов Евгений. *Монеты Грузии*. [Coins of Georgia]. С. 252.

⁹³ Cf. Кутелия Тинатин. *Грузия и Сефевидский Иран (по данным нумизматики)*. [Georgia and Safavid Iran (According to Numismatic Data)]. Photoplates IV-V.

⁹⁴ We have some reservations with regard to the so called “Hermitage” hoard. Добровольский Игорь. “Клад медных грузинских монет XVIII века в собрании Эрмитажа”. [“A Hoard of the 18th c. Georgian Copper Coins from the Hermitage Collection”]. *Прошлое нашей родины в памятниках нумизматики*. (Редактор Всеволод Потин). 178-182. Ленинград Аврора, 1977. In our opinion, this was an accidental accumulation (collection?) of Georgian (Tiflis) copper coins. At least, the author provided no arguments in favour of the hoard provenance of this coin group.

⁹⁵ Кутелия Тинатин. *Грузия и Сефевидский Иран (по данным нумизматики)*. [Georgia and Safavid Iran (According to Numismatic Data)]. P. 101-106.

5. Кутелия Тинатин. *Грузия и Сефевидский Иран (по данным нумизматики)*. [Georgia and Safavid Iran (According to Numismatic Data)]. Тбилиси: Мецниереба, 1979.
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A LOW-WEIGHT COPPER COIN WITH GEOMETRICAL DESIGN STRUCK AT ZAGEMI (IN EASTERN GEORGIA)

By Goga Gabashvili, Irakli Paghava and Giorgi Gogava

Zagemi is well known as the sole (as far as we know) minting centre of the Kingdom of K'akheti; the latter had formerly been a mere eastern province of the united Georgian Kingdom and transformed into a polity in the 15th century, after the disintegration of the united Georgian state. This relatively small kingdom could not preserve its independence and had to acknowledge Safavid suzerainty already in the 16th century.

From a numismatic point of view, the dependence on the Safavids resulted in the striking of Safavid-type silver currency in Zagemi, *idem* Bazari of Georgian sources, the economic (and political) capital of the K'akheti Kingdom⁹⁶. Zagemi coins (mint name زكم; or كمام; زكام) in the name of Tahmāsp I, Muḥammad Khudābanda, 'Abbās I, Ṣafī I and 'Abbās II have already been studied and published.⁹⁷ In addition, copper currency produced at the same mint has also been discovered recently.⁹⁸

However, the numismatic history of Zagemi has evidently not been clarified completely yet. Newly discovered coins continue to provide us with additional data and in this article we publish a previously unreported type of copper coin struck at this mint.

The sole specimen we know of so far (Fig. 1) was found on the soil surface somewhere in the inner Kartli region of Georgia. Its details are as follows:

Dimensions 19-21 mm, weight 2.02 g, thin flan, die axis 10:30 o'clock;

Obv.: a four-legged animal to left; floral (?) ornaments and dots scattered in the background.

Rev.: A pentagonal cartouche with concave sides; Arabic legend within:

زكم
س
فلو

In the top left segment: خلد (?)

Traces of illegible Arabic legends in the other segments.



Fig. 1

Unfortunately, the coin is either undated, or the date has been effaced or is off-flan. Nevertheless, we would conjecture it was minted rather early. Elements like the extended legend (so uncharacteristic for the later-period civic coppers), of which only خلد (?) is legible; the absence of such a "standard" mint formula element as ضرب within the pentagon; the low weight; the geometrical design – they all fit well the so-called first period of issuing Iranian civic coppers, "from as early as the 780s/1380s at some mints to the early 900s/1500s throughout Iran"⁹⁹: Stephen Album described the first-period civic coppers as follows: "...the average size was small (2-6 grams) ... The coins are sometimes dated, and usually have geometric or floral designs, rarely a pictorial device" – the coins proper constituted the anonymous coppers minted during "the rule of the Timurid, Qara Qoyunlu, Aq Qoyunlu and other minor local dynasties."¹⁰⁰

Could this coin type have been issued in the Kingdom of K'akheti in the 2nd half of the 15th century, before the subjugation of the east-Georgian kingdoms of Kartli and K'akheti by the Safavids? Or could it perhaps have been minted even earlier, in other words, could there have been a mint functioning in the K'akheti province of Georgia before the disintegration of the united state in the 1460s? For instance, were the billon coins (two

⁹⁶ ლევან ჭილაშვილი, *კახეთის ქალაქები* [Cities of K'akheti] (თბილისი: მეცნიერება, 1980), 157-163, 171-175.

⁹⁷ Тинатин Кутелия, *Грузия и Сефевидский Иран (по данным нумизматики)* [Georgia and Safavid Iran (According to Numismatic Data)] (Тбилиси: Мецниереба, 1979), 14-25; Stephen Album, *Sylloge of Islamic Coins in the Ashmolean Volume 9 Iran after the Mongol Invasion* (Ashmolean Museum Oxford: Chameleon, 2001), plate 39; Иракли Пагава, Севериане Туркия, "Новые данные о чеканке сефевидской монеты в царстве Кахети (Грузия)", *Расмир: Восточная нумизматика, 1-я международная конференция, 29-31 июля 2011 г.*, ред. И. Пагава, В. Безпалько (Одесса: ТДМ, 2013), 105-112; Stan Goron, "The Coinage of Safi I (AH 1038-1052)", *Oriental Numismatic Society Newsletter* 176 (2003): 32; Stan Goron, "The Coinage of the Safavid ruler, 'Abbas II up to AH 1060", *Oriental Numismatic Society Newsletter* 177 (2003): 18; Stan Goron, "The Coinage of the Safavid ruler, 'Abbas II up to AH 1060 – Part II", *Oriental Numismatic Society Newsletter* 178 (2004): 38; ირაკლი ფაღავა, „სეფევიდების საქართველოს ურთიერთობის ისტორიიდან - კახეთის ქალაქი ბაზარი (ზაგემი) XVII-XVIII საუკუნეებში (ნუმისმატიკური და წერილობითი მონაცემებით)“ [“On the Safavid-Georgian Relations: City of Bazari (Zagemi) in K'akheti in the 17th-18th c. (According to Numismatic and Written Data)“], *ახლო აღმოსავლეთი და საქართველო* VII (2012): 191-199. 191-199; Kirk Bennett, *A Catalog of Georgian Coins* ([2013]): 223-230.

⁹⁸ Александр Акопян, Давид Алексанян, "Тянджинский клад и медный чекан Кахетинского царства." [“Ganja Hoard and Copper Coinage of the Kingdom of Kakhethi”], В сб.: *Путиями средневековых монет: Археолого-нумизматический сборник памяти Алексея Владимировича Фомина* (Москва, 2012): in press.

Some of the coins bear the name of a province as a mint name (Kākhed) and were presumably also minted in Zagemi. *Ibid.*

⁹⁹ Stephen Album, *Checklist of Islamic Coins*, 3rd ed. (2011), 284-285.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*

In contrast to the first, the second period (covering the 16th c.) was "characterized by larger flans (normally 5-10 grams, sometimes heavier), longer inscriptions, and the occasional pictorial device, usually an animal"; whereas the third period started after the interlude with the minting the so-called la'nat series, "from early in the reign of 'Abbas I until the introduction of modern machinery ... Typical weights vary from less than 4 to more than 20 grams ... A broad repertoire of pictorial & calligraphic types was employed". *Ibid.* the third period coppers mostly bore the extremely laconic formula "فلوس ضرب X".

types)¹⁰¹ of Giorgi VIII, King of Georgia (also known as Giorgi I, the first king of K'akheti), or at least the later type – also struck in Zagemi?

The city proper existed long before the creation of the Safavid state. Zagemi, under its Georgian name of Bazari (the Georgian word for *Market*, borrowed from Persian; cf. *Bazaar*), was first mentioned in a document of 1392; this was a list of the Georgian Catholicosate's *assets* in eastern Georgia, including “27 [serf] households of merchant Armenian and Jewish men at Bazari”.¹⁰² Evidently, it was a trade city of some importance.

Therefore, we think it possible that the coin type represented by the so far unique specimen we discussed above was minted at some point in the 15th century, or at the beginning of the 16th century, i.e. *before* the rise of the Safavids.¹⁰³ In our opinion, this may be *the earliest* copper issue of Zagemi, and perhaps of the Kingdom of K'akheti too.

Remarkably, the weight of the coin is only 2.02 g, which seems to be somewhat unusual for the Zagemi / Kingdom of K'akheti coins¹⁰⁴, but, as we have already mentioned, this well fits our hypothesis of it having been struck in the 15th or early 16th century. Nevertheless, it proves, as does the countermarked coin (with the countermark *fulūs zkm*, weight 2.10 g) from the “Ganja hoard”¹⁰⁵, that light-weight coppers were also being struck and were circulating in Zagemi (and the Kingdom of K'akheti? - Perhaps along with heavier coins). If this was so, then it could point to petty trade already being relatively developed there.

Generally speaking, the existence of several coin types minted in copper may point to relatively vigorous or at least protracted economic activity in this Georgian state

The find location of the coin (inner Kartli region, the former core area of the Kingdom of Kartli) is not improbable, since it was located just 25-100 km from the border with the Kingdom of K'akheti. Because of the dearth of available data, however, we are not in a position to discuss the circulation area of the copper currency of the latter.

Acknowledgement: We would like to express our gratitude to Mr D. Patsia for his support of our research.

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¹⁰¹ გიორგი დუნდუა, *სამონეტო მიმოქცევის საკითხისათვის XV საუკუნის საქართველოში* [On the Issue of Monetary Circulation in 15th Century Georgia], (თბილისი: საქართველოს სსრ მეცნიერებათა აკადემიის გამომცემლობა, 1964), 58-59.

¹⁰² ჭილაშვილი, *კახეთის ქალაქები* [Cities of K'akheti], 160-161.

¹⁰³ We disagree with Levan Ch'ilashvili that the Ilkhan coins bearing the mint name *Bāzār* or a mint name containing *Bāzār* as one of the compounds could have been struck in Bazari / Zagemi of K'akheti. Ibid., 162-163.

¹⁰⁴ The major Ganja hoard contained only 1 specimen of unclear origin (with mint name illegible) and a countermark *fulūs zkm* of 2.10 g, as well as 3 coins with effaced mint names and weight of 2.19, 2.80 and 3.16 g, respectively. Акопян, Алексанян, “Гянджинский клад и медный чекан Кахетинского царства.”

¹⁰⁵ Ibid.

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COINS OF AL-MANŞŪR ABŪ BAKR: A NEW ATTRIBUTION IN THE LIGHT OF A HISTORICAL SOURCE

By Hassan Al-Akra

In *The Coinage of the Mamlūk Sultans of Egypt and Syria (MSES)*, Balog identified the following coin: (MSES, no 267, fig. 1 et 2) as being of al-Manşūr Abū Bakr (741-742/1342), and described it as follows: “Border on both sides: thick circular line. In it, linear hexagram; pellet in the external angles. In the center: **O.** احد / سنة / واربعين / ي / بد / مشق / ضر / ب / ر.”



267
Fig. 1

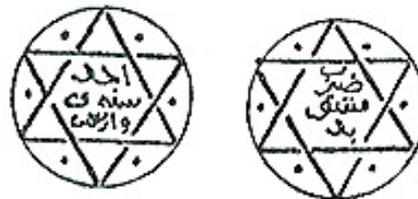


Fig. 2

Balog's classification was merely based on a similar specimen having the same type and legend, but dated 742/1342 (MSES, no 268). Subsequently, most of the studies published after this catalogue endorsed this classification¹⁰⁶. In 1981, L. Ilisch proposed a new reading and considered that these copper coins should not be assigned to individual sultans as they were continuously struck over the period of AH 741-743. According to

¹⁰⁶ I will mention here the last two publications: NICOL, D., *Sylloge of Islamic Coins in the Ashmolean*, vol. 6: The Egyptian Dynasties, Oxford, 2007, no. 1259; KOIFMAN, Alexander, *Fulūs of the Mamlūk Sultans of Egypt and Syria*, Maalot, 2012, p. 48. Koifman does list MSES 267, as a coin of Abū Bakr, and MSES 277, as a coin of Aḥmad.

AN UNREPORTED VARIETY OF A ZENGID COIN

By Don Robertson

According to Spengler & Sayles (S&S), the last ruler of the Zengids of Aleppo issued three types of copper coins. One type, no. 75, was issued at Damascus and types 76 and 77 were issued by the Aleppo mint. S&S type 77 has 8 varieties. While going through some unidentified coins that I acquired long ago, I believe that I have found another, 9th variety that may be unreported. As can be seen from figures 1 and 2, the coin is worn nearly flat and the marginal legends are completely illegible. Illustrations are enlarged.



Fig. 1: Obverse with al-malik al-šāliḥ



Fig. 2: Reverse with al-mustaḍī bi-amrillah

Figure 3, below, on the next page, shows my crude drawing of both sides of the coin. The obverse is basically identical to the standard obverse, citing al-Malik al-Šāliḥ. However, the reverse is different from all of the others. Six of the 8 varieties cite the Caliph al-Mustaḍī. Four of them have the two-line inscription: *al-mustaḍī amīr al-mū'minīn*. Two others have the three-line inscription: *al-mustaḍī bi-amrillah amīr al-mū'minīn*. This coin is also a two-line inscription which is read: *al-mustaḍī bi-amrillah*.

In addition, there are ornaments that appear on both sides of the coin. Those on the obverse are like those shown in Spengler & Sayles. Those on the reverse appear to be more or less diamond shaped. They are not clear but I do not think that cleaning is an option with this coin.

It is also interesting that the top of the last "ī" in *amrillah* goes off at an angle to the left. This does not occur on the two varieties with the three-line inscription. In addition, the writing of this word on S&S type 76 is identical to that on this coin. Type 76 is a rare coin that is dated 571. Due to the similarity of the calligraphy, I would make a tentative guess that the date might also be 571 or perhaps 572 on this coin. Hopefully someone else will someday locate a better specimen to verify it.

him, their issue started probably already under an-Nāṣir Muḥammad, since the Ṭarāblus mint added his name¹⁰⁷.

However, a text written by Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba (779-851/1377-1448) seems to confirm Ilisch's assumption regarding this matter. The writer of the text was, for forty years, a judge in Shuhba, a town located in the Hūrān Mountains, in Syria. In the first two volumes of his *Tārīkh ibn Qāḍī Shuhba*, he copied events mentioned by historians, like al-Dahabī, al-Barzālī, Ibn Kaṭīr and others. Nevertheless the third and fourth volume are based on events that occurred during his life time¹⁰⁸.

The author mentions in his manuscript the events that occurred during the year 741/1341 and states the following:

"During the reign of al-Malik an-Nāṣir Muḥammad, in the year AH 741, coins were struck in his name. In Jumādā al-Ākhir: they advocated the use of the *fulūs*, in money transactions in Damascus, with every *raṭl* (pound) equivalent to 10 dirhams, and it was hard for people.

In *Shā'bān*: people used the new *fulūs* that was struck and made every eight the price of 1/8 dirham as it was before and it ceased to be used by weight. The Solomon's seal was on both sides of the *fals*. In the middle of one of the sides was: "struck in Damascus"; and the other: "year forty one". Ibn Kaṭīr said: "The people preferred this one because the name of Allah was written on the previous one and it might fall under the feet and suffer other unsuitable treatment".¹⁰⁹

في تاريخ الملك الناصر محمد بن قلاوون من سنة 741 هـ: ...
نضرب لك السكة ونخطب لك، ... وفي جمادى الآخرة: نودي
بالتعامل بالفلوس بدمشق كل رطل بعشرة دراهم، فشق على
الناس.¹¹⁰

وفي شعبان: تعامل الناس بالفلوس الجدد التي ضربت
وجعلت كل ثمانية ثمن درهم كما كانت من قبل، وبطل التعامل بها
وزناً، وعلى الفلوس من الجانبين خاتم سليمان، وفي وسطه في
الجانب الواحد: "ضرب بدمشق". وفي الآخر: "سنة إحدى
وأربعين". قال ابن كثير: "واستحسن الناس ذلك لأن التي قبلها
كان مكتوباً عليها اسم الله تعالى وربما سقط بعضها تحت الأرجل
وغير ذلك من المحال المكروهة".¹¹¹

This historical passage is highly important since Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba described a new coin type minted during the reign of al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad bin Qalāūn, and put into circulation, probably, starting the month of *Shā'bān*. This type had on both sides the seal of Solomon; in it, on the obverse: "struck in Damascus"; and on the reverse: "year forty one". This description matches Balog's linear hexagram specimen (*MSES*, no 267). Moreover, Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba states, according to Ibn Kaṭīr, that this new coin type was meant to replace the old *fals* bearing the name of God. The latter, corresponding to Balog specimens nos 222-226, was struck in Damascus between AH 735 and 741.¹¹²

In the light of this historical source, we can assume that the linear hexagram coin type must be assigned to al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad bin Qalāūn and not to his son, al-Manšūr Abū Bakr, since he was crowned after the death of his father, who died on 21 Dhū al-Ḥijjah, one week before the end of the year AH 741.¹¹³ In any case, it seems unlikely that he would have been willing or able to devote any time to the copper coinage during this short remaining period of the year.

¹⁰⁷ ILISCH, Lutz, "Beiträge zur mamlukischen Numismatik IV, Anonyme syrische Städterprägungen 741-743 H./1341-1343 AD.", in *MNZ*, XI, 2 (Mürz 1981), p. 13-14.

¹⁰⁸ *Tārīkh Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba*, IFD, Damas, vol. 1, 1977; vol. 2 and 3, 1994; vol. 4, 1997.

¹⁰⁹ *Tārīkh Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba*, vol. 2, p. 124 and 125.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 124.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 125.

¹¹² *MSES*, nos 222-226. This type was also struck at the mints of Aleppo, Hamāh and Cairo.

¹¹³ *Op. cit.*, p. 132.

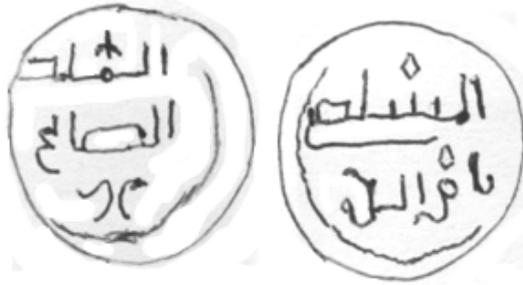


Fig. 3: A drawing of both sides of the coin

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A VICTORY DINAR OF THE LAST GHAZNAVID RULER, KHUSRŪ MALIK

By Rear Admiral Sohail Khan & Riaz Babur



Obverse field

فتح
السلطان الأعظم
تاج الدولة و سرا
ج الملك ابو لموك
خسر و ملك

Obv. margin

ضرب هذا الدينار في
ذو القعدة سنة سبع و ستين
و خمسمائة

Rev. field

فتح
لا اله الا الله
محمد رسول الله
الامام المستنجد
بالله

Rev. margin

هو الذي ارسله بالهدى
و دين الحق ليظهره على الدين كله
و لو كره المشركون

Obv.

fateh
lā ilaha illā allāh
muḥammad rasūl allah
al-imām al-mustanjid
billāh

Rev.

fateh
al-sultān al-a'zam
tāj al-daula wa sirā
j al-milla abū'l malūk
khusrū malik

Obv. margin:

*ḍuraba hadha al-dīnār fī dhū al-qī'dah sanata saba' wa sitān
wa khamsmi'a* (AH 567)

Rev. margin: Sura 9/33

It is He that has sent His messenger, with guidance and true faith to make it superior over all religions even though the disbelievers hate it

The images above show one of the most important and extremely rare dinars struck by the last Ghaznavid ruler, Khusrū Malik. There are some interesting historical facts which can be observed in it.

1. At the top of the inner legend on both sides is written the word "Fateh" (Victory). Hence, the coin is not an ordinary issue; it states that it is a medallion or a victory commemorative issue. But victory over whom? Most history books are silent and portray him as a reclusive last ruler of the once mighty Ghaznavid Empire, pushed out to the edges of their eastern possessions, and probably exercising very nominal control over the suburbs of his eastern capital, Lahore.

2. Caliph Al-Mustanjid died in Baghdad in AH 566, which was December 1170. This dinar of Khusrū Malik was issued with the date of a year later, in AH 567/AD 1171. This shows that the news of the death of Al-Mustanjid had, quite understandably, not yet arrived at Lahore, because contact between Baghdad and Lahore had been cut off by the Ghorids, who held all the lands between Khusrū Malik's smallholding around Lahore and the lands to the west in contact with the Caliphate. To the south were the Carmathians with whom Khusrū Malik also had no contact. To the east of him lay the territories of hostile Rajas of Hindustan. Neither of these neighbours cared who the Caliph in Baghdad was!

3. On the reverse, he styles himself "al-sultān al-a'zam" – the supreme ruler. He is not longer just a "shāh"

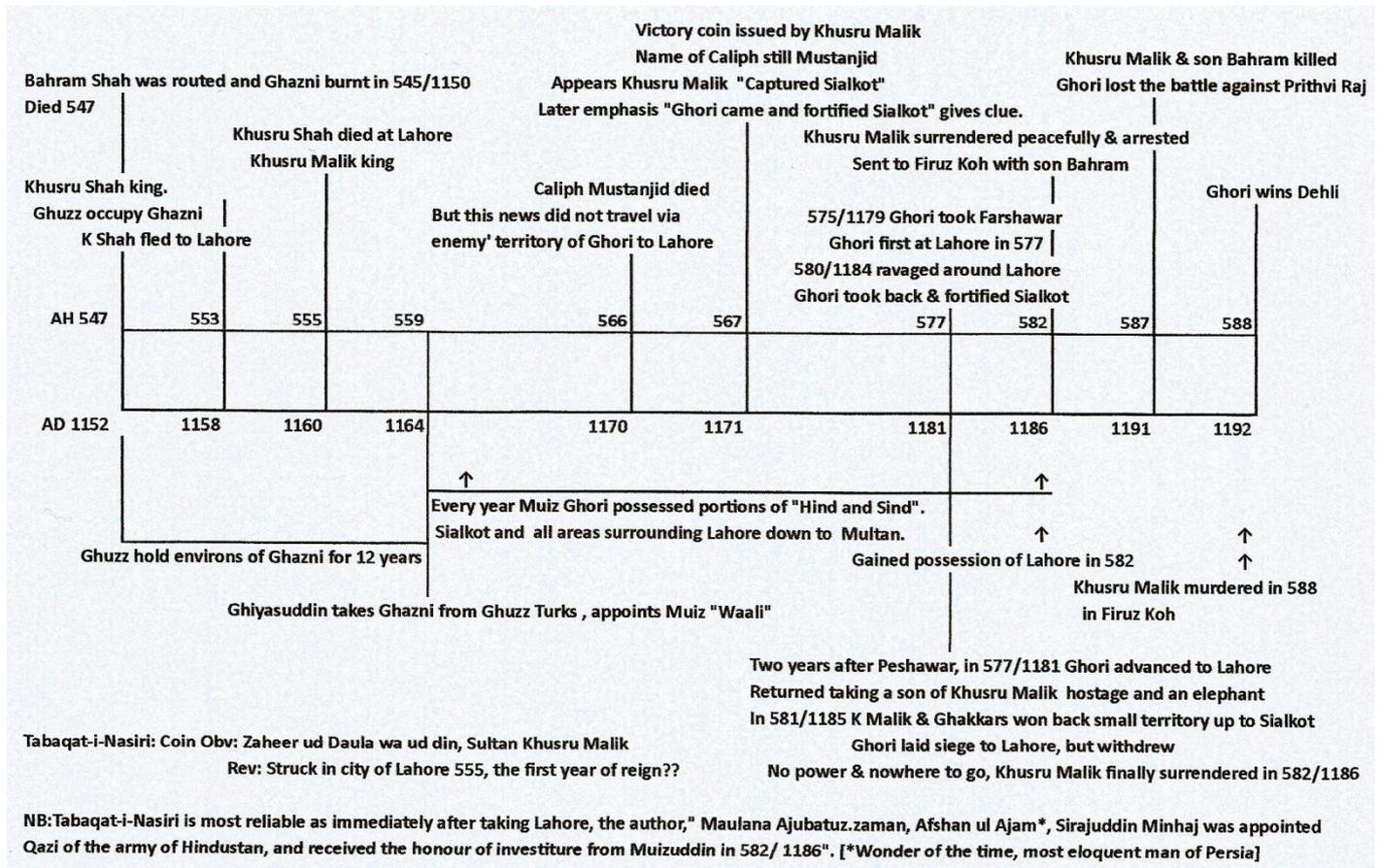
4. On the reverse in the margin we see the month of Dhu'l Qi'da (the 11th Islamic month) and the year 567 but no mention of the name of where it was struck. I place this time somewhere in August of AD 1172; surely neither the Ghorids, nor their predecessors, the Ghaznavids, ventured into India during these hottest and monsoon months – they always came when the monsoons had ended and the cooler season had started, i.e. from November till March.

This dinar must have been struck as the last Ghaznavid gold coin probably at Lahore, because it remained the capital of the Ghaznavids till the fall of the empire 15 years later in AH 582 / AD 1186. There was no other town in his possession where a die of this type and quality could have been cut and a gold coin struck.¹¹⁴

This remarkable new discovery leads us to search for one of the episodes which must have happened in AH 567 in the month of Dhu'l Qi'dah; some important battle, most probably between the local garrison force of the Ghorids and a Ghaznavid force, a desperate attempt by the remains of the once mighty Ghaznavid Empire, now shrunk around the isolated Lahore area, with the result of this particular battle being "a win by Khusrū Malik's force". The winners knew that the main Ghorid army would not come into Hind for a few months and oppose their venture.

Below is a timeline of important events while the last Ghaznavid father and son, Khusrū Shāh and Khusrū Malik ruled at Lahore after being expelled from Ghazni by the Ghuzz nomadic Turks. This is followed by some historic background to the issue of this and a couple of other important coins

¹¹⁴ It is just possible that the coin was struck at the place of victory from dies prepared at Lahore.



TIMELINE OF EVENTS: GHAZNAVID & GHORID CONFLICT

The rise and fall of the Ghaznavid Empire is just as spectacular as the Rise and Fall of the Roman Empire. The eighth Ghaznavid sultan, Ibrahim, a pious king, was blessed with a very long reign of 40 years till AH 492 /AD 1099. It is said that he was blessed with 36 sons and 40 daughters! Ibrahim is credited with two expeditions into India, the second of which he led in person in AD 1079-80 to chastise Ajodhan. Ibrahim's son, 'Alā al-Dīn Mas'ud III, was married to a sister of the Seljuq emperor, Sulṭān Sanjar. Mas'ud died after another peaceful reign of 16 years. His son, Arslān Shāh, put all his brothers to death except Mu'iz al-Dīn Bahrām Shāh, who escaped to his uncle, the Seljuq Sulṭān Sanjar. This latter then came to help Bahrām, drove Arslān out and put Bahrām on the throne. As Sanjar retired to his capital, Arslān again besieged Bahrām in AH 512 /AD 1119 and Sanjar once again marched to Ghazni and, this time, put Arslān to death. Bahrām was a great and wise ruler for much of his reign and a real connoisseur of art, he appreciating all the intellectuals at his court. Due to the wars with the neighbouring states during the later part of his reign, however, he started to lose his firm grip on state affairs. Many of his powerful wazirs conspired with his enemies against him.

In the northern territories of the Ghaznavid empire, the Maliks of Ghor had by then become sufficiently powerful and independent to be called the Shansabani Tajik Sultans of Ghor. Two rulers, 'Izz al-Dīn Ḥusain and Saif al-Dīn Surī, had made their dynastic seat at Firuzkoh, north of Herat, the historical centre of eastern Persia and capital of the north-western possessions of the Ghaznavids. In AH 544 /AD 1149, Bahā al-Dīn Sām I became the ruler of Ghor and his 3 brothers assisted him in outlying provinces. One of the brothers, Quṭb al-Dīn, detected trouble with the Ghaznavids and moved to threaten them. In the negotiations, he managed to mingle with the "Royalty" of Ghazni and the ruler there, Bahrām Shāh, arranged Quṭb al-Dīn's marriage to a Ghaznavid princess. This move was to establish peace between Ghazni and Ghor. However, suspecting intrigues and succumbing

to a suspicion of subversion, Bahrām had Quṭb al-Dīn poisoned. Saif al-Dīn Surī, the younger brother of Quṭb al-Dīn, moved swiftly from Ghor and attacked Ghazni. Bahrām ran away and hid himself in the region of Kuraman in the mountains so that cavalry could not operate against him. He entered from the Peiwar Kotal Pass near the present-day Para Chinār on the border of Pakistan-Afghanistan, moving down along the Kurram River and stayed probably in the environs of the present town of Bannu. These territories were full of a very large number of Ghaznavid loyalists due to its 150 years continuous rule, and Bahrām expected a lot of support from them. Bahrām also appealed to his uncle, the Seljuq Sulṭān Sanjar, and with his help suddenly appeared to reoccupy Ghazni. As winter had come, the routes between Ghor and Ghazni became blocked and no helping force could come to Saif al-Dīn Ghorī, who was trapped in Ghazni.

Saif al-Dīn then took the difficult road to Ghor via Herat. Bahrām attacked with full speed, overtook Saif al-Dīn and captured him. The latter had surrendered on a promise that his life would be spared, but he was treacherously murdered under revolting circumstances. Saif al-Dīn and his "Syed" wazir were taken bound to Ghazni and paraded on camel backs to the jeers and insults of the inhabitants of the city. They were taken under the arch of a high bridge and the two were gibbeted and their bodies left hanging from it. Malik Bahā al-Dīn Sām having learnt of the sad story of the death of Saif al-Dīn, marched to avenge his brother, but he was taken ill on the way and died. 'Alā al-Dīn Ḥusain, the fourth brother, swore a bloody revenge for the murder of his two brothers, Quṭb al-Dīn and Saif al-Dīn. He sacked Ghazni and occupied it in AH 545 /AD 1150-51. Bahrām Shah ran away again. 'Alā al-Dīn took a terrible revenge on Ghazni and its inhabitants. He set fire to the splendid capital, which burned for seven days; hence 'Alā al-Dīn is called "Jahānsoz" – "the world burner". Blinded with rage, he ordered a general massacre of the male inhabitants and the enslavement of the female population. The remains of Ghaznavid kings, other than Sulṭān Maḥmūd, Mas'ud Shahīd and Sayyid al-Salaṭīn Ibrahim, were dug up, bones burned and tombs were destroyed. To avenge the killing of the innocent Syed wazir of Saif al-Dīn, several suspects were seized in retaliation. Bags of earth from Ghazni were placed on their backs

and they were force-marched to Ghor, where they were slaughtered, their blood mixed with the earth brought by them in the bags carried on their backs and small victory pillars erected with that mortar around Firuzkoh. A gory incident indeed!

‘Alā al-Dīn retired quickly as Sulṭān Sanjar had attacked the Heart area and was approaching Firuzkoh. ‘Alā al-Dīn was defeated and imprisoned. As luck would have it, he was soon free as it was the turn of Sulṭān Sanjar to suffer when he was captured by Ghuzz Turks and put in a cage. In Ghazni, Bahrām came back and occupied what remained of the unfortunate city, where he died in AH 547 /AD 1152.

Khusrū Shāh succeeded Bahrām. He was even weaker than Bahrām and this timid ruler fled Ghazni when threatened by the nomadic Ghuzz Turks and stayed at a safe distance, at Lahore. By that time the Ghuzz Turks had defeated Sanjar’s forces which used to give protection to the Ghaznavid rulers. With both the Seljuqs and the Ghaznavids totally decimated, the Ghorids became fully independent rulers and ‘Alā al-Dīn continued in Firuzkoh with no challenger around. In AH 555 he carried out a quick expedition to capture Ghazni, as shown by the following gold coin.



Obv. field

لا إله إلا الله
وحده لا شريك له
الإمام مستنجد بالله
أمير المؤمنين

Obv. margin

ضرب (هذا الدينار) بغزنة
في سنة خمس وخمسين (سنة) خمس مائة

Rev. field

محمد رسول الله
الملك الأعظم
علا الدنيا والدين
الحسين بن الحسن

Rev. margin

محمد رسول الله ارسله بالهدى
و دين الحق ليظهره على الدين كله
و لوكره المشركون

Obv. field

lā ilaha illā allāh
wahdahu lā sharīk lahu
al-imām mustanjid billah
amīr al-mū'minīn

Obv. margin

ḍaraba (hadhā al-dīnār) bi-ghazna fī sanata khams wa kham(sīn) wa) khamsmi'a

Rev. field

muḥammad rasūl allāh
al-malik al-a'zam
'alā al-dunyā wa al-dīn
al-ḥusain bin al-ḥasan

Rev. Margin Surah 9/33

‘Alā al-Dīn held Ghazni for a very short time, and then returned to Firozkoḥ. The Ghuzz nomads came back to Ghazni. Saif al-Dīn Muḥammad succeeded his father, ‘Alā al-Dīn Jahānsoz in AH 555. He freed ‘Alā al-Dīn’s two nephews, who were sons of the previous paramount Ghorid ruler, Malik Bahā al-Dīn Sām I, ‘Alā al-Dīn’s late eldest brother. The two brothers had previously been imprisoned to keep them away from claiming the throne of their father. They remained grateful and loyal to Saif al-Dīn. The brothers were Shams al-Dīn and Shihāb al-Dīn, who later became

Sultans Ghiyās al-Dīn Muḥammad bin Sām and Mu‘izz al-Dīn Muḥammad bin Sām, respectively. Saif al-Dīn was killed in a battle with the Ghuzz Turks and power was transferred into the hands of the two brothers, the legal claimant sons of Sām I. The Ghuzz Turks kept Ghazni, and the Ghaznavid king, Khusrū Shāh remained away at Lahore. The Ghuzz Turks held Ghazni and its surroundings for about 12 years till the elder Ghorid brother, Shams al-Dīn, threw the Ghuzz out of Ghazni in AH 557/8 /AD 1162, assumed the title of Sulṭān al-A'zam Ghiyās al-Dīn Muḥammad bin Sām at Firuzkoh, and appointed his younger brother, Shihāb al-Dīn to rule Taginabad and Garm Ser.

Pictured below is an extremely rare coin issued from Ghazni, bearing the names of both the Ghorid brothers: Sulṭān al-A'zam Ghiyās al-Dīn Muḥammad bin Sām and al-Malik al-A'zam Shihāb al-Dīn Muḥammad bin Sām. This younger brother, Shihāb al-Dīn, later assumed the new title of Sulṭān Mu‘izz al-Dīn Muḥammad bin Sām, with the concurrence of his elder brother, and under that name established the first Sultanate in India at Dehli.



Obv. field

لا إله إلا الله
المستنجد بالله
السلطان الأعظم
غياث الدنيا والدين
ابو الفتح محمد سام

Obv. margin Surah 9/33

Rev. field

محمد رسول الله
الملك الأعظم
شهاب الدنيا والدين
ابو المظفر محمد
سام

Rev. margin

.....سبع وخمسين وخمسمائة

Obv. field

la ilāha illa allāh
al-mustanjid billāh
al-sulṭān al-a'zam
ghiyāth al-dunyā wa al-dīn
abū al fateḥ muḥammad bin sām

Obv. margin Surah 9/33

Rev. field

muḥammad rasūl allāh
al-malik al-a'zam
shihāb al-dunyā wa al-dīn
abū al muẓaffar muḥammad sām

Rev. Margin: saba' wa khamsīn wa khamsmi'a [AH 557]

Mu‘izz al-Dīn Muḥammad bin Sām Ghorī made many attempts to capture the remaining eastern Ghaznavid territories in "Hind" and "Sind", particularly Uch, Multan and Lahore. He had a tough task of subduing these areas leading up to Lahore since these areas had been loyal under Ghaznavid influence for nearly two centuries and it took time to consolidate his grip on this area. Ghorī captured Uch, Multan, Peshawar and Sialkot, but Lahore was a stronger fortification and was also protected by the River Ravi, often swollen in summer months.

There are some references to actions by Khusru Malik in *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, *Tarikh-i-Guzidah*, *Habib us-Siyar* and *History of India, as Told by Its Own Historians* by Elliot and Dawson. The Ghaznavid books do not talk about rule in their Indian possessions but only mention that it was at an end. The facts we find are:

1. The author of *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, Maulana Minhajuddin Siraj, was appointed Qazi by Mu'izz al-Din Muhammad bin Sam Ghorī immediately after the occupation of Lahore. He was a learned and respectable person whose narration can be relied upon, as "Sadiq and Amīn" (Truthful and honest). He is called "Maulana, Ajubatuz-zamaan, Afshan ul-Ajam" [Wonder of the time, most eloquent man of Persia]. So his evidence on events prior to and after his appointment date is of the strongest.

2. There is clear mention in *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri* of Ghorī going around in a half circle taking Uch and Multan in 571/1175, and Peshawar in 575/1179 (written 'Farshawar' because the letter "P" does not exist in Arabic) but he could not capture Lahore, and retired after taking a tribute. Ghorī eventually captured Lahore much later, in AH 582 /AD1186.

3. When Ghorī was in Ghazni and sorting out local problems, Khusrū Malik is stated in *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri* to have taken the Gakkhars as allies and proceeded on an expedition from Lahore to retake Sialkot. That alliance can only show that strong opposition to the Ghorids, and strong loyalty to the Ghaznavids, existed among powerful tribes between the Peshawar-Rawalpindi and Lahore area. Sialkot was also the only other well-known city in those days east of Peshawar and just west of Lahore.

4. Sialkot was thus captured by combined Khusrū Malik-Gakkhar forces and its garrison broken. [NB: The commemorative coin published above was issued in AH 567, and after that it took Ghorī 15 years to capture Lahore and put an end to the rule of Khusrū Malik in AH 582].

5. Ghorī came soon after this event, appeared at Lahore, but did not succeed in capturing it, as it was well fortified along the eastern bank of the River Ravi. In *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, Ghorī is clearly said to have returned "taking a son of Khusru Malik as hostage and after he had 'fortified Sialkot' in 581/1185", which to him appeared as a vulnerable point after Khusrū Malik's earlier successful expedition against it.

6. Ghorī later took Lahore by stratagem. The author of *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri* says "Khusru Malik could not hold out any longer against this continuous harassment; he came out 'peacefully', but was arrested and sent as prisoner to Firozkoh, along with his son, Bahram".

To sum up:

This dinar seems to have been the last Ghaznavid gold coin struck, probably at Lahore, because it was the capital of the Ghaznavids till the time of the fall of the empire in AH 582 / AD 1186. There was no other town in his possession where a die of this type and quality could have been cut though there does exist the possibility that the coin was struck at Sialkot after the victory, with dies prepared at Lahore.

We have discovered the clues that lead us to one of the episodes which happened in AH 567 in the month of Zil Qada (Dhu'l Qi'dah): an important battle between the forces of the Ghorids and Ghaznavids, when a combined force comprising a loyal Ghaznavid contingent of Khusrū Malik from Lahore and their predator Ghakkhar allies joined together for an expedition against a weakly defended Ghorid outlying garrison town, which appears to have been Sialkot from the evidence in *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri* that Ghorī came later and fortified that town. The result of this particular battle was "A win by Khusru Malik's force" and the issue of the victory coin with "*fateh*", celebrating this short-lived achievement.

THE 'BALARAMA/VASUDEVA' COINAGE OF AGATHOKLES

By Suptratik Baralay

Over the last fifty years the discovery of sites such as Ai-Khanoum, coupled with fresh epigraphic material, has breathed new life into how we study the 'Greek' presence in Bactria and India after the 4th century BC. We now ask questions of cultural history: how did different ethnic groups interact with each other on a day-to-day basis? Were they receptive to one another's cultural practices?¹¹⁵

Answers to such cultural questions have also been sought from Bactrian and Indo-Greek coins. A good example is the square silver coinage of King Agathokles (c.190-180 BC¹¹⁶). Though this issue has gained much academic attention, it has received little detailed analysis since six examples were discovered at Ai-Khanoum in 1970 and subsequently published by Audouin and Bernard in *Revue Numismatique* 1974. They judged it to be a 'monnayage indien superficiellement hellénisé par une légende grecque'.¹¹⁷ In one form or another this analysis has stuck in much secondary literature.¹¹⁸

Nevertheless, these conclusions were reached through flawed methods of reasoning. I will present an overview of the square silver issue of Agathokles (I) before making the case that Audouin and Bernard's analysis of it requires modification both from an economic (II) and iconographic (III) perspective.

I

Agathokles' square silver issue first appeared in a hoard found in room 20 of the 'administrative quarter' at Ai-Khanoum in 1970. The coins (6 square silver coins of Agathokles and 677 karshapana) were stored in a large water vessel (though an unspecified 13 coins were found in the soil above the vessel but mistakenly mixed with the hoard).¹¹⁹ The excavators posit that the coins were first hidden in the 2nd century BC, since Agathokles' issues provide a *terminus post quem* for when the coins in the hoard ceased to be collected. It was suggested that later occupants then unearthed the coins and eventually placed the contents in the water vessel before fleeing from an invasion. The layer from which the vessel was unearthed tells us that this took place sometime in the 1st century BC.¹²⁰ The weight and dimensions of the six square silver coins, and one other, of Agathokles are shown below:¹²¹

Weight	Dimensions (mm.)
1. 3.305g	19 X 18
2. 2.571g	19 X 19
3. 3.242g	17 X 15
4. 2.903g	16 X 17
5. 2.495g	17 X 19
6. 2.328g	17 X 16
7. 3.22g	(exact dimensions unknown)

The flans for these coins were struck with a square incuse die. On the obverse, they bear the image of a male figure wielding a club in his right hand and a plough in his left.¹²² He has been identified

¹¹⁵ Holt 2012 p.89 ff.

¹¹⁶ Bopearachchi 1991 p.56.

¹¹⁷ Audouin and Bernard 1974 p. 34-6.

¹¹⁸ Holt 1989 p.2; Rapin 1995 p.279; Widemann 2009 p.110; Coloru 2009 p. 204-5.

¹¹⁹ Audouin and Bernard 1973 p.238-245.

¹²⁰ Audouin and Bernard 1974 p.40-1.

¹²¹ Table reproduced from Audouin and Bernard 1974. I also include a 7th example of Agathokles' issue, which appeared in a Classical Numismatics Group sale in 2005 (Triton sale VIII, lot 632, 10/01/2005). The find spot for this coin was not indicated.

¹²² Audouin and Bernard 1974 p.10-13.

as the Indic deified hero Samkarshana-Balarama¹²³. The legend in Greek reads 'ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ' ('Of King Agathokles'). The reverse shows a figure holding a wheel in his left hand and perhaps a conch in the other. He has been equated with Krishna-Vasudeva.¹²⁴ On this side, the legend in Brahmi reads 'rajane agathuklayesa' ('Of King Agathokles') (Fig. 1 – NB: figures not to scale).



Fig. 1 Silver coin of Agathokles

Classical Numismatics Group, Triton sale VIII, lot 632 (10/01/2005) (<http://www.cngcoins.com/Coin.aspx?CoinID=57554>)

Audouin and Bernard claim that Agathokles issued his square coinage from Taxila since his square bronzes are found there and because Agathokles' square silver coins were found in a hoard containing mostly karshapana minted at Taxila. Furthermore, the types on the square bronzes of Agathokles are said to have been based on those of the bronze die-struck issues of Taxila, which were minted *before* Agathokles' reign (Fig.2.1, 2.2, 2.3).



Fig. 2.1 Bronze coin of Agathokles

Obv.: Lion. Legend: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ.
Rev.: Goddess holding a flower. Legend (Brahmi): *Rajane Agathuklayesa* (Of King Agathokles).

(http://www.britishmuseum.org/explore/highlights/highlight_object/cm/b/bronze_coin_of_agathocles.aspx: accessed: 08/12/2013)

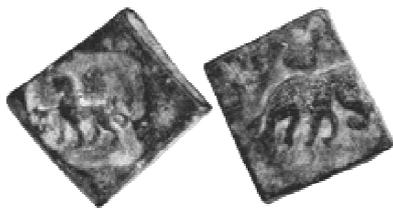


Fig. 2.2 Bronze coin minted in Eastern Gandhara

Obv.: Lion (Compare to obverse of the preceding coin).
Rev.: Elephant.

(<http://classicalnumismaticgallery.com/viewlot.aspx?itemid=5595&auctionid=3&lotno=10>: accessed: 08/12/2013)



Fig. 2.3 Bronze coin minted in Eastern Gandhara

Obv.: Hill surmounted by star, Goddess holding a flower and a three-arched hill surmounted by a crescent.

(Courtesy of the British Museum)

Some of Agathokles' square bronzes even bear the Kharosthi legend *hircanasa* (Golden Hermitage) that occurs on the Taxilan bronzes (Fig. 3.1, 3.2).



Fig. 3.1 Bronze coin minted in Eastern Gandhara

Obv.: Front-facing elephant with tree or standard.
Rev.: Horse. Legend (Kharosthi): *hircanasa* (Golden Hermitage).

(Courtesy of the Ashmolean Museum)



Fig. 3.2 Bronze coin minted in Eastern Gandhara

Obv.: Tree in railing. Legend (Kharosthi): *hircanasa* (Golden Hermitage).
Rev.: Six-arched hill. Legend (Kharosthi): *agathukreyasa* (Of Agathokles).

(<http://coinindia.com/galleries-agathocles.html>: accessed 21/03/2014)

Audouin and Bernard conclude by noting that some of Agathokles' square coins are inscribed in Brahmi whereas others display Kharosthi. This mirrors the linguistic variation on the bronzes issued from the Taxila region during the early 2nd Century BC.¹²⁵ Many scholars agree with these arguments or at least the overall proposition that Agathokles ruled over Taxila.¹²⁶

Nevertheless, we have little reason to connect Agathokles with Taxila. Coin finds are an unhelpful way of gauging whether Taxila was a mint city for Agathokles. The 1879 and 1884 Taxila hoards that were used by Audouin and Bernard to illustrate their argument yielded very few coins of Agathokles. In the 1879 hoard a total of 4.84% of the coins were of Agathokles and in the 1884 find, only 11.11%.¹²⁷ These proportions cannot be guaranteed since the hoards were not excavated but bought from the inhabitants of the site. As is often the case in this situation, more valuable coins may have been sold separately and external coins could have been added to a single hoard find. After this, only 7 coins of Agathokles were found during Marshall's excavations at Taxila (1913-34). These were isolated to the site of Sirkap and formed 0.09% of the coins found there. All of them were stray finds, of which 2 appeared in the 'Greek' layers (c. 190-90 BC) and the rest from the successive Scythian and Parthian layers (90 BC - AD 25).¹²⁸ Since the 'Greek' strata at Sirkap have not been fully excavated, we do

¹²⁵ Audouin and Bernard 1974 p.23-30.

¹²⁶ Narain 2003 p.41, 79-80; Widemann 2009 p.111, 115-6; Coloru 2009 p.199; Mairs 2014 p.127.

¹²⁷ Audouin and Bernard 1974 p.26 note 1.

¹²⁸ Marshall 1951 p.766.

¹²³ Audouin and Bernard 1974 p.10 and Srinivasan 1997 p.215.

¹²⁴ Audouin and Bernard 1974 p.14 and Srinivasan 1997 p.215.

not know the proportion of Agathokles' coins in the layers of occupation contemporary to his reign. In any case, the number of Agathokles' coins found on site would only be meaningful if we had an idea about the total output of his coinage. There is also no reason to believe that if a site yields coins of Agathokles, it can be considered his mint city – coins can circulate in large numbers beyond the site at which they were struck.

The discovery of Agathokles' square silver coins in a hoard containing 545 Taxilan karshapana brings us no closer to pinning his mints to Taxila. The mark appearing on the reverses of the karshapana, which supposedly links them to a mint at Taxila¹²⁹ is absent from the six coins of Agathokles. Furthermore, since the vessel containing the hoard was not labeled in anyway, we cannot assume that the coins were assembled on the grounds that they originated from Taxila (let alone on the basis that they were minted there).¹³⁰

Most importantly, Marshall's work at Taxila (the best excavated site in Eastern Gandhara with continuous layers of occupation from before the 2nd century BC) shows that we cannot be sure whether Agathokles' coins were borrowing the types, legends and linguistic variants of the so-called pre-existing Taxilan bronzes (or vice-versa). There is too little evidence to back the claim: Taxila yielded a single coin (a surface find), which shares the '*hiranasame*' legend and the 'tree in railing' motif with an issue of Agathokles. The layers dating from 90 BC – AD 25 produced only one other 2nd Century BC bronze, which had a Kharosthi legend (though the specific legend is not found on Agathokles' coinage).¹³¹ The discovery of just two coins that share features with the square coinage of Agathokles is not enough to determine when his coins were issued in relation to the bronzes minted in the Taxila region, based on stratigraphic groupings. We must concede that, so far, we cannot know exactly where the square silver coins of Agathokles were minted.

II

How has this fascinating issue been analysed to date? According to Audouin and Bernard, this issue is almost entirely Indian since it follows the weight standard of Indian silver coinage and is produced in the same way as the 2nd century Taxilan bronzes. Moreover, the obverse and reverse types are indigenous deities, rendered in an indigenous style. In their eyes, the lack of a royal portrait and monogram means that the only aspect of this coinage that is Greek is the Greek legend.¹³² This analysis of the coinage is generally accepted as being accurate.¹³³ However, does the claim that Agathokles' square silver issue is a '*monnayage indien superficiellement hellénisé par une légende grecque*' stand?

If we consider Agathokles' square silver issue as money, Audouin and Bernard are absolutely right to call it a *monnayage indien* – this coinage was intended to be economically equivalent to a karshapana. Though the ideal way to illustrate this point would be to compare the weight standards of Agathokles' issue and karshapana, the variation in weight of the six Agathokles coins complicates matters. But why was there such a variation in the first place? The topography of Ai-Khanoum provides the answer: since the lower city is flanked on the south by the Kokcha river, to the west by the Darya-i-Pandj and sits on an extremely high water table,¹³⁴ the consequential soil humidity would have resulted in layers of corrosion forming on these coins. When these were cleaned off, the weight would have been reduced by varying amounts depending on the degree of corrosion on each piece. Fortunately, the karshapana in the hoard also met a similar fate. The leeching of copper from the coins coupled with damage from the soil meant that the majority of the karshapana (82.5%)

weighed between 2.7-3.2g.¹³⁵ The fact that our 6 examples of Agathokles' issue share roughly the same weight range (2.3-3.3g) as the karshapana in the hoard, strongly suggests that they were intended to circulate with the karshapana in the first place.¹³⁶ Indeed, the discovery of Agathokles' issue buried with karshapana proves that these coins were seen as part of the same monetary system. However, it would be perilous to go as far as Audouin and Bernard in suggesting that Agathokles was issuing his square silvers on the theoretical karshapana weight standard.¹³⁷ Six corroded coins are simply not sufficient to accurately calculate the weight standard of the issue as a whole.

The general shift in the first half of the 2nd century BC to producing coinage that would circulate with karshapana was driven by kings (such as Agathokles) who wished to engage in sustained and high-value economic activity with the cis-Hindu Kush (where karshapana were the dominant silver coinage). If previous Greek-named kings had a commercial interest in the region, it was limited since it must have relied on the conversion and/or bullion-value exchange of Attic standard coinage, or the use of square bronze coinage (as in the case of Pantaleon). The former method would have incurred a loss when dealing with a region monetised with its own weight standards; it was not a viable model for sustained economic activity. If dealings were carried out using square bronze coinage it was most likely for smaller transactions due to the relatively lower value of bronze to silver.

III

Given the economic intentions behind the production of Agathokles' square silver coins, it is strange that they bear only a basic resemblance to karshapana (the flans being of a similar size and shape to karshapana). Yet other elements make Agathokles' square silvers aesthetically distinct from karshapana; one such feature is the style of the iconography. It is this aspect that has attracted most fervent debate. When MacDowall looks at the issue, he finds it self-evident that the deities are rendered in 'Greek style'.¹³⁸ Yet why do others such as Audouin and Bernard see the same figures as 'Indian'? The polarised opinions are symptomatic of a culturally 'essentialising' approach being used when considering Graeco-Bactrian and Indo-Greek coinage. It is assumed that objects and iconographic forms necessarily hail from *either* a 'Greek' *or* 'Indian' tradition. This pattern of thought (prevalent in much academic discourse about 'the East'¹³⁹) denies the possibility of a middle ground between cultures.

The deities depicted on the coins are seen in a more stylised form on karshapana: a few examples of karshapana depicting Balarama wielding a club and a plough have been found that perhaps pre-date Agathokles square silvers (Fig. 4.1).¹⁴⁰



Fig. 4.1 Silver Karshapana (4th-2nd century BC)

Obv.: six-armed symbol, sun, bull with sun, man with plough.
Rev.: sun.¹⁴¹

Furthermore the Amaravati hoard has yielded specimens

¹²⁹ Audouin and Bernard 1973 p.254

¹³⁰ Some vessels found in the Ai-Khanoum 'treasury' were explicitly labeled as containing karshapana from Taxila, See Narain 2003 p.430-1.

¹³¹ Marshall 1951 p.760-1.

¹³² Audouin and Bernard 1974 p.34-5

¹³³ Holt 1989 p.2; Rapin 1995 p.279; Widemann 2009 p.110; Coloru 2009 p.204-5.

¹³⁴ Guillaume 1991 p.65.

¹³⁵ Guillaume 1991 p.66.

¹³⁶ Audouin and Bernard 1974 p.8.

¹³⁷ Audouin and Bernard 1974 p.35.

¹³⁸ MacDowall 2007 p.245.

¹³⁹ Saïd 1978 passim; Atabaki 2003 p.12-17.

¹⁴⁰ Audouin and Bernard 1974 p. 11-14, 20; Errington 2011 p. 113-14.

¹⁴¹ Errington 2011 p.116.

representing Vasudeva carrying a wheel, which have been dated to the late 4th Century BC (Fig. 4.2)¹⁴².



Fig. 4.2 Silver Karshapana (4th-2nd century BC)

Obverse: six-armed symbol, elephant in a box surrounded by two fish, horse, man with wheel.¹⁴³

Yet, Audouin and Bernard are right in noting that details such as the frontal posture of the deities with the feet spread out, the shawl covering their torsos, and the bipartite dress is seen in contemporary North Indian sculpture (Fig. 5.1).¹⁴⁴



Fig. 5.1

Fig. 5.2

Fig. 5.1 Donor statue from the Bharhut Stupa (c. 2nd century BC) found in Madhya Pradesh. Indian Museum, Kolkata (Photo: author)

Fig. 5.2 'Yavana' Donor statue from the Bharhut Stupa (c. 2nd century BC) found in Madhya Pradesh. Indian Museum, Kolkata. (Photo: author)

Even the scabbard hanging off the left side of each figure is seen in such sculptural groups (Fig. 5.2). Other features such as the ornate headdress and pointed shoes¹⁴⁵ worn by the figures, along with the round object held in Vasudeva's right hand have no parallels in the contemporary visual culture. We cannot accurately suggest that the figures were rendered in 'Greek style'.

¹⁴² Gupta and Hardaker 1985 p. 31, 74 (also types 496 and 504).

¹⁴³ Errington 2011 p.117.

¹⁴⁴ Audouin and Bernard 1974 p. 20-3.

¹⁴⁵ Audouin and Bernard p. 22-3 believe that these are referred to in the *Vinaya Pitaka* (an early Buddhist text, first composed in the 1st century BC) in a list of shoes that monks are forbidden to wear.

Though the way these deities were represented may not have been totally new to people living in the cis-Hindu Kush during the 2nd century BC, it would have struck them as odd to see such a visual style appearing on coinage used alongside karshapana. The rendering of figures in such detail and realism with a range of garments and attributes was simply alien to the karshapana tradition. However, it was an integral part of the Graeco-Macedonian coinage tradition.¹⁴⁶ For example, the depiction of the folds in the deities' lower garment brings to mind the detail of the garment worn by Zeus on Agathokles' royal tetradrachms (Fig. 6).



Fig. 6 Silver (Attic) tetradrachm of Agathokles

Obv.: Diademed portrait of Agathokles.

Rev.: Zeus carrying a goddess holding flaming torches. Legend: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ.

(<http://coinindia.com/galleries-agathocles.html>): accessed: 04/01/2014)

When considered in their numismatic context, these figures are far from 'Indian'. I suggest that this style of representation must have been an intentional addition since it would take greater effort to engrave such detailed images of the deities onto a die than the more stylised versions that appeared on karshapana. The latter would have sufficed if this issue were intended to blend in aesthetically with karshapana.

This is not the only feature that is borrowed from the Graeco-Macedonian coinage tradition: the frame is dominated by one central image and the deities are presented as standing on an engraved ground line. Though these elements are not ubiquitous in the Graeco-Macedonian tradition, they are totally absent from karshapana. Perhaps the most salient hellenizing feature is the use of legends (be it Greek or Brahmi) since writing never appeared on karshapana. The mint officials did not have to put legends on the issue - they could have marked it as being a coinage of Agathokles with a symbol or letterform, which would have seemed much less conspicuous on a coin that was meant to circulate with karshapana.¹⁴⁷

Although these coins were economically equivalent to karshapana and shared certain features with them such as size, shape and iconographic subject matter, the rendering of the same deities and the presence of legends suggest that Agathokles' issue was designed to show a confluence between the karshapana and Graeco-Macedonian coinage traditions.

While there is no evidence that allows us to say why Agathokles was issuing such coins, this coinage reminds us that

¹⁴⁶ By the 2nd century BC, basic features of the Graeco-Macedonian coinage tradition included a round flan, single Greek legend, royal portrait on the obverse and a Greek divine image on the reverse for royal gold and silver issues. Other issues (including royal bronzes and Greek polis issues) showed Greek divine images or local symbols on both sides. The images are not too stylised but the degree of realism varies. Of course, there were exceptions and differences between kingdoms and cities. Mørkholm 1991 p.25-35; Kroll 2007 p.133-122.

¹⁴⁷ Though the flans for Agathokles' coinage were chiseled out and die struck (like the 2nd century BC Taxilan bronzes) rather than punch marked, the decision to switch to die striking probably had little to do with aesthetic choices. The matter of efficiency is crucial in explaining the general change in this region from punch marking to die striking coins. It takes far more effort to pick up 5 separate punches and strike a flan as many times than it does to produce a coin from a blank flan with a single hammer blow.

Agathokles was fond of numismatic experimentation: the confluence of coinage traditions seen in Agathokles' square silver coins is a stark contrast to the numismatic self-representation of the Greek and Macedonian rulers in the Hellenistic Mediterranean, who only ever issued coinage inscribed in Greek and depicting Hellenic features. Even though other contemporary Greek-named rulers in this region such as Eukratides were issuing bilingual coins, Agathokles (and his predecessor Pantaleon) was among the few to issue coinage with legends in Brahmi in addition to Kharosthi (Figs. 1, 2.1, above). Agathokles was also the only Greek-named king to issue a monolingual coinage that expresses his name in a language other than Greek (Fig. 3.2, above) and the first to issue silver coinage depicting Indic deities (Figs. 1, 2.1, above). Of course, Agathokles' most ostentatious experiment was his so-called 'Pedigree' tetradrachm series.¹⁴⁸

Agathokles' 'Balarama/Vasudeva' coins have truly captured the academic imagination: they are mentioned in much scholarly work and even take pride of place on book covers.¹⁴⁹ However, I have tried to demonstrate that a new interpretation of the coins is required. Contrary to Audouin and Bernard, I suggest that we cannot know where this coinage was minted; the evidence linking the issue to a Taxilan mint is unsatisfactory. However, the coins do tell us something about Agathokles' economic interests. Since he issued coinage that was economically equivalent to karshapana (though in my view not necessarily on the same weight standard), Agathokles was among the first Greek-named kings in this region who wished to engage in sustained and high-value economic activity with the cis-Hindu Kush. Given that his predecessors only issued square bronze and bi-metallic Attic-standard coinage, any economic dealings they had with the regions south of the Hindu Kush were bound to be more limited. Nevertheless, if considered from both an economic and iconographic perspective, I maintain that Agathokles' issue defies categorisation under the simplistic headings of either 'Greek' or 'Indian', which have been applied to it since 1970. The coins exhibit features that imply they were designed to show a confluence of both the Graeco-Macedonian and karshapana coinage traditions.¹⁵⁰ This was a truly 'hybrid' coinage.

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A NEW MINT DISCOVERED FOR THE MUGHAL EMPEROR, AHMAD SHAH BAHADUR

By Husain Makda

Published here is a silver rupee in the name of the Mughal Emperor, Ahmad Shah Bahadur struck at the mint of Ausa and found at Aurangabad. The coin has many shroff marks, which is common on coins found in this part of India. At present Ausa is a town with a municipal council in Latur District in the state of Maharashtra, India. It is also the headquarters for Ausa Taluka.

Ausa was captured by the Mughals during the Deccan campaign of AD 1635-1639 (AH 1044-1048), and was thereafter used as a mint-town from time to time. Coins of Ausa are known from Shah Jahan onwards (for the first Mughal issue of Ausa mint, see "Numismatic Vestiges of Shahjahan's Campaigns in the Deccan", by Shailendra Bhandare, in ONSNL162, 2000, pp.21-24).

¹⁴⁸ Holt 2012 Chapter 2.

¹⁴⁹ Guillaume 1991; Narain 2003.

¹⁵⁰ I am grateful to Shailendra Bhandare, Robert Bracey, Joe Cribb, Simon Glenn and Béatrice Mercier for their encouragement and advice.

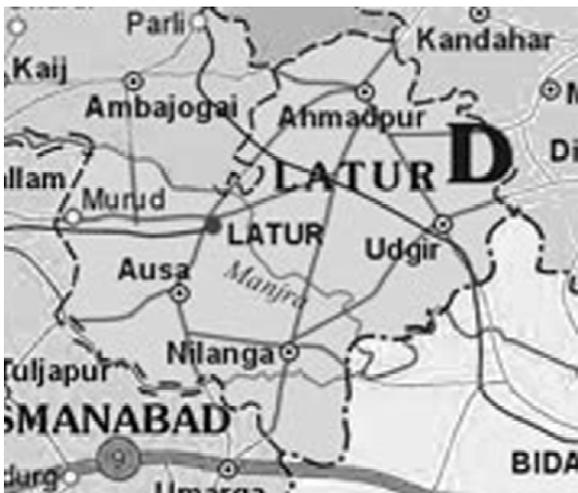
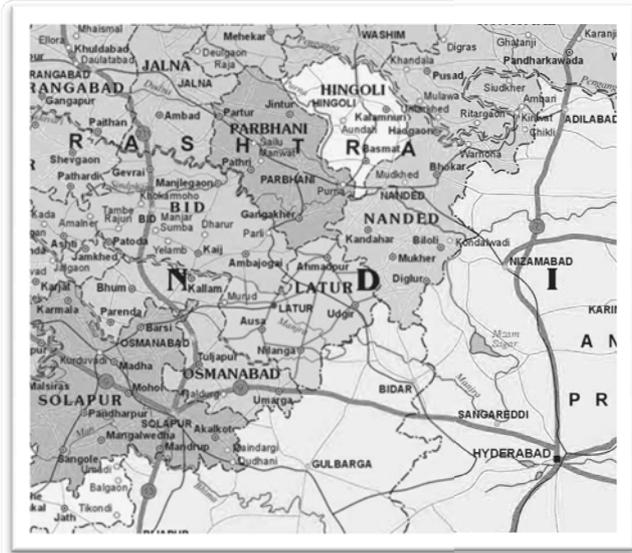
In the 18th century it came under the administration of the Nizam of Hyderabad when he seceded from the Mughal Empire as the ruler of the *Subahs* of the Deccan. The coins from this and other Deccani mints after about AD 1725 (AH 1138), when the Nizam acted as an independent ruler and only acknowledged the Mughal emperors in Delhi in name, are therefore regarded as issues of Hyderabad state.

Coins in the name of Ahmad Shah Bahadur (AH 1161-1167) are usually found with the *‘bādshāh ghāzī’* legend. But particularly on some of the Deccani mints like Aurangnagar, Dilshadabad, Firoznagar, Firozgarh, Imtiyazgarh, and Kankurti the ‘refuge of the world’ couplet is also found, which reads:

*“sikka zad dar jahān ba faẓl-i-ālah
shah ‘ālam panāh aḥmad shāh”*

(Struck coin in the world by the grace of Almighty, King Ahmad Shah, Refuge of the World).

To these the mint of AUSA can now be added.



Obv.:

سکہ زد در جهان بفضل الہ
شاہ عالم پناہ احمد شاہ

*sikka zad dar jahān ba faẓl-i-ālah
shah-i ‘ālam panāh aḥmad shāh 1162*

Rev:

سنہ احد جلوس میمنت مانوس ضرب اوسا
sanah aḥd julūs maimanat mānūs zarb ausā

Metal: silver; wt: 11.30 g; diam.: 24 mm

I should like to thank Dr Shailendra Bhandare for helping me decipher the mint and Jan Lingen for helping me write this note.

A NEW COIN TYPE OF SRI RANGARAYA I OF VIJAYANAGARA

By R.V.R. Sai Sravan

Sri Rangaraya I of the Aravidu family ruled from his capital at Penukonda from AD 1572 to 1586. According to the inscriptions his title was “Rajadhiraja Rajapamesvara Sri Vira Pratapa Sri Rangarayadeva Maharayalu.” He succeeded his father, Tirumala, as emperor of Vijayanagara. At the start of his reign, following the murder of Sadasivaraya, all the petty rulers on the west coast asserted their independence, and there were many disturbances in Vijayanagara. But Ranga subdued all the rebels and he earned the title “destroyer of Chaurasi-durga” (the eighty four hill forts)

Ranga’s greatest success lies in recapturing Ahoobila from the Sultan of Golkonda. Ibrahim Qutb Shah broke his allegiance with Ranga and invaded Ahoobila. Following instructions from his religious teacher, he entrusted the task of recapturing the province to his subordinates, Kondaraju Venkataraju and Kondaraju Tirumalaraju. The Hande chiefs who joined Golkonda’s forces were defeated and the king restored the lost glory and riches of the Ahoobila Narasimha Temple.

Coinage

After the Tallikota war, the empire of Vijayanagara was in a state of confusion and distress. According to *History of Tirupati* all the feudatories rebelled against the sovereign. The Aravidu rulers did not even have enough funds to maintain the army that defended their empire. Venkatata II utilised the temple funds to maintain an army on the advice of his spiritual mentor, Kumara Tatachariar. This is the reason coins with the legend “Sri Venkateswaraya Namah” exist today.

The coinage was not so artistic during the time of the Aravidu dynasty and had undergone some changes to the traditional style. Instead of complete Nagari legends, mixed Kannada/Nagari legends came to be in vogue on the coins. Moreover, the coins had common obverse devices like Garuda and occasionally a bull. Otherwise there were few new varieties of Aravidu coinage reported.

Recently a variety has come to light in my collection. The coin has the legend in Telugu/Kannada—“Sri Ranga raya” on the reverse. The obverse has the goddess Lakshmi in a seated

(Padmasana) position holding a lotus in both of her hands. This coin is unreported so far.

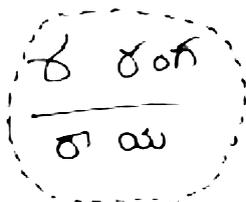


Coin description: metal : copper, wt. 3.3 g, diam. 15 mm

Obv.: Goddess Lakshmi seated, with a lotus in each of her hands.

Rev.: Legend in Telugu separated by a horizontal line:

Sri Ran ga/
Ra Ya



The book 'Studies in Vijayanagar Coins' by K.Ganesh highlights a copper coin with the goddess Lakshmi seated in *padmasana* holding lotuses, with the Nagari legend 'Hari/Hara' (coin 15, *Studies in Vijayanagar Coins*). In the same monograph, he states that the Lakshmi motif was typical of Vijayanagara coinage, but only on copper coins issued by Harihara I and not on those of later rulers. So, the coin published here is a significant addition to the copper coinage of Vijayanagara.

References

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2. T.K.T Viraraghava Charya, *History of Tirupati-*; Vol.II
3. Henry Heras, *The Aravidu Dynasty of Vijayanagara*; Vol I
4. K.Ganesh, *Studies in Vijayanagar coins*

INNOVATIONS IN TRAVANCORE COINAGE:

Lakshmi Varahan - Parvathy Mohur- Parvathy Rupa

By Beena Sarasan

On Anizham Tirunal Marthanda Varma's accession in AD 1729, Venad presented a picture of disorder and anarchy with the country honeycombed with petty chieftains. But 20 years later, as a result of annexation, his territory extended from Kanyakumari to the borders of Cochin. For the consolidation of his acquired dominion and to make his position secure, Marthanda Varma dedicated the country in KE 925 (AD 1750) to the family deity, Sreepadmanabha at the Sreepadmanabhaswamy Temple in Thiruvananthapuram, and declared that he and his successors would rule the country on behalf of the deity as *Padmanabhadadasas*. Thus, as a result of this master stroke of diplomacy, Venad that had come to be known as Travancore, literally became God's Own Country. It is, therefore, presumed that it was to give credibility to this act of dedication, that the copper coins that bore the device of the *Ananthasayee* Sreepadmanabha were issued in the ensuing period.¹⁵¹ The public acceptance of Sreepadmanabha as the Perumal of Travancore was such that the device on the silver *Chuckram* that was introduced in

KE 927¹⁵² was considered by the local populace to represent the toes and navel of Sreepadmanabha. The gold *kaliyan panam*, an adaptation of the coinage of the neighbouring Tamil region, was accepted as Travancore's very own since the device was considered to represent Vishnu padam-Sreepadmanabha being a manifestation of Vishnu. It was but natural that when Marthanda Varma's successor, Karthika Tirunal Rama Varma alias Dharma Raja (AD 1758-98), decided to issue new gold coins as the state's finances had improved, he named them after the Perumal Sreepadmanabha as *Anantha Varahan* and *Ananthraya Panam*, Anantha being an appellation of Sreepadmanabha. As culmination of this devotion to Sreepadmanabha, the dawn of the 19th century saw the introduction of a Double Chuckram which bore the conch on the obverse and *sudarsana chuckram* with the Malayalam legend "Padmanabhan" on the reverse.

However, the ensuing period saw the East India Company tightening control over the administration of Travancore. Rani Lakshmi Bayi (AD 1810 - 1815) at barely twenty years of age, became the ruler with the support of the East India Company and, in consequence, entrusted the administration of her kingdom to Col. Munroe, the British Resident, who also performed the role of the Dewan. By a letter dated KE 988, *Tulam* 14, (AD 1813) Rani Lakshmi Bayi sought Col. Munroe's approval to strike a "Varahan"¹⁵³ with Lakshmi, her namesake, as the device. Thus, Rani Lakshmi Bayi sought to make a departure from the convention of highlighting Sreepadmanabha, the Perumal of Travancore, on the coinage.

The device on the *Lakshmi varahan* that was conceived in KE 988 depicts the goddess Lakshmi seated on a lotus with two sprigs of lotus protruding in a fashion similar to that on the *puvitta chuckram* and *puvitta panam*¹⁵⁴. The only specimen of the gold *Lakshmi varahan* now known is in the British Museum (accession no.OR 1319), although in all likelihood more of them could be found in the treasure that is hidden away in the vaults of the Sreepadmanabhaswamy Temple. The image of this coin is given below (Coin No.1).

Coin No.1: Gold Lakshmi varahan



(Photo: courtesy, British Museum)

Obv.: Garlanded Lakshmi with a tall crown and lotus buds on her head, seated on a lotus that has two lotus springs on either side. The seated deity holds a lotus flower in each of her upraised hands (part of a dotted circle around the device is seen).

Rev.: Two lotus buds with the stalks joined together. Below, two-line Tamil legend: *Letchmi / Virakan* (Lakshmi Varahan); followed by the year 992 (AD 1817) in two lines, in Tamil. Entire device within a dotted circle partly seen.

Metal: Gold Dia: 11 mm Wt: 2.53 g

It is inferred that this is the device on the pattern sent by Rani Lakshmi Bayi to Col. Munroe with appropriate changes made to the year of issue made subsequently. It would appear that permission to issue this coin was not received during her reign. However, she went ahead and introduced the sprigs of lotus flowers to the existing *panam* and *chuckram* as is evidenced by the

¹⁵¹ Beena Sarasan, *Traversing Travancore through the Ages on coins*, Poorna Publication, Calicut, 2008, p.63

¹⁵² Kerala State Archives, *Mathilakam Records* vol 21, p.82 *churuna*1018, *ola* 68-70

¹⁵³ Kizhakke Madathil Govindan Nair and B. Pushpa, *Carithrathinte Edukal* (Malayalam), 1992, p.15

¹⁵⁴ Supra n.1.p.74

Neetu of KE 990¹⁵⁵ issued during her reign. She died prematurely in KE 990 (AD 1815). When Munroe became the Resident of Travancore, he brought with him two Maratha Brahmins who later rose to become Dewans. Munroe brought his protégés along because he felt the sons of the soil were incapable of efficient administration. A list of the Dewans from KE 989 to 1022 reveals that, except for very brief stints on two occasions, there were 10 Dewans all bearing names ending with “rayar” ie. “Rao”, indicating their Maratha origin. Munroe’s protégé, Venkatarayar alias Reddy Rao, was the Dewan from KE 992 *Makaram* to KE 1997 *Kumbham* and again from KE 1018 *Kumbham* to KE 1020 *Edavam*. He appears to have been instrumental in making appropriate changes to Travancore coinage so as to enable it to be acceptable in neighbouring territories. Thus, the fact that the year in which Venkatarayar assumed office, the Lakshmi Varahan of the year KE 922 (AD 1817) was struck using Tamil for the legend in preference to the local language, Malayalam, would indicate that the new coin was intended for trade with the neighbouring Tamil region. It is also to be noted that the weight of the coin is comparable to that of the new gold *varahan* of the East India company (KM 356) issued during AD 1808-1815, whereas the *puvitta Ananthavarahan*¹⁵⁶ then current in Travancore weighed 3.4g.

The necessity for a change in the coinage is reflected in the *Neetu*¹⁵⁷ dated KE 994, *Karkadakam* 22. According to this *Neetu*, a mint was functioning for striking *Anantharayan Panam*, *Chuckram* and *Ananthavarahan*. But whereas the traders made a huge profit by having these coins struck at the mint, the state treasury received only little more than Rs. 4,000 per annum, with the result that a large number of these coins were being struck. Consequently, the *Puvarahan* (*Phooli Han*), *Vilkasu* (Venetian ducat), *Shannamula Mohur*, Company Rupee, Surat Rupee, *Talapatacao*, etc. in circulation were comparatively fewer. The scarcity of these currencies caused difficulty in the purchase of tobacco, etc. which had to be procured from outside territories. The *Neetu* also notes that the traders who brought commodities from outside territories and sold their goods in exchange for local currency, faced difficulty as the local coins were not accepted outside. In the circumstance, by the said *Neetu*, it was decided to close the mint striking the local coins viz. silver *Chuckram*, gold *Anantharayan Panam* and *Ananthavarahan*, with effect from KE 995 *Chingam*, by order of the Dewan Janardhanaraya Venkataraya. However, this order was subsequently modified as it resulted in a paucity of small coins for paying salaries etc. Therefore, it was decided to revive the mint to strike silver *Chuckram* from KE 995 *Margazhi*, vide order issued on KE 995-4-28.

Thus, in order to facilitate trade, Travancore felt it necessary to reform its coinage in conformity with the coins current in the neighbouring Madras Presidency. In fact, a look at the numismatic history of Venad/Travancore shows that it generally struck coins in tandem with the superior power / dynasty in the Deccan. This policy is evident in the *Erattavalan rasi* which adopted the *Vira raya* device borrowed from the Hoysalas, the *Kaliyan panam* from neighbouring Pandyan rulers, the Elephant / Garuda coins that were struck in tandem with the coins of the Banas, who were the viceroys of Vijayanagar at Madurai, and, in more modern times, the device on the *Ananthavarahan*¹⁵⁸ is found to be a variant of the Porto Novo Pagoda of the European powers. Thus, with the Resident Col. Munroe and his protégés at the helm of affairs in Travancore in the early 19th century, the striking of local coins in tandem with those of the Madras Presidency of the East India Company, was but natural. The efforts made in this direction by Dewan Venkataraya is evident in the silver Lakshmi varahan, the gold mohur and 1/3 mohur (coins 2, 3 & 4) minted in the reign of Rani Parvathy Bayi in conformity with the silver half pagoda (

KM 344), the gold mohur and 1/3 mohur (KM 422) respectively, of the Madras Presidency.

The silver Lakshmi varahan of the year KE 993 (AD 1818) in four denominations that are displayed at the Padmanabhapuram museum could be patterns as their weights are not comparable to that of the silver *Arai Puvarahan* i.e. half pagoda (KM 344) of the Madras Presidency. Also, Rev. S. Mateer¹⁵⁹ in his *Coinage of Travancore* illustrates the 1/8th and 1/16th denomination of the Silver Lakshmi varahan as patterns. However, silver Lakshmi varahans of the weight standard of the silver half pagoda of the Madras Presidency were indeed minted; for we find an example of this coin of weight 19.2 g, which came up for auction¹⁶⁰ recently, and which, from its appearance, seems to have been in circulation. Further proof that these were struck is found in a *Neetu*¹⁶¹ in the Kerala State Archives dated KE 995-2-7, which provides the information that the expenditure incurred by the mint for the purchase of brass, iron and wrought iron equipment necessary for the minting of Lakshmi varahan, was 995¹/₁₆ panam. This expenditure, pertaining to a previous year, was being carried forward by the mint accountants Chudalamuthu Pillai and Narayana Pillai as they did not know under what heading it was to be debited. In response to their query, on 3rd *Kanni* 995 the Dewan, Janardhanaraya Venkataraya, permitted it to be set off against the mint income/ accounts.

Coin No. 2 Silver Lakshmi varahan



(Daniel Frank Sedwick Auction No.8, lot 2127: Silver, 19.2 g)

Obv.: Garlanded Lakshmi wearing a tall crown, seated on a full-blown lotus that has two lotus springs on either side. The seated deity holds a lotus flower in each of her upraised hands. The entire device within a border of plain & dotted circles

Rev.: Two lotus buds with the stalks joined together Below, two-line Tamil legend: *Letchmi / Virakan* (Lakshmi Varahan); followed by the year 993 (KE) in two lines, in Tamil. The entire device within a border of plain & dotted circles

The silver Lakshmi varahan of KE 993(AD1818) which is found to be a machine-struck coin must have been the earliest attempt to make machine-struck coins locally. Dewan Janardhanaraya Venkataraya made further attempts to improve the coinage of Travancore during his second tenure (AD 1817-22) as the Dewan. The Rani Parvathy Bayi mohur and 1/3 mohur or “5 rupee mohur” of AH 1236 (AD 1820-21) was perhaps an attempt to introduce a double standard into the coinage of Travancore. This would seem to have been a failure as the only examples I know of are the seemingly unique coins in the British Museum, the pictures of which are shown below.

¹⁵⁹ Samuel Mateer, *Coinage of Travancore*, Madras Journal of Literature And Science, 1889-1894, p.49-67, plate1, fig 4 & 5

¹⁶⁰ Daniel Frank Sedwick, *Treasure and World Coins Auction no.8. lot no.2127* It was erroneously described as a Two Rupee Nazrana coin of Balarama Varma. I thank Barbara Mears for the information of this auction..

¹⁶¹ Kerala State Archives, *Neetu* Vol. 13, p.86

¹⁵⁵ Supra n. 1, Appendix no.4, p.108

¹⁵⁶ Supra

¹⁵⁷ Ibid. Appendix No.5

¹⁵⁸ Barbara Mears, *The Elusive Anantha varaha discovered?*, SSISC, Vol.XXI, p.81

Coin No. 3 **Parvathy mohur**



(Photo: Courtesy, British Museum)

Obv: Decorated Conch in centre, *Parvathymoharum* in Malayalam along the circular margin,

Rev: 1236 (Hijra), *Zarb Parvathy* in Persian (AD 1820-21); *Parvathymohura* in Tamil interspersed with Grantha letters

Metal: gold; Dia: 2.8 cm; Wt: 10.68 g; Machine-struck with milled edge

Coin No.4 **Parvathy (five rupee) mohur**



(Photo: Courtesy, British museum)

Obv: Decorated Conch in centre, *Parvathy anju rupa mohuram* in Malayalam around

Rev: 1236 (Hijra) / *Mohur panj rupei zarb parvathy* in Persian (AD 1820-21); *Parvathy anju rupa mohura* (Parvathy five rupee mohur) in Tamil, below

Metal : gold; Dia: 1.8 cm,; Wt: 3.83 g; (Plain edge)

It is evident that the above coins 3&4 were introduced to make them acceptable in territories under the Madras Presidency where similar denominations were current. It is particularly relevant that for the first time in AD 1820 (AH 1236), Persian script was used in Travancore, following the example of Madras Presidency mohurs.

Parvathy (five rupee) mohur: Pattern A



(Photo: Courtesy, British Museum)

Obv: *Parvathy anjurupa mohuram* (Parvathy five rupee mohur) in Malayalam encircling a decorated conch

Rev: Same as above but with a different style of decoration for the conch

Metal: silver; Dia: 2.1 cm; Wt: 1.6 g

Several patterns were struck in silver as Rev. Samuel Mateer in his "Coinage of Travancore"¹⁶² mentions seeing several unused dies lying in the mint at Trivandrum and he acknowledges he was favoured with a few. One of the patterns illustrated by him is the silver pattern of the "Parvathy five rupee mohur": the gold coin struck on this pattern is now among the British Museum Collection – accession no. OR 1318 (coin no.4 above). A silver pattern of another variety of the "Parvathy five rupee mohur" in the British museum (pattern A above) - may have been discarded in favour of the one with the Persian legend to make it acceptable in regions under the Madras Presidency where similar coins using the Persian script had been introduced. Another pattern illustrated by Mateer, which he calls the *Padmanabhan varahan*, is found to be similar to silver patterns in the Ashmolean Museum (Patterns B & C). Another silver pattern found in the British Museum of KE 1018 is illustrated below as Pattern D. Rev. Mateer had been favoured with a similar pattern which, however, has an additional radiating design around the chuckram on the reverse. He calls it *Arkonachuckram* (six-pointed chuckram) and illustrated it in his Plate 1 as fig 7. These patterns bear the year of striking as KE 1018. At this time, the Shirastdar of the mint was Annajirayar¹⁶³, apparently another Maratha Official as his name indicates. This is the earliest information of a Mint Master of Travancore. These issues of KE 1018 (AD 1843) were struck during the reign of Swati Tirunal Rama Varma (AD 1829- 46), the famous "musician prince", who is reputed to have found solace in his tutelary deity, Sreepadmanabha, when he found it impossible to tolerate the indignities meted out to him by the then Resident, Major General William Cullen. Unlike his mother, Laksmi Bayi, who wished to have the effigy of her namesake on a coin and call it Lakshmi varahan and his aunt, Parvathy Bayi, who, as regent, had the one and only issue of a mohur struck by Travancore named after her as the Parvathy mohur, the patterns struck during Swati Thirunal's reign (Patterns B,C & D) show that he favoured the *Ananthasyee Padmanabha* and Vaishnava symbols of the conch and discus. It is also noteworthy that Prinsep recorded that the *Anantha varahan* was continued to be struck during this period¹⁶⁴. Thus it is observed that, towards the latter part of Swati Thirunal's reign, his leaning towards his tutelary deity is evidenced by his attempt to highlight Sreepadmanabha on the coinage and restrict his role to that of a *Padmanabhadasa* (Servant of the deity Sreepadmanabha)

Silver Pattern B *Padmanabhan varahan*¹⁶⁵



(Photo: Courtesy: Ashmolean Museum)

Obv: Padmanabha reclining on the five headed serpent Anantha with lotus sprigs and Brahma issuing from the navel, within plain circle and dotted margin.

Rev: Decorated conch surrounded by letters representing 1018 year (AD 1843)

Metal: silver; Wt: 2.94 g; Dia: 1.75 cm

¹⁶² *ibid*, p.56

¹⁶³ *Supra* n.3 p.360

¹⁶⁴ *Supra* n.8

¹⁶⁵ *Supra* n.9, p.57, cf. no.26

Silver Pattern C *Padmanabhan varahan (as named by Mateer)*¹⁶⁶



(Photo: Courtesy, Ashmolean Museum)

Obv: (weak strike) Padmanabha reclining on the five headed serpent Anantha with lotus sprigs and Brahma issuing from the navel, within plain circle and dotted margin.

Rev: Sudarshana chakra, bordered by an ornamental rayed circle and enclosed by a plain circle and dotted margin.

Metal: silver; Wt: 2.69 g; Dia: 1.7 cm

Silver Pattern D



(Photo: Courtesy, British Museum)

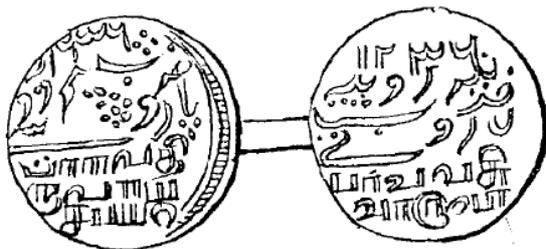
Obv: Decorated conch surrounded by letters representing 1018 year (AD 1843)

Rev: . Pellet and concentric circles within sudarshana chakra

Metal: silver; Wt:1.55 g; Dia: 1.7 cm

The innovations to the Travancore coinage of this period evidence the fact that, inspite of Travancore being under the administrative control of the English East India Company, the Padmanabhadadas of Travancore were determined to retain their sovereign right of minting their own coins while making a conscious attempt to adapt their coinage in order to be part of the mainstream. Dewan Venkataraya, alias Reddy Rao, is to be credited with a pioneering effort in this direction in the modern period. In addition to the Parvathy mohur, it was during his tenure that, in AD 1820, a "Parvathy half rupee" and "Parvathy quarter rupee" with legends in Persian script were attempted. Illustrations of these patterns were provided by Mateer (his Plate II fig. 2 & 3). However, as we do not encounter any of these coins excepting patterns, in all likelihood, this may have been an abortive attempt.

Pattern E *Parvathy Ara rupa*
(Mateer's illustration of **Parvathy half rupee pattern** dated Dated (AH) 1236* (AD 1820-21)



¹⁶⁶ ibid no.26, plate I fig.6

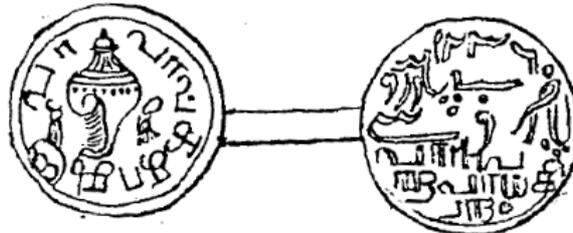
Obv: 1236 (AH) *nim rupiya zarb parvatyi* in Persian above, *parvathy rupai* in a combination of Tamil and Malayalam letters 91(x) year

Rev: 1236 *nim rupiya zarb parvathy* in Persian above, *parvathy ara rupa* in Tamil below.

Metal : silver

This pattern appears to have been overstruck as the KE year that is partly seen in the last line on the obverse does not tally with 1236 (AH) in the first line.

Pattern F *Parvathy Kal rupa* (Mateer's illustrationj)



Obv: *parvathy kal rupa* in Malayalam around a decorated conch in the centre.

Rev: 1236 (AH) *pao rupiya zarb parvathy* in Persian above, *parvathy rupai tivandram* in Malayalam mixed with Tamil, below

The last word *tivandram* on the reverse for Trivandrum is the only instance when a mint name is indicated. Although this is only a pattern, the attempt at naming the mint is a significant addition.

* This pattern appears to have been overstruck as the KE year that is partly seen in the last line on the obverse, does not tally with 1236 (AH) in the first line.

I am deeply indebted to Robert Bracey of the British Museum for the images of the coins in the British Museum. But for him and Dr Shailendra Bhandare of the Ashmolean Museum, this paper would not have been possible. I thank them profusely. I also thank Barbara Mears for facilitating my study of the coins in the British Museum.

THE BIRTH OF THE 'NEW' BOMBAY MINT – MATTHEW BOULTON'S PIONEERING CONTRIBUTION TO THE MODERNISATION OF INDIAN COINAGE

By Mahesh A. Kalra

The aim of the article is to highlight Mathew Boulton's indirect but nevertheless important contribution to the modernisation of Indian coinage. His role has not been sufficiently highlighted in India though P. L. Gupta mentions his role very briefly in his pioneering work, *COINS*.

My introduction to Matthew Boulton came through the accidental highlighting of Dr Richard Doty's work on Boulton by Dr Sanjay Garg in a social media post.

Although my then research was focused on the 'Old' Bombay Mint, this link gave me the impetus to extend my probe further.

I acquired Dr Doty's work from London thanks to Mr Girish Veera and was also 'providentially' placed in Birmingham during my International Training Programme with the British Museum in Aug-Sep 2013.

I was thus able to visit Matthew Boulton's Soho House in person and also acquire the commemorative volume on his life printed by the Birmingham Art and Museum Gallery in

collaboration with the Birmingham City Council as well as examine the BMAG's galleries for Boulton's artifacts.

I have tried to connect Boulton's history with the larger socio-economic atmosphere prevalent in eighteenth century Europe as highlighted by modern historians of industrial Europe, Ferdinand Braudel and Eric Hobsbawm to contextualise the paper accurately.

Introduction

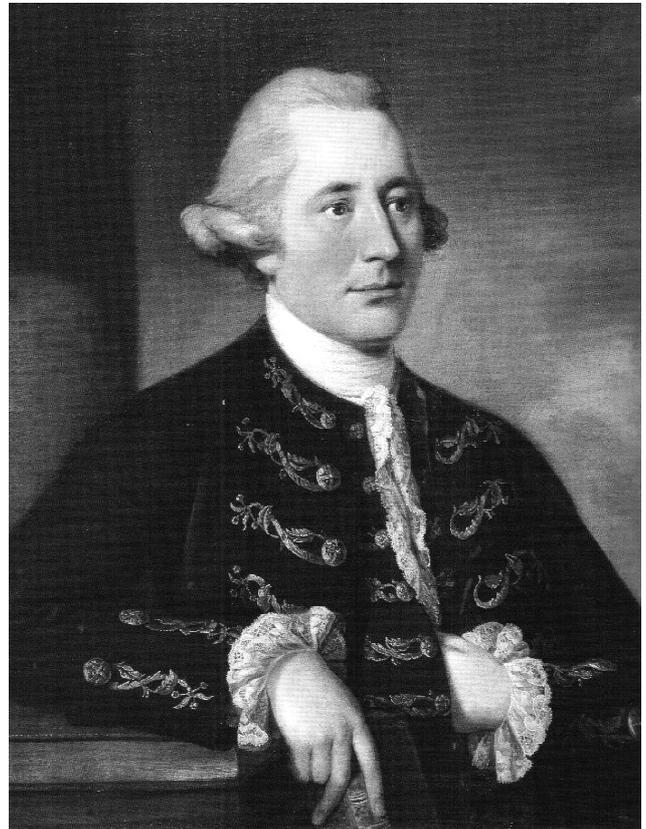
The second half of the eighteenth century was a period of great intellectual ferment in Europe as it heralded the 'Age of Revolutions' in the political and economic spheres by a focus on improvement in all aspects of life by scientific-minded individuals who were able to make Europe's contemporary social atmosphere conducive to the initiatives of its trading community. According to Fernand Braudel, the Industrial Revolution was characterized by the collapse of an ancient socio-economic order followed the painful birth of a new order centred upon smaller industrial towns of Britain like Birmingham, Glasgow, Leeds and Manchester. This process led to larger cities like London and its social elite playing the role of mere spectators to this fundamental change in the position of the new breed of industrial entrepreneurs in the pecking order of contemporary society.¹ The Industrial Revolution indeed led to a redistribution of financial resources from the traditional rural centres to areas of neo-industrialisation with the consequent diversion of material resources towards the new industries. The Industrial Revolution was fuelled by the unparalleled zeal of European entrepreneurs to outrace each other in acquisition of cheaper raw materials and dearer markets which paid the highest price for their products. England emerged as the hub of this revolution as it had access to both cheap raw material exported from its colonies and ready markets in form of the same for its cheaper-to-produce factory goods. The rise of British Industry over its French counterpart was also aided by English domination over their major European and non-European rivals in a series of intercontinental wars stretching from 1793 to 1815 in the last and decisive phase of a century-old Anglo-French duel.²

The Soho Mint

The establishment of these new industries led to the creation of a wage-oriented class of workers who were to be paid small wages for their efforts in helping the factories process the goods and the payment was usually in base metal coins of copper or bronze. Industrialisation also led to the growth of new industrial townships whose economy was systematically monetised for purchasing the services of the labouring classes and transfer of surplus capital to the industrialist entrepreneurs.³ Thus, one of the most important ingredients of the Industrial Revolution was the creation of a new series of base metal currency for paying the mill workers and higher currency for the emerging bourgeoisie. However, there existed at this period in England a huge scarcity of base metal coins caused by multiple factors; chief among these was the indifference of the Royal Mint officials, who did precious little to correct the situation, along with poorly-minted counterfeit coins which were in circulation, resulting in chaos and frequent losses by the working classes.

The stimulus for correcting this dismal scenario did not come from the Royal Mint in London which, itself, was undergoing a decline in the latter half of the eighteenth century; it strangely came from a new breed of visionary entrepreneurs who foresaw the need for a more efficient and cheaper form of mechanised minting. This movement was led by Matthew Boulton (c.1728-c.1809), a metal industry pioneer from Birmingham who began to envisage a steam engine press for creating cheap yet well-crafted minted coins at his workshop in Soho in Birmingham city in the late 1780s. Boulton's original family business was centred upon manufacturing metal 'toys', a term given in those days to personal accessories like shoe buckles, buttons, medals and snuffboxes. However, he expanded it by investing and creating a large factory at Soho called the Soho Manufactory in the 1760s to become what a contemporary, Josiah Wedgwood, described as 'the first and most complete manufacturer in England in metal'.⁴ Boulton began

to think about the idea of improving the existing English coinage after his experience working as a 'local collection agent' for the Royal Mint for the re-coining of its worn-out gold sovereigns. Boulton saw an opportunity when the Royal Mint stopped issuing copper coins altogether in 1760s. In 1775, he collaborated with James Watt, the Scottish pioneer of steam engines, to set up the Boulton & Watt Company, which, in the last decade of the eighteenth century, aimed at perfecting the earlier prototypes of steam engines at their Soho workshop. This was later transformed into the Soho Mint, which created world-class coins to be exported to various foreign countries.⁵



Matthew Boulton aged 42 years oil-on-canvas by J.S.C. Schaak (Image, courtesy of Birmingham Museums Trust)

According to Boulton, he was not spurred by the idea of making material gains but by a desire to stop the workers from being cheated through counterfeit coins which were abundantly manufactured in Birmingham's workshops. He explains that his idea was to mass produce a series of cheap yet well-crafted coins of appropriate intrinsic value, constant diameter, thickness and weight for what he thought 'would be a public good'.⁶

The Soho Mint also began to manufacture coins for the East India Company's colonies spread across Asia and Africa, beginning with coins for its Sumatran colony, Bencoolen, in South-East Asia in 1786. Boulton briefly established contact with the East India Company's authorities in London and minted a copper series for circulation in the Bombay Presidency in 1791 and again in 1794. The East India Company thus began exporting the cheaply produced copper coins of the Soho Mint for its colonies regularly to beat the costs as well as save labour at its yet unreformed colonial mints including the 'old' Bombay Mint. In the latter half of the eighteenth century, the Boulton-Watt Company began hiring a pool of talented artists to produce artistic copper and silver medals; for instance a copper medal issued at the Soho Mint was commissioned by the East India Company to commemorate the victory of Marquis Cornwallis over Tipu Sultan after the Third Anglo-Mysore War in 1792. It depicts an elaborate scene of the surrender of Tipu Sultan's sons to the English as a part of the Anglo-Mysore Treaty signed after the war.⁷



*East India Company Copper Medal in honour of Marquis Cornwallis' victory in the Third Anglo-Mysore War c.1792 manufactured at Soho
(Image, courtesy of Birmingham Museums Trust)*

The Soho Mint under Boulton's leadership also began to export its steam-powered mints at the beginning of the nineteenth century to countries like Russia, Sweden and Mexico. Boulton also helped the Royal Mint in London refurbish its technology through his contacts in the British Parliament. The first copper coins that Boulton minted for the British Government are known as 'cartwheels', because of their large size and raised rims. The Soho Mint struck 500 tons of these penny and two-penny pieces in 1797, and issued further copper coins for the Government in 1799, 1806 and 1807. Altogether, the Mint produced over £600,000 worth of copper official English coinage as well as copper denominations for Ireland and the Isle of Man. However, Boulton did not get credit for his contribution to the Royal Mint which was almost cast in the shadow of the Soho Mint in his lifetime as the polity of the day did not trust Boulton and were not keen to attribute the achievement to him officially.⁸

East India Company's Indian Coinage in the Eighteenth Century

In India, the effects of the Industrial Revolution were not perceived in the eighteenth century as the East India Company was mired in wars for consolidating its base in the three Presidencies; it jostled with the French for a final showdown in the Carnatic Wars, fought the rising power of Hyder Ali and Tipu Sultan in Mysore along with containing the Marathas in Western and Central India and managing the quagmire of Bengal's economy. The second part of the eighteenth century thus saw the EIC sticking to the older methods of minting coins struck mechanically by local minters.⁹



*Copper Pice '1803' Crude local hand-struck variety
(Image, courtesy of the Syndics of the Fitzwilliam Museum)*

In the Bombay Presidency, the Surat Rupee issued in the name of Shah 'Alam II was the prevailing currency of the Presidency till the first half of the nineteenth century. At the end of the eighteenth century, Surat was in the throes of a no-holds-barred conflict between the agents of the Gaekwars of Baroda and the Company's Surat factors operating their own system of regulated trade and taxation. However, the situation changed drastically in May 1800 when, sensing an opportunity with a Gaekwar succession war in process, the Company pensioned off the Nawab of Surat for a lakh of rupees a year and took over the city formally.¹⁰ The Surat Mint was thus totally under the control of the Bombay Presidency authorities which, in turn, came under the authority of the Governor-General-In-Council (GGIC) which became the final authority on all reforms in the currency of the Bombay Presidency

with vital inputs coming from the Court of Directors in London and the Mint Committee in Calcutta.¹¹

The minting of copper pice and silver rupees had all but ceased at the 'old' Bombay Mint from 1780 due to a shortage of bullion and the rising prices of copper on the island. The East India Company turned to Boulton's Soho Mint to bail it out and the Soho Mint responded by ably supplying a commendable quality of copper pice in 1791 and 1794 at the behest of the Court of Directors.¹² However, the 'old' Bombay Mint had to resort to continuing the old method of hand-struck copper pice from 1802 to 1829 despite the consumption of time and expense incurred in engaging local minters. The last date on these hand-struck copper pice is 1829, which proves that the old mint continued to function till this late date besides the 'new' Bombay mint.¹³ Matthew Boulton had foreseen this scenario of expensive labour versus cost and time which led to the Soho Mint concentrating on improvising methods of machine-struck minting by using steam for rolling, pressing and striking the coins to help the mint produce large quantities of better-struck coins for lesser costs.¹⁴ Soho Mint's improved methods led to the Court of Directors again awarding Boulton & Watt with another contract in 1804 to coin 'a lakh rupees worth of copper specie in three denominations Double Pice, Pice and Half Pice.' These coins were finally sent to Bombay in 1804 and bore the arms of the Company with the inscription 'EAST INDIA COMPANY 1804' on the obverse and a pair of scales with the Persian word 'Adl' with the Hijri date '1219' corresponding to the English date.¹⁵



*Copper Double Pice Soho Mint 3rd Milled Series 1804
(Image, courtesy of the Syndics of the Fitzwilliam Museum)*

The major issue that concerns us is the modernisation of the Bombay Mint by which we wish to trace its transformation from the 'old' Bombay Mint, which issued poor quality hand-struck coins in gold, silver and copper, into a modern 'new' Bombay Mint using steam-controlled press technology to churn out fine machine-struck coins with uniformly-inscribed legends completely matching the flan of the coin blanks with modern dies employed with accuracy. The East India Company in London first began to consider utilising the services of Boulton & Watt in installing a modern mint in around 1796 through the good offices of Boulton's two prominent supporters in the East India House, John Motteux and Robert Wissett, who argued the case for the Soho Mint's pronounced modern and economical approach to the costly and inefficient minting in India in the Presidency Mints.¹⁵ However, the matter came to a standstill with Boulton's death in 1809 and Watt's pre-occupation with other matters. In 1809-10 the Company authorities in London began to confer with Matthew Boulton's and James Watt's sons and respective successors, Matthew Robinson Boulton and James Watt Jr., for the possibilities of building two mints, one in Calcutta and the other in Bombay. However, the negotiations came to a halt for the next decade till the Company deputed Joseph Thompson at the end of 1820 to request an estimate for two mints, one each in Calcutta and Bombay.

The case of Bombay was taken up after the forceful arguing of its case by Capt. William Hawkins, a visionary Bombay Corps Engineer, who came to head the Bombay Mint in 1820. He thus wrote to the Court of Directors stating

'Urgent as the demands are for complete and powerful machinery in the Calcutta Mint, the Records before your Hon'ble Court will fully bear me out in declaring the demands of the Bombay Mint to

be infinitely greater – In proof of this assertion I need only mention the fact of the Hammer, Chisell, & Punch, being to this day the only Coining tools in use.

With such Barbarous implements, which are in every man's hand, it is impossible to produce a coin which may not be easily imitated – The Public are consequently exposed to every species of fraud, & to the vexation delay & expence, of submitting every Rupee, in the commonest money transaction, to the examination of a Shroff or money changer.¹⁶



Copper Pice 'Local' hand-struck variety 1825
(Image, courtesy of the Syndics of the Fitzwilliam Museum)

This brought the Company authorities to ask for two estimates; one for a mint with double the output of the other, with the larger one for Calcutta and the smaller one for Bombay. In his response to the two mints, Mathew Robinson Boulton offered to sell the old Soho Mint for £12,000 instead of supplying a new mint which would have cost the Company £18,515. The negotiations between the EIC and Boulton dragged on for over two years till 1823. In this period, Capt. Hawkins visited the Soho Mint and was convinced of its appropriateness for the purpose of ridding the old Bombay Mint of its present ills.¹⁷ Hawkins also busied himself with the process of selection of trained mint personnel in the form of six English mechanists for various functions at the proposed new mint. The Soho Mint finally was packed and shipped to Bombay, reaching it on board the *Florentina* on 12 February 1825, arriving without arrangements for storage of the machinery having been made to prevent it from rusting in Bombay's sultry atmosphere. The next four years saw Hawkins battle the elements of Nature along with the delays by the Bombay Mint Committee, as well as the Commissary of the Bombay Army which was responsible for indenting various equipment.

However, he received the quiet support from Boulton, who smoothed his way by negotiating with the EIC London officers to accommodate Hawkins in the Bombay Mint Committee. Additionally, Boulton also dispatched a myriad set of implements from Soho to help smoothen the mint's functioning.¹⁸

Thus, battling various other obstacles like bad water from the moat near the fort to recalcitrant mint personnel, Hawkins was finally able to transplant the Soho Mint in Bombay and make it work, producing a trial copper pattern medallion with the image of a marching lion with a palm on the obverse and the reverse with 'BOMBAY 1828' inscribed on an eight-pointed circular border.



Copper pattern coin machine minted at the new Bombay Mint c. 1828-29
(Image, courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum)

The British Museum has a fine sample of this pattern coin which is believed to have been produced at the beginning of 1829 to showcase the new mint's achievement and also the completion of the 'new' Bombay Mint.¹⁹

The 'new' Bombay Mint was also moved into new premises outside the old fort into spacious chambers created especially for the purpose. The new mint building was built and housed at its current location in the centre of the South Bombay business district of modern day Mumbai. Unfortunately, none of the original workers including Capt. Hawkins survived to see the day; Hawkins reportedly died from the overwork after installing the new mint's skeletal working infrastructure in place, while travelling to the Cape of Good Hope for recuperation on 19 February 1831 and was buried at sea. The EIC had promoted him to the rank of Major for his efforts but the increased responsibilities hastened his demise.²⁰

The first issue of the new Bombay Mint was a copper Quarter Anna issued with the design copied from the Soho issue of 1804 and with the change of dates to English 1830 and Hijri 1246 on the coin as the new mint commenced production on 22 November 1830 using the refitted Soho machinery. The new issues had dies engraved at the 'new' Bombay Mint and, by 1832, Half Anna coins were also being issued.



Copper one-fourth Anna 1st milled series 1830 (AH 1246). First issue of the 'New' Bombay Mint
(Image, courtesy of the Syndics of the Fitzwilliam Museum)

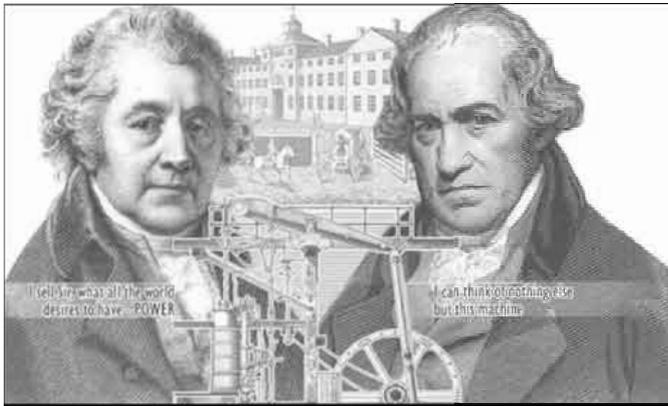
The year also saw the introduction of machine-struck silver rupees and gold mohurs and their denominations issued from the new Bombay Mint as seen in a proclamation in Bombay dated 17 October 1832. The gold coins issued hereafter were gold Mohurs of fifteen rupees, 2/3 Mohurs of ten rupees and 1/3 Mohurs or *Panchias*.²¹

The 'old' Mumbai Mint continued to operate for a while churning out hand-struck copper pice through contracting with local native minters, as is evident from late issues dated 1829. The old mint's issues initially continued to be tolerated and accepted till 1831 but they were recalled to the 'new' Bombay Mint and exchanged at par with the new quarter pice till 31 January 1833 after which they were deemed to be considered as metal only.²² Pridmore names the last native mint contractor, Samuldas Hurrybhoy (Shyamaldas Haribhai) who acquired the position at the old mint in 1825 after furnishing a fifty thousand rupee surety and, upon closure of that (old) mint in April 1831, he was made the Head Cashier and Melter to the new mint.²³ The workers of the old mint were absorbed probably in similar supervisory and menial work at the new mint after it began operations. However, the markets in Bombay continued to require the services of the humble shroff or local money changer as is evident by a watercolour-on-card of a 'Serroff' in a collection labeled 'Types of local people of Bombay' by Sir Richard Temple (1829-1902) during his stint as Governor of Bombay from 1877 to 1880.²⁴ Sir Richard Temple's collections contain paintings of a typical *Serroff* along with other local vendors such as a *Serang* or cockswain of a Bombay pilot boat, Parsee coopers, *Lohars* i.e. blacksmiths, *Sutar* or a Parsee carpenter, *Sunar* or goldsmith and a *Bangeewallah* a curious name for a man selling poultry.

Conclusion

The eighteenth century saw the Industrial Revolution occur through the agency of smaller industrial towns in Britain with the rise of a class of entrepreneurs who gave impetus to reforming all aspects of life through scientific innovations. Matthew Boulton, a metal industrialist from Birmingham, concentrated his efforts on reforming the English coinage through steam-controlled technology by collaborating with James Watt to form the Soho

Mint in the eighteenth century. The Soho Mint became the pivot for reforming coinages not only in England but also all over the colonies of the English East India Company as it exported coins as well as its mints abroad. The Bombay Presidency was one such example which benefitted from this process when Boulton's successor agreed to export the 'Old' Soho Mint to replace the 'Old' Bombay Mint in 1829. Thus, Boulton played a vital role in reforming the East India Company's coinage in its Presidencies and aided the birth of the 'New' Bombay Mint by supplying it with a superior steam-controlled modern mint. Boulton has long been considered as the pioneer of modern coinage in collaboration with James Watt in the United Kingdom. In recent times, the British Government has tried to make amends to Boulton's legacy by dedicating a 50 pound note to Boulton and Watt for their efforts in pioneering coinage reforms on the occasion of Boulton's bi-centenary celebrations in 2009 held all over the United Kingdom.²⁵ However, his role in reforming the Indian coinage has been poorly recognised in India due to poor highlighting of his struggle to pioneer mechanised coinage in this faraway colony.



Bank Note of 50 Pounds released in 2011 in the U.K. featuring Boulton and Watt. Image courtesy: http://static.ibnlive.in.com/ibnlive/pix/sitepix/09_2011/new-50-pound-note-300911.jpg

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DIU: "40 BAZARUCOS" COINS

by Rohan Bahri

This paper was prompted by the emergence of hitherto unlisted "40 Bazarucos" coins of Diu at several recent auctions and the author's acquisition of a similar specimen from the vicinity of Diu itself. This denomination is not only unlisted in KM, it also escapes mention in Alberto Gomes' "Moedas Portuguesas..." which is a more comprehensive catalogue of the coinage of Portuguese possessions in India.

The evidence discussed in this paper comprises information from Gomes' catalogue as well as descriptions from the publicly available archives of auction houses. Before discussing the coins themselves, it is relevant to note the varying weight standard used for Diu's tutenag coinage through the 18th and early 19th centuries. Our reliance on the weight of the coins for an indication of the denomination is predicated by the fact that Diu's tutenag coins did not bear any denomination and the only way to distinguish between values is through their weight (and in some cases flan size).

Standard weights of tutenag coins of Diu bearing the date 1748

2.5 Bazarucos	4.8 – 5.0g
5 Bazarucos	9.6 – 10.0g
7.5 Bazarucos	13.6 – 15.0g
15 Bazarucos	30.0 – 32.5g
30 Bazarucos	60g

Standard weights of tutenag coins of Diu from 1788 – 1828 Reign of D. Maria I (1788 – 1799)

1.5 Bazarucos	-
3 Bazarucos	3g
5 Bazarucos	3.8 – 5.4g
10 Bazarucos	7.8 – 8.5g
15 Bazarucos	12.2 – 13.2g
20 Bazarucos	14.3 – 18.8g

D. João VI (1799 – 1816 as regent; 1816 – 1826)

The weight standard for tutenag coins minted during João's reign as Prince Regent was the same as that of Maria I tabulated above. Gomes' lists no tutenag mintage for the period of 1816 – 1826.

D. Pedro IV (1826 – 1828)

5 Bazarucos	3.5 – 5.1g
10 Bazarucos	7.8g
20 Bazarucos	15 – 20g

Of particular interest is the range of weights for the “20 Bazarucos”. During the period of 1788 – 1828 it ranged from 14.3 – 20g and thus a tutenag coin struck during this period weighing 28.6 – 40g could be attributed as a “40 Bazarucos” coin.



A 15 bazaruco of 1748; photo, courtesy Baldwin Auctions

Keeping in mind the above tables we can now examine the descriptions of 4 coins – 3 from recent auctions and the fourth recently acquired by the author. Images of the 3 auctioned coins can be viewed online at the websites of the respective auction houses.

1. Todywalla Auction 39 (12th September 2009) Lot 141

This “40 Bazarucos” coin is described as weighing 31.74g with the date 1748 clearly visible on the reverse. The auctioneers state that it is “unpublished and unique” and ascribe a denomination of “40 Bazarucos” stating that it is the “heaviest coin in the Indo-Portuguese series and the heaviest denomination”.

While this coin is indeed unpublished in KM, its weight falls neatly into Gomes range of 30.0 – 32.5g for the 15 Bazarucos of 1748 (see G#32.01 under D. João V).

2. Stephen Album Auction 12 (13-14th January 2012) Lot 1273

This second “40 Bazarucos” specimen was once again struck in 1748 with a listed weight of 32.54g. In this case, the auctioneers ascribe a “40 Bazarucos” denomination for this coin because it is “twice the weight of normal 20 Bazarucos”.

From the tables above it clear that this coin is once again G#32.01. The coin is “twice the weight” of “20 Bazarucos” of 1788 – 1828 but not of 1748, which is the year this coin was struck.

3. Rajgor Auction 24 (15th August 2014) Lot 181

The third “40 Bazarucos” to have appeared at auction is described as weighing 38.6g and bears the date 1820 clearly on its reverse. This coin appears to have been minted during the reign of D. Joao VI (1816-1826) however neither KM nor Gomes list any bazarucos at all being struck during this 10 year period.

4. Author’s acquisition in December 2014

This coin, weighing 38.06g, is in poor condition with most of its obverse design lost to wear. On the reverse, though worn, three numerals of the date are visible (18x8). The little of the obverse and reverse designs that is visible appears similar to the tutenag coins struck during the reigns of Maria I and Pedro IV leading the author to speculate that the coin may have been struck in either 1808 or 1828. Both years saw “20 Bazarucos” coins minted at Diu.

Conclusion

It is quite obvious from the tabulated weight standards that coins 1 and 2 were both examples of G32.01 which is a “15 Bazarucos” coin. The auctioneers obviously seem to have been deceived by the absence of a similar coin in KM. This would be an opportune moment to advise serious collectors of Portuguese India’s early coinage to obtain a copy of Gomes’ “Moedas Portuguesas...”.

Though published in Portuguese, the illustrations and date listings should suffice to provide collectors a wealth of information.

Coins 3 and 4 are of the “correct” weight (double that of the “20 Bazarucos” of the corresponding year) to be ascribed “40 Bazarucos” coins. It is unlikely that the authorities at Diu indulged themselves in the production of a piedfort “20 Bazarucos”; especially since the coins of 10, 15 and 20 Bazarucos all have the same flan size and their weight was the only way the public could have differentiated between the different denominations.

At this point in time the author is unable to find any justification for a “40 Bazarucos” denomination. It is interesting to note however that a “40 Bazarucos” coin of 38g would by no means have been an outlier in the Portuguese India series; contemporaneous copper Tangas and 60 Reis coins also weighed in excess of 35g, not to mention the “30 Bazarucos” piece of 1748 which has a listed weight of 60g.

Responses from any readers with further information relating to these “40 Bazarucos” coins would be most welcome and appreciated.

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THREE UNKNOWN CHINESE SPADE COINS

By Wybrand Op den Velde and David Hartill

Chinese numismatics has had a very long history. As early as the 6th century, a scholar named Liu Qian compiled China’s first coin book. In the course of time, numerous extensive and detailed studies and catalogues have been published¹⁶⁷. Yet, now and then Chinese coins only known from a written record are excavated, and further completely unknown types are discovered.

An old collection of early Chinese coins, assembled in the People’s Republic of China before the Cultural Revolution, and purchased by a European collector, included three unknown spade coins. As with most old collections of this sort, the provenances and the origin of these specimens are not recorded.



Obverse of Spade 1

¹⁶⁷ Wang Yü-ch’üan [4] pages 1-2.



Obverse and reverse of Spade II



Obverse of Spade III

Fig. 1 Three unrecorded Chinese spade coins (actual size).

I A hollow-handle pointed-foot spade inscribed 易 Yang

The shape of the hollow-handle spade coins is close to the original agricultural bronze digging tools. They are of much thinner and of lighter weight than the implements used by the farmers, and clearly too flimsy for digging. They are a link between weeding tools used for barter and stylised objects used as money.

These spade coins have in common a hollow handle usually retaining buff or reddish clay from the casting process. In cross-section this socket is rectangular, clearly a remnant of the way by which a genuine tool could be attached to a shaft. Also often reproduced is a more or less triangular hole on one side of the socket, for fixing the tool to the shaft. The alloy of these coins is typically c. 80% copper, c. 15% lead, 5% tin, and some iron, but with considerable variation.

Based on the shape there are six main types¹⁶⁸:

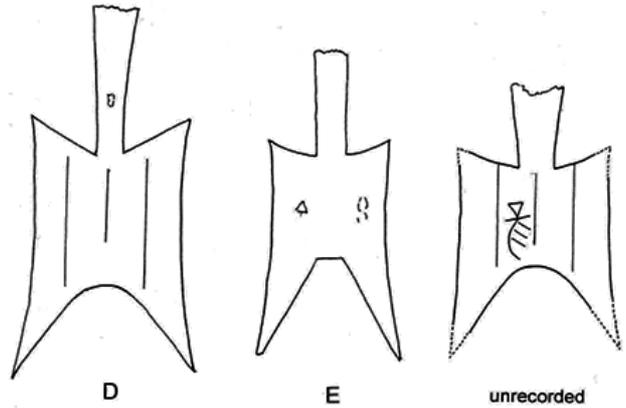
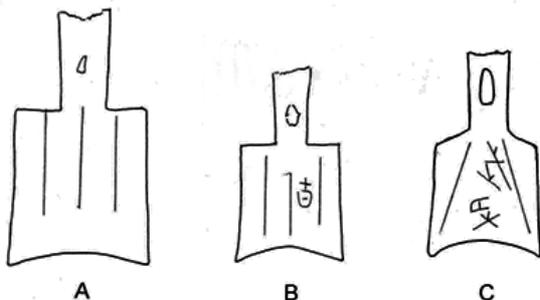


Fig. 2 Types of hollow handle spades (drawings are 50% of actual size)

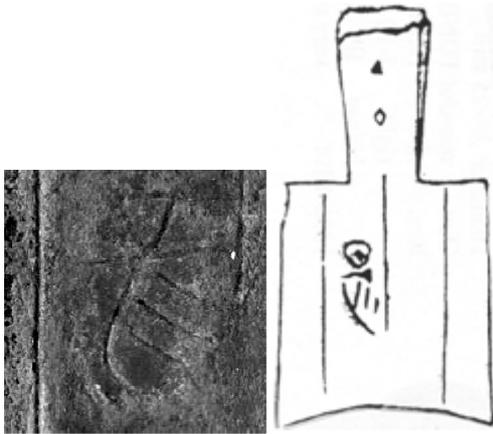
- A. Square-shoulder spades. Square shoulders, slightly curving foot, three parallel lines on both sides. Found in quantities of up to several hundreds in the area corresponding to the Royal domain of Zhou. The size is c. 10 x 5 cm. Held to be the earliest real coin and to date from the early Spring and Autumn period (650-400 BC). The inscriptions on these coins usually consist of one character, which can be a number, a cyclical character, a place name, or possibly the name of a clan. Over 200 inscriptions are known; many have not been fully deciphered. A special small group (Hartill 2.151-155) have an inscription of four rather puzzling characters (c. 400 BC).
- B. Similar in shape and inscriptions with type A, smaller size of c. 8 x 4.5 cm or 7 x 4 cm. Dated from 500-400 BC.
- C. Sloping-shoulder spades. Rather variable size between 9-6.5 x 5-3.5 cm. The two outside lines on the obverse and reverse are at an angle; the central line is often omitted. The inscriptions are clearer, and usually consist of two characters. Associated with the Kingdom of Zhou and the Henan area. Cast between 400-300 BC.
- D. Pointed-foot spades. Long hollow handle. Three parallel lines on both sides, occasionally inscribed. They are found in northeast Henan and in Shanxi, territory of the Duchy of Jin, then Zhao. They are held to be somewhat later in date than the square-shouldered spades, and to be cast between 500 and 400 BC. Their shape seems to be designed for ease of tying together in bundles. Size of c. 14-15 x 6-7 cm. Many are uninscribed, but some have inscriptions including numbers, or symbols such as a circle, or one or (very rare) two characters. In 1995, a hoard of 549 of these spades was unearthed in Shanxi.
- E. Similar in shape with D, but considerably smaller, c. 12 x 4.5 cm, and much rarer. Inscribed with two or more characters.
- F. Still smaller (c. 8 x 3 cm) uninscribed specimens are possibly funerary items.

The first unknown coin type is a hollow-handle spade of uncommon shape. The tips of the shoulders and feet are partly broken off. The original size would have been 11 x 6 cm. Alloy composition¹⁶⁹ (XRF): Cu 69.4% Pb 24.0% Sn 5.4% Fe 1.2%. The handle is shorter than on the types A and D, and comparable to those of type C, and it has no hole. Both sides show three parallel lines. We have not found any similar specimen in the available literature, so it seems to be a hitherto unknown hollow-handle pointed-feet spade type. It is inscribed with the character 易 Yang (without the 卩 Fu part). This character is also found on some

¹⁶⁸ Hartill [3] pages 5-19.

¹⁶⁹ Werner Höpker of Teutoburger Münzauktion in Borgholzhausen (Germany) has been so kind as to conduct the metal analyses.

square-shoulder hollow-handle spades (Coole 855¹⁷⁰), and in combination with another character it is not rare on square and pointed-foot spades with a flat handle (Hartill 3.420, 3.355-63, 3.182-93, 3.126-31, 3.78-90).

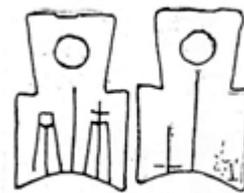
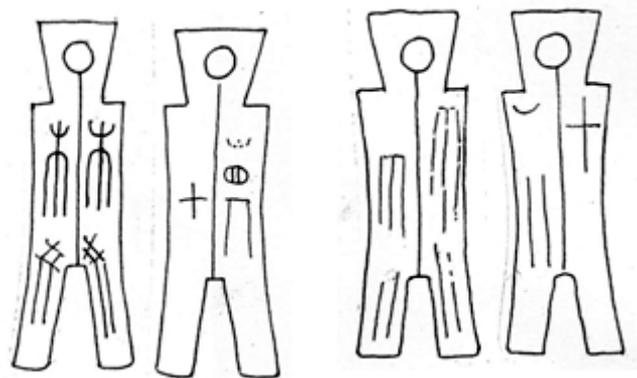
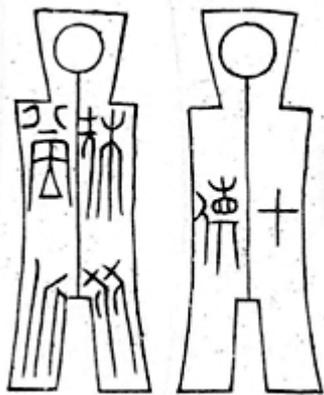


Enlarged detail of spade I Coole 855

Fig. 3 The character Yang on spades (Coole 855 is 50% of actual size).

II A cut off part of a large Dang Yin spade of an unknown variety

A special category of square-foot spades with a flat handle is the Dang Yin Type (fig. 4). They have a thin elongated body, and a large round aperture in the handle. The reverse bears the inscription I Huo (ten hu). The obverse is traditionally read as Shu Bu Dang Yin, but in more recent years other interpretations have been proposed: Shu Qian Dang Jin, Rao Bi Dang Jin, Pei Qian Dang Jin' and Fu Jian Dang Jin¹⁷¹. All these proposed transliterations take a meaning of something like 'special spade ...', 'large coin ...', 'universal coin ...', plus '... equivalent to a jin'. Jin was the monetary unit of the spade coins. The coins have been found in Warring States sites in Zhejiang, Jiangsu, Hubei, Hunan, Anhui, Shaanxi, and Shandong. This corresponds to the territory held by the State of Chu, with some overlap with the State of Han.



unrecorded

Fig. 4 The various types of Dang Jin spade coins (drawings are 50% of actual size).

¹⁷⁰ Coole [2] page 252.

¹⁷¹ Hartill [3] page 50.

Most of the large pieces are carefully cast, with clear characters. There are, however, specimens with reversal of the characters, and some have abbreviated or degraded characters¹⁷². These coins are lighter in weight, and have a smaller hole. They may be later made or privately cast specimens.

We present here the upper part of such a coin, with a weight of 7.10 g. Alloy composition (XRF): Cu 64.1% Pb 17.6% Sn 5.0% Fe 10.9%. This spade is not broken, but is sawn off in a curved line, and the cut looks old. The parts of the inscription still visible do not match exactly any published Dang Jin spade type. Why it has been cut up is unclear. During the Warring States period there was a war between the States of Yen and Ji. Due to a shortage of copper in Yen, cut-off knife coins were brought into circulation, weighing about half of the original (Hartill 4.33). The remaining bronze was used for the production of weapons and more money of low weight. However, we have never seen a cut spade coin before.

III Pointed-foot spade inscribed LU JIN

The third unrecorded coin is a flat-handle pointed-foot spade with Lu 露 on the right. The character on the left is barely visible, but it seems to be Jin 晋 as on Hartill 3.87-3.90. Jin is probably a unit of weight. This piece is rather worn and the tips of both feet are broken off. Alloy composition (XRF): Cu 64.1% Pb 17.6% Sn 11.3% Zn 0.6% Fe 6.4%.

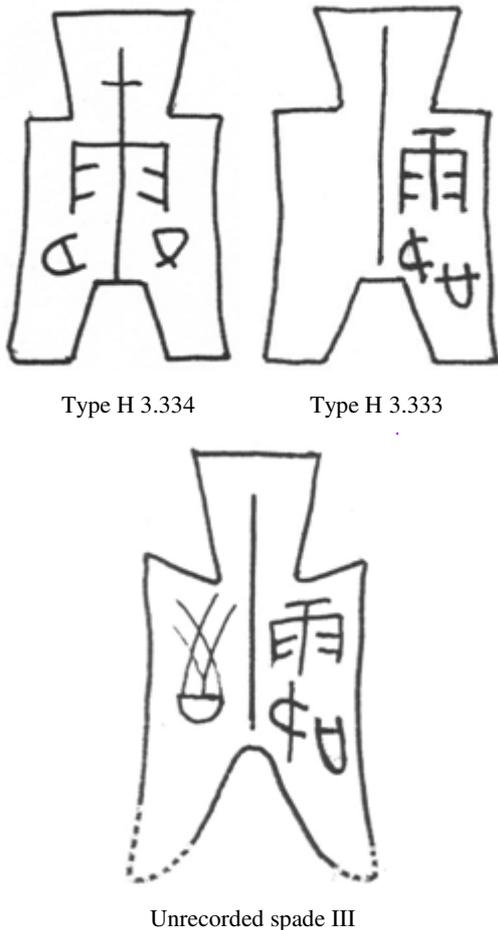


Fig. 5 Spade coins with the character Lu (drawings are actual size).

A group of flat-handle square-foot spades (350-250 BC) is inscribed with Lu in various positions (Coole 2394-2432¹⁷³; Hartill 3.333-3.335). However, this legend has never been reported on a pointed-foot type spade.

¹⁷² Zhejiang Numismatic Society [5] pages 9-18.
¹⁷³ Coole [1] pages 210-215.

The pointed-foot spades are a clear descendant of the pointed-shoulder hollow-handle spades¹⁷⁴. They are associated with the State of Zhao. The mints that produced square-foot spades are more numerous than those of the pointed-foot spades. They circulated in a considerably wider area, in the states of Zhao, Han, Liang, Zhou, and Yan. The type is no doubt contemporary with the pointed-foot spades; the two are found together in hoards, and some mints issued both types (compare Hartill types 3.62 ~ 3.205, 3.95 ~ 3.330, 3.102 ~ 3.351, 3.110 ~ 3.399, 3.131 ~ 3.407, 3.139 ~ 3.425).

References

- [1] Coole, Arthur Braddan. *Spade Coin Types of the Chou Dynasty*. Boston, 1972.
- [2] Coole, Arthur Braddan. *The Early Coins of the Chou Dynasty*. Boston, 1973.
- [3] Hartill, David. *Cast Chinese Coins. A Historical Catalogue*. Victoria, Canada, 2005.
- [4] Wang Yü-ch'üan. *Early Chinese Coinage*. New York, 1951.
- [5] Zhejiang Numismatic Society. *Zhe Jiang Qian Bi [Zhejiang coins]*. 1999.



Jan Lingen being presented with a Certificate of Honour by Rajendar Maru during a short interlude at the recent meeting in Bangalore

¹⁷⁴ Hartill [3] pages 26 and 35.

THE COINAGE OF THE SAFFARIDS OF SIJISTAN AND RELATED DYNASTIES, 247h-332h PART 3

By Stephen Lloyd

This is the first instalment of the catalogue to include copper fulus, distinguished by the prefix 'C', just as 'G' denotes gold dinars. Thus CZa247 denotes a copper fals struck at Zaranj in 247h. It also features the only Samanid dirham published here in full, which is given the suffix 'S'.

To make them clearer when printed all illustrations in Part 2 were slightly enlarged rather than being reproduced at actual size. Unfortunately, this was not explained in the text and the decision was taken at too late a stage for the diameters of the illustrated pieces to be included. But the result is certainly easier to read and so in this and subsequent parts **all coins are shown at 1.25x actual size**, this being the greatest degree of enlargement which can be applied consistently without making the coins too big for the double-column format of the *Journal*. The diameter of each illustrated piece is given in the coin description.

The following references and abbreviations should be added to those given in the introduction to Parts 1 and 2:

Föhlagen	Föhlagen Hoard, CNS 1.2
Künker	Fritz Rufolf Künker GmbH & Co. KG, Osnabrück, auction catalogues
Övide I	Ovide (I) Hoard, CNS 1.3
Rangsarve	Rangsarve Hoard, CNS 1.1
Tänglings	Tänglings Hoard, CNS 1.3
Tuer	Tuer (II) Hoard, CNS 1.2
Wilkes & Curtis	Wilkes & Curtis Ltd, Tonbridge UK, auction catalogues

Thanks are due again to Lutz Ilisch, who has made many helpful suggestions and supplied details and images of a number of additional specimens. Muhammad Limbada has also kindly pointed out some minor mistakes in the Arabic legends given in Part 1 of this catalogue, especially the name of the caliph al-Mu'tamid who should appear as *المعتد على الله* throughout.

* * *

The third and fourth parts of this catalogue list coins from two closely related mints. Part 4 will cover Sijistan, the province where the Saffarids first came to prominence and which remained the heart of their domains, while the present part lists Zaranj, its chief city. Zaranj was sporadically active throughout the First Saffarid period, striking copper coins under Ya'qub and silver and gold under 'Amr b.al-Layth and his successors. Sijistan does not appear as a mint-name until 296h, shortly before the fall of the First Saffarid Dynasty in 299h, but from this year onwards Sijistan and Zaranj are the only two mint-names found on the Saffarid coinage for nearly a century.

The final years of the First Saffarid Dynasty saw a bewildering number of rival claimants competing for power, not only among themselves but also against the forces of the Samanids and of the caliph himself. Between 296h and 299h we have coins of Tahir b. Muhammad, Sebuk-eri (Subkuri), al-Layth b. 'Ali, Mu'addal b. 'Ali and Muhammad b. Hurmuz, as well as issues naming the 'Abbasid caliph alone. Most of these were struck at Madinat Zaranj and Fars, but al-Layth b 'Ali also struck dirhams at Madinat Bust and Madinat Sijistan in 298h, and Sebuk-eri is acknowledged on a coin of 'Uman bearing the same date. The Samanids finally captured Zaranj in 300h, leaving the amir Ahmad b. Isma'il as the caliph's designated governor of Sijistan. But Ahmad himself was assassinated in the following year causing

turmoil in the Samanid lands, and the Samanid general, Simjur Dawati, was forced out of Zaranj in 301h. Prompt action by the caliph's vizier saw al-Muqtadir's envoys received there later that year amid great ceremony, and so Sijistan was brought back under caliphal control.

Although this chaotic period saw six different individuals named on the coinage, the layout of the coins themselves changed very little. Like other issues of the Abbasid Second Coinage Period, the caliph's name normally appears in the reverse field beneath *Muhammad rasul Allah*, placed there to indicate his status as the Prophet's designated representative. The governor or claimant is usually named below the obverse field, except where this is occupied by a pious phrase such as *al-qudra lillah*, in this case his name moves to the reverse below that of the caliph. So while the legitimacy and loyalty to the caliph of the individuals named on these coins may have been debatable, the coins themselves are remarkably orthodox. Interestingly, Samanid dirhams struck during the 290s exhibit a greater diversity of legends and types, departing from the standard Abbasid pattern considerably more frequently, even though the Samanids generally enjoyed a more harmonious relationship with the Abbasids than the Saffarids did.

With Sijistan returning to direct Abbasid control, dinars and dirhams of standard Abbasid type were struck there from 301h onwards. Dirhams are known for 301-303h, all bearing the mint-name Sijistan, while gold dinars were issued in 302h from Madinat Zaranj. This pattern with the silver coinage struck at 'Sijistan' and the gold (and later copper also) at 'Zaranj' was to last for a further thirty years. Abbasid rule, however, proved to be much shorter-lived, and the province was soon in turmoil once more as another group of rivals fought for power. By 305h Kuthayyir b. Ahmad (or Kathir b. Ahmad – the Arabic is ambiguous) was striking dirhams in Sijistan, and his successor, Ahmad b. Qudam, issued dinars (at Madinat Zaranj) and silver dirhams (at 'Sijistan') in the years 307h and 310h. No coins at all are known from the province for the year 308h, and while dirhams of Ahmad b. Qudam dated 309h have been reported I have not seen an example where the unit of the date is unambiguously a '9' as opposed to a '7'. In 310h and 311h Sijistan dirhams are known which confirm the brief rule of 'Abdallah b. Ahmad, whose son is also named on Sijistan dirhams of 310h. A measure of stability began to return to the province in 311h when 'Abdallah b. Ahmad was defeated by Ahmad b. Muhammad, who went on to rule Sijistan for some forty years.

Much as happened during the final decade of the third century, these frequent changes of ruling authority did not bring about any significant changes to the coinage design. The main exception here concerns Kuthayyir b. Ahmad, who removed the name of the caliph al-Heir Abu'l-'Abbas from the obverse field to make space for some extra pious inscriptions of his own. The reason for this, surely, was to compensate for his somewhat tenuous position by making claims for his personal qualities – and Kuthayyir was certainly neither the first nor the first ruler to try this approach. But in other respects the legends on these dirhams are conventional, with both Kuthayyir's name and that of the caliph placed in their normal positions. Dirhams of his three successors all have standard legends and differ from other Abbasid dirhams of the time only in that the name of the caliph's heir is replaced by that of the local ruler. Exactly the same format had already been adopted by the Samanids, probably because there was insufficient space to fit the names and titles of both rather than through any desire to make a political gesture.

The situation regarding the gold coinage is rather different. Like the silver dirhams, dinars struck during this period also resemble contemporary Samanid and Abbasid issues in their legends and design, but even during the turbulent early years of the fourth century it is notable that gold was being struck more regularly and, seemingly, in larger quantities. This is a marked contrast with the First Saffarid period, from which only five dinars survive today. Two of these were struck by Ya'qub b. al-Layth, issued at al-Ahwaz in 263h and 264h. Since al-Ahwaz was actively striking Abbasid dinars when Ya'qub took control of the

mint it is tempting to see this as continuity rather than innovation (although the fact that he also struck donative silver issues there in 264h and 265 may indicate that he had more ambitious plans which were curtailed by his death). As for 'Amr b. al-Layth, although he ruled a large part of the eastern Islamic world for more than twenty years and struck plentiful silver dirhams at more than a dozen mints, only two dinars bearing his name survive. One of these was struck at the capital Zaranj, and has the distinction of being the first gold coin struck there. It is dated 271h, which is also the only year in which 'Amr struck donative silver dirhams at Zaranj, and it is tempting to associate both issues with a particular, one-off event. The other, from Jannaba and dated 275h, was struck in the same year that Abbasid dinars were issued at this mint. Here also it seems that the one was a reaction to the other, since the Saffarids seem to have struck no further gold at Jannaba which they continued to control until at least 286h. Finally, we have two dinars of al-Layth b. 'Ali, struck at Madinat Zaranj in 296h during the chaotic final years of the First Saffarids. Six surviving gold coins from this period is a remarkably small popularion, and it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the First Saffarids, especially after the death of Ya'qub, had no interest in maintaining a gold coinage.

It seems that the striking of Abbasid dinars (the plural itself is noteworthy) at Zaranj in 302h set a precedent whereby subsequent rulers would seek to follow 'official' Abbasid practice and maintain a gold coinage in Sijistan. Following these Abbasid dinars, of which two (or possibly three) are extant, we have two dinars of Ahmad b. Qudam dated 307h and 310h, and three specimens struck by Ahmad b. Muhammad (two dated 311h and one from 312h). By the 320s a small but regular coinage of full dinars was being issued, with examples surviving today from 320h, 323h (two specimens), 325h, 326h, 327h (two specimens) and 328h (also two specimens). This development is all the more striking when contrasted with the silver coinage, which becomes increasingly sporadic after the accession of Ahmad b. Muhammad. His dirhams are known for 311h, 312h, 314h, 315h, 318-321h, 323h, 324h, and possibly 325h. All are scarce, although coins dated 311h seem to be more plentiful today while some years are only known from unique examples. The overall impression is that both gold and silver were struck only on a modest scale in Sijistan between 301h and 328h, but that the gold coinage grew steadily in importance in relation to silver.

During the 320s we can see the first changes to the Saffarid coinage which led to the introduction of a completely different denomination set in Sijistan by the early 330, where the basis of the Saffarid coinage system was no longer the silver dirham but a new fractional gold dinar, supplemented by copper fulus. These fractional dinars seem to have been introduced in or about 327h and are not included here, as they seem to me to represent a new and separate phase of the Saffarid coinage. Examples struck between 327-334h are in any case already adequately catalogued by Bernardi.

This series of changes to the Saffarid coinage may be summarized chronologically as follows:

323h: Introduction of a copper coinage in Sijistan, with fulus struck at Zaranj for the first time in more than seventy years. Fulus dated 327h-329h are reasonably plentiful.

325h: The last Abbasid-style silver dirham is struck in Sijistan. No further silver coins are issued in the province for fifteen years.

327h: The earliest reported fractional dinars, with the mint-name Zaranj, struck in this year (see Heritage auction 3021, 6 January 2013, lot 21659, 0.79g, 13mm).

328h: The last Abbasid-style gold dinar is struck with the mint-name Madinat Zaranj.

332h: A new type of Saffarid full dinar is introduced, no longer from 'Zaranj' but with the mint-name 'Sijistan', still naming the Abbasid caliph al-Muttaqi but with the Surat *al-Ikhlās* on the reverse. Several dates from the 330s and early 340s are known, with production of full dinars thereafter becoming negligible.

340h: New dirhams of a completely different pattern are struck at Madinat Sijistan, with a single obverse margin and the Surat *al-Ikhlās* on the reverse. Only a handful of specimens of this type survive, all dated in the 340s. Regular production of dirhams does not resume in Sijistan until the 380s.

The question of *why* Khalaf b. Ahmad made these changes, which took the Saffarid coinage outside the established pattern set by the Abbasids, is one I hope to address more thoroughly in the future when a more solid corpus of relevant material has been established.

(MADINAT) ZARANJ



CZa247 Madinat Zaranj 247h (fals)

Obv. margin: ...مما امر به يعقوب بن الليث اهر جانز ب...

Obv. field: لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له

Rev. margin: mint and date

Rev. field: محمد رسول الله ابخ

*Private Collection, Cambridge (2.28g, 21mm)

Tübingen 2009-7-47 (2.53g), 96-7-19 (3.48g)

The final word of the obverse margin is unclear. It appears to comprise four letters, the first probably a single tooth, the second a *sin* or *shin*, the third another tooth and the last a *ha* or *ta marbuta*.



CZa249 Madinat Zaranj 249h (fals)

Obv. margin: ...مما امر به يعقوب بن الليث طاهر جانز ب...

Obv. field: لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له

Rev. margin: mint and date

Rev. field: محمد رسول الله

*ICA 22, 25 September 2012, lot 3504 (2.71g, 20mm)

Künker auction 188, 20 June 2011, lot 524 (part), weight not given; Zeno 48400 (2.0g)



CZA252 Madinat Zaranj 252h (fals)

Obv. margin: mint and date

Obv. field: annulet | لا اله الا الله وحده | لا شريك له | annulet

Rev margin: four annulets, each with pellet in centre

Rev. field: محمد رسول الله | يعقوب بن الليث

Tübingen 96-7-20 (1.74g, 19mm)

The date is not clear; it is thought to be either 251h or 252h with the latter more probable.



GZa271 Madinat Zaranj 271h (dinar)
 Obv. margin: Qur'an xxx, 4-5 (outer); mint and date (inner)
 Obv. field: لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له | عمرو بن الليث
 Rev. margin: Qur'an ix, 33
 Rev. field: لله | محمد | رسول | الله | المعتمد على الله

*Sotheby's, 21 November 1985, lot 403 = *Centuries of Gold* 127 = Qatar 3570 (4.08g, 21mm)



Za294 Madinat Zaranj 294h
 Obv. margin: Qur'an xxx, 4-5 (outer); mint and date (inner)
 Obv. field: لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له
 Rev. margin: Qur'an ix, 33
 Rev. field: لله | محمد | رسول | الله | المكتفي بالله | طاهر بن محمد

*Wilkes & Curtis auction 3, 8 December 2014, lot 272 (3.06g, 28mm); Vasmer 82 (4 examples cited); Tänglings 24 (2.98g)



Za271.1 Madinat Zaranj 271h
 Obv. margin: Qur'an xxx, 4-5 (outer); mint and date (inner)
 Obv. field: لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له | عمرو بن الليث
 Rev. margin: Qur'an ix, 33
 Rev. field: لله | محمد | رسول | الله | المعتمد على الله | س

*Private Collection, North America (3.22g, 20mm)
 Vasmer 28 (1 example cited, 2.65g); Tübingen 95-32-31 (3.30g)



Za295 Madinat Zaranj 295h
 Obv. margin: Qur'an xxx, 4-5 (outer); mint and date (inner)
 Obv. field: لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له | القدرة لله
 Rev. margin: Qur'an ix, 33
 Rev. field: لله | محمد | رسول | الله | المكتفي بالله | طاهر بن محمد

*Peus auction 341, lot 1671 (3.25g)
 Vasmer 84 (2 examples cited, apparently reading *al-qudra lillah*); BMC II, 248 = Walker p.8; ICA11, lot 220 (2.89g); Lowick 1975, 304 (3.54g); Qatar III, 3644 (3.74g); Tübingen 96-16-2 (2.60g); Tuer II 16 (3.00g); Peus auction 388, 1 November 2006, lot 1390 (3.00g)
 Vasmer cites a similar piece (his coin 83), apparently reading *al-'izza lillah* (العزة لله) below the obverse field. As the piece is not illustrated and this is so close to the *al-qudra lillah* found on other known examples, it seems likely that *al-'izza* is a misreading.



Za271.2 Madinat Zaranj 271h
 Obv. margin: Qur'an xxx, 4-5 (outer); mint and date (inner)
 Obv. field: لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له | عمرو بن الليث
 Rev. margin: Qur'an ix, 33
 Rev. field: لله | محمد | رسول | الله | المعتمد على الله | س

*Morton & Eden auction 63, 22 April 2013, lot 126, donative type with broad margins (4.13g, 22mm); Tübingen 99-22-10 (3.07g)



Za296.1 Madinat Zaranj 296h
 Obv. margin: Qur'an xxx, 4-5 (outer); mint and date (inner)
 Obv. field: لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له | طاهر بن محمد
 Rev. margin: Qur'an ix, 33
 Rev. field: لله | محمد | رسول | الله | المقتر بالله

*Private Collection, Cambridge 721044 (4.41g)
 Vasmer 85 (1 example cited); Limbada (h3.81g)

Za293 Madinat Zaranj 293h
 Obv. margin: Qur'an xxx, 4-5 (outer); mint and date (inner)
 Obv. field: لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له
 Rev. margin: Qur'an ix, 33
 Rev. field: لله | محمد | رسول | الله | المكتفي بالله | طاهر بن محمد

Vasmer 81 (2 examples cited)



GZa296 Madinat Zaranj 296h (dinar)
 Obv. margin: Qur'an xxx, 4-5 (outer); mint and date (inner)
 Obv. field: لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له | الليث بن علي
 Rev. margin: Qur'an ix, 33
 Rev. field: لله | محمد | رسول | الله | المقتدر بالله

*Spink Zurich auction 22, 17 March 1987, lot 413 (3.68g, 22mm)
 A second specimen, in inferior condition was reportedly sold by
 Münzen und Medaillen AG in the late 1980s.



GZa302A Madinat Zaranj 302h (dinar, Abbasid)
 Obv. margin: Qur'an xxx, 4-5 (outer); mint and date (inner)
 Obv. field: لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له
 Rev. margin: Qur'an ix, 33
 Rev. field: لله | محمد | رسول | الله | المقتدر بالله

*Sotheby's, May 2001, lot 1008 (4.16g, 22.5mm)
 Spink Zurich auction 22, 17 March 1987, lot 414 (4.01g)
 Bernardi 237Of

Za296.2 Madinat Zaranj 296h
 Obv. margin: Qur'an xxx, 4-5 (outer); mint and date (inner)
 Obv. field: لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له | الليث بن علي
 Rev. margin: Qur'an ix, 33
 Rev. field: لله | محمد | رسول | الله | المقتدر بالله

Vasmer 91 (1 example cited)



GZa307 Madinat Zaranj 307h (dinar)
 Obv. margin: Qur'an xxx, 4-5 (outer); mint and date (inner)
 Obv. field: لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له
 Rev. margin: Qur'an ix, 33
 Rev. field: لله | محمد | رسول | الله | المقتدر بالله | احمد بن قدام

*Sotheby's, 25 May 2000, lot 428 (2.90g, 20mm)
 Bernardi 258Of, citing, in addition to the specimen illustrated
 above, a further coin in a private collection (3.34g)
 Poinson catalogue 41, June 1996, lot 1660



Za298 Madinat Zaranj 298h
 Obv. margin: Qur'an xxx, 4-5 (outer); mint and date (inner)
 Obv. field: لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له | المعدل بن علي
 Rev. margin: Qur'an ix, 33
 Rev. field: لله | محمد | رسول | الله | المقتدر بالله

*Sotheby's, 29 May 1987, lot 879
 Qatar 3646 (4.25g); Övide I, 58 (2.14g)



GZa310 Madinat Zaranj 310h (dinar)
 Obv. margin: Qur'an xxx, 4-5 (outer); mint and date (inner)
 Obv. field: لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له
 Rev. margin: Qur'an ix, 33
 Rev. field: لله | محمد | رسول | الله | المقتدر بالله | احمد بن قدام

*Private Collection (3.67g, 22mm)



Za299 Madinat Zaranj 299h
 Obv. margin: Qur'an xxx, 4-5 (outer); mint and date (inner)
 Obv. field: لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له | القدرة لله
 Rev. margin: Qur'an ix, 33
 Rev. field: لله | محمد | رسول | الله | المقتدر بالله | محمد بن هرمز

*Limbada (2.70g)
 Private Collection, Cambridge (h2.67g);
 ANS 1971.155.1 (pierced, 2.98g)

The following curious issue ZA310S) is clearly irregular. The
 mint-name has been read both as Zaranj and also as Balkh. It
 is conceivable, although in my opinion unlikely, that they may
 have been struck during the confusion following the death of
 Ahmad b. Qudam and before 'Abdallah b. Ahmad's brief rise to
 power. But for historical reasons I am inclined to think that they
 are more likely to be unofficial coins based on Samanid dirhams
 of Balkh. I have nevertheless illustrated and described an example
 here for the sake of completeness.



ZA310S Zaranj 310h? (Saffarid)
 Obv. margin: Qur'an xxx, 4-5 (outer); mint and date (inner)
 Obv. field: لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له
 Rev. margin: Qur'an ix, 33
 Rev. field: لله محمد رسول الله | المقتدر بالله | نصر بن احمد
 *Private Collection, Cambridge (2.71g, 26.5mm)
 Zeno 145447 (2.23g), 145448 (5.84g); Tübingen 98-9-27 (2.44g)



GZa320 Zaranj 320h (dinar)
 Obv. margin: Qur'an xxx, 4-5 (outer); mint and date (inner)
 Obv. field: لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له | الحسين
 Rev. margin: Qur'an ix, 33
 Rev. field: لله محمد رسول الله | المقتدر بالله | احمد بن محمد
 *Muhammad Limbada (3.89g, 22mm)



GZa311 Madinat Zaranj 311h (dinar)
 Obv. margin: Qur'an xxx, 4-5 (outer); mint and date (inner)
 Obv. field: لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له
 Rev. margin: Qur'an ix, 33
 Rev. field: لله محمد رسول الله | المقتدر بالله | احمد بن محمد
 *Morton & Eden auction 17, 13-14 December 2005, lot 907 =
 Baldwin's Islamic Coins Fixed Price List 11, April 2006, lot 148
 (3.63g) = Bernardi 258Of



GZa322 Zaranj 322h (dinar)
 Obv. margin: Qur'an xxx, 4-5 (outer); mint and date (inner)
 Obv. field: لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له | ابو جعفر
 Rev. margin: Qur'an ix, 33
 Rev. field: لله محمد رسول الله | الراضي بالله | احمد بن محمد
 *Sotheby's, 14 October 1999, lot 359 (2.96g, 25mm), date read
 incorrectly as 327h



GZa312 Madinat Zaranj 312h (dinar)
 Obv. margin: Qur'an xxx, 4-5 (outer); mint and date (inner)
 Obv. field: لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له
 Rev. margin: Qur'an ix, 33
 Rev. field: لله محمد رسول الله | المقتدر بالله | احمد بن محمد
 *Spink Taisei auction 34, Zurich, 19 June 1990, lot 356 (3.33g,
 25mm)
 Sotheby's, 21 November 1985, lot 404 (3.34g) = Bernardi 258Of



GZa323 Zaranj 323h (dinar)
 Obv. margin: Qur'an xxx, 4-5 (outer); mint and date (inner)
 Obv. field: لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له | ابو جعفر
 Rev. margin: Qur'an ix, 33
 Rev. field: لله محمد رسول الله | الراضي بالله | احمد بن محمد
 *Stephen Album, Fixed Price List 180, June 2002, lot 16 =
 Bernardi 298Of (3.07g, 24mm);
 Yahya Jafar Collection (2.14g); ANS 1975.209.1

Zaranj 318h (fals)
 This is a misreading; the coin listed by Diler (p.636, citing
 Baldwin's Islamic Coin Auction 9, lot 3413) is in fact dated 328h.



CZa323 Zaranj 323 (fals)
 Obv. margin: mint and date
 Obv. field: لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له | ابو جعفر
 Rev. margin: Qur'an xxx, 3

Rev. field: محمد | رسول الله | احمد بن محمد

*Private collection, Cambridge (h1.93g, 22mm)
Tübingen 97-14-10 (2.81g), 2009-10-52 (2.80g)

CZa324 Zaranj 324 (fals)

Obv. margin: border of pellets
Obv. field: flower with seven petals, dots between
Rev. margin: mint and date
Rev. field: لله | محمد | رسول الله | ابو جعفر

Peus auction 363, lot 6109 (2.79g, not illustrated)

This type is similar to CZa328, and I wonder whether the unit of the date may have been a 7 or 9 rather than a 4. Unfortunately the coin was not illustrated.



GZa325 Zaranj 325h (dinar)

Obv. margin: Qur'an xxx, 4-5 (outer); mint and date (inner)
Obv. field: لا اله الا الله وحده | لا شريك له | ابو جعفر
Rev. margin: Qur'an ix, 33
Rev. field: لله | محمد | رسول الله | الراضي بالله | احمد بن محمد

*Morton & Eden auction, 27 June 2006, lot 154 = ICA 20, 8 May 2012, lot 581 (4.21g)



GZa327 Zaranj 327h (dinar)

Obv. margin: Qur'an xxx, 4-5 (outer); mint and date (inner)
Obv. field: لا اله الا الله وحده | لا شريك له | ابو جعفر
Rev. margin: Qur'an ix, 33
Rev. field: لله | محمد | رسول الله | الراضي بالله | احمد بن محمد

*Sotheby's, 17 April 1984, lot 108 = Qatar 3571 (4.50g, 24mm);
Bernardi 298Of



CZa327 Zaranj 327/9h (fals)

Obv. margin: mint and date
Obv. field: لا اله الا الله وحده | لا شريك له | ابو جعفر
Rev. margin: Qur'an xxx, 3

Rev. field: محمد | رسول الله | احمد بن محمد

Walker 23 (1.57g), *24 (1.79g)
Zeno #141933 (2.43g, 21mm)

Walker gives the date as 327h, but the image on Zeno suggests that the piece shown there (which is stylistically very similar to the coins illustrated by Walker) is more likely to be dated 329h.



GZa328 Zaranj 328h (dinar)

Obv. margin: Qur'an xxx, 4-5 (outer); mint and date (inner)
Obv. field: لا اله الا الله وحده | لا شريك له | ابو جعفر
Rev. margin: Qur'an ix, 33
Rev. field: لله | محمد | رسول الله | الراضي بالله | احمد بن محمد

*Peus auction 388, 1 November 2006, lot 1391 (2.75g, 24.6mm);
ICA 13, 30 October 2006, lot 324 (2.35g, 24mm)
Bernardi 299Of



CZa328.1 Zaranj 328h (fals)

Obv. margin: mint and date
Obv. field: لا اله الا الله وحده | لا شريك له
Rev. margin: مما امر به احمد بن محمد الله...
Rev. field: لله | محمد | رسول الله | ابو جعفر

Ralph Cannito Collection = Zeno #46866 (h3.23g, 26.8mm)
Walker 25 (1.92g)

Unfortunately, Walker only gives a translation of the reverse margin, which is partially reconstructed into Arabic here. It ended, according to Walker, 'May Allah magnify him', but the photograph is not sufficiently clear to confirm.



CZa328.2 Zaranj 328h (fals)

Obv. margin: mint and date
Obv. field: لا اله الا الله وحده | لا شريك له | ابو جعفر
Rev. margin: border of annulets
Rev. field: لله | محمد | رسول الله | ابو جعفر

*Peus auction 388, 1 November 2006, lot 1392 (2.35g, 18.5mm)

Walker 26 (1.92g), 27 (2.26g), 28 (1.79g); Elsen auction 88, 10 June 2006, lot 1915 (1.99g, reoffered on several occasions); Baldwin's auction 40, 3 May 2005, lot 1123 (2.23g);



CZa328.3 Zaranj 328h (fals)
 Obv.margin: mint and date
 Obv. field: لا اله الا الله | وحده لا شريك له | ابو جعفر
 Rev. margin: مما امر به احمد بن محمد الله...
 Rev. field: لله | محمد | رسول الله | ابو جعفر

*Tübingen 97-22-3 (h3.33g)



CZa328.4 Zaranj 328h (fals)
 Obv.margin: border of pellets
 Obv. field: flower with seven petals, dots between
 Rev. margin: mint and date
 Rev. field: لله | محمد | رسول الله | ابو جعفر

*Private Collection, Cambridge (2.38g, 20mm); another (2.20g) Baldwin's auction 83, 24 September 2013, lot 5113 (2.10g, 20mm); Ilisch 15 (citing two examples, both 20mm diameter, weights not known)

The series of copper fulus struck at Zaranj during the 320s is complex, and the listings given here are certainly far from complete, but I hope that they may encourage readers who own such coins to look at them again and, perhaps, kindly send me images and details of them. My impression is that the coins listed here form part of a distinct emission which ceased in 329h, and that significant production of Saffarid copper did not resume until the late 330s, but this is only a tentative position which further research may confirm or disprove.

AN IRREGULAR COPPER COIN OF QUEEN TAMARI OF GEORGIA WITH NO WREATH OF ROSETTES

By Irakli Paghava

Back in 2011 we stated in one of our works that the time was ripe for the *extensive* research of the Georgian numismatic heritage, i.e. accumulation and study of the new coin types, bolstered by *intensive* research – the detailed analysis of the corpus of monetary

material already available.¹⁷⁵ In the meantime, it would certainly be wrong to ignore the previously unknown types or even varieties of Georgian coinage: the detailed publication of all of them seems to be one of the cornerstones of further research in this field.



Fig. 1. Queen Tamari, early 13th c. fresco in the cave monastery of Bertubani

With this short note, we would like to publish a new variety of the irregular copper coins of Queen Tamari (1184-1210?) (Fig. 1) produced by employing an obverse die with a simplified design.

The customary design and legends of both the obverse and reverse dies produced for minting the irregular copper coinage of Tamari are as follows (cf. Fig. 2):

Obv.: A facsimile of Tamari's signature in Georgian (modern Mkhedruli script) in the central area, surrounded sequentially by a wreath of rosettes, border of dots, and marginal abbreviated legend in Georgian (Asomtavruli script):

†საჴეზიძირი ნეცისათრ ნიხნ ნეძენი ჴეცჴისნი
 the last two letters sometimes replaced by **ჴს**, i.e.:

† საჴეზიძირი ნეცისათრ ნიხნ ნეძენი ჴეცჴისნი
 რზის ჴოპონიხონსა **ჴს** / **ჴს**

†¹⁷⁶ სახელითა ღვთისათა იქნა ჴედაი ვეცხლოსი ამის
 ქორონიკონსა ჴს [407, =1187] / ულ [430, =1210]

Standing for

In the name of God, was made the striking of this silver in the Koronikon 407 (i.e. 1187)

(in another variety there is Asomtavruli **ჴს** / UL, meaning 430, i.e. 1210¹⁷⁷). Surrounded by an outer border of dots.

Rev.: Arabic legend in 5 lines in the central area:

الملكة المعظمة
 جلال الدنيا و الدين
 تامار بنت كيوكي
 ظهير المسيح
 اعز الله انصاره

¹⁷⁵ ფაღავა ირაკლი. „ჯავახთ უფლოს მონეტები - კომპლექსური ანალიზი“. [“The Coinage of the Lord of Javakhs – Complex Analysis”]. *საისტორიო კრებული* ტ. I. თბილისი: მხედარი, 2011. გვ. 291-343.

¹⁷⁶ The first symbol possibly does not constitute the cross (†), but the initial of Christ, represented by the cross-like grapheme **ქ** (**ⴕ**) – a standard commencement of medieval written statements in Georgia.

¹⁷⁷ **ს** and **ს** are very similar to each other graphically, so it is possible that the date 1210 was a mere mistake on the part of the engraver.

*The great Queen
Glory of the Worlds and Faith
Tamar daughter of Giorgi
Champion of the Messiah
May God increase [her] victories.*

Marginal legend in Arabic:

ضا عف الله جلالها و مد ظلالها و ايد اقبالها

*May God increase her glory and lengthen her shadow and
strengthen her beneficence!*

Surrounded by a border of dots.



Fig. 2. Irregular copper of Queen Tamari, usual design

Various varieties were described by Yevgeniy Pakhomov and Kirk Bennett¹⁷⁸; however, we have encountered a new one, constituting a significant deviation from the standard design of the obverse (the reverse die employed seems to be perfectly normal). The coin is as follows (Fig. 3):



Fig. 3. New variety: Irregular copper of Queen Tamari with no wreath of rosettes /border of dots

AE, weight 1.92 g, diameter 13.5 mm, die axis 3:15 o'clock.

Obv.: A facsimile of Tamari's signature (mostly obscured by the Asomtavruli letter Ⴂ (D), a standard countermark) in the central area; *neither a wreath of rosettes nor the inner border of dots around;* fragment of the marginal legend:

... xxღბსქიჲნ...

Rev.: Arabic legend in central area:

...مار بنت كيو...
ظهير المسيح

We fully agree with Yevgeniy Pakhomov and Davit Kapanadze¹⁷⁹, that the large-scale minting of the irregular copper coinage of Queen Tamari implied the production of a multitude of dies¹⁸⁰, and that this was the reason for a certain amount of

¹⁷⁸ Пахомов Евгений. *Монеты Грузии*. [Coins of Georgia]. Тбилиси: Мечниереба, 1970. С. 90-93; Bennett Kirk. *Coins of Georgia*. Santa Rosa, 2014. P. 61-69.

¹⁷⁹ Пахомов. *Монеты Грузии*. [Coins of Georgia]. С. 92; კაპანაძე დავითი. *ქართული ნუმიზმატიკა*. [Georgian Numismatics] თბილისი: თბილისის უნივერსიტეტის გამომცემლობა, 1969. გვ. 75-76.

¹⁸⁰ Could the dies have been reproduced by some more producible technology in contemporary Georgia, for instance, employing a patrix die with a positive image of the legends / design?

variation creeping into what was otherwise a standard (frozen) design.

However, in this case we see not a mere deviation from the standard, but a considerable modification – seemingly, the engraver (or perhaps the mint authority) lightened the work load and accelerated the die and thus the coinage production cycle by eliminating much of the labour-intensive and time-consuming design fragments on the obverse die, while at the same time preserving the crucial elements like both the facsimile of the ruling monarch's signature and the standard fiscal (claiming this copper coinage was *silver*) and date formula (in the marginal legend). Presumably this approach was not persevered with in view of the rarity of this variety, so far represented by a sole specimen.

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THE STRANGE RUPEES OF DAR AL-SALTANAT QABUL IN THE NAME OF NADIR SHAH

Nadir Shah captured Kabul in 1738 (AH 1151) and held it until his death, whereupon it passed into the hands of his successor, Ahmad Shah Durrani. Rupees are known struck in Nadir's name dated AH 1157 (two varieties) and 1160, with mintname Dār al-Mulk Kābul. These have his usual couplet:

suḷṭān hasht bar salātīn-i jahān / shāh-i shāhān nādir sāhib qirān



Dār al-Mulk Kābul rupee, AH (11)60 in the name of Nadir Shah



Dār al-Saltanat Qābul rupee, AH 1159 in the name of Nadir Shah

The second rupee illustrated above, weighing 11.07g, is of a completely different type. The obverse has a crudely engraved version of the couplet, while the reverse is of “Persian” type with the mint and date engraved within a relatively small circle. On this type the mint epithet is Dār al-Saltanat and Kabul is spelt with a *qaf* instead of the usual *kaf*. Whitehead lists a rupee of year 5 of Ahmad Shah Durrani with that mint epithet though he does not illustrate it (PMC vol. III, coin 178, the coin stated to be in the British Museum). Rupees of AH 1166 have the Dār al-Mulk

