



ONS NEWS

Meetings – See notice of the 2015 AGM on page 6

London

A meeting of the Oriental Numismatic Society was held at the Coins & Medals department of the British Museum on 27 July 2015. Three talks were given. We were very pleased to welcome Jonathan Skaff, from the Shippensburg University of Pennsylvania who began the proceedings with a talk on the subject of silver Sasanian and Arab-Sasanian coins circulating at Turfan in the 6th and 7th centuries.



Jonathan Skaff introducing his subject and during the course of his talk

After lunch Stan Goron gave a talk on the coinage of Herat from the Timurids to the Barakzais, indicating, in particular, how the city had changed hands on various occasions during the period of the Safavids and Shaybanids. Particular attention was also given to the issues of the Durranis and their successors. The last talk of the day was by Joe Cribb on the coinage of Cambodia. He began by discussing the recent discovery of what may be the earliest coinage of Cambodia, a gold issue of the king Ishanavarman (AD 616-637), which was recently discovered. See also the article below, starting page 41.



The gold coin of Ishanavarman

Members who missed the Autumn meeting in Oxford can still have the opportunity to listen to Terry Hardaker speak on *Recent finds of Punchmarked Coins from India* which is the latest podcast available on the Money and Medals website:

<http://www.moneyandmedals.org.uk/audio-and-podcasts/>

ONS Archives in Mumbai

ONS-SA has acquired the entire set of ONS Newsletters and Journals published since 1970, courtesy Jan Lingen (our Regional Secretary for Continental Europe) who donated the set, and one of the ONS-SA members has kindly donated space in his Central Mumbai office to house the entire set in safe conditions for future reference and records.

Members interested in getting copies of old articles in the ONS archives can consult the Cumulative Index of JONS on the ONS website (or obtain the latest version from the Regional Secretary, Mahesh Kalra), select the articles of their choice and inform Mahesh on [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] print copies of the same will be posted to the member. The service would be charged at 25 INR per page plus postage payable to the ONS-SA account prior to the posting of the package. As far as possible, the aim will be to fulfil such requests within one month of receipt, depending on the number of such requests. So members are asked to be patient in that respect.

New Members

General Region



New and Recent Publications

Issue 14 of *Numismatique Asiatique*, the journal of the Société de Numismatique Asiatique, France, June 2015 has been published. This contains a variety of articles, mostly in French but also some in English:

India: 'Le carambole: Quand un fruit de l'Inde donna son nom à une monnaie des Flandres' by Christian Charlet.

'Une médaille pour la prise du fort Saint David (1758)' by Daniel Cariou.

Vietnam: 'Tiền giần: The diminutive unofficial coins of Vietnam' by Lục Đức Thuận (in English).

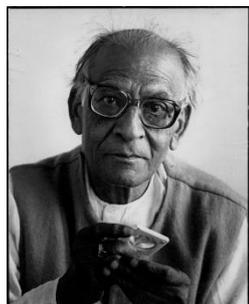
China: 'A propos de quelques jetons attribués aux concessions françaises' by D. Cariou, F. Joyaux & O.

The section on bibliographic research contains the first part of a bibliography of works containing information on the coinage and numismatics of Cambodia.

At the same time the Société published a special edition in Cambodia entitled *Monnaies Cambodgiennes* on commission from the Banque Nationale de Cambodge and its governor. This contains contributions from various authors including one from ONS Secretary-General, Joe Cribb.

The Société is also organising a colloquium on Cambodian numismatics to take place in Paris on Saturday, 10 October this year. For additional information, please contact the Société 

Other News



Dr. P. L. Gupta's 101st Birth Commemoration on 24 December proposed to be celebrated as 'National Numismatic Day' in India

Dr Parmeshwari Lal Gupta (1914-2001) was one of the founding fathers of the discipline of numismatics in the post-independence period in India. Dr Gupta's profound study of the subject with original ideas about the beginning of Indian Coinage sprung from a first-hand study of over 25,000 Punch-marked coins and hoards in various collections in India and abroad juxtaposed with a study of ancient Indian literary sources.

Born on 24 December 1914 in Azamgarh town of the erstwhile United Provinces of British India, he had primary education in the town while the independence movement was in full swing. Buoyed by Mahatma Gandhi's clarion call for independence, the young man leapt into the Independence Movement serving it in various roles till India was declared independent of colonial rule in 1947. Post-independence, he returned to Hindi journalism writing for various magazines and journals. During his time in the independence movement, Dr Gupta developed a keen interest in Indian numismatics through his acquaintance with a fellow

Congress worker, Adv. Rama Shankar Rawat, a keen collector of Indian antiquities. Soon, the young scholar acquired enough knowledge to present a paper on the monograms on Gupta gold coins. The paper attracted the attention of Prof. A. L. Basham of SOAS as well as brought him under Dr A. S. Altekar's tutelage. He soon quit journalism to pursue his M.A. in Ancient Indian History & Culture at the Banaras Hindu University.

After completing his M.A., he was appointed Assistant Curator at the Bharat Kala Bhavan's museum, which gave him the impetus to pursue his Ph.D. on punch-marked coins of ancient India under Prof. V. S. Agrawala's guidance. He was also prompted to visit museums in India and abroad for collecting data for his thesis which was submitted in 1959 earning him his doctorate in the subject. Later, he held the position of Curator Numismatics at Bombay's Prince of Wales Museum (1955-1962) and the Patna Museum (1963-1972) serving the British Museum in the interim period as Assistant Keeper, Coins & Medals in 1962 where he prepared an updated draft catalogue of the Mughal coins in the BM collection.

Later, he went on to be the Honorary Director of the Indian Institute of Research in Numismatic Studies (IIRNS) in 1984 helping create a research institution with resource books, journals and photographic archives on Indian numismatics. During his years at the Institute, he mentored a new generation of Indian numismatists for the future and also instituted courses designed to impart numismatic knowledge to beginners in the field.

Dr Gupta also served the Numismatic Society of India in various roles as a member of its Management Committee, editor of its journal, JNSI (1964-1973), and General Secretary (1968-1973). He also brought out several numismatic monographs during his tenure with the NSI.

In 1969, he published his magnum opus, *Coins*, which encompassed the entire series of Indian coinages, showcasing his mastery over various Indian coin series. His other monographs include *The Amravati Hoard of Silver Punchmarked Coins* (1963), *Indian Silver Punchmarked Coins – Magadha-Maurya Series* (with T L Hardaker 1985), *Copper Coins of the Barid Shahis of Bidar and Nizam Shahis of Ahmadnagar* (with Mohd. Wali Khan 1982), *The Early Coins of Kerala* (1965), *Roman Coins from Andhra Pradesh, Bibliography of Hoards of the Punch-marked Coins of Ancient India, Punch-marked coins from Andhra Pradesh Government Museum* (1960), *Bibliography of Indian Coins* (4 Vols), *Coin Hoards from Maharashtra, Coin Hoards from Gujarat State, A Survey of Indian Numismatography, Patna Museum Catalogue of Antiquities*, Edited), *Gupta Gold Coins in Bharat Kala Bhavan*, Catalogue of Indian Coins in the British Museum, Kusana Coins and History and Paper Money of India.

Dr P. L. Gupta's major contribution to Indian numismatics was to recognise the subject as an important aspect of Indian history and popularise the subject by bringing out various works in the national language of Hindi, which created an awareness amongst the laity of the Indian masses. Additionally, his recognition of the potential of the field as a research subject in Indian universities led him to donate his substantial savings and establish the 'Gopal Das Guladavadi Devi Memorial Trust' for the advancement of numismatic study in India.

Dr P. L. Gupta died in 2001 at the turn of the millennium at the ripe old age of eighty-seven years. A decade and half on, his legacy remains amongst Indian numismatists in the form of his book, *Coins*, which is the only numismatic book officially published by the National Book Trust of India under the series – 'India – Land and people' in English; the book also was translated into Tamil, Bengali, Assamese and Japanese languages. *Coins* remains the first book on Indian Numismatics to be consulted on the subject in India.

To commemorate this great scholar and son of India, ONS-SA has decided to participate in supporting the celebration of his birth anniversary on 24 December 2015 as a National Numismatic Day. The precise manner of such participation will be determined in collaboration with the ONS Council.

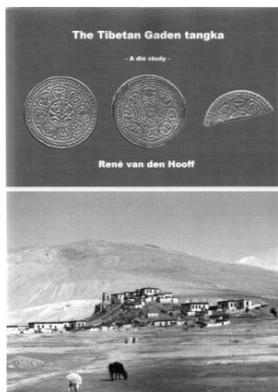
We also take this opportunity to appeal to all Indian coin collectors, societies, museums and other numismatic forums to observe the Day by holding **non-commercial** exhibitions, lectures, paper presentations or numismatic meetings to create an awareness about the subject among the lay people including the younger generation.

Mahesh Kalra

Book Reviews

Van den Hooff, René: *The Tibetan Gaden Tangka – A die study*, 2015, ISBN 978-1-312-96402-0

Tibet's Gaden Tangkas were issued between c. 1840 and 1930. Hitherto, the two major studies of this fascinating and beautiful series of coins have been authored by Scott Semans¹ and Nicholas G. Rhodes². Rhodes' classification of the Gaden Tangkas into eight groups to which are assigned the letters A to H has generally been accepted by nearly all collectors and has also been followed by the editors of the "Standard Catalogs of World Coins (19th and 20th century editions).



René van den Hooff does not challenge the classification of Rhodes, but attempts to expand it by adding a few major varieties in his excellent and very useful Pictorial Summary on pages 31 to 42. While Rhodes had given only a few illustrations of actual coins, the pictorial survey illustrates both obverses and reverses of all varieties of Gaden Tangkas which have been identified by Rhodes and includes some additional varieties which were not recorded in Rhodes' work.

The focus of the book by René van den Hooff, however, is centred on the Gaden Tangkas of group F and presents a detailed illustrated die study of the coins of the sub-groups ranging from Fvii to Fxii as well as the relatively uniform tangkas of group G.

Taking the number of pellets (or "dots") near the rim of both obverse and reverse as a guideline to distinguish different dies has proved to be very useful, but not sufficient to identify all the different dies. With the help of a computer program which allows the superimposition of the pictures of two coins, additional die varieties can be discovered among those coins which belong to the same sub-group, have an identical number of pellets near the rim and also look nearly identical to the naked eye. René van den Hooff has also taken into consideration all the die-links which exist within a subgroup and also those which link certain tangkas to coins of the previous or the next sub-group. All the different dies which van den Hooff has identified are illustrated and their interrelationship with other dies are graphically shown in numerous tables which precede the illustrations of each group of tangkas.

I must admit that I had some difficulties in understanding the explanations on pages 47 and 48, which are given in order to read the tables properly, but with some patience most readers will undoubtedly be able to make full use of the tables.

On p.51, van den Hooff mentions the fact that dies can wear out and can be recut, and stresses that, for his pictures, he only used coins with relatively small die wear. However, he does not elaborate on how one can possibly distinguish a recut die from a completely new die.

The last chapter (no. 11) gives a brief overview of forgeries and shows, inter alia, that his die studies allow us to identify some forgeries which may appear genuine at first glance. While some tangkas of sub-group Bii which have a low silver content or are

silver washed can be identified as fakes with the help of a careful comparison with genuine coins, some specimens of the G-group which are made of copper can be identified as genuine with the help of the die studies presented by van den Hooff. These coins indicate that there must have been dishonest mint officials who used copper instead of silver for some series of coins and were probably selling the silver on their own account.

Contemporaneous forgeries of Gaden Tangkas do not represent a great problem for collectors as most of them are scarcer than their genuine counterparts and are worth collecting, since they can be considered as part of Tibet's coinage history.

A minor error is found in chapter 5, which discusses the different mints which were involved in producing Gaden Tangkas. Following Rhodes' work on the mints of Tibet³, van den Hooff assigns the Gaden tangkas which were struck between 1896 and 1906 to Tip Arsenal, which was located on the south bank of the Kyichu (river). As we now know, this arsenal was never involved in minting coins⁴; therefore, the Gaden Tangkas struck between 1896 and 1906 most probably have to be attributed to the Dodpal mint, which was located below the Potala and which was only temporarily closed during this period.

This die study of the selected Gaden tangkas has been done very professionally and must have involved a tremendous amount of patient work, for which the author deserves our greatest respect. Collectors of Tibetan coins, particularly those who focus on the intriguing and appealing Gaden Tangkas will welcome this publication as a guide which will take them further afield in their collecting efforts. The book also shows that the coinage of Tibet still includes many secrets which are awaiting discovery through further study. Van den Hooff has fully succeeded in presenting his discovery in a detailed and academic way his book is a most useful tool for building a systematic collection of Tibetan Gaden Tangkas.

Copies of the book can be ordered through the following website:

<http://www.lulu.com/content/paperback-book/the-tibetan-gaden-tangka/14683101>

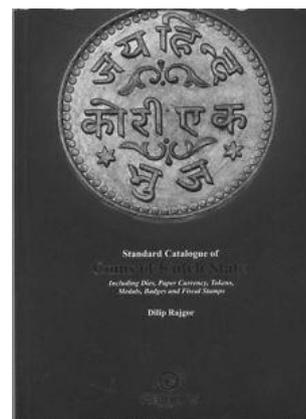
Wolfgang Bertsch

Rajgor, Dilip: *Standard Catalogue of Coins of Kutch State*; including Dies, Paper Currency, Tokens, Medals, Badges and Fiscal Stamps by. Published by Reesha Books International, Mumbai, 2015. ISBN 13: 978-81-89752-17-0
Price INR 1,200 / US \$ 20.

I cannot recollect an Indian Princely State receiving as much attention in publications as the former Princely State of Kutch. It was W.L. Clark who published in 1952 a small booklet *The Modern Coinage of Kutch* followed in 1975 by a booklet by Richard K. Bright, *The Coinage of Kutch*.

In 1995, Norbert Bartonitschek published in German the best publication so far on the subject: *Das Geld von Kutch*. The language may have proved too much of a barrier for English-speaking collectors and, therefore, unfortunately too little consulted.

To serve such collectors, Rohit Damji Shah wrote in 1999 *The Price Guide to Coins of Kutch State*. This economically priced, conveniently-sized booklet sold well – more than 3000 copies



¹ Semans Scott: *The Gaden Tangka of Tibet*. Info-Sheet No. 11, Cleveland, no date. Also available in the internet: <http://gorila.netlab.cz/coins/Tibet/Gaden%20Tangka.pdf>

² Rhodes, Nicholas G.: *The Gaden Tangka of Tibet*. Oriental Numismatic Society, Occasional Paper, no. 17, 1983.

³ Rhodes, Nicholas: *Tibetan Mints*. Oriental Numismatic Society, Information Sheet, no. 19, 1978.

⁴ See Numismatic Research Institute of the Institute of Finance of the Tibet Branch of the People's Bank of China: *Xi zang di fang zhen fu de zhao bi chang* (The Mint of the local Tibetan Government), In: *Zhongguo Qianbi* (China Numismatics), no. 22, Beijing, 1990.1, p. 29-42. Among the different mints which were active in Tibet and are briefly discussed in this well documented article, Tip Arsenal is not mentioned.

within a couple of months. As is the problem with price guides, they very quickly become outdated and, after a couple years, a new edition is usually required. Instead of updating the initial Price Guide the present author thought it fit to publish more or less the ultimate handbook on the coins of Kutch State.

This book has a rarity chart in the introduction, while most of the coins and other objects are priced in Indian rupees, which, in the present buoyant market conditions, is likely to make the value of this catalogue as a priced catalogue again rather short-lived. A better option would be to include only rarity indications, with a regularly updated pricelist online, though this might well be commercially less attractive. Nevertheless this is a feature which the Classical Numismatic Group, Inc. has introduced for their *Handbook of Greek Coinage Series* and worth considering for future price catalogues.

The introduction of the book starts with a condensed history, mostly focussed on the contemporary coinage, followed by the chronology of the rulers of Kutch State. In his descriptions of the proto-types for the copper and silver coins, the author muddles things up a bit. The earliest copper issues were inspired, as the author correctly points out, by the copper falus of Nasir al-Din Mahmud Shah III, alias Mahmud bin Latif, the Sultan of Gujarat. These coins bear the title 'Shri Jam'. Contrary to what the author writes, I am of the opinion that no coins in the name of Muzaffar Shah, with the title 'Shri Jam' were issued by Khengarji I. The same applies to the silver coins, which initially were struck on the tanka standard by Khengarji I and later, under Barmalji, on the rupee standard. To make the introduction of the coinage in Kutch somewhat clearer, a note: 'Kutch, a silver tanka of Rao Shri Khengarji I Sahib, Rao of Kutch (1548 – 1585)' is being published in this issue of JONS (see page 31, below).

In the chapter on the metrology, a serious omission is that the weight of the various denominations and their changes over the years are not incorporated. The unrivalled book of Bartonitschek provides an excellent overview of this and proves to be very useful in determining, in particular, the earlier copper denominations. This list has been reproduced on ZENO (<http://www.zeno.ru/showgallery.php?cat=2961>). This shortcoming is met with in the catalogue section of the book, where for most denominations the individual weight has been given, but the weight range is missing.

On page 14-15 of the introduction an interesting chapter on Coins with Date Errors & Forgeries is given. During a period of 5 years between 1918-1922 as many as eleven date error coins are reported which, according to contemporary chronicles, were forged in the adjoining state of Morvi. When, to suppress the counterfeiting, new minting equipment from Birmingham was installed, it became possible to add an inscribed security edge. The inscribed security edge was placed on 2½ and 5 kori coins. The public were requested to get their existing 2½ and 5 kori coins also inscribed with the new inscribed 'Ring' within a certain period of time. Failing that, the 2½ and 5 kori coins would be treated as forgeries. On the other hand, the counterfeit coins with mismatched dates and produced in the neighbouring state of Morvi, got their edges inscribed without the authorities noticing and became genuine coins of Kutch state.

A large section of the book, pp.19-45 is devoted to coin dies, the production of the dies and the family of the die engravers, a unique record of information which is in danger of disappearing. The catalogue part of about 100 pages takes up the majority of the book.

The numbering fortunately follows the numbering system of the price guide of Rohit Damji Shah, except that the initials DR# are now added to it.

As already pointed out, the initial coinage of the state under Khengarji I is a bit confusing. The author probably realised this, himself, as he added in a few cases 'May be issues of Nawanagar'. All coins are illustrated in full colour and in actual size, but sometimes cut-outs of letters, like for instances the difference between a Gujarati 'ji' or Nagari 'ji' are still too small for observing the difference.

Whereas in Bartonitschek's book all the legends on the coins are written out in the local script + transliteration, the collector and

student of this series using the present Standard Catalogue has to do with only photographs. These are generally of good quality, but particularly for copper, which are usual less well preserved, not easy to interpret.

Some of catalogue numbers show some inconsistencies. I fail to understand why a certain variety of, for instance, DR#165.3, gets the catalogue number DR#165.3a and the next entry, DR#165.4, the catalogue number 165.4.1. In general a or b are used in the catalogue for the sub-varieties of a type.

The estimated values in the Catalogue are given for two grades of preservation, resp. VF and XF, or VF and UNC for the coinage from 1928 onwards.

The paper currency depicted in the catalogue is more for curiosity and completeness of the numismatic history of the state, as only a solitary set of these notes is preserved, in the Kutch Museum in Kutch.

As mentioned earlier, a separate chapter is devoted to forgeries. This covers almost exclusively mismatched date errors. Particularly with the later coinage and portrait-coin series it is mentioned: 'Forgeries exist' or even 'Large number of forgeries exist'. If such large number of forgeries does exist it would have been very helpful to provide some descriptive details or illustrations of such forgeries.

One of the most frequent forgeries met with is the 'Jai Hind' kori, VS 2004. Below is an example of the genuine kori (left) and a forgery (right). The differences may not be obvious from a mere illustration, but the forgeries are more weakly struck, the diameter differs slightly but significantly, as the forger used a larger ring for striking, the weight is lower and the fineness of the silver is less.



Jai Hind kori (VS 2004)

Genuine specimen	Forgery
Weight: 4.68 g.	Weight: 4.43 g.
Diameter: 17.0 mm	Diameter: 17.8 mm.

The last chapters of the catalogue covers the medals, badges and fiscal stamps. Except for the fiscal stamps, which subject has been well covered by Koeppl & Manners, *The Court Fee and Revenue Stamps of the Princely States of India* (1983) and reproduced from there, the medals and badges are covered mostly for the first time. Examples of these may increase in the years to come.

One subject not covered is that of the weights of Kutch State. This could be considered for inclusion in a subsequent edition, which may well be needed in a couple of years' time if prices continue to evolve.

Let me add for such a future update an illustration of a kori DR#201.7, AD 1884 / VS 1941, listed by Rajgor as 'Reported not confirmed'



To sum up: if this publication were a pioneering work, it would deserve our utmost admiration, but with the several earlier publications on the subject already in existence, the opportunity to make it a true ‘Handbook of the Coins of Kutch State’ has not been taken as well as it might have been. It no doubt provides sufficient new information, particular in respect of the dies used, but it is still an up-dated price catalogue, similar to that of Rohit Damji Shah, with an historical introduction. Despite these criticisms, it does provide some useful additional numismatic information in India on the coinage of Kutch state. Personally, I would prefer to use Rohit Damji Shah’s listing in combination with Bartonitschek’s book. But for those collectors for whom the German language is a thing of mystery, (and, in any case, Bartonitschek’s book is not easy to obtain nowadays), Rajgor’s economically priced book is well worth acquiring.

Jan Lingen

Articles

AN UNUSUAL UMAYYAD FALS

By Nikolaus Schindel



The coin discussed here belongs into a large group of anonymous copper fulus without mint or date which were struck after the second, and decisive, stage of the monetary reforms of the Umayyad caliph ‘Abd al-Malik b. Marwan (685–705) in AH 77 (AD 696/7).⁵ The coin is kept in a private collection. It weighs 3.11 g, has a diameter of 22 mm, and a die axis of 2 o’clock. Our coin is overstruck on a “standing caliph” fals of the same caliph, probably from the mint of Aleppo;⁶ the prominent depiction of the feet, as well as the rendering of the caliph’s dress, point in this direction. What makes this coin special, and in fact to the best of my knowledge unique, is the small image below the field legends on obverse and reverse. There, a schematic depiction of an insect can be seen. The similarity of its rendering on both sides proves that the same animal is meant. At first glance, I thought it might be a cicada. Having no background whatsoever in biology, I showed the photos to various entomologists, and they consistently said that the depiction reminded them of a bee.⁷

Contrary to popular belief, depictions of animals are not rare on late Umayyad fulus mainly from the Syrian region. Among the several different zoomorphic motives such as lion, elephant, jerboa, falcon, duck, a scorpion is also attested.⁸ This is the only depiction of an insect within this series. However, these issues are approximately dated to the 120s AH, thus about 40 years (more

than a full generation) later than our coin.⁹ What is also strange about the fals discussed here is the appearance of a pictorial depiction in a coinage series which actually was supposed to replace the preceding “standing caliph” coins,¹⁰ and thus put an end to the use of images on Islamic coins. At the same time, one has to state that, in comparison to the late Umayyad fulus where the animals (and also plants) represent the main element of typology, here the bee is clearly in a secondary role.

What to make of this coin? Its style, the overstrike, and the overall appearance prove that this is no modern forgery.¹¹ Since no real parallels exist, the depiction of the bee remains mysterious.¹² For the explanation of an Islamic coin, a non-numismatist might first turn to the Koran. One of its suras (no. 16) is actually called “The Bees”, and honey is mentioned in another sura.¹³ Still, there are few, if any cases where such minor details were used for religious purposes, especially at such an early date. After all, post-reform coinage as such – with its purely religious inscriptions in Arabic, mostly consisting of Koranic quotations – would have rendered such a hidden allusion superfluous.

Within this series of early post-reform fulus, there are several pieces which deploy minor elements such as dots or stars.¹⁴ Sometimes as e.g. in Aleppo, these devices might mark the mint place.¹⁵ In the majority of cases, it seems that they were intended to distinguish different production groups, or issues. No systematic study of these elements has so far been carried out.¹⁶ The bee is not only unique as the depiction of an animal in this series, but also much more complex when it comes to its rendering, and also more prominent than the dots and other marks frequently encountered. Therefore, it does not seem very plausible to interpret it merely as a device to mark a specific issue. Even if it were so, one would certainly ask why a bee was chosen, rather than the much more usual stars and dots.

Considering that these early post-reform fulus almost always lack a mint name, the possibility arises that the bee alludes to the place where this coin was struck. But this idea fails to convince: there is (unsurprisingly) no mint name which is directly connected to the word for bee in either Arabic or Greek. If any mint town in the late 7th century was so closely connected with bees that this animal could have alluded to it in a way which was understood by the majority of contemporaries, then this specific information has not to my knowledge been transmitted. It is extremely unlikely that there were mints not attested either on the preceding “standing caliph” coins,¹⁷ or on later Umayyad post-reform copper issues, and that our coins originates from an otherwise unattested mint place the name of which is closely connected to the word “bee”.¹⁸ Still, we can form some general idea where our coin was produced: I believe that it originates from the northernmost Umayyad jund, viz. Qinnasrin. On the one hand, the style of our coin is neither that of Damascus, nor that of Homs, the two most productive mints in this series.¹⁹ Compared to their products, here the letters are thinner; the *س* of “*rasūl*” is rendered in a different fashion; the word “*muḥammad*” is longer and thinner; and also the border of dots looks different. On the other hand, close similarities can be found on other early mintless fulus which I attribute to jund Qinnasrin,²⁰ even if an attribution to a specific mint is not yet

⁹ Ilisch 1980, p. 26–28; Ilisch 1993, p. 7, 44; Bone 2000, p. 131.

¹⁰ Qedar 1984/85.

¹¹ See Schindel 2008 for a group of modern forgeries of “standing caliph” fulus.

¹² For general information on bees in Islam, Byzantium, and classical antiquity, see EI², vol. 7, p. 906–910 s.v. “Nahl”; *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* vol. I, p. 130 s.v. “Apiculture”; RE III/1, p. 431–450 s.v. “Biene”.

¹³ Sura 47, 15; see EI², vol. 7, p. 907.

¹⁴ Walker 1956, p. 207, no. 616–662, pl. 23; Goussous 2004, p. 291, no. 197–267.

¹⁵ Schindel 2012, p. 164.

¹⁶ I intend to cover this topic in a comprehensive study of Umayyad post-reform copper coins I am currently conducting.

¹⁷ Album/Goodwin 2002, p. 94–98.

¹⁸ Bone 2000, p. 317 f.

¹⁹ Schindel 2012.

²⁰ Schindel 2012.

⁵ Qedar 1984/85; Ilisch 2010; Schindel 2012.

⁶ Album/Goodwin 2002, pl. 41 f.

⁷ I am obliged to Manfred Jäch from the Natural History Museum, Vienna, Rudolf Moosbeckhofer from the Austrian Agency for Health and Food Safety (AGES), and Jim Farr for their friendly help with the attribution of the insect.

⁸ Walker 1956, p. 201, no. 587–609, pl. 23 f.; Ilisch 1993, p. 44, no. 527–573, pl. 17 f.; for an overview see Schindel/Reis 1999.

possible. A further argument which, however, is not conclusive is the fact that the undertype seems to originate from Aleppo, thus a mint in jund Qinnasrin. Assuming that copper coins normally did not travel too widely, it would be logical to assume that the overstriking took place in a nearby mint²¹ – but not in Aleppo itself since its post-reform fulus feature another style. They are characterized by a star in the obverse legend which can also be found on the later main type from this mint.²² Nevertheless, the probable localisation of this coin in jund Qinnasrin does not explain the employment of a bee.

Another possible explanation for it is that a mint official or some other functionary whose name was connected to the word “bee” alluded to himself by placing this animal on both sides of the coin. The Arabic word for “bee” is *nahl* (نحل). There is no hope, I am afraid, of finding any hint to identifying this person (assuming, that is, that the bee refers to a person whose name is connected with this image), in the Arabic historical sources such as e.g. Tabari, considering how scanty the record for the Syrian region in Umayyad times generally is. To me as a non-Arabist, browsing through the index of Tabari did not produce any plausible candidate. The Greek word for “bee” is μέλισσα, from which names such as Melissos or Melissios are derived. The prosopographical material from late antiquity, however, does not really support this view; even if no comprehensive volume exists which covers the period of ‘Abd al-Malik’s reign, I was able to locate just one Melissa in the period before the Islamic conquest.²³ It would also be unique for a local mint official bearing a Greek name to place his name on an Islamic post-reform fals. These observations might advocate against the suggestion that the bee alludes to a personal name, even if it is an argumentum ex silentio. And yet, once this hypothesis is accepted (at least for the time being), a possible numismatic parallel emerges: there is a rare “standing caliph” fals from Sarmin which, in addition to ‘Abd al-Malik’s name and titles, also cites a certain ‘Abd al-Rahman. Needless to say his identity remains uncertain since no title or additional information on his status is provided. Goodwin has suggested that the phrase ‘Abd al-Rahman represents “presumably a governor’s name”,²⁴ and that “This individual was presumably a local governor who added his name, in line with the practice on Arab-Sasanian coinage”.²⁵ Foss has also labelled him “perhaps...a governor”.²⁶ Schulze and Schulze have simply stated that “his identity is unknown”.²⁷ It should be emphasized that, like our coin, the ‘Abd al-Rahman fals also originates from a mint in jund Qinnasrin. Therefore, in this jund, coins both of the “standing caliph” type, as well as the earliest post-reform type (which was issued immediately after the former), were sometimes marked with names or pictorial elements which are not an integral part of the issue as normally used. They may allude to persons – in the case of ‘Abd al-Rahman, this is clear; in the case of the bee, it is at least a fair guess. Since the use of these devices seems to be local, i.e. mint-specific, it seems improbable that the governor of jund Qinnasrin was meant. Rather, some local official, either in the urban administration, or probably even in the respective mint (which, after all, might have been Sarmin in both cases), might have been mentioned, or alluded to.

It remains to emphasize how hypothetical these ideas necessarily remain. Still, with more coins published, and discussed in a broader perspective, I am confident that many solutions, or at least sound suggestions, will be found; and maybe one day we will even know why bees were employed on Umayyad post-reform fulus.

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ONS ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING 2015

The Society’s annual general meeting will be at 11.00 on Saturday 21 November 2015 at the Ashmolean Museum, Beaumont St, Oxford. Formal business will be to receive the Council’s report on activities during the previous year and to receive and consider accounts for the year to 1 April 2015. If you wish to appoint a proxy to vote on your behalf at the meeting please contact Peter Smith at [REDACTED]. The formal meeting will be followed by talks. Details of these will be posted on the Society’s website and Facebook page.

²¹ Thus basically also Ilich 1980, even if this idea still remains to be verified.

²² Walker 1956, p. 243, no. 789–794, pl. 26.

²³ Martindale 1992, p. 872 s.v. “Melissa”; no related names are listed in PLRE I and PLRE II. For the name “Melissos” in classical antiquity see RE XV/1, p. 529–532 s.v. “Melissos”

²⁴ Goodwin 1997; Album/Goodwin 2002, p. 96.

²⁵ Goodwin 2005, p. 25.

²⁶ Foss 2001, p. 7; Foss 2008, p. 80.

²⁷ Schulze/Schulze 2010, p. 334.

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

PART 4

By Stephen Lloyd

Firstly, a correction to Part 3 of this series of articles (JONS 222), covering the mint of Zaranj. There is an obvious mistake in the entry for type CZa328.4: the legends given there are correct for CZa328.4, but the coin illustrated is a different type and should in fact be described as CZa328.5. Full details of both types, with correct illustrations, will appear in due course in an Additions and Corrections section at the end of Part 6.

Once again, all illustrations in this part have been enlarged to 125% of actual size to improve legibility, with the actual diameter of each illustrated coin given in the text.

I would particularly like to thank Valentin Petrovich Lebedev for his kindness allowing me to publish here the remarkable donative dirham of Sijistan 282h. Thanks are also due, once again, to Lutz Ilisch and Muhammad Limbada for their continued willingness to supply details and images of coins in the collections they own or administer.

SIJISTAN



Sj282

Sijistan 282h

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: Qu'ran ix, 33

Rev. field: لله | محمد | رسول | الله | المعتضد بالله

*Image courtesy of V.P. Lebedev (28mm, 3.10g)



Sj298

Madinat Sijistan 298h

Obv. margin: Qu'ran xxx, 4-5 (outer); mint and date (inner)

Obv. field: لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له | الليث بن علي

Rev. margin: Qu'ran ix, 33

Rev. field: لله | محمد | رسول | الله | المعتضد بالله

*Private Collection, Cambridge = Morton & Eden auction 17, 13-14 December 2005, lot 904 (3.03g)
Tübingen 2000-8-12 (2.91g)



Sj301A

Sijistan 301h

Obv. margin: Qu'ran xxx, 3-4 (outer); mint and date (inner)

Obv. field: لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له | ابو العباس بن امير المؤمنين

Rev. margin: Qu'ran ix, 33

Rev. field: لله | محمد | رسول | الله | المقتدر بالله

*Peus auction 392, 4 May 2007, lot 4728 (3.26g, 28mm)

Tübingen AK3 B5 (3.77g)



Sj302A

Sijistan 302h (Abbasid)

Obv. margin: Qu'ran xxx, 3-4 (outer); mint and date (inner)

Obv. field: لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له | ابو العباس بن امير المؤمنين

Rev. margin: Qu'ran ix, 33

Rev. field: لله | محمد | رسول | الله | المقتدر بالله

*Spink Zurich 31, lot 443 (2.79g, 27.5mm)

SICA IV, 422 (3.25g), 423 (2.94g); Tübingen AK3 B6 (3.19g)



Sj303A

Sijistan 303h (Abbasid)

Obv. margin: Qu'ran xxx, 3-4 (outer); mint and date (inner)

Obv. field: لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له | ابو العباس بن امير المؤمنين

Rev. margin: Qu'ran ix, 33

Rev. field: لله | محمد | رسول | الله | المقتدر بالله

*Private Collection, Cambridge (h2.53g, 28.5mm)

SICA IV, 424 (3.65g); Tübingen 2001-11-16 (2.90g)

Sijistan 304h (Abbasid)

Tübingen AK3 C1 (2.67g)

Listed by Diler, citing Leuthold, E. 'Nuovi Contributi alla Numismatica Abbaside,' *Gazette Numismatique Suisse*, Fasc. 118/30, 1980; reference not available to me.



Sj305.1

Sijistan 305h

Obv. margin: Qu'ran xxx, 4-5 (outer); mint and date (inner)
 Obv. field: ولوفا | لا اله الا | الله وحده | لا شريك له | كثير بن احمد | بالعدل
 Rev. margin: Qu'ran ix, 33
 Rev. field: لله | محمد | رسول الله | المقتدر بالله | *

*Peus auction 386, lot 1096 (3.56g)
 ANS 1971.104, 129, with letter 4 instead of * on reverse (3.00g); Artuk 468 (2.80g); ICA12, lot 3345 (2.34g); Private Collection, Cambridge (2.77g); Spink Zurich 27, lot 468 (2.79g); Tübingen 2000-11-24 (loop-mounted, 2.53g), with letter 4 instead of * on reverse



Sj306.2

Sijistan 306h

Obv. margin: Qu'ran xxx, 4-5 (outer); mint and date (inner)
 Obv. field: ولوفا | لا اله الا | الله وحده | لا شريك له | كثير بن احمد | بالعدل
 Rev. margin: Qu'ran ix, 33
 Rev. field: بالشكر لله | محمد | رسول الله | المقتدر بالله | والرضا

*Sotheby's, 29 September 1988, lot 198 = Tübingen 90-33-5 (3.21g) ICA4, lot 376 (3.05g), ruler's name given as Tahir instead of Kathir; Qatar I, 2152 (2.20g); Tübingen Collection LI



Sj305.2

Sijistan 305h

Obv. margin: Qu'ran xxx, 4-5 (outer); mint and date (inner)
 Obv. field: ولوفا | لا اله الا | الله وحده | لا شريك له | كثير بن احمد | بالعدل
 Rev. margin: Qu'ran ix, 33
 Rev. field: بالشكر لله | محمد | رسول الله | المقتدر بالله | والرضا

*Source of illustration uncertain



Sj307

Sijistan 307h

Obv. margin: Qu'ran xxx, 4-5 (outer); mint and date (inner)
 Obv. field: ولوفا | لا اله الا | الله وحده | لا شريك له | احمد بن قدام
 Rev. margin: Qu'ran ix, 33
 Rev. field: لله | محمد | رسول الله | المقتدر بالله | بخ

*Baldwin's Auctions 17, lot 1033 (2.81g)
 Lowick 1975, 312, 313, 314 (2.51, 3.24, 3.57g); Peus auction 380, lot 1110 (date given as 309h, 2.99g); Qatar I, 2153 (2.60g); Sotheby's, 29 September 1988, lot 199 = Tübingen 90-33-6 (2.96g)

The date has occasionally been read as 309h rather than 307h, but I have not seen a specimen where the unit is unambiguously a '9' rather than a '7'.



Sj306.1

Sijistan 306h

Obv. margin: Qu'ran xxx, 4-5 (outer); mint and date (inner)
 Obv. field: ولوفا | لا اله الا | الله وحده | لا شريك له | كثير بن احمد | بالعدل
 Rev. margin: Qu'ran ix, 33
 Rev. field: لله | محمد | رسول الله | المقتدر بالله | *

*Morton & Eden auction 49, 9 June 2011, lot 609 (5.67g) BMC III, 29 = Walker 4



Sj310.1

Sijistan 310h

Obv. margin: Qu'ran xxx, 4-5 (outer); mint and date (inner)
 Obv. field: ولوفا | لا اله الا | الله وحده | لا شريك له | احمد بن قدام
 Rev. margin: Qu'ran ix, 33
 Rev. field: لله | محمد | رسول الله | المقتدر بالله

*Morton & Eden auction 35, 11 December 2008, lot 658 (3.53g) Album FPL 228, 59561 (2.91g)



Sj310.2

Sijistan 310h

Obv. margin: Qu'ran xxx, 4-5 (outer); mint and date (inner)
 Obv. field: لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له | عبد الله بن احمد | عزيز
 Rev. margin: Qu'ran ix, 33
 Rev. field: لله | محمد | رسول | الله | المقتدر بالله

*Peus auction 369, 31 October 2001, lot 1645 (3.11g, 29mm)
 Lowick 1975, 315 (2.81g); Private Collection, Cambridge (3.16g)
 = Morton and Eden auction 75, 2 July 2015, lot 599;

Sijistan 312h (Abbasid)

Listed by Diler, citing Arabian Coins and Medals auction 2, 28-29 March 2000, lot 332. This was a group of 14 dirhams from Sijistan naming al-Muqtadir and was not illustrated in the catalogue. A number of other coins in the lot appear to have been Saffarid rather than Abbasid issues, and it is impossible to tell whether this piece was an Abbasid or a Saffarid type.



Sj314

Sijistan 314h

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

*Peus auction 372, lot 1607 (2.67g)
 ANS 71.316, 439 (2.49g); ANS 71.104.130 (3.33g); Private Collection, Cambridge (h2.89g); Tübingen EA4 E4 (3.16g)



Sj311

Sijistan 311h

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

*Private Collection, Cambridge (2.47g, 28mm)
 ICA12 lot 3346 (2.40g); Lowick 1975, 316 (2.23g); Tübingen EA4 E2 (2.83g)



Sj315

Sijistan 315h

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

*Private Collection, Cambridge (2.41g), unit of date recut over '4'



Sj312

Sijistan 312h

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

*Private Collection, Cambridge (3.36g, 27mm)
 ANS 71.316.438 (3.12g); Tübingen EA4 E3 (2.21g), unit of date recut over '1'



Sj318

Sijistan 318h

Obv. margin: Qu'ran xxx, 4-5 (outer); mint and date (inner)
 Obv. field: لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له | الحسين بن بلال
 Rev. margin: Qu'ran ix, 33
 Rev. field: لله | محمد | رسول | الله | المقتدر بالله | احمد بن محمد

*Peus auction 363, lot 6105 (2.34g)

Lowick 1975, 317 (3.00g); Private Collection, Cambridge (2.51g);
 Qatar III, 3647 (3.19g); Spink Zurich 31, lot 444 (2.56g);
 Tjengvide 11 (3.32g); Tübingen EA4 E5 (3.04g)



Sj319 **Sijistan 319h**
 Obv. margin: Qu'ran xxx, 4-5 (outer); mint and date (inner)
 Obv. field: لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له | الحسين بن بلال
 Rev. margin: Qu'ran ix, 33
 Rev. field: لله | محمد | رسول الله | المقتدر بالله | احمد بن محمد

*Peus auction 363, lot 6106 (2.88g)
 Föhlhagen 129 (2.35g); ICA4, lot 377 (2.94g); Limbada; Tübingen
 EA4 E6 (2.57g)



Sj320 **Sijistan 320h**
 Obv. margin: Qu'ran xxx, 4-5 (outer); mint and date (inner)
 Obv. field: لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له | الحسين بن بلال
 Rev. margin: Qu'ran ix, 33
 Rev. field: لله | محمد | رسول الله | المقتدر بالله | احمد بن محمد

*ICA12, lot 3347 (2.57g)
 ANS 77.59.1 (2.91g); Tübingen EA4 F1 (2.14g) Walker 9



Sj321.1 **Sijistan 321h**
 Obv. margin: Qu'ran xxx, 4-5 (outer); mint and date (inner)
 Obv. field: لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له | الحسين بن بلال
 Rev. margin: Qu'ran ix, 33
 Rev. field: لله | محمد | رسول الله | القاهر بالله | احمد بن محمد

*Limbada (weight not known, 29.5mm)
 Lowick 1975, 318 (3.03g); Walker 10 (weight not given)



Sj321.2 **Sijistan 321h**
 Obv. margin: Qu'ran xxx, 4-5 (outer); mint and date (inner)
 Obv. field: لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له | ابو جعفر
 Rev. margin: Qu'ran ix, 33
 Rev. field: لله | محمد | رسول الله | القاهر بالله | احمد بن محمد

*Private Collection, Cambridge (2.54g)
 Walker 11 (2.72g); Peus auction 363, lot 6108 (2.77g)



Sj323 **Sijistan 323h**
 Obv. margin: Qu'ran xxx, 4-5 (outer); mint and date (inner)
 Obv. field: لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له | ابو جعفر
 Rev. margin: Qu'ran ix, 33
 Rev. field: لله | محمد | رسول الله | الراضي بالله | احمد بن محمد

*Private Collection, Cambridge (with loop-mount, 2.84g, 29mm)
 Walker 12 (2.08g)



Sj324 **Sijistan 324h**
 Obv. margin: Qu'ran xxx, 4-5 (outer); mint and date (inner)
 Obv. field: لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له | ابو جعفر
 Rev. margin: Qu'ran ix, 33
 Rev. field: لله | محمد | رسول الله | الراضي بالله | احمد بن محمد

*Sotheby's, 20 May 1986, lot 518 (5.67g)
 Private Collection, Cambridge (2.86g); Walker 13 (3.27g, outer
 circles on both sides), 14 (2.27g)



Sj325

Sijistan 325h

Obv. margin: Qu'ran xxx, 4-5 (outer); mint and date (inner)

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

Rev. margin: Qu'ran ix, 33

Rev. field: لله | محمد | رسول الله | الراضي بالله | احمد بن محمد

*Tübingen 95-4-10 (twice pierced and damaged, 2.95g, 31mm)



GSj332

Sijistan 332h (dinar)

Obv. margin: Qu'ran xxx, 4-5 (outer); mint and date (inner)

Obv. field: لله | محمد | رسول الله | المتقي لله

Rev. margin: Qu'ran ix, 33

Rev. field: الله احد الله | الصمد لم يلد و لم يولد و لم يكن |
له كفوا احد | احمد بن محمد | خلف

Sotheby's, 21 November 1985, lot 405 (4.14g, 23.5mm) = Bernardi 323Og

'RADKAN' or 'RADJAN'

Soret (Lettre à Frähn, *Mémoires de la société imp. d'archéologie de St-Petersbourg*, 1851) apparently described a dirham of 'Radjan' which Diler (p.600) emended to 'Radkan.' This is presumably the piece cited in the references to Vasmer 39, where assigned to Arrajan (surely correctly).

RUSTAMDAR

Diler (p.610) mistakenly claims that Zambaur lists Rustamdar as a Saffarid mint in *Die Münzprägungen des Islams*, but the only specimen from this mint cited there is described as a Sarbadarid issue dated 778h. Diler appears to have confused Zambaur's abbreviations 'Sb' (Sarbadarid) and 'SF' (Saffarid) in this case.

AL-SHASH

The dirham described by Tornberg as 'al-Shash 262h' was reattributed by Vasmer as an issue of al-Banjhir 261h (p.134 no.5, with the note 'nicht bi-š-šāš'). It appears that Tor (p.297) was not aware of this revised reading.

SHIRAZ

Sh269

Shiraz 269h

Obv. margin: Qu'ran xxx, 4-5 (outer); mint and date (inner)

Obv. field: لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له | الموفق بالله | عمرو بن الليث

Rev. margin: Qu'ran ix, 33

Rev. field: لله | محمد | رسول | الله | المعتمد على الله | س

Vasmer 26 (citing a single example described but not illustrated by Tiesenhausen)



Sh270D

Shiraz 270h (Dulafid)

Obv. margin: Qu'ran xxx, 4-5 (outer); mint and date (inner)

Obv. field: لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له | الموفق بالله | احمد بن عبد العزيز

Rev. margin: Qu'ran ix, 33

Rev. field: لله | محمد | رسول | الله | المعتمد على الله | ذو الوزرتين

*Stephen Album, in trade, coin 53180 (3.26g)

Album auction 15, lot 402 (3.08g) = Album auction 8, lot 259

Sh271D

Shiraz 271h (Dulafid)

Obv. margin: Qu'ran xxx, 4-5 (outer); mint and date (inner)

Obv. field: لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له | الناصر لدين الله | الموفق بالله | احمد بن عبد العزيز

Rev. margin: Qu'ran ix, 33

Rev. field: لله | محمد | رسول | الله | المعتمد على الله | ذو الوزرتين

Tübingen 2009-7-7 (2.74g, 26mm)



Sh272.1

Shiraz 272h

Obv. margin: Qu'ran xxx, 4-5 (outer); mint and date (inner)

Obv. field: لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له | الناصر لدين الله | الموفق بالله

Rev. margin: Qu'ran ix, 33

Rev. field: لله | محمد | رسول | الله | المعتمد على الله | عمرو بن الليث

*ICA 13, lot 322 (3.82g)

Vasmer 30 (3 examples cited); Övide I, 54 (2.91g); Private Collection, Cambridge (3.07g); Tübingen EA3 D2 (3.15g)



Sh272.2

Shiraz 272h

Obv. border: محمد | بن | عمر | و | in four quadrants divided by four stars within crescents

Obv. margin: Qu'ran xxx, 4-5 (outer); mint and date (inner)

Obv. field: لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له | الناصر لدين الله | الموفق بالله

Rev. border: four stars within crescents at cardinal points, within four triplets of pellets at half-cardinal points

Rev. margin: Qu'ran ix, 33

Rev. field: لله | محمد | رسول | الله | المعتمد على الله | عمرو بن الليث

*Peus auction 363, lot 6100 (3.05g)

Vasmer 31 (1 example cited, 2.80g); Limbada (3.08g); Limbada (2.86g, triplets of annulets instead of pellets in reverse border); Peus auction 363, lot 6101 (2.96g); Private Collection, Cambridge (pierced, 2.38g); Qatar III, 3608 (2.81g); Spink Zurich 31, lot 401 (3.06g); Tübingen EA3 F6 (2.78g)

Sh273

Shiraz 273h

Obv. border: محمد | بن | عمر | و | in four quadrants divided by four stars within crescents

Obv. margin: Qu'ran xxx, 4-5 (outer); mint and date (inner)

Obv. field: لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له | الناصر لدين الله | الموفق بالله

Rev. border: four stars within crescents at cardinal points, within four triplets of pellets at half-cardinal points

Rev. margin: Qu'ran ix, 33

Rev. field: لله | محمد | رسول | الله | المعتمد على الله | عمرو بن الليث

Klukowicz 125 (2.94g, 27.1mm), where the obverse border is given as محمد | و | عمر | و | لله | interspersed with various ornaments. Comparison with Sh272.2 shows that this is a misreading, with the highly elaborate final 'n' causing بن to be mistaken for لله.

Another specimen of this date was reported by Diler, citing: Erdmann, M.F. de, 'Lettres de M. François de Erdmann à M. Reinaud: Lettre première,' *Journal Asiatique*, 4me Série, tome II, November 1843 (reference not available to me)



Sh275A

Shiraz 275h (Abbasid)

Obv. margin: Qu'ran xxx, 4-5 (outer); mint and date (inner)

Obv. field: لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له | الناصر لدين الله | الموفق بالله

Rev. margin: Qu'ran ix, 33

Rev. field: لله | محمد | رسول | الله | المعتمد على الله | احمد بن الموفق بالله

*ICA12, lot 3174 (3.58g, 27mm)

ANS 1980.141.3 (2.96g); SICA IV, 633 (2.82g); Tübingen (3.08g)



Sh275

Shiraz 275h

Obv. margin: Qu'ran xxx, 4-5 (outer); mint and date (inner)

Obv. field: لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له | الناصر لدين الله | الموفق بالله

عمرو بن الليث

Rev. margin: Qu'ran ix, 33

Rev. field: لله | محمد | رسول | الله | المعتمد على الله | احمد بن الموفق بالله

*Private Collection, Cambridge (26.5mm, 3.14g)

Vasmer 38 (1 example cited, 2.89g); ANS 1917.216.60 (donative type of double weight and with broad margins, 5.26g); Klukowicz 126 (3.09g); Tübingen EA8 D3 (3.06g)



Sh277

Shiraz 277h

Obv. margin: Qu'ran xxx, 4-5 (outer); mint and date (inner)

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

Rev. margin: Qu'ran ix, 33

Rev. field: لله | محمد | رسول | الله | المعتمد على الله | عمرو بن الليث

*Album FPL 92, 78 (2.96g)

Vasmer 41 (2 examples cited); Limbada (3.00g); Rangsarve 33 (2.84g); Tübingen EA8 D4 (2.94g)



Sh278

Shiraz 278h

Obv. margin: Qu'ran xxx, 4-5 (outer); mint and date (inner)

Obv. field: لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له | المعتضد بالله | عمرو بن الليث

Rev. margin: Qu'ran ix, 33

Rev. field: لله | محمد | رسول | الله | المعتمد على الله | المفوض الى الله

*Private Collection, Cambridge (3.70g, 26mm)

Stora Veling 2412 (1.98g, not illustrated)



Sh281

Shiraz 281h

Obv. margin: Qu'ran xxx, 4-5 (outer); mint and date (inner)

Obv. field: لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له | عمرو بن الليث

Rev. margin: Qu'ran ix, 33

Rev. field: لله | محمد | رسول | الله | المعتضد بالله

*Private Collection, Cambridge (2.85g)

Vasmer 48 (1 example cited); Klukowicz 128 (3.03g); Limbada

(2 examples: 3.17, 2.84g); Marsden 1 = Walker p.6; Peus auction

386, lot 1092 (2.92g); Tübingen EA3 F2 (2.88g)



Sh279

Shiraz 279h

Obv. margin: Qu'ran xxx, 4-5 (outer); mint and date (inner)

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

Rev. margin: Qu'ran ix, 33

Rev. field: لله | محمد | رسول | الله | المعتمد على الله | عمرو بن الليث

*Tübingen EA3 D5 (2.80g, 28mm)

Tübingen 98-16-56 (2.98g, 25.5mm)



Sh282

Shiraz 282h

Obv. margin: Qu'ran xxx, 4-5 (outer); mint and date (inner)

Obv. field: لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له | عمرو بن الليث

Rev. margin: Qu'ran ix, 33

Rev. field: لله | محمد | رسول | الله | المعتضد بالله

*Private Collection, Cambridge (2.84g)

Vasmer 50 (6 examples cited); Album FPL 214, 337 (3.01g);

Klukowicz 130 (2.95g); Limbada (3.04g); Qatar III, 3610-3612

(2.49, 2.94, 3.11g); Tübingen 98-16-57/58/59, EA3 E3 (3.14g)



Sh280

Shiraz 280h

Obv. margin: Qu'ran xxx, 4-5 (outer); mint and date (inner)

Obv. field: لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له | عمرو بن الليث

Rev. margin: Qu'ran ix, 33

Rev. field: لله | محمد | رسول | الله | المعتضد بالله

*Limbada (2.89g)

Vasmer 46 (4 examples cited); Tübingen EA3 F1 (3.14g); Walker

p.6



Sh283

Shiraz 283h

Obv. margin: Qu'ran xxx, 4-5 (outer); mint and date (inner)

Obv. field: لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له | عمرو بن الليث

Rev. margin: Qu'ran ix, 33

Rev. field: لله | محمد | رسول | الله | المعتضد بالله

*Private Collection, Cambridge (3.06g)

Vasmer 53 (9 examples cited); Artuk 960 (2.75g); ICA10, lot 260

(2.95g); Limbada (2x: 2.73, 2.88g); Qatar III, 3613 (3.11g);

Tübingen EA3 E4 (2.85g)



Sh284 Shiraz 284h
 Obv. margin: Qu'ran xxx, 4-5 (outer); mint and date (inner)
 Obv. field: لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له | عمرو بن الليث
 Rev. margin: Qu'ran ix, 33
 Rev. field: لله | محمد | رسول | الله | المعتضد بالله

*Private Collection, Cambridge (3.09g)
 Vasmer 56 (9 examples cited); Klukowicz 132 (2.78g); Limbada (2 examples: 3.12, 2.80g); Qatar III, 3614 (2.60g); Rangsarve 34 (2.58g); Tübingen EA3 E5 (2.74g, edge damage)



Sh287A Shiraz 287h (Abbasid)
 Obv. margin: Qu'ran xxx, 4-5 (outer); mint and date (inner)
 Obv. field: لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له
 Rev. margin: Qu'ran ix, 33
 Rev. field: لله | محمد | رسول | الله | المعتضد بالله

*Tübingen 92-25-1 (2.95g, 25.5mm)
 Vasmer 69; SCC 1394 (2.89g); CNS II, p.6, 14; SICA IV, 634 (3.00g); Sotheby's, 7 November 1997, lot 314; Tübingen AI8 D1 (2.95g); Zeno 145342 (2.99g);



Sh285 Shiraz 285h
 Obv. margin: Qu'ran xxx, 4-5 (outer); mint and date (inner)
 Obv. field: لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له | عمرو بن الليث
 Rev. margin: Qu'ran ix, 33
 Rev. field: لله | محمد | رسول | الله | المعتضد بالله

*Private Collection, Cambridge (2.70g)
 Vasmer 58 (3 examples cited); Klukowicz 135 (2.89g); Limbada (2.51g); Tübingen EA3 E6 (2.83g)



*Private Collection, Cambridge = DNW auction 281, 13 June 2013, lot 1568 = Stephen Album List 205, May 2005, coin 313 (medallic type with broad margins and gilding, 4.42g)



Sh286 Shiraz 286h
 Obv. margin: Qu'ran xxx, 4-5 (outer); mint and date (inner)
 Obv. field: لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له | عمرو بن الليث
 Rev. margin: Qu'ran ix, 33
 Rev. field: لله | محمد | رسول | الله | المعتضد بالله

*Private Collection, Cambridge (3.00g)
 Vasmer 60 (1 example cited); Limbada (3.04g); Tübingen EA3 F1 (3.15g)



Sh288 Shiraz 288h
 Obv. margin: Qu'ran xxx, 4-5 (outer); mint and date (inner)
 Obv. field: لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له | طاهر بن محمد
 Rev. margin: Qu'ran ix, 33
 Rev. field: لله | محمد | رسول | الله | المعتضد بالله

*Peus auction 341, lot 1670 (2.76g)
 Vasmer 71 (1 example cited); Album FPL 114, February 1995, 104 (2.9g); Limbada (3.14g); Private Collection, Cambridge (2.93g); Qatar III, 3628 (2.94g); Tübingen EA4 B4 (2.86g)



Sh288A Shiraz 288h (Abbasid)
 Obv. margin: Qu'ran xxx, 4-5 (outer); mint and date (inner)
 Obv. field: لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له
 Rev. margin: Qu'ran ix, 33
 Rev. field: الله | محمد | رسول | الله | المعتضد بالله

*Limbada (3.20g, 25mm)
 Tübingen AI8 D2 (2.76g)

The name of Tahir b. Muhammad has been effaced from the obverse dies on both specimens.



Sh291 Shiraz 291h
 Obv. margin: Qu'ran xxx, 4-5 (outer); mint and date (inner)
 Obv. field: لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له | طاهر بن محمد
 Rev. margin: Qu'ran ix, 33
 Rev. field: الله | محمد | رسول | الله | المكتفي بالله

*Lowick 1975, 303 (4.27g)



Sh289A Shiraz 289h (Abbasid)
 Obv. margin: Qu'ran xxx, 4-5 (outer); mint and date (inner)
 Obv. field: لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له
 Rev. margin: Qu'ran ix, 33
 Rev. field: الله | محمد | رسول | الله | المعتضد بالله

*Private Collection, Cambridge (3.01g, 26mm)
 Peus auction 386, lot 1034 (3.50g); SICA IV, 635 (2.94g); Tor p.310 note 127; Tübingen AI8 D3 (2.85g), AI8 D4 (2.91g)



Sh294 Shiraz 294h (Abbasid)
 Obv. margin: Qu'ran xxx, 4-5 (outer); mint and date (inner)
 Obv. field: لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له
 Rev. margin: Qu'ran ix, 33
 Rev. field: الله | محمد | رسول | الله | المكتفي بالله

*Limbada (3.23g, 24mm)
 SCC 1464 (3.13g)

REVISITING THE SO-CALLED 'TOSP' COINS

By Jack Nurpetlian



Sh289 Shiraz 289h
 Obv. margin: Qu'ran xxx, 4-5 (outer); mint and date (inner)
 Obv. field: لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له | طاهر بن محمد
 Rev. margin: Qu'ran ix, 33
 Rev. field: الله | محمد | رسول | الله | المكتفي بالله

*Peus auction 384, lot 1116 (3.10g)
 Vasmer 72 (1 example cited); Album, in trade, coin 39339 (3.37g);
 Limbada (3 examples: 4.28, 3.10, 2.74g); Private Collection, Cambridge (2.93g); Qatar III, 3629 (3.20g); SCC 1405 (2.90g);
 Spink Zurich 22, lot 389 (4.27g); Tübingen EA4 B5 (3.29g)

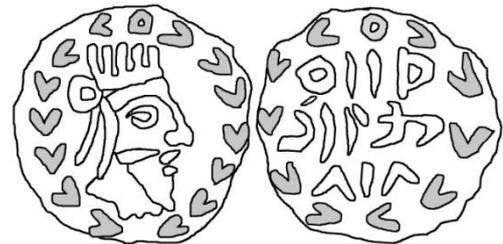


Fig. 1: line drawing of a 'Tosp' coin with Aramaic inscriptions on the reverse

In the world of Armenian numismatics the so-called 'Tosp' coins remain an enigma (Fig. 1). This is partly because they bear Aramaic inscriptions which have not been deciphered with absolute certainty, and partly because they seem to be a stand-alone series and, therefore, cannot be associated with any other Armenian coinage.

These coins were first published by Khurshudian in 1998 and it was he who attributed them to the historical Armenia kingdom of Tosp in Van.²⁸ He read the Aramaic inscriptions as follows: *tsp(?)*

²⁸ Khurshudian, E. 1998. "A Coin of Mitridat, King of Tosp." *Journal of the Oriental Numismatic Society* 157: 8.

mtrd[t] ml[k'] = Mithridates king of Tosp(?). It is clear that Khurshudian himself was not entirely convinced with the reading 'Tosp' and therefore marked it with a question mark. However, his attribution has perpetuated in the numismatic community ever since, despite an alternate and more persuading reading a decade later by Gropp²⁹ who proposed the following: *trdt MLK' r'n* = Tiridates King of Arran. As evident from the above, the two readings are noticeably different, highlighting the difficulty in translating the inscriptions. What does seem certain is that these coins are indeed Armenian as attested by the tiara worn by the ruler and, more importantly, the fact that a number of specimens have been found from Armenia, including two (coin nos. 9 and 32, see Table 1) with well documented find spots from the excavations in Artashat, ancient Artaxata.³⁰

Based on the hitherto available specimens, it seems that the coins of this ruler were issued in two denominations. The larger unit depicts a bearded bust left or right wearing an 'Armenian' tiara and a diadem (as evident from the knot and ribbons behind the head). The reverse depicts Aramaic inscriptions in three lines. Both the obverse and reverse designs are placed within a wreath. The smaller unit presents the same obverse,³¹ but has two different reverse types: a 'short legend' with inscriptions in two lines, somewhat identical to the first two lines on the above larger unit, and 'twin peaks' with one peak being smaller than the other, perhaps representing Mount Ararat. On coin no. 28 the mountainous terrain of the peaks are quite evident, but on coin nos. 29 and 30 they are less clear and have vertical lines extending from their bases. Coin no. 30 also has what seems to be short vertical 'notches' below the peaks, perhaps representing letters or numbers.

The average weight for the larger unit was calculated to be 6.02 g (22 coins) and the smaller 2.99 g (2 coins). Although not many specimens of the smaller unit are available for a more decisive estimation, it seems reasonably clear that the two denominations were issued with a weight ratio of 2:1.

Concerning dating, these coins are commonly attributed to the 1st and 2nd centuries AD based on their find spots from the excavations.³² However, it should be noted that coins are not always reliable artifacts when it comes to dating archaeological layers or vice-versa. Gropp dated them to the 2nd century BC based on their stylistic similarities with the Aramaic inscriptions found near Lake Sevan in Armenia.³³ It was noticed that, on one specimen (coin no. 14), the tiara is noticeably different and resembles the 'folded tiara' of Abdissares of Adiabene,³⁴ whose reign is generally attributed to the end of the 3rd century BC, although the 2nd and 1st centuries BC are also proposed for his reign.

Regarding the translation of the inscriptions, several internationally well-known epigraphists of Aramaic were consulted, but none was able to decipher the inscriptions with any degree of confidence.³⁵ In fact, some also expressed serious doubts regarding the above proposed readings. The fact that the inscriptions are very challenging to decipher may indicate that either we are dealing with an obscure variety of Aramaic or that the legends are blundered. The latter is not an uncommon feature on ancient coins, but in this case the inscriptions do not seem to be blundered, since the lettering is quite consistent on all the specimens. In fact, even the letters on the smaller unit (coin no. 27) are consistent with those on the larger counterpart. Thus, it seems more likely that the Aramaic on these coins is of an irregular variety, rendering it difficult to translate.³⁶

To understand the structure of this coinage a die study was conducted. The main goal was to reveal any die links between the left and right facing varieties and also to investigate if an obverse die for the large unit was used to strike the small unit. However, no such links were found, but this in itself should not be taken as a definitive conclusion, since although the available sample (35 coins) is significant, it is certainly not comprehensive. What the die study has shown is that this series, with the smaller unit, was indeed quite extensive with many dies having been produced. The statistics presented below give the estimated number of obverse and reverse dies used for the production of the large unit.³⁷ In total, 26 coins were included in the study.³⁸ For the obverse, 13 specimens with left-facing and 13 with right-facing portraits were used. For the reverse, only 21 coins were included in the study since the condition of the reverse for the remaining 5 coins was too poor to permit identification.

$n_o = 26$ = the total number of coins with identifiable obverses
 $d_o = 10$ = the number of obverse dies identified in the sample
 $D_o = (n_o d_o) / (n_o - d_o) = 16.25$ = the *estimated* number of obverse dies produced

$n_r = 21$ = the total number of coins with identifiable reverses
 $d_r = 15$ = the number of reverse dies identified in the sample
 $D_r = (n_r d_r) / (n_r - d_r) = 52.5$ = the *estimated* number of reverse dies produced

$d_o / D_o = 61.5\%$ and $d_r / D_r = 28.6\%$ provide the coverage of the dies in the sample

$D_r / D_o = 3.23$ = the ratio of reverse to obverse dies

It is evident that less than a third (28.6%) of the reverse dies are thus far known, implying that many more were originally produced and undoubtedly will come to light in the future. For the obverse nearly two thirds (61.5%) of the dies have been accounted for. The ratio of reverse to obverse dies standing at 3.23 is not unusual. Regarding the smaller unit, although a die study was conducted the original number of obverse and reverse dies was not estimated since the sample was too small. However, what became evident is that the smaller unit, too, had a relatively extensive output since three different dies each for the obverse and reverse were identified from only the four available specimens. Fig. 2 below depicts the die links for the various varieties and denominations.

In conclusion, the article has presented doubts regarding the attribution of these coins to the kingdom of Tosp. An alternate attribution was not proposed since the Aramaic inscriptions could not be deciphered, despite the emergence of better preserved specimens in recent times. Thus, even an attempted reading was not included herein as this would create even more confusion. The present study, however, has shown that the coinage of this ruler was quite extensive and issued in at least two denominations. The key to attributing, and thus dating, these coins rests in translating the inscriptions.

²⁹ Gropp, G. 2008. "More on Tiridates." *Journal of the Oriental Numismatic Society* 197: 4-5.

³⁰ A colleague has also pointed out that several of these coins were encountered circulating in the Yerevan market and reported to be from Artashat.

³¹ Only left-facing portraits have been attested thus far.

³² Khurshudian 1998, 8.

³³ Gropp 2008, 5. For the inscriptions see Dupont-Sommer 1946.

³⁴ See de Callatay 1996.

³⁵ I have preferred not to include their names since a plausible reading could not be proposed.

³⁶ The peculiarity of the legend may indicate that we are dealing with a modern (unsuccessful) fabrication, but this hypothesis should be ruled out

when considering that a good number of obverse and reverse dies were identified (see the die study results).

³⁷ The method of calculation used herein is that of W. Esty 2011.

³⁸ An additional 5 coins were not included due to either the poor quality of the specimen or the available image: eBay 181128574503b; HMA 19948-1; PC 8; G&M 225, Lot 1697; HMA 20026-1. A number of duplicates were also encountered: CNG Triton VIII, Lot 2142 = G&M 142, Lot 1661; eBay 120314172490 = eBay 220382883422; CNG 85, Lot 62 = CNG 67, Lot 832; Peus 376, Lot 780 = CNG 66, Lot 818.

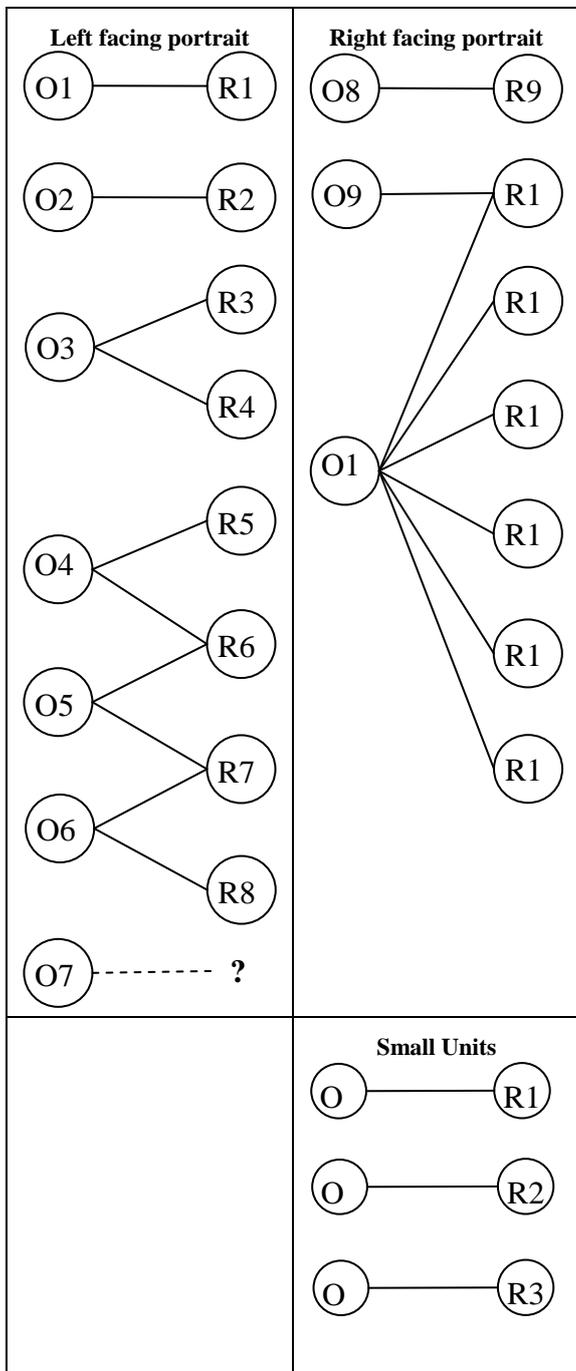


Figure 2: diagram depicting the die links for the large and small units.

No.	Portrait	Inventory	Obverse	Reverse	Weight (g)	Diameter (mm)	Axis
Large unit, 'Legend in wreath' reverse							
1	left	Peus 376, Lot 779	O1	R1	4.68	-	-
2	left	G&M 147, Lot 1538	O2	R2	8.33	-	-
3	left	CNG 278, Lot 128	O3	R3	6.81	26	12
4	left	HMA 18597-17	O3	R4	5.97	23	11
5	left	CNG 69, Lot 505	O4	R5	6.95	22	12
6	left	G&M 142, Lot 1661	O4	R5	8.18	23	-
7	left	Khurshudian	O4	R6	6.31	22	-
8	left	G&M 200, Lot 2028	O5	R6	5.28	24	12

9	left	HMA 19878-39 ³⁹	O5	R7	5.21	23	11
10	left	eBay 220382883422	O6	R7	4.66	23	-
11	left	PC 1	O6	R8	-	-	6
12	left	PC 7	O6	R? ⁴⁰	-	-	6
13	left	CNG 166, Lot 68	O7	R?	5.15	23	12
14	right	CNG 67, Lot 832	O8	R9	5.55	22	-
15	right	PC 5	O9	R10	-	-	12
16	right	G&M 200, Lot 2029	O10	R10	7.11	25	12
17	right	Gropp	O10	R11	7.43	22	-
18	right	PC 6	O10	R11	-	-	12
19	right	YTN 322 ⁴¹	O10	R11	-	-	-
20	right	CNG 66, Lot 818	O10	R12	6.36	23	-
21	right	eBay 181128574503a	O10	R13	-	-	-
22	right	Rauch 97, Lot 256	O10	R14	6.98	-	12
23	right	PC 2	O10	R15	-	-	12
24	right	HMA 18724-37	O10	R?	3.79	24	12
25	right	G&M 165, Lot 1392	O10	R?	5.46	-	-
26	right	CNG 70, Lot 367	O10	R?	7.62	24	1
Small unit, 'Short legend' reverse							
27	left	FLK 8690	O1	R1	3.33	17	6
Small unit, 'Twin peaks' reverse							
28	left	FLK 8581	O2	R2	2.64	18	12
29	left	PC 3	O3	R3	-	-	12
30	left	PC 4	O?	R3	-	-	12
Specimens excluded from die study							
31	left	eBay 181128574503b	O?	R?	-	-	-
32	left	HMA 19948-1	O?	R?	4.45	21	11
33	left	PC 8	O?	R?	-	-	12
34	right	G&M 225, Lot 1697	O? ⁴²	R?	6.43	-	-
35	right	HMA 20026-1	O?	R?	3.66	23	-

Table 1: list of coins with obverse and reverse die numbers and metrological data.

Abbreviations

CNG	Classical Numismatic Group, Inc.
eBay	online auctions: www.ebay.com
FLK	Frank L. Kovacs collection
G&M	Gorny & Mosch Giessener Münzhandlung GmbH, Munich
HMA	The History Museum of Armenia: Department of Numismatics
PC	Private Collection
Peus	Dr. Busso Peus Nachf., Frankfurt
Rauch	H. D. Rauch GmbH, Vienna
YTN	Yeghia T. Nercessian collection

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³⁹ Some flans, as is the case for this coin, are square in shape and others noticeably angular.

⁴⁰ Reverse possibly overstruck or double-struck.

⁴¹ Published in Nercessian 2008.

⁴² Possibly O10.

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Illustrations

Large Unit (aprox. 125% of actual size)



Coin 1 (O1/R1)



Coin 2 (O2/R2)



Coin 3 (O3/R3)



Coin 4 (O3/R4)



Coin 5 (O4/R5)



Coin 6 (O4/R5)



Coin 7 (O4/R6)



Coin 8 (O5/R6)



Coin 9 (O5/R7)



Coin 10 (O6/R7)



Coin 11 (O6/R8)



Coin 12 (O6/R?)



Coin 13 (O7/R?)



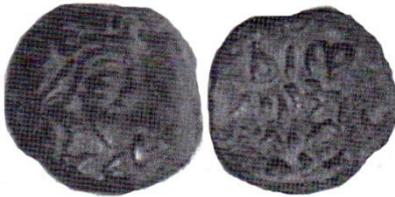
Coin 14 (O8/R9)



Coin 15 (O9/R10)



Coin 16 (O10/R10)



Coin 17 (O10/R11)



Coin 18 (O10/R11)



Coin 19 (O10/R11)



Coin 20 (O10/R12)



Coin 21 (O10/R13)



Coin 22 (O10/R14)



Coin 23 (O10/R15)



Coin 24 (O10/R?)



Coin 25 (O10/R?)



Coin 26 (O10/R?)

Small Unit, 'Short Legend'



Coin 27 (O1/R1)

Small Unit, ‘Twin Peaks’



Coin 28 (O2/R2)

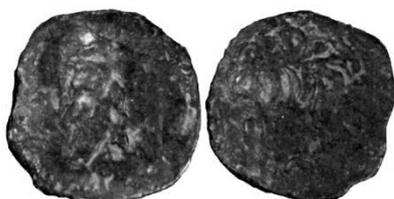


Coin 29 (O3/R3)

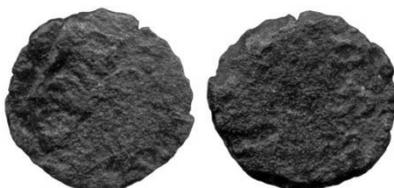


Coin 30 (O?/R3)

Examples not included in die study



Coin 31



Coin 32



Coin 33



Coin 34



Coin 35

SOUTH SOGHDIAN COINS WITH “ANCHOR-TRIDENT” TAMGHA

By Aleksandr Naymark (Hofstra University)

1. Available materials

Thirteen years ago Dmitry Markov and the author of the current article jointly wrote a small note about a coin with a previously unknown “anchor-trident” tamgha [Markov & Naymark 2002]. At the time, we suggested that the coin was the production of some unidentified Chach mint. Our considerations were very simple: (1) no single specimen of this type had been registered in large collections of coins coming from the Samarqand Soghd (Panjikant, Afrasiab) or Bukhara (Varakhsha, Paykand, Kum-Sultan); (2) at that time the soil of Chach was actively revealing both already known and new types of coins; (3) this specimen was offered for sale in one parcel with a large number of Chach coins. The Chach attribution seemed to make sense in terms of typology as well – a facing portrait of the ruler and a tamgha as the central and principal element of the reverse design found many parallels in Chach coinages of the 7th and 8th centuries AD.

Later, however, we were told, that this particular specimen was attached to the group of Chach coins by mere chance. Moreover, we were informed that this specimen had come from South Soghd (i.e. in the basin of Kashka-darya), albeit no specific area or site was mentioned.

Unfortunately, not only was our text of 2002 published without an illustration but the digital image of this specimen that I had at my disposal was lost in a computer crash. As a result, this initially published coin could not be reproduced or even catalogued in the present article.

Since 2002, however, seven more coins with the version of the same very specific “anchor-trident” tamgha have surfaced in different publications and collections. This article is based on these new data. It seems possible to distinguish four different types among the known specimens.

Type I



Fig. 1

Type I is represented by a single specimen (fig. 1) found in 2012 on the town site of ancient Panjikant during the excavations of Sector XXVI (the filling of room 43):⁴³

Obv.: Profile portrait of a ruler facing right occupies the central field. The details of a relatively complex crown cannot be fully made out: there seem to be three merlons at its base and a low cap behind them. The low “dome” of the cap is nevertheless pointed like that of a modern tus-tupi (tiubeteika). Nothing can be said about the coiffure – the original surface of the coin is completely obliterated in the area where the back of the head and shoulders would be located. There is what may be a floating ribbon in front of the lower part of the face. A beaded circle surrounding the

⁴³ There is a typo in the explication under one of the images of this coin in the report of the Panjikant expedition – the coin was not found in room 44, as this explanation states [Materialy 2013, ill. 28, 5]. The relevant passage in the excavation report mentions this specimen as “a unique bronze coin” in the description of room 43 [Kurbanov & Kosykh, 2013, p. 12]. More information is in the coin plate “organized by the chronology and place of find” compiled by Pavel Lurje [Materialy 2013, p. 65, upper right entry and footnote 1; ill. 152, coin 9]. I am grateful to Pavel Lurje, who helped me to clear up the confusion created by the typo and provided me with a good photo of this specimen.

central image leaves relatively broad margins unoccupied.

Rev.: A trident-shaped tamgha occupies the central field. From the end of the trident's "handle" a short line extends to the right. A triangular formation of three tightly packed dots is located at the end of this line. There is no sign of a similar line extending to the left on this specimen, but it is quite possible that it is just completely obliterated - at least one dot seems to be visible at a spot on the left that corresponds to that of the dots at the end of the right-hand line. A beaded circle around the field leaves relatively broad margins unoccupied.

Diameter: 15 mm; weight – 0.4 g.

Type II



Fig.2

Type II is known from a single poorly preserved specimen with a completely obliterated obverse (fig. 2). The coin was found in 2008 during the work of the French archaeological mission at Zargar-tepa near Balkh (field registry number: TZ – 2008 – 15224). Stefan Heidemann recorded this specimen in 2013 while cleaning numismatic materials from these excavations and preparing them for publication.⁴⁴

Rev.: The "Anchor-trident" tamgha occupying the central field of this specimen differs from the tamgha on Type I in a number of features: there are no dot triangles at the ends of the anchor arms; instead, the tips of these arms are turned up; the angles of the "fork" are rounded, making its general outline soft. This makes the tamgha look similar to those on the coins of Type III. Yet the reverse of this specimen lacks one major feature found on the reverses of Types III and IV – there is no inscription on it. By the physical parameters of the blank – very thin flan with irregular edges - this specimen is close to the only known coin of Type I.

The diameter of the specimen is 18 mm; weight – 1.12 g.

Type III



Fig. 3



Fig. 4.

⁴⁴ I am grateful to Professor Heidemann for passing to me the photo of this specimen and the information.



Fig. 5.

Type III is represented by three coins. Two of these specimens (Figs. 3 and 5) are in private collections and nothing is known about their provenance and metrology. The image of the third one was posted on Zeno ru (no. 43171) on April 25, 2007 (Fig. 4). It was followed by the owner's note stating that there are "finds of these coins in southern Sogd."

Obv.: The facing head of a ruler occupies the central field. The image records the *bob cut* hairstyle of the ruler in a rather specific way: several vertical strokes show the hair of the fringe, while the locks embracing the head on the sides are rendered as one mass. A crescent above the forehead is the only visible element of a crown. A short segment of an arc below the chin was most likely meant to represent a torque (less possible would be the collar of a caftan). A straight line starts from the chin, crosses the arc of the torque, and then splits under a right angle into two little dashes. This seems to represent the tip of a beard braided into a short plait with a bow on the end – a rather common element in Sasanian royal portraits. A solid rim surrounds the entire field.

Rev.: The "anchor-trident" tamgha that occupies the central field has a rounded outline of the "fork", while the "arms" of the anchor curve upwards. There are no dots attached to the ends of the anchor "arms". There seems to be an 'evolution' in the shape of the tamgha on the three currently available specimens. The anchor part of the tamgha is still squarish on fig. 3. The anchor "arms" and the teeth of the tamgha's "fork" on fig. 4 curve elegantly upwards and then bend slightly outwards while narrowing to a point at the end. All this sophistication is abandoned on fig. 5 – the tamgha is executed in plain lines. By the sides of the tamgha are two lines of inscription running from downwards from the top and curving slightly along the solid rim that encompasses the field. Although the legend is fully preserved only on one of the coins of Type IV, the bits of it that have survived on the three known specimens of Type III leave no doubt that it is exactly the same. The right line of the inscription contains one word: *xwβ* – the princely title used by the majority of Sogdian rulers at that time. The left line is a mere mirror reflection of the right one.

The reverses of the coins in figs. 3 and 5 are slightly concave (specimen 4 is too worn to detect anything like this from its photograph). The "graphic" manner of the die engraving on coin 5, where the image is "drawn" mostly in plain lines, is quite similar to that found on some of the coins belonging to Types I and II of the coinage of the Kesh ruler, Akhurpat, [Naymark 2011, plate].

The diameter of the Zeno ru 43171 specimen is 16 mm.

Type IV



Fig. 6



Fig. 7

Type IV is known from two coins (Fig. 6 and 7), both posted on Zeno.ru (86240 and 150557). The latter one was supplied with a note by the former owner who stated that the specimen came from an area "between Samarqand and Nakhshab."

Obv.: The facing head of a ruler occupies the central field. Yet in comparison with the effigy on Type III, this image is significantly simplified: all the hair is rendered as a single mass; there is still a crescent above the forehead and an arc segment representing a torque, but there is no beard plait. A solid rim surrounds the entire field.

Rev.: The central field is occupied by the same anchor-trident tamgha, albeit rendered in simple lines and rounded on all sides. The two lines of the inscription by the sides of the tamgha run from top down with the top of the letters towards the centre of the field. As a result, the left line is a mere mirror image of the right one. The way the initial *xeth* is written in the left line on the coin in fig. 7 suggests that the die sinker was not used to writing from left to right.

The reverse of the coin in fig. 6 is slightly concave, like that of the coins of Type III. The coin in fig. 7, however, is flat and has the traces of a chopped off tongue attachment, which suggests that this specimen may have been struck on a cast blank or could even be completely cast. The quality of the available photograph does not allow us to either accept or reject the latter option. In any case, there seems to be a change in minting technology between coins 6 and 7.

The weight of coin 6 is 0.8 g, while the diameter is 17.8 mm. For coin 7 we know only the weight – 1.24 g.

2. Dating these coins

The 8th century date suggested for the "anchor-trident" coin in the first publication was based exclusively on the iconography [Markov & Naymark 2002]. The principal considerations that led us to this conclusion are still valid. The coin design combining the ruler's effigy in three-quarters turn on the obverse with the large tamgha as the centre of the reverse is well attested in Sogdian numismatics from the second half of the 6th century (Bukhara, Samarqand, Chach). It remained in use during the 7th century (Chach, Nakhshab), and in some realms continued to the 8th century (Chach, Ustrushana, Samarqand). Yet the slightly different version of the obverse design with the ruler's portrait depicted directly facing, as on the coins with the anchor-trident tamgha, is known only on Bukhar Khuda copper coins of the 8th century, minted first in Bukhara and then in Varakhsha [Naymark 1997/1998].

The palaeography of the inscription does not contradict the conclusion reached on the basis of iconography – the title, *xwβ*, with *waw* and *beth* written on a single continuing "ground" line is known on the coins of Akhurpat, minted in Kesh in the second and third decades of the 8th century [Naymark 2011, plate] and on multiple series of Chach coins datable to the 8th century [Shagallov & Kuznetsov 2006, late types of groups 4 and 6]. The somewhat "excessive overall fluency" of the inscription on coin 7 would be more expected in the 8th century – inscriptions on the vast majority of Sogdian coins of the 7th century are much more "calligraphic". Also noteworthy, that of the entire complex of Sogdian numismatics, the unusual manner of writing from left to right is known only on Nakhshab coins of the 8th century [Kochnev 1999;

Lurje 2010, p. 112, № 180; Naymark 2014, p. 269].

The stratigraphic conditions in which the Panjikant specimen was discovered do not contradict the suggested date. Coins from room 43 presented in the table composed by Pavel Lurje point to the early 8th century as the terminal stage in the use of room 43 [Materialy, 2013, p. 65]. There were three coins on the floor (Urk Wartarmauk – 1; Bilge – 1; Nana, mistress of Panch – 1), two in the deposit formed immediately above the floor (Bilge – 1; Nana, mistress of Panch – 1) and two in the filling of the room ("anchor-trident" coin and Nana, mistress of Panch – 1). Unfortunately, the filling of the room, where the "anchor-trident" coin was found, might easily have contained earlier materials as well (for example, from the bricks and mortar of the collapsed walls or vault), and thus this find cannot provide a date by itself. It suggests, however, that the earliest type in our "anchor-trident" coinage was already in existence, when the Panjikant ruler, Devastich, struck coins with the name Nana, mistress of Panch.

Finally, since there are four types in our tiny sample, and since at least Type III obviously reveals the existence of varieties, we can assume that this was a protracted coinage.

3. Localisation

Of the eight specimens at our disposal, three do not have any provenance information attached to them (Figs. 3, 5, 6); two come from southern Soghd (Fig. 4 and the specimen published earlier by Markov and Naymark); and one from the area "between Samarqand and Nakhshab", i.e. from southern Soghd or an adjacent territory to the east (Fig. 7). Two finds were registered beyond the basin of Kashka-darya: one coin comes from Panjikant (fig. 1), the easternmost town of Soghd, and one is from Balkh situated to the south of Soghd (fig. 2). It is worth noting that these "external" find spots are situated on the two opposite sides of the Kashka-darya valley.

This distribution of the finds of the "anchor-trident tamgha" coins on the map is generally similar to that of the coins of Akhurpat, the ruler of the southern Soghdian principality of Kesh, had before they became known in significant numbers: a few specimens in their native southern Soghd, with separate finds in Tokharistan and in Panjikant [Naymark 2004, p. 215].

In addition to this, we have some hearsay information. A coin collector from Uzbekistan reported that finds of such coins are known from the Kashka-darya valley, in the region of the Chimkurgan reservoir and on Er-kurgan. One more such coin was found in Arbinjan – a town in the middle of the Zarafshan valley, situated on a spot where the road from Nakhshab enters the Zarafshan valley. Another one was mentioned as coming from a Chach site called Kanka. Unfortunately, it is currently impossible to match these bits of information with any of the registered finds.

Overall, the existing data point to southern Soghd as the place of coinage, but this conclusion is based on extremely limited data, and we should aim to provide additional support for them in the form of "systemic" considerations, i.e. we should look for a suitable void in the system of Sogdian coinage. In this particular case we should see what the information about the topography of the few known finds of "anchor-trident" coins tells us in relation to the background of coin finds in different parts of Sogdiana.

As there are no finds of "anchor-trident" coins to the north and to the east of Soghd, a Ferghanian origin of such coins should be excluded. The single find at the site of Kanka in Chach, where hundreds and hundreds of early mediaeval coins have been recovered, testifies against the possibility of a Chach origin for this series. Since only one such coin has been registered in Panjikant, where we have records of thousands of numismatic finds, and since no single specimen of this type has been recorded among the hundreds of published Afrasiab finds, we can assume that Samarqand Soghd is not the place of its origin either. The lack of such finds in fairly large collections from Varakhsha, Kum-Sultan, and Paykand allows us to remove the Bukharan oasis from the list of the territories, where the mint responsible for these coins could be located. With all these Sogdian numismatic provinces excluded, the only zone that remains for the "anchor-trident" coinage is the basin of Kashka-darya, or, as it is often called southern Soghd.

This latter option is quite possible: the particularities of the local history and the very specific course that archaeological exploration of southern Soghd has taken, were responsible for the fact that there are still very few registered finds of the coins datable to the 7th and 8th century.

In Nakhshab, the 4th-6th centuries stand out as a period of unprecedented prosperity: according to S.K. Kabanov, 59 of 123 registered archaeological sites in the oasis have strata from the 4th-6th centuries [Kabanov 1977, p. 94], while a later count based on the full survey of the oasis undertaken by B.D. Kochnev and on some more recent data, gives a ratio of 350 out of 460 [Suleimanov 2000, p. 62]. In the third quarter of the 6th century AD the situation changed dramatically. The capital of the Nakhshab oasis, remnants of which we know as the site of Er-kurgan, was abandoned by its population, most likely due to the devastation caused by the war between the Hephthalites and Turks [Suleimanov 2000, p. 69]. A large proportion of the smaller Nakhshab settlements also did not survive beyond the catastrophe in the third quarter of the 7th century. As a result, the material from the 7th and 8th centuries are found at a relatively small percent of the monuments and, what is more, on the vast majority of the sites they are covered with the strata of the early Islamic period.

These peculiarities of the Nakhshab monuments shaped the direction of archaeological research. Although the first archaeological reconnaissance in Nakhshab was undertaken as far back as 1916 [Zimin 1927], the first excavations in the oasis started only in the late 1940s. During the following quarter of a century archaeological work in the Nakhshab oasis were limited mostly to rescue efforts. Given the aforementioned peculiarities of the local monuments, archaeologists fairly rarely had the chance to touch upon the strata of the 7th-8th centuries [Kabanov 1977; Kabanov 1981]. Furthermore, the vast majority of the excavations were conducted on small rural monuments, where coin finds are usually rare.

In 1973, a fairly large expedition under the direction of R.Kh. Suleimanov started working in the Nakhshab oasis, though it concentrated its efforts on the capital site of Er-kurgan where life terminated in the second half of the 6th century [Suleimanov 2000]. The only excavations on Shulliuk-tepe, the site to which the Nakhshab capital moved after Er-Kurgan, were small-scale reconnaissance trenches that barely scratched the pre-Islamic strata and produced only a few early coins [Kochnev 1975, p. 501; Kochnev 1984, p. 193]. Somewhat larger excavations of early mediaeval buildings were conducted at the early mediaeval site of Tallisor-tepa (Gubdin of Arab geographers) [Kochnev 1978, p. 526; Kochnev 1984, p. 193]. Numismatic material received during the excavations in Nakhshab were the subject of research by Larissa Barataova [Baratova 2000a; Baratova 2000b; Baratova and Suleimanov 2000; Baratova 2001a; Baratova 2001b; Baratova 2002] and as can be best seen in the table summarising all her data [Baratova 2004, table on p. 188] the number of coins of the 8th century among them is very small.

The principality of Kesh that once occupied the upper part of the Kashka-darya basin did not suffer from the war between the Turks and Hephthalites so much,⁴⁵ and the period of the 7th-8th centuries is better represented in local archaeological monuments. Yet the specific history of the city of Kesh, which was destroyed during the rebellion of Muqanna and after that relocated to the site of modern Shahrissabz, makes urban strata less accessible. As a result, the Tashkent University archaeological expedition which conducted works in Kesh from 1963 to the 1990s, studied urban settlements of the early iron age and Achaemenid period,⁴⁶ the capital's town site from the "period of antiquity" (3rd century BC –

⁴⁵ An archaeologist who conducted long-term work on the site of the principality's capital in modern Kitab states that a new fortress-residence was built in Kesh at the end of the 6th century, but that the ancient citadel of the city was not completely abandoned and the town continued to develop on the same place [Krashennikova 1989, pp. 30-31].

⁴⁶ Originally (1970s and 1980s), archaeological works on this theme were conducted primarily by A. S. Sagdullaev. In the late 1980s he passed the responsibility to O.N. Lushpenko, who summarised the material in her Ph.D. dissertation [Lushpenko 1998].

3rd century AD)⁴⁷ and on pre-Mongol Islamic monuments,⁴⁸ while the majority of the early mediaeval sites touched by the excavations were in rural areas.⁴⁹ As a result, when the information on the finds of early mediaeval coins in Kesh was ultimately summarised, the number of such coins registered turned out to be miniscule – less than a dozen specimens [Rtveladze 1988; Rtveladze 2002; Rtveladze 2006; Baratova 2004, table on p. 188].⁵⁰

To sum up, southern Soghd remains the last large grey zone in Sogdian numismatics and the least studied period of its history perfectly corresponds to the date of our coins. In other words, southern Soghd is quite capable of accommodating the coinage "with the anchor-trident tamgha."

On the other hand, it is evident, that the scarcity of the available data makes it impossible make a precise attribution of this coin series to a particular mint or polity. It seems highly unlikely, however, that the "anchor-trident" coins were issued by the principalities of Kesh or Nakhshab. The first of these two principalities placed on its coins a different tamgha in the shape of a triskelion from the 720s to 750s [Naymark 2011, pp. 12-15]. There also seems to be no characteristics that could directly link the portrait on the "anchor-trident tamgha" coins to the post-Sasanian effigies of the king on the three types in the coinage of the Kesh ruler, Akhurpat [Naymark 2011, pp. 12-15].

As for Nakhshab, only two tamghas have been registered up to date on its coins. On the 7th century type (*obv.*: crowned head facing three-quarters left; *rev.*: a scene showing the king slaughtering a rearing lion, and tamgha) we find a version of the Y-shaped tamgha which is usually associated with the realm of Samarkand [Naymark 2014, pp. 267-268]. As I argued in another article, this could be a result of the subjugation of Nakhshab by Samarkand [Naymark 2014, pp. 267-268]. On the 8th century type bearing the name of Ashkant [Kochnev 1999, p. 46; Lurje 2010, p. 112, # 180], the ruler of Nakhshab mentioned by Arabic and Chinese sources several times between 731 to 741 AD. [Naymark 2014, p. 269], we find a tamgha shaped like a Latin letter S with the straightened external outline of one of its curves. As to the obverse portraits, despite the generally similar format, Nakhshab coins display no specific features that could directly link them to the "anchor-trident tamgha" coinage.⁵¹ The only rare feature that

⁴⁷ A first attempt to summarise the early material from these surveys and excavations was made by M.E. Masson [1977]. Excavations in Kitab, where the capital of Kesh was situated from the 3rd century BC to the 8th century AD, were conducted by N.I. Krashennikova [most importantly: Krashennikova 1968; 1972; 1977; 1989], while the analysis of "antiquity" material from surveys was published in different publications by N.I. Krashennikova, A.S. Sagdullaev, Z.I. Usmanova, and G.Ia. Dresvianskaia. More field work was done in the 1990s by A.V. Omel'chenko, who ultimately summarised most of the data in his dissertation devoted to the material culture of Kesh from the late 4th century BC to the 4th century AD [Omel'chenko 2003].

⁴⁸ The leading archaeologist in this theme was S.B. Lunina, who at a certain point summed up her major material in a special monograph [Lunina 1984].

⁴⁹ Early mediaeval monuments were first of all the responsibility of G.Ia. Dresvianskaia, who fully excavated two interesting castles [Dresvianskaia 1987; Dresvianskaia 1988] and made an attempt at a systemic topographic analysis of the monuments belonging to this period [Dresvianskaia 1985; Dresvianskaia 1986]. Yet there were other important works on this theme. N.I. Krashennikova and N.P. Stolarova excavated a large free-standing manor of this period [Krashennikova 1983]. Small reconnaissance trenches aiming at the study of the historical topography of Shahrissabz brought forth more early mediaeval material, including coins [Usmanova 1977; Rtveladze 1988]. Important finds of early mediaeval coins were made during the stratigraphic study of the suburban site of Balandtepe (Zindantepe) at the gates of Shahrissabz [Usmanova and Bakhshitsian 1988; Rtveladze 1988].

⁵⁰ These articles summarised published data and included information on the coin finds in Shahrissabz and its vicinity made during the excavations conducted by Z.I. Usmanova (Shahrissabz and Zindan-tepe). As to the coins obtained in the course of Dresvianskaia's excavations, they were not listed. All we know about the latter finds comes from brief mentions in her publication [Dresvianskaia 1987, pp. 17, 20].

⁵¹ Smirnova 1981, pp. 343-347, # 1450-1471; Kochnev 1984, p. 188-196; Kochnev 1995; Kochnev 1999, pp. 42-46. Adjustments to the dates of the early types belonging to this coinage: Naymark 2014, pp. 269-270

the two coin series have in common is the highly unusual manner of writing in Sogdian from left to right, but this might reflect some southern Sogdian tradition that was not grounded in numismatics.

Aside from the principalities of Kesh and Nakhshab, there could be polities in southern Soghd, the temporary independence of which in the 8th century was not reflected in any written sources, which, in any case, rarely concerned themselves with southern Soghd. As was common in pre-modern Central Asia, such “independent” administrative or political units were likely to be based on separate irrigation systems.

Although southern Soghd was usually divided between two principalities, it nevertheless had three significant distinct oases: in addition to Kesh (upper course of the Kashka-darya and its tributaries) and Nakhshab (desert delta of Kashka-darya), there was Guzar oasis based on the river Guzar-darya, a left tributary of the Kashka-darya. At the time of the classical Arab geographers, the Guzar oasis constituted one of the rustaqs of Kesh [Barthold 1963, p. 189], but in the late mediaeval period it was an independent administrative unit, the governor of which, Guzar Bek, reported directly to Bukhara. According to classical Arab geographers, there were three significant towns in the Guzar oasis in the 9th-10th centuries, one of which, Subakh, archaeologists associate with Uliuktepe, a site with an area of approximately a square kilometer [Lunina 1984, p. 27-28].

Less probable, but still quite possible, is an attribution of this coinage to one of the desert cities, situated on and beyond the fringes of the Nakhshab oasis. Kesba must have been the biggest of these. Early Islamic sources state that it was larger than Nasaf (Nakhshab/Shulliuk-tepe) itself [Belenitskii, Bentovich, Bol'shakov 1973, p. 190]. While it is currently impossible to insist on the accuracy of this claim because the exact size of Nakhshab/Nasaf – Shulliuk-tepe is not exactly known, archaeological surveys in Kasbi indeed revealed a huge build-up site stretching in one direction for a whole kilometer [Kabanov 1977, p. 66-67; Lunina 1984, p. 23]. The remnants of another major desert city, Pazda, are known under the name of Kuhna-Fazli and occupy about 55 hectares [Kabanov 1977, pp. 64-65; Kochnev 1980, p. 278].

There were other significant urban settlements in southern Soghd [Lunina 1984, p. 20-44]. It is quite possible that one of them attained a sufficient degree of independence during the troubled 8th century to start minting its own coinage. For the time being, however, we can only hope that future finds of coins with the “anchor-trident” tamgha will be better recorded and that the topography of the finds will be able to help us in attributing this coinage to a particular mint within southern Soghd.

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RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN THE INDO-GREEK KINGS AFTER MENANDER

Part 3

By Jens Jakobsson

Methodology

The present article is a sequel to two JONS papers from 2007, where I outlined the dynastic relations between the later Indo-Greek kings. Many numismatists do not take much interest in such relationships, perhaps anxious not to repeat the many speculative reconstructions of early scholars such as W.W. Tarn. However, Hellenistic kingship was often dynastic in its nature, each king essentially ruling the territories that his family controlled. Even though some kingdoms were centered on more stable central provinces - such as Egypt for the Ptolemies - they were by no means nations with fixed borders. There were in fact Seleucid kings, such as Antiochos I and Antiochos XII, whose territories did not overlap at all. Consequently, the dynastic networks of the rulers are central aspects in the study of Hellenistic states.

However, for the late Indo-Greek period, the absence of written sources make the dynastic relations difficult to reconstruct. Still, if we apply our knowledge of Hellenistic kingship, from the better-known states in the west, the numismatic evidence could help us to gain some understanding of the structure of the Indo-Greek realms after Menander I.

1. A scarcity of tyrants

The Bactrian and Indo-Greek kings are remarkable because of their sheer number. In a fairly limited territory, there were more than 40 rulers in the period c.250 BC-AD 1. This period roughly equals the duration of the Ptolemaic Empire, from which we know of about 20 kings⁵² and three ruling queens. The Seleucid Empire saw the succession of about 35 kings and queens, including usurpers, and even adding the four Pergamene kings and the last Roman client-kings, there were perhaps not more kings with Greek or Macedonian names in all the provinces from Asia Minor to Iran than in Bactria and India.

Apparently the Bactrian and Indo-Greek rulers belonged to several factions, and many reigns must have overlapped. However, the majority of the kings appeared c.130-70 BC, after the unrest that followed Menander's death and the collapse of the Bactrian kingdom. Many of them issued only a very limited coinage. There were two models for autocratic leadership in the Ancient Greek culture: tyrant (*tyrannos*) and king (*basileus*). Without going into too much detail about the differences, tyrants usually relied on a *polis* state as their base of power, and so often issued civic instead of personal coins. When Seleucid Syria collapsed, there emerged numerous tyrants, not known from coins⁵³. However, in the east, the royal title was preferred even by minor leaders. There are some possible explanations for this:

a) Most Bactrian and Indo-Greek pretenders were of royal blood.

b) The *polis* state was never developed by the Graeco-Bactrians.⁵⁴

c) The Graeco-Bactrians in India may also have maintained a common identity, and so preferred to support kings with an agenda to unify their realms, rather than secessionist leaders.

So the impression of fragmentation in the Indo-Greek world might be exaggerated by the fact that almost all rulers manifested their powers on coins. This leads us to the nature of Indo-Greek royal power.

2. The fragmented kingdom

The civil wars in the Seleucid Empire from the mid-2nd century BC led to a fragmentation, when fortified positions within the same region were controlled by different kings. During the 'War of the Brothers' (c.114-100 BC), the resources of the fighting brothers, Antiochos VIII Grypos and Antiochos IX Kyzikenos, were limited; wavering local support and loyalty made cities from Damascus in the southeast to Cilicia in the northwest change hands almost haphazardly. This paralysed the Seleucid administration and led to a gradual descent into anarchy.⁵⁵

The Indo-Greek kingdom went through a similar phase at roughly the same time. During this time, many monograms were shared by several kings - indicating that the same mints provided coins for different kings. The appearance of many overstrikes also indicates that different rulers were active in the same territory (Senior, 2006, p. xvi). Bopearachchi (1991) has, nevertheless, attempted to assign separate territories to the kings even of this period: placing rulers like Lysias, Antialkidas and Hermaios in the Paropamisadae/Gandhara, and Straton I, Heliokles II and others in the Punjab.

However, the hoard findings of this period (Senior, 2006, p. xxiv) indicate that at least the silver coins of these kings usually circulated within the entire region of Menander's former kingdom (roughly from Paropamisadae in the west to the eastern Punjab). This is in contrast to the situation for the last Indo-Greek kings, from Apollodotos II and forward, when the circulation of coins was apparently limited by political divisions. After perhaps 70 BC, the eastern coinage of Apollodotos II, and his successors, was confined to the eastern Punjab. In the western Punjab and Pushkalavati, there was a western coinage of Apollodotos II, followed by Hippostratos and Saka kings such as Azes I. Even further west, posthumous Hermaios coins were struck by other Sakas.⁵⁶

Before that, the mints seem to have been concentrated within a relatively small region; Bopearachchi assumed that, from Menander's death until Apollodotos II, the Indo-Greek kings did not control the eastern Punjab, but perhaps they merely issued few coins there. With competent Greek mint personnel concentrated in the western cities, and with Saka and other mercenaries recruited in the west as well, the eastern Punjab was perhaps governed indirectly through indigenous vassal rulers.⁵⁷ We know that Indo-Greek coins circulated, and were buried in unmixed hoards, (see Table 1) as far east as New Delhi and Mathura.

Hermaios and Diomedes are usually given as 'western kings', and while the distribution of their bronzes (bronzes usually circulated more locally) may support this, we cannot exclude that they campaigned in Punjab. Likewise, the coins of the 'eastern

54 The only civic coins with a Greek connection are the Kapisa bronzes with the Kharosthi legend "*Kavistie nagara devata*", coupled with a posthumous obverse of Eukratides I.

55 The chaotic situation is well documented in Seleucid Coins II, under each ruler and mint. Also in Bellinger (1949).

56 Senior (2006, especially under the Chakwal hoard, p. 130), Bopearachchi (1998, under Apollodotos II).

57 Aelian, *In Animalia* 15.8, mentions an Indian princelet, Soras, on the Indian coast, who was probably a vassal of Eucratides I. Soras was a member of a royal house. Mark Passetl has suggested that perhaps his name was derived from the kings of Saraostis, also on the Indian coast, known to have been subjugated by the Indo-Greeks. (Strabo, *Geography* 11.11.1.)

52 Including provincial kings in Cyrene, on Cyprus etc.

53 See Grainger (under Seleucid Officials) for tyrants, for instance Apollodotos, Dionysios, Ptolemy and Zoilos.

king' Straton I⁵⁸ were frequently found in western hoards. With this in mind, we can assume that many Indo-Greek kings after Menander ruled over fragmented and variable territories. A number of Indo-Greek kings also issued rare Attic silver (mostly tetradrachms), which circulated in Bactria, even after the Greek kingdom there had fallen to the Yuezhi. After several such coins were unearthed with the Qunduz hoard, they were tentatively attributed to remaining Greek enclaves in Bactria. But Bopearachchi (1990) convincingly proved that these Attic coins were produced south of the Hindu Kush. The coins he regarded as tribute or payment to the nomad rulers in Bactria. Building on this analysis, Bopearachchi (1991) also concluded that the kings who issued such coins ruled in the territories adjacent to Bactria; consequently those who did not were placed further east.

While Bopearachchi's geographic attribution of these coins is certainly correct, there is reason to point out that, technically, what he has proven is that these Indo-Greek kings did not control *mints* in Bactria. However, absence of mints in outlying provinces does not equal absence of control. Seleucid coins were never struck in Armenia - they rarely even circulated there - nor in Arabia; yet these regions were at least under indirect control for long periods. Also, none of the kings who seem to belong to Menander's dynasty (kings like Straton I and Apollodotos II, who used Athena Alkidemos as their main silver reverse, and usually Menander's epithet *Soter*) struck Attic coins.

The kings who *did* issue Attic coins demonstrated their interest in maintaining contacts and influence in Bactria - perhaps also a nominal claim to the Bactrian throne (for instance, Lysias clearly associated himself with Demetrius I). But such activities were probably less relevant for Menander's dynasty, as Menander himself had never ruled in Bactria. With this perspective, the absence of Attic coins does not necessarily mean that rulers such as Strato I did not also hold territories adjacent to Bactria.

3. Amyntas - the wayfarer

A comparison between two very different kings from the turbulent period of the Saka intrusions may highlight how the Indo-Greek kings adapted their strategies to the difficult circumstances. Amyntas Nikator (perhaps 85-75 BC) seems to have led a wayfaring existence. While this remarkably long-nosed ruler is regarded as a western king, indicated by his Attic coins (dodekadrachms) and his use of Hermaios' monogram 102, his coins were among the latest in the eastern Sonipat (see Table 1) and Rohtak hoards⁵⁹. Amyntas' iconography seems to reflect a dynastic alliance between the Zeus kings and the Athena/Soter kings; on his regular silver, a sitting Zeus is holding a small Pallas Athena in his hand, (see fig. 1) while he also issued rare series with the Athena Alkidemos known from the coins of the Menander group. Straton I (or Straton Epiphanes Soter, if there were two kings) seems to have disappeared a few years before Amyntas, and there may have been a gap between him and the next important Athena king, Apollodotos II. Amyntas may have profited from this.

Possibly, Amyntas was the *Yavanaraja* (Greek king) mentioned on a contemporary Indian monument: the Hathigumpha inscription by Kharavela, emperor of Kalinga. This *Yavanaraja* is said to have campaigned east of Punjab, but retreated to Mathura; his name is partially destroyed but has often been reconstructed as Demetrios. However, it is unlikely that the Bactrian king Demetrios I campaigned so far east, and the name may in fact also be reconstructed as Amyntas.⁶⁰ In that case, Amyntas may have

campaigning in (and beyond) the eastern Punjab in order to strengthen Indo-Greek control there. It was however another king, of the dynasty that Amyntas was allied to, who would benefit from this.

4. Apollodotos II - finding firm ground

For not long after Amyntas, the Soter/Athena king, Apollodotos II (perhaps 75-60 BC), did, as mentioned, begin to issue coins in the eastern Punjab. Apollodotos II also used the epithet, Philopator (father-loving), and was thus the son of an earlier king - perhaps Straton I. Apollodotos' eastern coinage was struck in crude style (Bopearachchi, 1998), perhaps employing native personnel as additional control marks in Kharosthi were introduced. Also, Apollodotos' celators forewent the multitude of portraits that his predecessors, from Menander on, had favoured. There were eight types of portraits: apart from the plain diademed effigy, which most kings used as it gave the most recognisable portrait, they paraded in two distinct helmets - the flat kausia or the elephant crown of Alexander - and also appeared throwing a spear with variable headgear.

Apollodotos II only issued the plain diademed portrait. This pivotal change was perhaps due to the capture of Gandhara, including Taxila, by the Saka king, Maues. As the Sakas never issued coins with personal portraits, it seems likely that the excellent Indo-Greek school of portrait engravers was discontinued and soon faded. Only the simplest portrait type remained.⁶¹ A few kings - Menander II and Artemidoros, who was perhaps a half-Saka (a bronze indicates that he may have been, or ruled jointly with, a son of Maues) - issued the last helmeted and spear-throwing portraits at this time, with a variety of reverses and monograms. This indicates that they were the last wayfaring kings. Senior suggests that they relied on temporary mints. Artemidoros and Menander II were perhaps active in the 70s BC, and the obscure Telephos, a king of unknown origin who issued coins without portraits, somewhat later; all in the wake of the Saka advances in the western part of Menander's kingdom.⁶²

In the late Seleucid kingdom, Demetrios III (96-87 BC) and Antiochos XII (87-83 BC) made an attempt to establish a regional base on the periphery of their ancestral empire. They took control of Damascus in southern Syria, where they issued coins with local deities. However, both of them perished during expeditions to enlarge or defend their dominions. Apollodotos II employed a similar strategy with greater success - thanks partly to local geography. While the exact location of his eastern mint is unknown - perhaps Sialkot or Bucephala - we can be certain that it was a strong base in the mountains. His feeble successors would survive there for a long time, continuing to issue the artless eastern drachms (accompanied by equally artless copper or even lead coins) until the last king, Straton, was replaced by the Saka satrap

inscription, which is difficult to date. In the extant inscription, the name Demetrios has been reconstructed from the middle Brahmi letter (*ma*) of the name [*Di-mi-ta*]. Amyntas, rendered as *A-mi-ta* in Kharosthi script on coins, is also a possible reading. The word *Yavanaraja* could also possibly be read differently, and has been suggested to represent an (unknown) Saka king. Thanks to Mark Passehl for this suggestion.

61 One of the last rulers, Apollonophanes, again issued helmeted portraits, in inferior style. Senior (personal correspondence) once saw an unpublished drachm of the late king Dionysios.

62 Senior (2006, xxxvi). Telephos seems to have been a successor of Maues; his types are however unique, and he is difficult to date. His name was Greek - but Telephos was a mythological character (a son of Heracles) and such names were unusual among ethnic Greeks. This could indicate a non-Greek origin. (Cf. Erato, named after one of the Muses, a name borne by a Hellenised Armenian queen. Perhaps this is also relevant for Kalliope, the queen of Hermaios, though she could have been named after a city in Parthia (Tarn, 1951, p. 246)). Even Artemidoros' name hints at a non-Greek ethnicity; hellenised Babylonians have been known to assume translated Greek theophoric names. Artemis equalled the Iranian deity Nanaia, and a Babylonian in 110 BC called himself Artemidoros and Minnanaios. BaM 1 (1960) 104-114, as recorded by C. Meier. Another singular royal Indo-Greek name is Heliokles ("Sun-glory"), which seems to be unattested west of Bactria, and perhaps was a translation of an eastern Iranian name. Linguist Agnes Korn (Kushana Yahoo Group) tentatively suggested "Mihr-farn" as the original name.

58 The coins of Straton I may in fact have belonged to two separate rulers: Straton Soter Dikaios (Agathokleia's son) and Straton Epiphanes Soter. See Jakobsson (2007b).

59 The Rohtak hoard (IGCH 1855) was unearthed 60 km west of New Delhi. While never properly catalogued, it was "much on the lines of the Sonipat hoard". Two Amyntas drachms were registered.

60 Strabo, *Geography* 11.11.1, singles out Demetrios I and Menander I as the main conquerors in India. As Menander was a later ruler who was based in the western Punjab already at the outset of his reign, it seems likely that the easternmost conquests were his share. No coins of Demetrios I have surfaced this far east. Narain (1957, pp. 49-50) discusses the Hathigumpha

Rajuvula perhaps c. 1 AD.⁶³ (See figs. 2 & 4).

With the eastern Punjab secured, Apollodotos II reconquered Taxila, even though we do not know whether he defeated Maues or succeeded him peacefully. Apollodotos now issued western coins in better style, and assumed the third title, *Megas*, “Great King”.⁶⁴ A joint coin with another Saka king (his name is illegible) indicates support from some Sakas⁶⁵, and Apollodotos’ strong position was presumably due to his personal connections. His territories were fragmented upon his death, and his relative, Zoilos II, only succeeded to him in the eastern Punjab, while, west of Taxila, another king, Hippistratos Soter Megas, had probably been a late contemporary (perhaps 65-55 BC) of Apollodotos II, and may have absorbed Apollodotos’ western territories for a while. He used reverses of a horseman or Tyche, and his dynastic connections are unknown. Hippistratos issued a substantial coinage that nevertheless was artistically inferior to the earlier coins.⁶⁶ When Hippistratos was overthrown, presumably by the Saka king, Azes, the concept of the major *Yavana* kingdom in India was finally laid to rest.

5. A late Indo-Greek joint kingship?

As previously mentioned, the copper and lead coinage of the last Indo-Greek rulers consisted of several small, variable series, indicating that such coins were issued continuously when the demand arose. But an observation by Senior drew my attention to a sequence of four late Indo-Greek rulers known only from drachms. Perhaps, this was a deliberate policy, as even the most ephemeral of the successors of Menander I struck some bronzes.

The four kings were:

- 1) Bhadrayasha. This ruler, with a native Indian name⁶⁷, added his own name on the reverse (Kharosthi) legend of coins with the portrait and obverse legend of the young Zoilos III.
- 2) Apolophanes, an elderly ruler, with a Greek name.
- 3) Straton Soter Dikaios (perhaps not a separate king)⁶⁸
- 4) Straton Philopator, who appeared on joint silver coins with his father, Straton II.

Possibly, these kings were active as army commanders (“magistri militum”, to borrow a Roman term) issuing only silver as payment for the last Indo-Greek troops. In that case, their rules overlapped with the last “main kings”, Zoilos III and Straton II, who also supplied the civilian society with petty coins⁶⁹. In a fragmented and weak kingdom, the personal presence of a ruler may have been important. The last Seleucid rulers sometimes co-operated (cf the twins Antiochus XI and Philip I, see Bellinger (1949) or controlled separate, isolated territories (such as Antioch and Damascus, see above). The last fragmented Byzantine territories were similarly divided between the emperor Constantine XI and his brothers.

63 Senior has published numerous updates on the coinage of these last Indo-Greek kings in the JONS. The continuity of motifs and monograms, and the gradual debasement of the silver, give the image of a small, impoverished, but relatively stable kingdom. Apollodotos II was succeeded by Zoilos II, and later by Dionysios and Zoilos III, son of Zoilos II (Jakobsson, 2010). For the last rulers, see below. Senior has suggested that Apollodotos II and his successors were Sakas, but I disagree with this; they present a strong dynastic continuity and are likely to have belonged to Menander’s dynastic group. This does of course not exclude marriage alliances with Sakas.

64 Originally an Achaemenid title, scarcely used by Hellenistic rulers.
65 Senior (2006, xxxix). As the Saka king’s side was an original design, this coin was no mule; but it was possibly issued after Apollodotos’ death.

66 This deterioration of style is paralleled on the posthumous Hermaios coins in the Paropamisadae, at the same period. See Ill. 5.

67 Thanks to Shailen Bhandare for clarifying this.

68 Senior (2013, 19) suggested that the drachms of Strato Soter Dikaios were earlier than the regular coinage of Strato II Soter. It is uncertain whether these coins belong to the same king, with an additional epithet that may have been omitted on bronzes.

69 The drachms of these kings share the monogram BNBact 212. Possibly, the mule between Apollodotos II and a Saka ruler (see note 13), may represent a similar cooperation.

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Thanks to Mark Passehl. Illustrations courtesy of Classical Numismatic Group, cngcoins.com.

Tables & Illustrations

Table 1. *The Sonipat Hoard (IGCH 1854). 882 Indian drachms.*⁷⁰

<i>Early kings</i> (c.180-130 BC)	<i>“Western” kings</i> (c. 130-80 BC)	<i>“Eastern” kings</i> (c.110-80 BC)
Apollodotos I 26	Lysias 19	Strato I 19
Antimachos II 64	Antialkidas 79	Heliokles II 30
Menander I 564	Philoxenos 21	
	Diomedes 12	

⁷⁰ The absence of early western kings, the Indian issues of Eukratides I and Zoilos I, who was a contemporary of Menander I, is not surprising even in such a huge hoard. They ruled *before* the beginning of the collapse of Indo-Greek central power; their coins were inhibited by the intact western border of Menander’s realm, and, with few exceptions, they were not found in the east. Apart from Eukratides and Zoilos, the only king of some importance who is missing is Archebios, perhaps a contemporary of Amyntas. Maues is also missing, indicating either that he was later, or there were similar obstacles to the circulation of his coins. ISCH lists the Apollodotos coins as “I or II”, but this is apparently based on Narain’s (1957) suggestion that there may have been just one king by that name, a theory that Narain later abandoned and which is now obsolete.

	Hermaios 44	
	Amyntas 5	

All the coin illustrations are enlarged



Fig. 1: Tetradrachm of Amyntas Nikator, spear-throwing portrait, reverse of enthroned Zeus holding Athena. Triton XIII, Lot: 26. Bopearachchi (1991) Series 10B.



Fig. 2: Drachm of Apollodotos II Soter kai Philopator, Eastern Punjab mint, in crude style. Electronic auction 261, lot 17. Bopearachchi (1998) coins 1544-56.



Fig. 3: Tetradrachm of Apollodotos II Megas Soter kai Philopator, Taxila mint, in good style. Electronic auction 304, lot 192. Bopearachchi (1998) coin 1570.



Fig. 4: Debased drachm of Strato II Soter, c.25 BC - 1 AD. Eastern Punjab mint, in crude style. CNG 73, Lot: 54. Bopearachchi (1998) coins 1721-2.



Fig. 5: Tetradrachm of Hermaios Soter (posthumous). Paropamisadae mint, perhaps 70s BC, in cruder style than the

lifetime issues. Electronic Auction 297, Lot: 124.Bopearachchi 1998, coin 1361.

A NEW AULIKARA GOLD SEAL

By Devendra Handa*



Fig. 1

On 7 June 2015, Dr S.K. Bhatt (Director, Academy of Indian Numismatics & Sigillography, Indore) kindly referred to me and passed on the available details and four scans of a gold seal which some denizen of Mandsaur (Mandasor) brought to him for identification some time back (Fig. 1). Mandsaur is a well known archaeological site which was the capital of the Aulikara rulers during the fourth and fifth centuries. A Mandsaur inscription of the Krita (Malava) Era 461 (= AD 404) belonging to the local ruler Naravarmman mentions Simhavarmman as his father and Jayavarmman as his grandfather. Since Naravarmman is known from inscriptions to have ruled from AD 404 to 417, his grandfather, Jayavarmman, may have started ruling over some territory in northwest Malwa sometime during the latter half of the fourth century AD. Naravarmman's son and successor, Visvavarmman, is mentioned in the Gangdhar stone inscription dated Malava year 480 (= AD 423) when he was ruling. Visvavarmman's successor was Bandhuvarmman known from a Mandsaur stone inscription of Malava Samvat 493 (= AD 436) which also mentions his overlord, Kumaragupta I of the imperial Gupta dynasty. We thus have a complete genealogy of the Aulikara rulers from inscriptions found at Mandsaur: Jayavarmman, Simhavarmman, Naravarmman, Visvavarmman and Bandhuvarmman. The later history of the Aulikaras is not very clear and from the Chhoti Sadri (MS 547) and Risthal (MS 572) inscriptions we get the names of some rulers who may have belonged to a collateral branch of the family. Their generally vardhana-ending names differed from the varmman-ending names of the main dynasty. Prakasadharmman, who issued the Risthal Inscription in MS 572 is also known from two glass seals from Mandsaur. His son and successor, Yasodharman-Vishnuvardhana,

continued to rule from Dasapura (an old name of Mandsaur) to AD 532 at least.¹

I had identified a copper signet ring of the Aulikara ruler Naravarmman sometime back.² The gold seal under reference is square in shape, about one inch in size and approximately 14.0 g in weight. It does not have any knob to handle it and bears the legend and designs on four rectangular sides of its thickness which is nearly 0.3 of an inch. The legend has been engraved in intaglio or negative letters to give a positive impression (Fig. 2) when stamped. The legend is engraved in two lines and I read it tentatively as following: [Sri?] V(i)sh(nu)va(r)mmasya karyah/[bh]araka/[ra]sya Somavarmma-putrasya [followed probably by a symbol].



Fig. 2: The impression of the legend

The characters belong to the central Indian Gupta Brahmi of circa fifth century AD. The superscript letter (*r*) and vowel marks on some letters of the upper line are not visible. As on the copper seal of Naravarmman and inscriptions of the main dynasty, *m* has been doubled after superscript *r* in the names of Vishnuvarmman and Somavarmman. The language used is pure Sanskrit as we find also in the Aulikara epigraphs. On both sides of the legend portion there are apsidal cuts, made subsequently, which have erased portions of some of the letters. This was done to make a hole for hanging this seal after use. The names, Somavarmman and Vishnuvarmman, use of pure Sanskrit, similar orthography and palaeography leave hardly any doubt to its being the seal of a scion of the Aulikara family of Mandsaur who may have occupied an important executive office of *karyabharakara*(?).

The other three sides of this square seal carry some obscure designs. The designs cannot be explained with certainty but the side ones probably portray hunting scenes. In one of them we see different animals and in the other one an animal, probably a baby elephant, being hunted by an animal-rider assisted by two soldiers. Between these hunting scenes on the sides there seems to be a vase with foliage flanked by laterally placed floral garlands covered with seven-rayed objects on the fourth facet of the seal. A vase with foliage is an auspicious symbol signifying richness, opulence, abundance, plenty, etc. It was popularly used in ancient Indian art. It is difficult to explain satisfactorily as to why different designs were engraved on the four facets of this seal. They may have served some decorative purpose but it is also likely that they had different functions and were used to stamp the documents of different departments under the charge of Vishnuvarmman.

The copper signet ring of king Naravarmman referred to above indicates that the Aulikara economy was in its rudimentary stage during his times but the gold signet seal under discussion betrays much better conditions and a flourishing economy. Mandsaur inscriptions of MS 493 and 529 refers to the construction and renovation of a sun temple by a guild of silk weavers who had migrated to Dasapura from Lata (Gujarat) during the reign of king (*Nripa*) Visvavarmman's son, Bandhuvarmman, in Malava Samvat 493 = AD 436) when the Gupta emperor, Kumaragupta (I), was ruling over the earth encircled by the four oceans (*chatussamudranta-vilola-mekhalam . . . Kumaragupte prithivim prasasti*).³ The migration and settlement of traders took place in a congenial and peaceful environment which must have come into existence after the liberal and progressive reign of Naravarmman and his successors. Vishnuvarmman, son of Somavarmman and the owner of the seal, may have thus been related to and held executive office during the reign of Bandhuvarmman or Visvavarmman in all probability. Throwing significant light on the history and economic conditions of the reign of the Aulikara rulers, this signet seal is of immense importance.

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COINS WITH THE LEGEND 'SAMATATA'

By S. K. Bose

Samatata represents an ancient geographical name denoting Comilla, Noakhali, a portion of Tripura and other regions of undivided Bengal. These first two districts, after partition, became part of Bangladesh⁷¹. Some historians claim that Chattagram, too, was a part of Samatata⁷². Given this wide scope, it is not surprising that controversy exists among historians regarding the exact location of Samatata⁷³. According to Radhagovinda Basak, Samatata comprised erstwhile Barishal, Faridpur, Dhaka, part of Tripura, Noakhali and Khulna districts of Bengal⁷⁴. The 4th century Allahabad inscription of Samudragupta first mentioned the name of Samatata as a frontier vassel kingdom⁷⁵. Hiuen Tsang, who visited India in the 7th century, mentioned that Shilbhadra, prince of Samatata, was the Principal of the Nalanda Mahāvihara (Nalanda University)⁷⁶. He also mentioned that the country of Sun-mo-ta-ta (Samatata) was famous for its flourishing trade activities.

The rulers of Samatata issued a series of debased gold coins which have been increasingly found in recent years⁷⁷. Nicholas G. Rhodes, with an attempt to prepare a catalogue in 2006, published as many as forty-six such coins of different varieties. Since then, a few more such coins have been noticed by numismatists.

In due course, it became evident that Samatata rulers had not only issued gold coins, but had also experimented with silver coins. The very first such coin was identified by B.N. Mukherjee on 22 February 2002 while examining the coins displayed at an exhibition arranged by the Numismatic Society of Calcutta. It weighed 6.180 g with a diameter of 28 mm⁷⁸ (coin No. 1). It was claimed by the holder of the coin that it was found at Mandai along with 20 silver coins of Harikela. However, the provenance, as mentioned in the article, is doubtful as this author had the opportunity to examine all the coins acquired by him from Mandai in early 1985⁷⁹.

⁷¹ Md. Shahidur Rahman, *Adi Banglar Itihas*, Part I, International Historical Network, Dhaka, 3012, p.250.

⁷² *Ibid.*

⁷³ S.K. Bose, 'Samatata Region, Harikela Coins and Trading Activities', *History-Culture & Coinage of Samatata & Harikela*, Vol. I (Compiled by J. Acharjee), Raj-Kusum Prakashani, Agartala, 2006, p.45.

⁷⁴ R.G. Basak, 'Samatater rajdhani', *Bangiya Sahitya Parishad Journal* (Bengali), 25th year, 6th Issue, Kolkata, 1321 B.S. (1914 AD), p. 466.

⁷⁵ J. F. Fleet, *Inscriptions of the Early Gupta kings and Their Successors*, Indological Book House, Varanasi, 1970 (3rd Edition), p. 8. Also see V. Smith's *The Oxford History of India*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 1982 (reprint), p.166.

⁷⁶ R. D. Banerjee, *Banglar Itihas (History of Bengal in Bengali)*, Part I, Reprint, Gurudas Chattapadhyay Sons, Kolkata, 1321 B.S. (1914 AD), p.115.

⁷⁷ S.K. Bose & Noman Nasir, *Early Coinage of Bengal (c. 2nd Century – 10th Century AD)*, Library of Numismatic Studies (forthcoming), p. 61.

⁷⁸ B.N. Mukherjee & J. Acharjee, 'A Coin with the legend Samatata', *Numismatic Digest*, Vol. 25-26 (2001-2002), IIRNS Publications, Editors: A. Jha & S. Garg, Anjaneri, 2003, pp. 81-83.

⁷⁹ S.K. Bose, 'Mandai Find of Harikela Coins', *Studies in Indian Numismatics (Special Centenary Volume)*, Ed. J.P. Singh & P.N. Singh, Numismatic Society of India, Varanasi, 2009, pp.1-13.

In May 2014, three more such silver coins were noticed (coin nos. 2 to 4) and acquired by Milap Chand Nakhat from Jatanbari, a remote village in South Tripura not far from the Chattagrām district of Bangladesh. Jatanbari is about 96 km from Agartala. The four Samatata coins so far discovered are similar to the Harikela coins from the same region, which were already in circulation. Michael Mitchiner feels that the Samatata silver coins were influenced by the Chandra coins of Arakan, both in design and style⁸⁰. Either these silver coins were struck at the very end of Khadga rule in Samatata or the guilds and traders had become economically powerful enough to strike silver coins in the name of the kingdom with or without the consent of the king.



Coin No. 1 Obverse and reverse (published by B.N. Mukherjee)



Coin No.2 Obverse and reverse



Coin No.3 Obverse and reverse



Coin No.4 Obverse and reverse

The silver coins of Samatata are similar to Harikela pieces, bearing the same devices, but with the legend *Samatata* in Brāhmī characters, instead of “Harikela” on the obverse. Below the inscription is a recumbent bull to the left, with its curved tail. The reverse shows a *Śrīvatsa* in *trisula* form, with garlands hanging

⁸⁰Michael Mitchiner, *The Land of Water Coinage and History of Bangladesh and Later Arakan (Circa 300 BC to the present day)*, Hawkins Publications, London, 2000, p. 58.

from it on each side⁸¹ with representations of the sun and moon above and dots below in a solid semi-circle.

The intended shape of these coins is round. The size varies from 29 mm (coin No. 4) to 33 mm (coin No.2). The diameter of coin No. 3 is 31 mm. Their weight ranges from 5.59 g (coin No. 4) to 7.65 g (coin No.2) and the weight of the other coin is 6.20 g.

Around AD 700, south-east Bengal seems to have been in the grasp of two currency zones. While Samatata had gold coins in circulation, silver metallic coins were the currency in Harikela. But, by AD 800 the gold coinage of Samatata ceased and Harikela silver coins covered the Samatata economic zone⁸². Interestingly, we know that during the period of c.AD 750 to 1250, there was virtually a silver famine in early medieval north India from Afghanistan to Bihar and Kashmir to Malwa⁸³. Surprisingly, such shortages of silver did not affect south-east Bengal. In contrast, the production of silver coins actually increased considerably. Possible reasons may be an uninterrupted supply from Yunnan or the proximity of silver mines in northern Myanmar, which fed the mints in south-east Bengal⁸⁴.

KUTCH, A SILVER TANKA OF RAO SHRI KHENGARJI I SAHIB, RAO OF KUTCH (1548 – 1585).

By Jan Lingen



Fig. 1

Fig. 1 illustrates a silver Tanka on the 72 rati standard, dated AH 959 (8.57 g.) in the name of the Gujarat sultan, Nasir al-Din Mahmud Shah III (AH 944-961/AD 1537-1553). Mint: (Ahmadabad) (ref.: Goron/Goenka G426)

Obv.: “*maḥmūd shāh bin laṭīf shāh al-sultān 959* (AD 1552)” within scalloped circle.

Rev.: “*al-wāthiq billah al-mannān nāṣir al-dunyā wa’l dīn abū’l fath*” (He who trusts in Allah, the most generous, the protector of the world and the faith, father of victory)



Fig. 2

⁸¹B.N. Mukherjee, ‘Harikela and related coinages’, *Journal of Ancient Indian History*, Vol.X, 1976-77, Calcutta University, 1977, p.166.

⁸²Nicholas G. Rhodes, ‘Trade in South-East Bengal in the First Millennium CE’, *Pelagic Passageways The Northern Bay of Bengal Before Colonialism* (Editor- Rila Mukherjee), Primus Books, Delhi, 2011, p. 269.

⁸³John S. Deyell, *Living Without Silver The Monetary History of Early Medieval North India*, Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1990.

⁸⁴I am thankful to Mr. Milap Chand Nakhat of Agartala for his consent to publish the related coins.

Fig. 2 shows a silver coin that for many years shifted in my collection from the trays of Nawanagar to Kutch and 'vice versa', because of the Nagari inscription 'Śrī Jamjī' on the obverse, a common feature on the coins of Nawanagar. Except for the Nagari legend, this tanka of 72 rati standard AH 960 (AD 1553) (8.59 g.) is in all respects identical to the issues of the Gujarat sultan, Nasir al-Din Mahmud Shah III, as shown in fig. 1.

For a correct attribution one needs to dig into the history of both Kutch and Nawanagar.

Kutch is an erstwhile princely state of India. It is the largest district of the state of Gujarat and the second largest district in India, covering an area of 45,612 sq kms. The land is virtually 'an island' resembling a tortoise "Katchua or Kachbo", surrounded by seawater. Kutch was also known as the Kutchdweep or Kutchbet. "The Great Rann of Kutch" dominates a major portion of the district. The Great Rann of Kutch and the Little Rann of Kutch are uninhabitable deserts, which during the monsoon season (June to October) are often completely submerged by floods. The Royal House of Kutch belongs to the Jadeja clan of Rajputs and originally arrived from Sind (Jams of Sind). The family allied itself and intermarried with the Muslim rulers of Gujarat and Afghanistan, as well as the Imperial Mughal dynasty of Delhi. These close relations helped to preserve the state during difficult periods of anarchy, as well as gain wealth, influence and titles. Kutch obtained much of its wealth from its ports and through maritime trade. Kutchi traders were famous in most of the ports of the Indian Ocean. The slave markets in Zanzibar were amongst their more unsavoury sources of income.

This historical research may start with Jam Shri Hamirji Sahib (1525-1537), Jam Sahib of Kutch, son of Jam Shri Bhimji Sahib, who succeeded him on his death in 1525. Hamirji was killed in 1537 by Jam Rawal in retribution for the former's murder of the latter's father, Jam Lakhoji of Terabanu. After this, Kutch experienced an interregnum, ruled by Jam Rawal of Nawanagar from the death of Hamirji in 1537 and the expelling of the Jam Rawal of Nawanagar in 1548 by Khengarji I.

Rao Shri Khengarji I Sahib (1548 – 1585), Rao of Kutch was born at Lakhiyarviyaro in 1496 as second son of Jam Shri Hamirji Sahib, Jam Sahib of Kutch. He fled to Ahmedabad after the murder of his father, Hamirji, in 1537 and there he was granted the protection of the Sultan of Gujarat, after he saved his life while hunting lions. He was raised to the title of Rao and, in 1538, he was granted the state of Morvi as his reward. He waged an eleven-year war to recover his patrimony, and finally succeeded in expelling Jam Rawal of Nawanagar in 1548. He was installed on the gadi at Rapar in 1548. He founded a new capital at Bhuj in 1549, and established the port of Mandvi in 1580. He died at Bhuj in 1585. His sister, Jadeji Rani Shri Kamabai Sahiba, married Sultan Mahmud Shah I [Bhegada] (AH 862/3-917/AD 1458/9-1511), son of Sultan Muhammad Shah II (AH 846-855/AD 1442-1451), Sultan of Gujarat.

Nawanagar owes its status to Jam Shri Rawalji Lakhoji Jadeja (1540-1562), Jam Sahib of Kutch and Nawanagar, elder son of Jam Lakhoji of Terabanu in Kutch, a descendant of the Jadeja ruler of Kutch who murdered his sovereign, Hamirji, and seized the throne. After reigning over Kutch for three years, he incurred the displeasure of Sultan Mahmud Shah III, Sultan of Gujarat. When the latter sent his forces to recover the state for his brother-in-law, Khengarji I, the Jam Rawal fled with a large army and retinue into Kathiawar. There, he seized the territories held by the Chavda, Deda, Jethwa and Wadhel clans and founded the new state of Nawanagar, laying the foundations for his capital in August 1540. Thereafter, the state remained in an almost continuous state of warfare.

At Jam Rawal's death in 1562, Vibhaji Rawalji Jadeja (1562-1569), his younger son, dispossessed the rightful heir and seized the throne. On the death of Vibhaji in 1569, he was succeeded by his eldest son, Jam Shri Sataji [Satra Sal] Vibhaji Jadeja (1569-1593/1608), as Jam Sahib of Nawanagar. He had been appointed Heir Apparent by his father before his death, and extended his domains over several parts of Gujarat.



Fig. 3

Jam Shri Sataji was granted the right to mint coins (koris) by Sultan Muzaffar Shah III of Gujarat (AH 968-980/AD 1560-1573). Sataji supported the Gujarat Sultans against the Mughals, but was defeated by them at the battle of Bhuchar Mori in 1591 (vs1648). Nawanagar (New Town), was captured by the Mughals, renamed Islamnagar and annexed to the imperial domains. Nowadays, Nawanagar is better known as Jamnagar, meaning the town of the Jams. After the battle of Bhuchar Mori, Sataji escaped to the Barda Hills together with his grandson. He lived the life of an outlaw, making raids against the Mughal forces and their allies. When the opportunity arose, he returned to Jamnagar to install his grandson on the throne, but then assumed ruling powers on his behalf. He died at Jamnagar in 1608. His successors attempted to throw off the Mughal yoke several times, but were soundly crushed on various occasions during the seventeenth century.

Judging from the brief history of the period concerned it is obvious that the rulers of both Kutch and Nawanagar were of one and the same clan and both included the clan name in their titles. The matrimonial relations of Kutch with the Sultans of Gujarat were very close and Sultan Mahmud Shah III (AH 944-961/AD 1537-1553) also supported Khengarji I in his efforts to reclaim his patrimony and expel the Jam Rawal of Nawanagar. Moreover he was raised to the title of Rao by Mahmud III.

The Jam Rawal of Nawanagar, on the other hand, once driven away from Kutch remained on an almost continuous war footing. Nevertheless, we also learn that he was granted the right of minting coins by Muzaffar Shah III of Gujarat (AH 968-980/AD 1560-1570). The kori's struck by the Jams of Nawanagar have the frozen Hijri date 978 (1570), which may also be the date the minting privilege was granted by Muzaffar Shah III. (see fig. 3)

It is, therefore, clear that the coin in the name of the Gujarat Sultan Nasir al-Din Mahmud Shah III (AH 944-961/AD 1537-1553) with the Nagari 'Śrī Jamjī' in the exergue cannot, on historical grounds, be attributed to the Jam of Nawanagar and must be assigned to Khengarji I of Kutch.

Similar copper coins bearing the name of 'Mahmud Shah bin Latif Shah', viz.: a dokdo and a dhinglo, are known as well, and listed by Rohit Damji Shah in his catalogue 'Coins of Kutch State'.



Fig. 4

Rao Shri Bharmalji I Sahib (1585-1632) issued a very similar coin in the name of 'Mahmud Shah bin Latif Shah' to that shown in fig. 2, but (posthumously) dated AH 995 (1587) and inscribed 'Śrī Bhārmaljī' in Nagari in the exergue. The few known coins of this type weigh between 5.66 - 5.67 g. and, therefore, equal a half rupee, based on the Mughal standard.

Successive rulers of Kutch, instead of 'Shri Jamji', put their name in Nagari on the coins, presumably to differentiate them from the coinage than produced by the Jam of Nawanagar in the name of Muzaffar Shah III.

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WAS TATTA THE LAST REFUGE OF DIN-I-ILAHİ? – A NUMISMATIC PERSPECTIVE'

By Mahesh A. Kalra

Introduction

Akbar established the Ilahi Era as a part of his eclectic religious order, *Din-i-Ilahi*, at the beginning of the thirtieth year of his reign on 8 Rabi-ul Awwal AH 992, corresponding to 10 March 1584. He introduced the era based on a solar calendar, an exercise towards syncretism between his faith and the faith of his subjects naming the era 'Ilahi' as opposed to the self-laudatory 'Akbari' or 'Jalali', and thus dedicating it to the Almighty.¹ Thus, the Ilahi year commenced with the first month of Farwardin according to the Persian calendar along with the Nauroz celebrations with plenty of pomp. This was denounced by the orthodox Ulema as a heretical act by the emperor as evidenced by Badauni's testimony in his work² which describes the faith as *Tauhid-i-Ilahi* in his work, *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, a candid critique of Akbar's reign in the following words:

"At this time the thirtieth year from the accession, and the Nowroz-i-Sultani which corresponds with the Nowroz-i-jalali arrived. On the eighth of the month Rabi-ul-awwal of the year nine hundred and ninety-two (992) the entrance of the Sun into Aries took place. And the customary fancy bazaar and festival was held, and a great concourse came together, and new-fangled customs came into vogue, and beards were sent flying. And bells—brazen bulls, like the calf of Samari—were played, and made a great noise. And they sacrificed their wealth, and life, reputation, and religion to their friendship for the Emperor. And so many holy souls rushed upon this trial, that they cannot be numbered. And sets of twelve persons, by turns, and in exactly the same way, became disciples, and conformed to the same creed and religion. And instead of the tree-of-discipleship he gave them a likeness; they looked on it as the standard of loyal friendship, and the advance-guard of righteousness, and happiness, and they put it wrapped up in a jewelled case on the top of their turbans. And Allah Akbar was used by them in the prefaces of their writings."

Badauni further elaborates the use of the Ilahi Era on Akbar's coin in his 37th regnal year, corresponding to the 1000th year of the Hijri Era, believed by many, including Akbar, to herald the arrival of a new messiah in the following words:

"On the fifth of Jamad'as-sani of the year one thousand the Sun entered Aries, and the beginning of the thirty-seventh year from the Accession took place, and they diligently shaved their beards [apparently one of the many new customs of Din-i-Ilahi] and this hemistich was found to give the date:—

"They used to say that: *ever so many scoundrels have given their beards to the wind.*"

The rules and customs and observances on the occasion were the same as usual, with the addition of some new ones on the old lines. Of them are the following. The *Dirhams* and *Dinars* which had been coined with the stamps of former emperors were to be melted down and sold for their value in gold and silver, and no trace of them was to be left of them in the world. And all sorts of *Ashrafi*s and *Rupees*, on which there was his own royal stamps whether old or new, should all be set in circulation, and no difference of years was to be regarded. And Qulij Khan, being very diligent, every day sought at the bankers, and took bonds from them and inflicted fines on them, and many were put to death with various tortures. But for

all that they would not desist from uttering counterfeit coins. The emperor wrote and sent *farmans* into the uttermost parts of his dominions, containing stringent orders with regard to this matter. But it had no effect. At last by the care of Khwajah Shams-ud-din, the Chief *Diwan*, that command was really put in force."³

Jahangir used the Ilahi era alongside the Hijri era as the official calendar, using the former to date his regnal years along with the term *Julus* and the latter as the official date on his coins. He also relished the celebration of the Nauroz with great pomp and celebration, thus displaying an ambivalent attitude to the whole issue from the religious angle like his illustrious father.⁴ His successor, Shah Jahan, however, abolished the use of the Ilahi year in all his official communications and records of his reign in favour of the Hijri Era to win the approbation of the Ulema, according to all official chroniclers from his reign to Aurangzeb's reign.

"The ostentatious use of the Divine Era instituted by Akbar ceased so far as the record of the months on the coinage was concerned a few years after Shah Jahan's accession, except in one or two outlying places, though the practical use of a calendar of solar months led to their continued use (but not invariably) for fiscal purposes."⁵

However, we find the use of Ilahi months as markers of the date on Shah Jahan's coinage in contravention to this trend. The continuation of using Ilahi months on the coinage of Shah Jahan along with the use of the solar calendar to record the regnal years of the first part of his reign was the subject of an intensive study by Prof. H. S. Hodivala, the savant of Mughal numismatics, in the compilation of his articles on Mughal coinage.⁶ However, the venerable scholar did not chart the various mints issuing this coinage with details of dates and months from surviving specimens of these coins in the collections of various museums. The current study attempts to map the various mints which issued the Ilahi coinage with the listing of various coin specimens in various published catalogues.

The study of various published catalogues of Indian Museums is a useful way firstly to determine the various mints that issued coins during Shah Jahan's reign with the name of the Ilahi month in which they were issued and, secondly, to establish the period during which each mint continued to issue coinage with this special feature until the practice was abandoned to conform to Shah Jahan's imposition of the orthodox Hijra era. The various collections studied for this study by the researcher include the published catalogues of the Central Museum, Nagpur⁷, the Indian Museum, Calcutta⁸, the Panjab Museum, Lahore⁹, the Provincial Museum, Lucknow¹⁰, and the Provincial Coin Cabinet of Assam.¹¹

The Catalogue of the Central Museum, Nagpur lists the following mints which issued the Ilahi coinage of Shah Jahan: Ahmadabad, Akbarabad (Agra with mint epithet *Dar-ul-Khilafat*), Akbarnagar (Rajmahal), Allahabad, Burhanpur, Delhi, Jahangirnagar (Dacca), Katak (Cuttack), Lahore, Multan, Patna, Qandahar and Tatta (Thatta, Sindh). The Catalogue of the Indian Museum, Calcutta adds Ahmadnagar (AR Rupee issued in AH 1041 Shahrewar) and Zafarnagar which H. Nelson Wright located near Ahmadnagar. The Catalogue of the Punjab Museum, Lahore lists a rare gold mohur from the Surat Mint (issued in Shah Jahan's 5th regnal year in the Ilahi month of Isfandarmuz) along with silver rupees from Bhakkar (Sindh) and Kashmir. The Provincial Lucknow Museum also lists a rare silver rupee from Ajmer issued in AH 1041 in the Ilahi month of Aban. The mints and regnal year ranges thus noted are listed below.

Mint	Regnal Year range
Ahmadabad	RY 1 to RY 6
Ahmadnagar	RY?*
Ajmer	RY 5?
Akbarabad (Agra)	RY 1 to RY 2
Akbarnagar (Rajmahal)	RY 2 to RY 7

Allahabad (Illahabas)	RY 2 to RY 5
Bhakkar/Bakkar	RY 4 to RY 7
Burhanpur	RY 1 to RY 3
Dehli	RY 2? to RY 3
Jahangirnagar (Dacca)	RY 2 to RY 6
Katak (Cuttack)	RY1, RY 3 & RY 5
Kashmir	RY?*
Lahore	RY 2 to RY 3
Multan	RY 2 to RY 3
Patna	RY 2 to RY 5
Qandahar	RY 11?
Surat	RY 5
Tatta	RY 2 to RY 33
Zafarnagar	RY 3 & RY 5

*RY not mentioned

What this list shows is that Tatta, in Sind, was exceptional in issuing coins with Ilahi months and regnal years throughout Shah Jahan's reign. Some other mints struck such coins up to years 5, 6, or 7, whilst yet others ceased such issues after year 3. It is interesting to note that the mints involved were generally distant or very distant from the capital, Agra.



Tatta rupee of Shah Jahan I, dated AH 1037, regnal year 2, Ilahi month of Tir



Tatta rupee of Shah Jahan I, dated AH 1042, regnal year 5, Ilahi month of Shahrewar



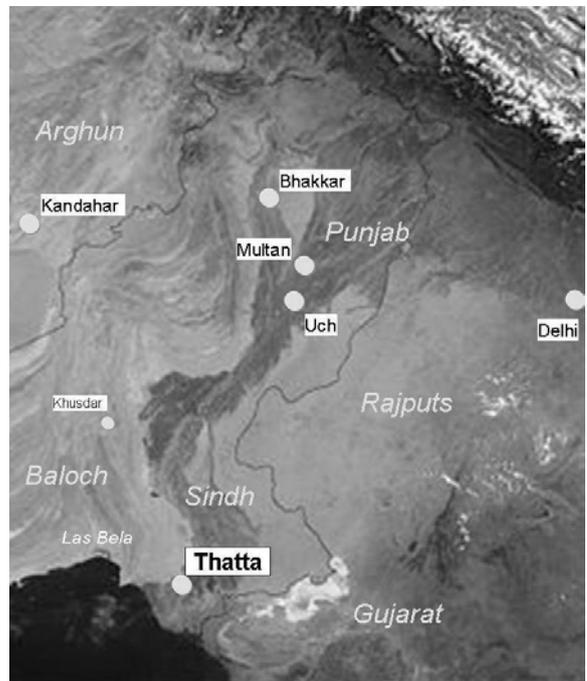
Tatta rupee of Shah Jahan I, dated AH 1048, regnal year 12, Ilahi month of Farwardin



Tatta rupee of Shah Jahan I, dated AH 1068, regnal year 31, Ilahi month partly visible

Tatta mint's unique place in the Ilahi coinage which has been discussed to some extent in the past.^{12, 13} De Shazo's 2003 study in fact focused on the issues of Tatta mint for the disconnect in keeping the date of Shah Jahan in the Ilahi Calendar along with the Hijri dates.¹⁴

Tatta, 24°44'46.02"N 67°55'27.61"E (Thatta, Sindhi ~ *Thatto* or *Nagar Thatto*) situated about 7 miles west of the right bank of the Indus river and 62 miles east of Karachi, was the capital city of Lower Sind from the fourteenth century under the Samma dynasty of Sind. Akbar captured Tatta along with the rest of Sindh in 1592. He reinstated the local ruler, Mirza Jani Beg, as the Subedar of Tatta for a brief period before shifting him out of the region, which was an imperial policy under Akbar to prevent the formation of local power centres.^{15,16} Tatta had long been an important commercial centre of the western part of the Indian Ocean. The city, connected by sea lanes with ports of Gujarat, the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea, joined the maritime world to overland caravan routes leading, via Khuzdar, Kalat and Quetta, to Qandahar and then further west and north to the Near East and Central Asia. Another frequented route followed the course of the Indus, itself an important waterway with busy traffic, up to Mithankot and then turned along the Chinab and Ravi to Multan and Lahore.



Map showing location of Tatta (Thatta)

However, the presence of a differently dated coinage at Tatta which 'defied' imperial orders during Shah Jahan's entire reign raises some pertinent historical questions. Why was Tatta mint using Ilahi calendar dates when this had ceased at other imperial mints by the 7th regnal year? Was the use of the solar year considered more exact for collection of revenue at the time of harvest and hence used by local officials?¹⁷ Was Tatta too remote for the emperor's direct influence?

This last questions would seem to be negated by the list of imperial officials directly deputed to the area by the Mughal

Emperors from Akbar to Shah Jahan, as documented by Athar Ali in his magnum opus, *The Apparatus of Empire*, which also lists Khurram (Shah Jahan's pre-accession name) in the list of imperial appointees as the Subedar of Tatta in AD 1606-07.¹⁸ Khurram's rival in the pre-accession war, Prince Shahryar, appears as the Subedar of Tatta in the years, AD 1624-25¹⁹ and the last year of Jahangir's reign, AD 1627, which may have been at the behest of the Empress Nur Jahan to keep her favoured prince near the power centre of Lahore.²⁰ During his reign, Shah Jahan is said to have visited Tatta and had an eponymous mosque constructed in AD 1644-47 which he dedicated to the people of Tatta for their hospitality. The Jama Mosque, constructed at a huge cost, was made with blue-coloured glazed tiles especially brought from the neighbouring town of Haala in Sindh.^{21, 22}

Thus, the defiance theory is totally ruled out in view of the direct influence and involvement of direct imperial appointees in the day-to-day administration of the province. However, another theory which could explain the dates is the survival of a local branch of Din-i-Ilahi which thrived in Tatta in view of its syncretic practices which would have appealed to its largely Hindu populace. This is hinted at by Badauni, who records the acceptance of Din-i-Ilahi by Mirza Jani Beg after the capture of Sind in order to win Akbar's favour in the following words:

"Ten or twelve years later things had come to such a pass, that abandoned wretches, such as Mirzá Jání, Governor of Tattah, and other apostates, wrote their confession to the following effect—this is the form—'I who am so and so, son of so and so, do voluntarily, and with sincere predilection and inclination, utterly and entirely renounce and repudiate the religion of Islám, which I have seen and heard of my fathers, and do embrace the "Divine Religion" of Akbar Sháh, and do accept the four grades of entire devotion, viz., sacrifice of Property, Life, Honour, and Religion.' And these lines—than which there could be no better passport to damnation—were handed over to the *Mujtahid* (Emperor Akbar himself) of the new religion, and became the source of confidence and promotion. Well-nigh did the heavens burst asunder thereat, and the earth gape, and the hills crumble!"²³

Thus, Mirza Jani Beg was definitely enrolled as a disciple of Din-i-Ilahi among other elite disciples mostly out of political exigency.²⁴ However, the practices of the Din-i-Ilahi could have possibly appealed to a communally sensitive trade region like Sind which, though abhorrent to an orthodox man like Badauni, must have brought peace to the newly captured province.

"Another thing was the prohibition to eat beef. The origin of this embargo was this, that from his tender years onwards the Emperor had been much in company with rascally Hindús, and thence a reverence for the cow (which in their opinion is the cause of the stability of the world) became firmly fixed in his mind. Moreover he had introduced a whole host of the daughters of eminent Hindú Rájás into his *haram*, and they had influenced his mind against the eating of beef and garlic and onions, and association with people who wore beards—and such things he then avoided and still does avoid. And these customs and heretical practices he introduced *pur et simple* into his assemblies, and still retains them. And in order to gain their love and good will and that of their castes, he abstained entirely from everything which was a natural abhorrence to these people."²⁵

This, however, may remain one of the hypotheses till more research into the primary texts relating to the socio-religious atmosphere prevalent in Sind during the reign of Shah Jahan is conducted. It would then help us shed more light on this complex issue of the Tatta mint in a period of re-introduction of orthodox practices by Shah Jahan in direct contravention to his predecessors' policy of *laissez-faire* in religious matters, which set the ground for extreme religious interference by the State under his successor, Aurangzeb. This latter altogether banned the un-Islamic practice of celebrating Nauroz from his second coronation in 1659 and shifted the festivities to the Islamic month of Ramazan.²⁶

I wish to state that this is a preliminary hypothesis about the topic. I also wish to thank the Editor, for allotting me space to put this theory forward. Jan Lingen for the images and Dr Shailen Bhandare for ideas on how to carry the research forward. I should like to invite readers to correspond with me about their views on this subject as well as share with me images of their Tatta issues of Shah Jahan on [REDACTED]

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SURAT LEAD PICE

By Jan Lingen

Many old books which are now out of copyright have been digitised by 'Google', which is a great advantage for research. For those less familiar with search options, DVD's have been prepared with selections of books on a particular subject. Such a DVD was compiled on books on Asian numismatics.

One publication which attracted my attention was: "Verhandelingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap der Konsten en Weetenschappen, MDCCLXXXVI." (Papers of the Batavian Society of Arts and Science, 1786). Vol. VI deals with the 'Coins, Measurements and Weights of Dutch India'. Dutch India included not only present-day Indonesia, but all other parts of Asia where the Dutch had possessions, like Malacca, Ceylon and India. Such old publications may still contain interesting information, such as the mention of lead Surat pice.

<p>VI VERHANDELING DER MUNTEN, MAATEN EN GEWICHTEN VAN NEERLANDSCH INDIA</p>

<p><i>Amandelen</i>, ook Pedans genaamt, gaan op Souratte 60 op een koperen, en 40 op een looden Peis. <i>Peys</i>, loode Souratsche, gaan 68 min of meer op een Ropy, en doen ieder 40 Amandelen. Te Bombay, en by de Portugeezen, die ze Boeseroeks noemen, gaan 80 op een Ropy.</p>
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<p>VI PAPER ON THE COINS, MEASUREMENTS AND WEIGHTS OF DUTCH INDIA</p>
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<p><i>Almonds</i>, also called 'Pedans', go at Surat for 60 to a copper and 40 to a lead pice. More or less 68 lead pice of Surat are equal to a rupee and go for 40 almonds each. At Bombay, and also by the Portuguese, who call them bazaruccos, they exchange for 80 to a rupee.</p>
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In a footnote of the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol. XXII (1908), p.254, I came across another reference to such coins:

"The late Pandit Bhagvanlal Indrajī, in his article on "Antiquarian Remains at Sopārā and Padana," contributed to the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. XV, No. XL, tells of his obtaining at Sopārā about ten coins of white metal, all of them square, and all bearing the legend of Shāh Jahān. He adds (p.279), "I believe these coins were perhaps struck at Sopārā to replace the Portuguese white metal coins, which were current in this part of the country. I may mention that, except here, I have never found a white metal Moghul coin." Now Sopārā is otherwise unknown as a mint town, and it is extremely improbable that at this long since decayed emporium of trade a mint should have been opened by the Mughals solely for the production of white metal coins.

Through the generosity of my kind friend Mr. Frāmjī Jāmaspji Thānāwālā four of these tutenag coins are now in my possession, and though on none of them can the place of mintage be deciphered, still the coins themselves resemble so closely the square rupee mentioned as type F that I incline to assign both to one and the same mint. But the rupee distinctly bears the name of its mint-town Sūrat, and hence we may with probability infer that it was from Surat these rare tutenag coins were issued."

Tavernier mentions the use of bitter almonds in Gujarat. "As far as small cash is concerned, they do not want cowries, but they use small almonds which are imported from Ormuz, where they grow in the wilderness of the Kingdom of Lar.

(Text from the Dutch edition of Tavernier 1682: Wat de kleine munt aangaat / zij willen geen van de schulpen: maar ze hebben van deze kleine Amadelen / de welken van omtrent Ormuz komen / en in de wildernissen van 't Koninkrijk Lar wassen.)

To recapitulate, at Surat:

60 almonds = AE pice
40 almonds = Pb pice
~68 Pb pice = AR rupee

And, at Bombay:

80 Pb pice (bazaruccos) = AR rupee. This exchange rate of 80 pice to one rupee was used by the British East India Company from 1733 to 1773 after which date the minting of tutenag pice was stopped (Pridmore, p.117-122).

During the reign of D. João V (1706-1750) and D. José I (1750-1777) we see an increase in the production of tutenag bazarucos by the Portuguese at the mints of Goa, Bassein, Daman, Diu and Chaul. It is, therefore, reasonable to assume that the lead pice of Surat referred to in the Dutch *Paper on the Coins, Measurements and Weights of Dutch India* were produced about the middle of the 18th century. This is also confirmed by the exchange rate at Bombay.

From the above documentation it is clear that a lead pice or bazaruco was current at Surat and Pandit Bhagvanlal Indrajī gives us so far the only description of how these may have looked.

Many collectors of Mughal coins have regularly come across certain cast Mughal lead/tutenag coins, usually regarding them as counterfeits. However to be counterfeits, much more care would have had to be taken in their production. The coins as described by Pandit Bhagvanlal Indrajī clearly show a casting rim on the edge, as do the bazarucos of the British and the Portuguese.

There follow some examples of such lead/tutenag bazarucos:



Fig. 1
Weight 9.55 g.
Obv.: Kalima

Rev.: *shāh jahān bādshāh ghāzī*



Fig. 2
Weight: 9.40 g.
As fig. 1



Fig. 3
Weight: 10.03 g.
Obv.: Kalima

Rev.: *jalāl al-dīn muḥammad akbar bādshāh ghāzī*



Fig. 4
Weight: 10.65 g.
Obv.: *jal-jallā-lah allāhu akbar*
Rev.: *zarb lāhor - ābān ilahī 4x*

The coins in figs. 1 and 2 accord perfectly with Pandit Bhagvanlal Indrajī's description. The coin illustrated in fig. 3 is in the name of Akbar, but in all other aspects similar. The coin in fig.4, however, does not fit Pandit Bhagvanlal Indrajī's description, but it is of similar cast fabric and metal and may, therefore, belong to the same series of cast Mughal style bazarucos of lead/tutanag alloy.

It is, therefore, reasonable to assume, on the basis of the Dutch records and the article by Pandit Bhagvanlal Indrajī, that the cast lead/tutanag coins of Mughal style were produced as bazarucos either in Surat or in its neighbourhood. From the exchange rate provided, they may have been produced around the middle of the 18th century.

In personal correspondence with Paul Stevens he mentioned that the British records are silent about such lead pice produced at Surat and it is, therefore, quite possible that they were privately produced at a neighbouring place to meet a local demand for small change.

THE GANAPATI-PANTPRADHAN COINS OF MIRAJ

By Mohit Kapoor



The Ganapati-Pantpradhan Coins of Miraj are noted with the RY27 and the AH year as 122x. Till date no specimen has come to light which has featured all 4 digits of the AH date clearly. Maheshwari & Wiggins in their book, *Maratha Mints and Coinage* (IIRNS, Nasik, 1989, p.69, T2), mentioned the possibility of a special occasion for which these coins were minted. Also the fact that these coins differ from the regular coinage of Miraj which featured only the Nagari letter *Ga* (presumably for their patron deity, Ganapati) indicates that this, indeed, was a special issue. To ascertain the reason for striking such a coin it would be worthwhile to outline a brief history of the Patwardhan family.

The forefathers of the Rajas of Miraj and Sangli, the Patwardhan Sardars, made their names in the campaigns that the Peshwas led against Haider Ali and Tipu Sultan of Mysore. In AD 1759 Gopalrao Patwardhan distinguished himself in certain operations against the Nawab of Savanur, half of whose territory was surrendered to the Peshwa, who subsequently gave a part of it as jagir to the Patwardhans.

It was during the reign of the Peshwa, Madhavrao Ballal, that the fortunes of the Patwardhans reached their zenith. In 1761 the fort of Miraj along with some *thānās* was assigned to Govindrao Patwardhan by the Peshwa for the maintenance of troops. Govindrao Patwardhan established his capital at Miraj and resided there until his death on 21 November 1771. He had four sons: Gopalrao, Wamanrao, Pandurangrao and Gangadharrao. His *jagir* was inherited by Wamanrao, as his eldest son Gopalrao had died in battle on 17 January 1771, prior to his own death. Wamanrao also died young, on 2 October 1775, and Pandurangrao succeeded him.

When the First Anglo-Maratha War broke out, Pandurangrao's cousin, Parashuram Bhau, a general in the Marathi army, gained great distinction among the Peshwa's generals for successful ventures against the British. Pandurangrao was less successful and was captured during a battle against the forces of Haider Ali. He died in prison on 4 November 1777.

Pandurangrao's eldest son, Hariharrao, at that time a minor, succeeded to the *jagir*, with his uncle, Parashuram Bhau, as the appointed regent. Towards the end of his tenure as the regent, Parashuram Bhau replaced Harihar Rao with his younger brother, Chintamanrao, in 1782. Since Chintamanrao Patwardhan, too, was a minor, his uncle, Gangadharrao Patwardhan, was appointed as his guardian and also the regent of Miraj. In accordance with the proverbial policy of a paternal uncle, Gangadharrao Patwardhan appropriated a considerable portion of his ward's property.

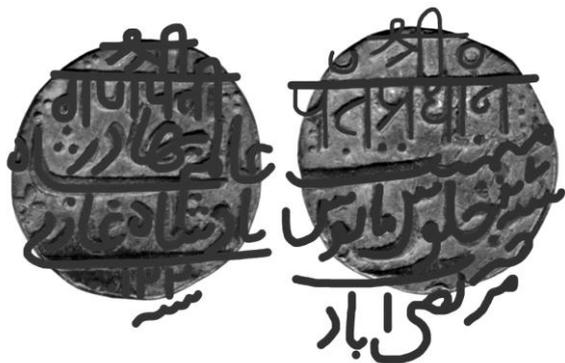
Chintamanrao was involved in a series of campaigns against the Raja of Kolhapur and Tipu Sultan. This led to his absence from the affairs at Miraj for large periods of time. It was during the final Anglo-Mysore War in 1799, when Chintamanrao was presumed killed in battle, that his uncle, Gangadharrao, took the Miraj throne.

When Chintamanrao returned, the throne was not returned to him. This resulted in a civil war in which Gangadharrao lost everything except the fort of Miraj. Chintamanrao acted with such vigour that Gangadharrao had to shut himself up in the fort, where he would have been besieged and executed had not the other members of the family interposed and persuaded the uncle and

nephew to agree to an amicable division. They were advised to approach Peshwa Baji Rao at Pune so as to get formal sanction of the territories.

In 1808, Gangadharrao offered a *Nazarana* to the Peshwa and secured his sanction to the Miraj division, thereby exempting him from feudal allegiance to Chintamanrao. Hence Gangadharrao Patwardhan became the ruler of Miraj.

Returning now to the Ganapati-Pantpradhan issue, if we were to relate RY27 on the coin to the 27th year of Shah Alam II's reign then the year would be AD 1786 (ah 1200), which does not coincide with the digits seen on the coin 122x when reckoned in AH. Moreover, there was no significant event as such in the history of Miraj at that time, so we can conclude that the RY seen on the coin is not that of Shah Alam II.



Now AD 1808, when Peshwa Baji Rao sanctioned the allocation of Miraj to Gangadharrao Patwardhan, would be the 27th year from 1782, which is when Gangadharrao was declared regent. AD 1808 would be AH 1224, which could be the year on the coin. And since Peshwa Baji Rao appointed Gangadharrao as the sovereign ruler of Miraj it would be more than appropriate to strike a special coin with Pantpradhan inscribed on it.

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FANTASIES AND FORGERIES OF QUARTER AND HALF SICHUAN RUPEES, STRUCK IN GOLD

By Wolfgang Bertsch

Sichuan Rupees were struck in huge numbers by Chinese authorities in Chengdu and Kangding between 1902 and 1942 (Gabrisch, 1990, p. 34). Minted for circulation in Eastern Tibet, they were struck in imitation of British Indian rupees with the portrait of Queen Victoria. On the obverse, Victoria's portrait facing left was replaced by what is considered to be a portrait of Emperor Guang Xu. Half and quarter Sichuan Rupees in silver were only struck in small numbers in Chengdu. A few issues of whole, half and quarter Sichuan Rupees were struck in gold.

Nearly all types of the genuine gold issues were included in the collection of the late North-American collector, Wesley Halpert, and were sold in auction by Spink New York in December 2000 (lots 200 to 204; these coins are recorded, but not illustrated in KM; the "big head" type rupee was unrecorded at the time of the New York sale). All these coins are extremely rare, the gold issue of the big head type full rupee perhaps being unique.

In this note I want to discuss the half and quarter rupees struck in gold as well as the fantasies and forgeries which are related to them.

Genuine examples in gold of the quarter and half Sichuan rupees were struck from dies which are also known from corresponding silver strikes. Genuine examples of both denominations, struck in gold, were in the collection of Wesley Halpert and are now in the collection of the late Alexander Lissanevitch (figs. 1 and 2, below).

Edward Kann was perhaps the first numismatist to identify a gold striking of the quarter Sichuan rupee as a fantasy (Kann, B91). Subsequently, Nicholas Rhodes catalogued an example of these fantasies from the Gabrisch collection (fig. 4, below). He described it as "Fantasy: ¼-Rupee struck in gold, but coarser dies, a restrike made in Shanghai, c. 1930s (Kann B91). *Extremely fine, very rare*". (Baldwin's Auctions Ltd et. al. Sept. 1, 2005, lot 264)

The period "c. 1930s" indicated by N. Rhodes is derived from early auction records of this fantasy.

Karl Gabrisch had published this coin in his article on Sichuan rupees (1983) and added the following remark: "Presumably a limited supply of all three silver denominations of the Szechuan rupee were minted in gold and distributed as gifts. It is assumed that these coins came from the same dies used for the silver coinage. The gold issues are extremely rare. There is an issue of the smallest denomination in gold with only insignificant differences from the silver coin and it was alleged by Kann that these were counterfeits (Coin B 91). Experience has shown that Kann was not always a reliable source of information." (Gabrisch, 1983, p. 108-109)".

As the illustration (fig. 5, below) of another fantasy quarter rupee shows, Kann was right in identifying the quarter rupee illustrated in his catalogue under B 91 as a fantasy. The quarter rupee shown in fig. 4 was struck from the same obverse die as the fantasy of the same size which features five bats on the reverse (fig. 5). The coin of fig. 4 shares its reverse die with another fantasy which features the empress dowager on the obverse and is illustrated in *Unusual World Coins*, as KM X # M432. Most probably it is also die-linked with the fantasy which E. Kann illustrates as B93, which, according to Kann, features Yuan Shikai as emperor on the obverse.

In recent years, Heritage Auctions have sold a half and a quarter Sichuan rupee in gold (they are struck from the same dies as the coins illustrated as figs. 6 and 8, below). Although both coins were identified as KM Y 2A and KM 1A, the obverse of the quarter rupee is struck from the same die as the fantasy illustrated as fig. 5. Examining the reverses of the Heritage specimens, one can note that both coins reveal a very similar workmanship and were most probably produced in the same workshop. The central rosette of the reverses feature a small circle in the centre which neither exists on the examples of genuine gold striking nor among genuine silver striking. The leaf to the left of the character "zao" is curved to the right on the genuine issues, while it is straight on the fantasy coins. (See Heritage Auctions: World & Ancient Coin Signature Auction 3030, New York Jan. 5-6, 2014, lot 25204 and Heritage Auctions: Long Beach Signature World & Ancient Coins Auction 3015, September, 2011, lot 25808, where the coins are described as "Theocracy gold 1/2 Rupee ND (1905), KM-Y2a, ... Very rare off-metal strike in gold of the silver 1/2 Rupee." and "Theocracy gold 1/4 Rupee ND (1905), KM-Y1a, L&M-1055 (Szechuan) ...very rare type in gold (L&M lists this as a pattern.)", respectively.

A beautiful example of the half rupee fantasy was sold by Champion (fig. 8, below). Most probably the half rupee fantasies are struck from the same reverse die as the fantasies which are catalogued as ¼ Dollar in the Catalog of Unusual World Coins (see KM X M425; not illustrated). An image of this quarter dollar fantasy which features the empress dowager on the obverse can be found in the work by Dong Wenchao (1992, p. 784, no. 1330).

Edward Kann illustrates a half rupee in silver which appears to be struck from the same obverse and reverse dies as the half rupee fantasy in fig. 6. The Kann specimen found on plate 201 of his catalogue has the number F595 and is thus identified as a forgery.

Apart from the illustration of the quarter rupee fantasy in gold found in the catalogue of Edward Kann (B 91 on plate 220), genuine gold specimens of the quarter and half rupee coins are illustrated on plate 187, nos. 1546 and 1547. Examples of other

coins related to our subject are illustrated by Dong Wenchao (1992). Coin no. 20 on p. 56 is the fantasy and is described as "Sichuan minted quarter Rupee sample coin (thick sheet)." The weight is given as 5.35 g and the diameter as 19.2 mm. Dong Wenchao also illustrates an example of the genuine quarter rupee in gold on p. 57, no. 21 describing it as "Sichuan minted quarter Rupee sample coin (thin sheet)." The weight of this coin is given as 4.26 g and its diameter as 19.1 mm. Dong Wenchao also records a half Sichuan rupee struck in gold which appears to be genuine (illustrated on p. 55, no. 19), although it is quite heavy, weighing 9.67 g.

Wang Chun Li (2012) illustrates a half rupee in gold which appears to be genuine (WS0722), while the quarter rupee illustrated as WS0723 is a fantasy. The same seems to be the case of the half and quarter rupees struck in gold which are illustrated in L&M, as nos. 1054 and 1055. A fantasy half rupee was included in the Irving Goodman collection and is illustrated in the auction catalogue of Superior Galleries (1991) as no. 9 on plate 1.

Genuine half rupees struck in gold were also sold in auction in Hong Kong by The Money Company, Sept. 10, 1983, lot 206 (ex E. Kann collection) and Sept. 5 & 6, 1986, lot 561-B and are illustrated in the auction catalogues.

The quarter rupee fantasy also exists struck in silver and copper⁸⁵; these specimens may be rarer than the gold issue (fig. 7 and 8, below).

Modern forgeries of quarter Sichuan rupees struck in gold or in metals which pretend to be gold also exist. Two examples are illustrated as figs. 9 and 10. One of these modern forgeries (fig. 10) of a quarter rupee is copied from the rare silver variety without extra leaf in 9 o'clock position on the reverse (left of the Chinese character "zao"). This forgery also exists in silver or more often made from an alloy which resembles silver.

Strictly speaking, the coins illustrated as figs. 4 and 6 should be referred to as forgeries rather than fantasies, since genuine counterparts of these coins exist. If Kann preferred to describe and illustrate the quarter rupee in gold (B91) as a "fantasy" it may be the fact that this coin shares its obverse and reverse with fantasy coins which were known to him. On the other hand, he classifies a silver striking of the half rupee as a forgery (F595), although it is also die-linked to fantasy coins.

I should like to suggest that the fantasies of figs. 4 and 6 should be referred to as "classical forgeries" which have a certain collector's value and are as desirable as most of the numerous Chinese fantasy coins. The same may apply to the silver and copper striking illustrated as figs. 7 and 8. Naturally these coins should not be confused with the modern forgeries illustrated as figs. 9 and 10 which are of little value and interest.

Note: The coins are reproduced in different degrees of enlargement. The diameter of the quarter Rupees is c. 19 mm and that of the half rupees c. 24 mm.



Fig. 1

Quarter rupee in gold (collection A. Lissanevitch, ex Spink, New York 2000, lot 204, ex king Farouk collection; Sotheby's 1954, lot 1354)



Fig. 2

Half rupee in gold, collection A. Lissanevitch (ex Spink, New York 2000, lot 203, ex Money Company Auction, May 1989, lot 672).



Fig. 3

Genuine quarter rupee in silver.

The reverse of this quarter Rupee in silver is struck from the same die as the gold issue.



Fig. 4: Fantasy of quarter Rupee in gold
Gabrisch collection, (Baldwin's et al., 2005, lot 264)



Fig. 5

Heritage Auctions, Inc., 2009 May Long Beach, CA Signature World & Ancient Coin Auction (31.05.2009), lot 20645
Description of the auctioneer: Szechuan gold Fantasy 5 Dollars ND (circa 1912), KMX-M160, nice lustrous AU, slightly bent, rare fantasy issue featuring the bust of Kuang Hsu. The silver issues with similar bust are also attributed to Tibet.
<http://www.mcsearch.info/record.html?id=661012>

⁸⁵ A quarter rupee in copper is listed as no. 596x by E. Kann, but the coin is not illustrated. An illustration of a quarter rupee in copper can be found as no. 742 in the auction catalogue of Superior Galleries of June 1991.



Fig. 6

Fantasy of half Rupee

Champion Auctions, Hongkong, 23 August 2010, lot 675.

<http://www.liveauctioneers.com/item/7693994>.

Description of auctioneer: CHINA-SZECHUAN ND(1903) 1/2 Rupee Gold, L&M1054, Y2a, AU. Latin Family Collection.



Fig. 7

Fantasy of quarter Rupee struck in silver

Baldwin, Ma Tak Wo, Hong Kong Auction no. 56, 3 April 2014, lot 768

<http://www.sixbid.com/browse.html?auction=1207&category=25354&lot=1111615>



Fig. 8

Fantasy of quarter rupee struck in copper. 2.41 g (Collection Alexander Lissanevitch)



Fig. 9

Forgery of quarter rupee in gold (?)

Monnaies D'Antan. Laurent Fabre – Numismate, Mail Bid Sale, no. 13, 16-17 May 2012, lot 2082. Au; 4.24 g; 19 mm



Fig. 10

Forgery of quarter rupee in gold (?) (photograph courtesy Adrian Zhang)

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FIRST COIN OF ANCIENT KHMER KINGDOM DISCOVERED

by Joe Cribb

Summary. A newly discovered coin of ancient Cambodia, issued by king *Īsanavarman (Ishanavarman) I*, c. AD 611–635, reveals many insights into the history of ancient Cambodia and its international connections. The coin copies its designs from a gold coin originating from the kingdom of Samatata in south eastern Bangladesh, issued by a contemporary king *Śaśānka*, c. AD 590–637. The new coin shows the Khmer king to be a worshipper of the Indian god *Śiva*, sharing his religious beliefs with kings across northern India. The new coin also contributes to the debate on the chronology of the introduction of coinage in South East Asia.

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The discovery of an ancient Khmer coin is a remarkable first. Remarkable because until now no coin issued by the Khmer kings before the sixteenth century has so far been reported. Equally remarkable because there is every reason to suppose that such coins might exist.

The new coin is a gold *dinara* of king *Īsanavarman (Ishanavarman) I*, c. AD 611–635, a member of the first dynasty to establish Khmer rule in Cambodia. Many inscriptions of this king are known and he is mentioned in Chinese sources as a conqueror (Coedès 1968, pp. 69–70; Hall 1981, pp. 107–108). The coin can be identified as his issue because it bears his name. There is a later Khmer king of the same name *Īsanavarman II* (c. 923–928), but its attribution to *Īsanavarman I* is secure because it also bears the name of the city he founded, *Īsanapura*.

The new coin, description

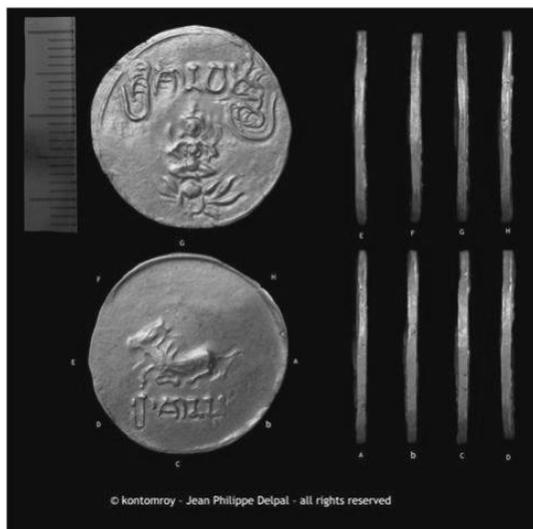


Fig. 1 The new coin. Gold dinara, c. 5.98 g, 24 mm.

Obverse: Bull (humped) resting facing left with legs folded under, except front right leg extended, tail bent with end on ground. Below bull single line of Sanskrit inscription in Indian script (derived from sixth century scripts of Southern and Western India, Dani 1963, pp. 235–6): *īśanapu[ra]* (= the city of *Īśana*, i.e. the Hindu god *Śiva*)

Reverse: Goddess *Śrī*, Hindu goddess of Good Fortune, seated cross-legged, on a lotus flower, holding two lotus stems. Above goddess single line of Sanskrit inscription in the same style as the obverse: *Śrīśanavarmma* (= *Śrī Īsanavarmma*, Lord *Īsanavarman*, the elision of the two long *i* sounds is normal in Sanskrit)

The designs on both sides are contained within a linear circle, which goes off the edge of the coin in places. The coin shows evidence of double striking, particularly for the head and hump of the bull on the obverse and the end of the inscription and upper part of the goddess on the reverse. There is also some weakness of striking at the end of the inscription on the obverse and the lower left petals of the lotus on the reverse. These striking flaws are matched in position obverse and reverse and are typical of hand-struck coins.

The new coin, meaning of designs

The obverse design, a resting bull appears to be a reference to the Hindu god *Śiva*, from whom the king took his official name *Īsanavarman* (meaning protected by *Īśana* = Lord, an honorific name of the god). The king also named the city he founded after the god. *Śiva* is often represented in Hinduism through images of his attendant the bull *Nandi*. Inscriptions surviving from the reign of *Īsanavarman I* refer to his devotion to this god, particularly as part of his cult as *Paśupati*, lord of the animals, and his erection of images representing the god, both in human and symbolic (*linga*) form (Wolters 1979 p. 432).

The reverse design, the goddess *Śrī*, is used to refer to the royal good fortune. In the context of a coin design it can refer to the king directly as the source of good fortune, i.e. wealth. *Śrī* is frequently represented in Hinduism seated on a lotus and holding lotuses, symbols of water the source of natural fertility and abundance. In later Hinduism *Śrī* is normally associated with the Hindu god *Viṣṇu*, but at this period this relationship is not an essential component of the goddess' cult. The inscriptions refer to the issuer and the place of issue.

The new coin, sources of designs

The designs of this coin were not newly invented for this coin issue, but were borrowed from India. The closest prototype for the coin is the gold issues of *Śaśānka*, the king of Bengal (*Gauda*), c. AD 590–637 (Fig. 2). *Śaśānka*'s gold coins were adaptations of the Gupta coinage. On his coins the obverse showed the same resting bull, but with the god *Śiva* seated on his back. The inscription above the bull and god gave the king's name, *Śrī Śaśānka*. The reverse showed a seated version of the goddess *Śrī* seated on a lotus. *Śaśānka* issued two series of gold coins with these designs, a heavy coin in western Bengal (Fig. 3) and a lighter coin in Eastern Bengal. The eastern Bengal issues were adapted to circulate in the kingdom of *Samatata* (south-eastern Bangladesh) which he had conquered (Cribb 2007). The *Samatata* issue is closest in weight and in style to the new Cambodian coin. They were struck on a standard of c. 5.75 g and like the Cambodian issue they have an additional inscription which seems to name the place of issue.



Fig. 2 Gold dinar of *Śaśānka*, king of Bengal, *Samatata* issue, British Museum, 5.49 g, 19 mm.



Fig. 3 Gold dinar of Śaśānka, king of Bengal, Samatata issue
Classical Numismatic Group mail auction 76, lot 968, 17
September 2007, 5.74 g, 22 mm.



Fig. 4 Copper coin of Nepal, Pasupati series, seventh century
British Museum, 7.55 g, 23mm.

Two other locations used a similar reclining bull coin design with inscription. In Nepal, copper coins were issued with a reclining bull image, with the name *Paśupati* of the god Śiva. The other side of these coins featured a symbolic form of Śrī, the *śrīvatsa*, without an inscription (Fig. 4). These coins are not associated by inscription with a particular king, but, like the issues of Śaśānka, can be dated to the seventh century (Rhodes, Gabrisch and Valdetaro 1989, p. 41, type G.1c). On other coins of this period from Nepal, images of Śrī seated on a lotus also appear. The same resting bull / *śrīvatsa* design also appears on coins issued in western Burma from the seventh century until the tenth century. These are issues of Devachandra, king of Arakan and his successors. Devachandra's coins are silver tankas and halves and quarters (Mahlo 2012, p. 77) (Fig. 5). The name of the king *deva* is written above the back of the bull and as on the Nepal coins the *śrīvatsa* design is without an inscription. The form of *śrīvatsa* used is identical on the Nepal and Arakan coins.



Fig. 5 Silver half tanka of Devachandra, king of Arakan (Burma),
seventh century
British Museum, 4.73 g, 23 mm.

All these coins with the resting bull and Śrī or *śrīvatsa* designs are linked by their use of a heavy dotted border. The evolution of coin designs both in Bengal and in Nepal place show that these designs could have developed in those two locations. The direction of borrowing, however, is most likely to be from Bengal to Nepal, as it is easier to imagine the movement of a gold coin to Nepal than a copper coin to Bengal. The location of Bengal half way between Nepal and Arakan is also suggestive of it being the source for this design.

The designs of the new Cambodian coin also seems to have been adapted from the Bengal prototype. The dotted border is not used, but otherwise the Cambodian coin is a copy of the Bengal coin, only omitting the image of the god. The contemporaneity of the two issuing kings Īsanavarman and Śaśānka also supports this linkage. The maritime link between the two regions was reported soon after by the Chinese monk Xuan Zang when he visited Samatata c. AD 642 (Xuan Zang 1996, pp. 301–2). Xuan Zang remarked that, if one travelled east from Samatata, one eventually came to Īsanapura.

Function of the new coin

The discovery of a coin from the early Khmer kingdom raises questions about our understanding of the role of money in pre-sixteenth century Cambodia. There is evidence of imported Burmese (see below) and Chinese coins before the issue of Khmer coins in the fifteenth century (Daniel 2013, pp. 16–18), but otherwise coins were not part of the monetary system in the pre-sixteenth century Khmer kingdoms. The forms of money recorded in inscriptions from ancient Cambodia are cloth, grain and weighed amounts of silver and gold (Wicks 1992, pp. 182–218, 302–3). The new coin represents a tenth of the weight unit used for gold and silver in payments, the *tamlin* of c. 60 g, which was organised on a fractional system, divided in half, quarters etc. This suggests that its weight does not correspond to the local weight system and therefore the denomination of the coin did not enable it to easily fit into local monetary practice. The weight of the new coin is more likely to be associated with the denomination of the gold *dinara* of Śaśānka, which weighed c. 5.75g, a reduced version of the Kushan *dinara*, c. 8 g.

Because the coin does not fit the local monetary system, then its function is not likely to have been for use in trade. The coin is most likely to have been made as a means for the king to emulate his Indian counterparts, so that he could make courtly and religious payments, as largesse and as *dāna* (gifts) to priests. The surprise is not only that the new coin has been found, but that his successors did not continue this royal practice. Perhaps more influential was the falling away of the issue of gold coins in many parts of India at this period than its survival in Bengal. After the Gupta period, gold coinage survived in Bengal, particularly in the kingdom of Samatata, but elsewhere in India they became unusual and only a handful of royal issues are known, until their issue was revived in the tenth-eleventh century. Some of the later Mon coins from Thailand with inscriptions on them (Mitchiner 1998, pp. 198–9; Krisadaolarn and Mihailovs 2012, pp. 49–52) have been spoken of as medals or commemorative coins, but the new coin and the later Mon coins were issued by kings for their own purposes, for payments. The idea that objects can only be coins if they have an economic function is based on a misunderstanding of the purpose of coins. Coins are units of money made by kings or states to make payments, their economic functions may or may not result from their issue.

Wider implications of the new coin

The discovery of this new coin opens up many interesting insights into the ancient Khmer kingdom, confirming what is evident from its royal inscriptions. The Khmer kings were worshippers of Indian gods and sought to imitate the practices of Indian kings, using Indian language and script in their inscriptions and erecting statues in honour of Indian gods. The coin points specifically to the source of their religious ideas, particularly Shaivite cults, in northern and eastern India. The script used on the coin show connections with western and southern India. The coin pinpoints the eastern Bengal king of Samatata as the source of imagery and the idea of issuing coinage, as it reflects the designs and denomination system used there by Īsanavarman I's contemporary Śaśānka.

The connection with Śaśānka also links the new coin with the kingdoms of Arakan (in Burma) and Nepal, where the same coin designs were used and where Shaivism, particularly focussed on Śiva as Paśupati, lord of the beasts, was the official cult of its kings. The same cult was also strong in Kashmir and Gandhara, so the new coin illustrates a linkage right across the world of Hinduism in the seventh century.

'Funan' coins

Nearby the site at which the coin of Īsanavarman I was found, a hoard of so-called 'Funan' silver coins has also been reported. The new coin also adds to our understanding of these problematic coins. The so-called 'Funan' coins acquired this designation from the discovery of examples at the site of Oc-Eo in southern Vietnam. The archaeologists who found them excavated at this site were focussed on the discovery at the site of a Roman coin and early Indian seals. From these they identified the site with a south-

east Asian kingdom known from the Chinese chronicles as Funan. The silver coins were identified by the excavators as the coinage of this kingdom, issued from the second to sixth century (Malleret 1959–63). The kingdom of Funan was gradually overthrown by the Khmer kings during the sixth century and Īsanavarman I completed the conquest c. 627. There is, however, strong evidence to show that these silver coins were originally issued by the Pyu kingdoms of Burma and subsequently imported into the region of the Oc-Eo, and as the recent find shows into Cambodia and also into Thailand (Wicks 1999, pp. 116–118; Daniel 2012, pp. 16–18). Their origin in Burma is most clearly demonstrated by the circulation in Burma of officially issued fractional denominations, whereas in Cambodia and Thailand fractions were provided by cutting up the coins, as can be seen in the recently found hoard. There are also many unofficial copies of these coins in use in Cambodia and Thailand, suggesting a local response to limited supply of the imported coins.

The date of these so-called ‘Funan’ coins has been determined by many scholars through their association with the Funan kingdom to the period before the destruction of Funan in c. 627, but the relationship between Oc-Eo and the kingdom of Funan is not completely clear, as there is evidence from the site of later occupation (Christie 1979, p. 284; Malleret 1959–63, vol. 3, p. 32). All that can be said of the site is that during the period ascribed by the Chinese sources to Funan and during the period of Khmer rule in southern Vietnam the site was in occupation. The coins found there can only be dated accordingly, i.e. from the second century AD until the seventeenth century, when the Khmer lost control of southern Vietnam to the Vietnamese rulers who used Chinese style coins.

The denomination and designs of the new coin suggests strongly that there were no silver Burmese coins in currency in the region at the time of its issue, as the new coin was not issued as part of the system they represented. I have suggested elsewhere that these Burmese coins were issued much later (Cribb 1981 ; Cribb 1986). The rationales used for dating the so-called ‘Funan’ coins and related issues from Pyu and Mon kingdoms in Burma and Mon kingdoms in Thailand are discussed there, but the key issues are as follows.

The external references to coinage use in Burma and Thailand from Chinese sources place make it clear that coins were in use in both countries in the eighth to ninth century. The range of coin types in use in these countries is limited and there is no reason to suppose the lengthy extension of the use of each type over centuries. The Oc-Eo dating, as discussed above is not firm, but it continues to play a part in the discussion for dating these Burmese coins to before AD 600 : ‘any attempt at unified dating after 600 does not fit with the facts of the case... the coins from ancient Burma were also brought to Oc-Eo in its heyday – i.e. not later than the first half of the sixth century, but probably earlier – and should be dated accordingly.’ (Mahlo 2013, p. 40). The evidence from Oc-Eo has been misinterpreted because of the desire by its excavators to emphasise its early date.

The other piece of evidence used to support this early dating is the linkage between the Pyu and Mon coins and the coins of Arakan. The dating used for the Arakanese kings who issued coins is based on their appearance in a king list cut in stone by a later Arakanese king Anadachandra. Their chronology has been seen as an index for the chronology of the other coinages: ‘The age of the Arakan coins can be roughly determined... cross-connections in terms of design and style and occasional mixed finds permit chronological inferences to coins from other regions. As a result the ancient coins of Arakan are rightly regarded as “key pieces of evidence” (Wicks) for dating...’ (Mahlo 2013, p. 87). The resulting chronology is constructed around Anadachandra’s inscription dating to the early eighth century. This dating is based on paleographic comparison with inscriptions from central India, whereas the script used is more closely linked to later script styles in Bengal, so a more likely date for the inscription is in the tenth century or later. The dating resulting from the eighth century date for Anadachandra places the first reclining bull / *srivatsa* coins from Arakan in the fifth century.

The evidence provided by the new coin of Īsanavarman I suggests that the Arakan coin, like its Nepalese equivalent and the

new coin can be dated in term of their prototype, the Samatata coinage of Śaśānka. The first Arakanese coins using the reclining bull / *srivatsa* designs should therefore be placed in the seventh century and be placed close in time to the start of coinage in Burma, with the coinages in Thailand following about a century later. The importation of the so-called ‘Funan’ coins into Cambodia, southern Vietnam and Thailand is accordingly an eighth to ninth century phenomenon.

The new coin of Īsanavarman I is therefore not only an important document for the political and religious history of Cambodia and for the international relations of the period, but also provides another clue to the problematic subject of the chronology of South East Asia’s early coinages.

Acknowledgement

I am deeply grateful to Guillaume Epinal for the observations he published in response to my article on the new coin of Īsanavarman (G. Epinal, ‘Quelque remarques relatives aux découvertes monétaires d’Angkor Borei, NA 8 December 2013, pp. 31–43). He kindly acknowledged the numismatic context which I was able to develop for the coin, showing its Indian and Burmese antecedents, but he also correctly criticised my understanding of the history of Cambodia in the period of this king. I sketched a historical context with the resources immediately available to me, which were, as he rightly observed, well out of date. For a better understanding of the part played by Īsanavarman in the history of this region one should turn to his article, and not use the dated analysis I presented.

The ancient silver coins found in the region are a more complex issue and require a broader understanding, as their origin lies in Burma. Imported coins and local copies are among the material reported from Thailand, Cambodia and Vietnam, so it is important to see these coins as a cross-regional phenomenon. The analytical work on the coins found in Burma has begun, thanks to the work of Robert Wicks, Michael Mitchiner and more recently Dietrich Mahlo, but some fundamental problems remain in relation to the chronology of the coinage. Within the Burmese series the development of designs, minting technology, weight standards, denomination systems and currency zones are all issues yet to be understood, but will contribute towards the sequencing and allocation of the various issues. Until these aspects of Burmese coins are resolved a firmer framework cannot be fully developed for the emergence of the rising sun type which is most frequently encountered in Cambodia. Coin hoards and site finds from controlled excavation in Burma and Cambodia will contribute to the numismatic understanding and allow a reliable framework to emerge. For the moment I remain sceptical that the rising sun coins are as early as has been speculated, as they appear to be current in Burma at end of the Pyu period in the ninth-tenth centuries.

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A PRELIMINARY REPORT ON A PUNJAB HOARD OF COINS OF SULTAN NASIR AL-DIN MUHAMMAD QARLUGH OF SIND

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Abstract

A hoard of copper coins of Nasir al-Din Muhammad, a contemporary of Sultan Nasir al-Din Mahmud, Sultan of Dehli (AD 1246-1266), was found in the Punjab. He was the son of Saif al-Din Hasan Qarlugh, the ruler of Ghazna and the surrounding area from AD 1224 and of Sind for the last decade of his reign. Nasir al-Din Muhammad Qarlugh continued his father's rule of Sind until AD 1259. The hoard consists of 465 coins of two types: bilingual and unilingual.

Introduction



The coin hoard under discussion was brought to Lahore Museum on 18 March 2004 by Saeed Ahmed, a resident of Pur Village, P.O. Bara Dilawar Cheema, Tehsil Wazirabad, District Gujranwala. He had found it near his home. The hoard contained 465 copper coins of Nasir al-Din Muhammad Qarlugh, ruler of Sind (AD 1249-1259). The owner reluctantly presented the hoard to the Museum and was duly rewarded. The hoard is a useful record of the obscure period of Nasir al-Din Muhammad bin Hasan Qarlugh's reign. The coins have been catalogued according to Tye (1995) and Goron & Goenka (2001). In the light of these sources the hoard is presented here as a tool for further research on the history of the Qarlughs.

Historical Traces of Nasir al-Din Muhammad Qarlugh

Saif al-Din al-Hasan Qarlugh (AD 1224–49, AH 621–47) is one of seven alien intruders into Indian territories to have issued coins in or near the dominions of Shams-al-din Iltutmish (AD 1210–35, AH 607–33). He was one of the leading generals of Jalal al-Din Mangubarni, and was left in charge of the dependencies of Ghor and Ghazni in AH 620 when his overlord departed for Iraq. He is noticed casually by Minhaj al-Siraj about the year AH 624, as having secured his domain from the plundering Mongols of Ögedei Khan. He came to terms with the invaders, and held his territory until AH 636, when the Mongols advanced in force and drove him down towards Sind and Multan. His coins suggest he may already have held Sind and Multan from about AH 633. This occurred during the reign of the Delhi sultana, Raziya (AD 1236–40, AH 634–7), and his eldest son, Nasir al-Din Muhammad Qarlugh, seems to have been deputed to attend the court of that queen, where he was received with distinction, and rewarded with the fief of the Baran district (now Bulandshahr). Shortly afterwards he disappeared unobtrusively, and rejoined his father. Saif al-Din Qarlugh was eventually killed, during the same year, AH 647, at the siege of Multan, by the elite troops of 'Izz al-Din Balban Kishlu Khan, the governor of Uchh and Multan, on behalf of Raziya.

Nasir al-Din Muhammad Qarlugh seems to have succeeded his father's dominions in Sind. He remained a significant ruler in the region, still reigning on the arrival of emissaries of the Mongol ruler, Hulagu Khan, in AH 658.

Coins of Nasir al-Din Muhammad Qarlugh, Contemporary of Sultan Nasir al-Din Mahmud, Sultan of Dehli (AD 1246-1266)

The hoard consists of coins of Muhammad Qarlugh. He is not known to have issued any silver coins, but four types of copper coins were issued in his name (Goron & Goenka 2001, p. 490, types SS14–17; Tye 1995, pp. 143–4, types 347–350). In the hoard two of his copper types were present, both of the jital denomination (types SS 14 and 15). These coins of jital type appear to be of copper rather than billon, but their precise metal content is not yet certain. The most common type in the hoard (SS14, Tye 347) is unusual in its appearance. It is represented by 460 examples. It has the outline of a horse on the obverse with the ruler's laqab (title) in cursive Arabic around it and, on the reverse, is the rest of the ruler's title in three lines of Sanskrit Sarada script. The only variations to this type are dots placed in and around the horse outline. The other type (SS15, Tye 349), only represented in the hoard by five pieces, has the same inscriptions, but just in Arabic.

TYPE- 1 (SS14 Tye 347)

HORSE-TYPE BILINGUAL COINS



OBVERSE	REVERSE
Horse right Inscription (Arabic): <i>nāṣir al-dunyā wa 'l-dīn</i>	Inscription (Sarada script): <i>Śrī Maha / Mada ka / Raluka.</i>
Type: Copper Average weight: 3.569g Average diameter: 15.4mm	

Weight	Size	Obverse					Reverse				
3.45	14.9										
no. of coins	1	2	9	21	79	170	136	39	6	2	
Wt. g	3.0	3.1	3.2	3.3	3.4	3.5	3.6	3.7	3.8	3.9	

TYPE- 2 (SS15, Tye 349)
ARABIC-ONLY COINS



OBVERSE					REVERSE					
<i>nāṣir al-dunyā wa'l dīn</i>					<i>muḥammad bin ḥasan qarluḡh</i>					
Type: Copper										
Average Weight: 3.32 g										
Average Dimension: 14.8										
no. of coins	2	3								
grams	3.0	3.1	3.2	3.3	3.4	3.5	3.6	3.7	3.8	3.9

3.16	14.6		
3.41	15.1		
3.43	14.8		
3.15	14.3		

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SOME ADDITIONAL VARIETIES OF KHARAHOSTES AND MUJATRIA COINS

By Dr. Heinz Gawlik

As part of the reappraisal of the coins of the Indo-Scythian satraps, Kharahostes and Mujatria, undertaken by Joe Cribb (JONS 223, 2015) I took the opportunity to examine the coins in my collection. Images of all coins were sent to Joe for him to check my findings and, as a result, some additional varieties were confirmed by him. Since the coins were obtained from diverse sources mainly from coin fairs and auctions during the last 10 years, their exact provenance is not known. Nevertheless, since they furnish some new varieties they are presented in this note.

There are, in all, 29 coins of Kharahostes and Mujatria in my collection. All the coins, together with their weight and dimension, are listed in the tables below and referenced to Cribb's classification and die links. Please see Cribb's article for the characteristics of the different types and variants of coins of Kharahostes and Muhatria.

Table 1: Kharahostes square copper coins

No.	Weight (g)	Size (mm)	Classification acc. to Cribb (2015)	Die-links acc. to Cribb (2015)	Illustration
1.1	7.81	22 x 20	1a	new OD, RD as 2	
1.2	8.01	22 x 20	1a	OD as 1 & 2	
1.3	5.33	21 x 21	4a	OD as 34	
1.4	8.02	20 x 20	6a	OD as 55	
1.5	7.70	23 x 19	6? Does not fit any of the listed varieties	OD as 55	as 1.5



Fig. 1 Kharahostes copper no. 1.5

Table 2: Mujatria imitation of Azes II base-silver coins

No.	Weight (g)	Size (mm)	Classification acc. to Cribb (2015)	Die-links acc. to Cribb (2015)	Illustration
2.1	9.16	19-20	4a		as 2.1
2.2	6.50	19-20	6a ?		
2.3	9.06	20	11c		
2.4	8.57	20	11c		
2.5	9.26	20	11c		
2.6	9.78	20	11c		
2.7	9.23	21	12c variety with dot over saghasa		as 2.7

The images of coin no. 2.1 (variety 4a) is illustrated because Cribb refers to one specimen for this variety shown in Senior 2001 as 139.10 but there is another one specimen shown in Senior 2006 as 25-1.



Fig. 2 Mujatria base-silver no. 2.1

Fig. 3 Mujatria base-silver no. 2.7

Table 3: Mujatria square copper coins in the name of Azes II (lion type)

No.	Weight (g)	Size (mm)	Classification acc. to Cribb (2015)	Die-links acc. to Cribb (2015)	Illustration
3.1	5.40	19 x 19	1a	new OD, RD as 2	
3.2	5.80	22 x 21	1a	OD as 1-6 and 3.2 & 3.3	
3.3	7.20	23 x 22	1a reverse variety, inscription starts in bottom left corner	OD as 1-6 and 3.2 & 3.3	as 3.3



Fig. 4 Mujatria copper no. 3.3

Table 4: Mujatria square copper coins in the name of Azes II (Heracles type)

No.	Weight (g)	Size (mm)	Classification acc. to Cribb (2015)	Die-links acc. to Cribb (2015)	Illustration
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4.1	2.41	15 x 13	3a	OD as 14	
4.2	2.57	14 x 13	3a	OD & RD as 16	
4.3	2.60	14 x 14	3a variety (inscription starts in bottom left corner)	OD as 13	as 4.3 R
4.4	2.02	14 x 13	3a variety (inscription starts in bottom left corner)	OD & RD as 16	as 4.4 R
4.5	2.56	14 x 13	3b variety (reverse Mu reversed)	OD as 19	as 4.5



Fig. 5 Mujatria copper no. 4.3 R and 4.4 R

Fig. 6 Mujatria copper no. 4.5

Table 5: Mujatria square copper coins in his own name (Heracles type)

No.	Weight (g)	Size (mm)	Classification acc. to Cribb (2015)	Die-links acc. to Cribb (2015)	Illustration
5.1	2.32	14 x 13	8a	OD as 40	
5.2	2.16	13 x 11	8b	OD as 45	
5.3	2.40	14 x 13	8d	OD as 57	
5.4	1.61	11 x 11	8a - c variety (inscription starts at top right corner)		as 5.4 R
5.5	2.15	14 x 12	8a - c variety (inscription starts at top right corner)		as 5.5 R
5.6	2.76	13 x 12	8d variety (inscription starts at top right corner)		as 5.6



Fig. 7 Mujatria copper no. 5.4 R and 5.5 R

Fig. 8 Mujatria copper no. 5.6

Table 6: Mujatria square copper coins in his own name (Apollo type)

No.	Weight (g)	Size (mm)	Classification acc. to Cribb (2015)	Die-links acc. to Cribb (2015)
6.1	1.55	14 x 14	11a	OD as 68 - 72
6.2	1.50	14 x 14	11a	OD as 68 - 72
6.3	2.22	16 x 16	11a	OD as 74 - 77

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