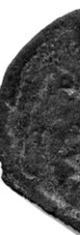


# ONS



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### ONS NEWS

#### FROM THE EDITOR

Members will be receiving this issue as a single mailing with JONS 228. This double mailing will help bring the journal back up to date after the delays in publication in 2016.

This issue has a number of important reviews. There remain many important coin series in oriental numismatics which are yet to receive a dedicated treatment in a standard catalogue, or for which the standard catalogues could be substantially expanded, either with more examples, or by further refining the classification scheme.

In this issue Fresco Sam-Sin overviews the publication *Ch'ing Cash* and offers his remarks in a lengthy review article. While Dick Nauta reviews a major contribution to early modern Central Asia and Stan Goron reviews several new publications on the Islamic coinage of South and Central Asia. And in the next issue we hope to offer a review and responses to the recent publication of Sanjeev Kumar's *Treasures of the Gupta Empire*.

### ONS NEWS

#### ONS meeting Leiden 15 October 2016

*A report by Jan Lingen*

For the third year in succession the premises of Leiden University formed the background for our annual meeting. Almost 30 members, mostly from the host country, but also from Belgium, England, Germany and Russia, assembled for the usual welcome with tea and coffee at the restaurant 'De Grote Beer' a short distance from the University. From around 10.30 a series of presentations were held in one of the lecture rooms in the Johan Huizinga building of the University.



Fig.1 Members assemble

The first talk was given by Frank Hendriks who gave a presentation on some Turkoman figural coins and their ancient coin prototypes. Using examples of coins of the Artuqids of Hisn Kayfa, and of Mardin and the Zengids of Aleppo and their Greek, Roman and Byzantine prototypes he sought to find explanations for the historical, astrological and iconographical motifs for this enigmatic and interesting coinage. For this presentation the excellent books by Spengler & Sayles *Turkoman Figural Bronze Coins and their Iconography (1992-1996)* served as an inspiration and guide.



Figs.2&3 Frank Hendriks during his talk on Turkoman coins

The second presentation of the morning was given by Stan Goron on the Coinage of Nadir Shah. He began with a brief history of the Safavids, pointing out that while 'Abbas I (known as The Great) did much to restore the prestige and territories of the Safavid realms his policy of keeping the heir apparent in a life of luxury and indolence in the harem away from all forms of government and administration, a policy continued by his successors, led inevitably to the weakening and eventual demise of Safavid rule. This culminated in the invasion of Iran by Ghilzay Afghans and the siege

and subsequent occupation of Isfahan together with the capture of Sultan Husain in 1722. Fortunately for the Safavid cause, Husain's son, Tahmasp, managed to escape and gain some support in other parts of Iran. It is here that the man who was to become Nadir Shah comes in. The son of poor peasants in Khurasan, he soon gained a reputation as a brigand chief and came to the attention of Tahmasp who enlisted his help. Nadir, having successfully expelled the Afghans and regained territory was made Viceroy in the East, where he continued to strengthen his position. He deposed Tahmasp after the latter led a foolish and unsuccessful campaign against the Ottomans, enthroning Tahmasp's very young son, 'Abbas, in his place. It was not long, however before he also deposed 'Abbas and declared himself king.

The talk presented examples of Nadir's coinage as Governor of the East and his initial coinages as king. These followed the Iranian Abbasi (4 shahi) standard and were struck at various mints. The latter included a chronogram in their legends. It then covered Nadir's successful campaign to recover Afghan territories and his Indian campaign. The latter, as is well known, led to the successful occupation of Delhi, the unfortunate massacre that ensued as a result of his soldiers being attacked in some parts of the city and the plundering that subsequently took place. Coins were struck in Delhi in Nadir's name with a new couplet which was subsequently used on all his rupee and mohur coinage. It was during this Afghan-India campaign that he instructed his son, whom he had made viceroy in Iran during his own absence, to introduce a new coinage based on the Indian rupee (and mohur) standard. In later years, Nadir undertook campaigns in central Asia and in the Caucasus. Whereas the former was successful the latter was not and greatly weakened his position. Both, however, resulted in coinage being struck in his name and this, too, was covered during the talk.



Fig.4 Stan Goron beginning his talk on the coinage of Nadir Shah



Fig.5 Nadir as Viceroy of the East, abbasi of Mazandaran



Fig.6 Nadir as king, abbasi of Shiraz with chronogram on the reverse, AH 1149



Fig.7 Nadir as king, 6-shahi of Tiflis, AH 1150



Fig.8 Nadir as king, double rupi of Qandahar, AH 1150



Fig.9 Nadir in India, rupi of Shahjahanabad (Delhi) with couplet on obverse, AH 1151



Fig.10 Rupi of Kabul, AH 1159



Fig.11 Rupi of Isfahan, AH 1152



Fig.12 Rupi of Daghistan, AH 1154, struck during his campaign there

The morning session concluded with a talk by Vladimir Belyaev on a few silver coins of Mongol states with Chinese, Uighur and Tibetan legends. Details of this talk are published separately in this Journal.

After this informative morning session it was time for a lunch in the nearby restaurant 'De Grote Beer' where a buffet lunch was enjoyed by all.

The afternoon session began with a talk by Tjong Ding Yih on the Chinese influence in the former Dutch East Indies as evidenced by the use of cash-like coinage.

It is well documented that, towards the end of the Majapahit realm with its main centre on the island of Java, there was a shift from gold and silver coinage to the use of Chinese cash (picis). Some





## Book Reviews

***Catalog of Pre-modern Central Asian Coins 1680–1923: Janid (later period): Bukhara, Tashkand, Shahrisabz, Khoqand, Khiva, Khorezm Republic, Dzungar (later period), Islamic East Turkestan***, by Vladimir Nastich and Wolfgang Schuster, Moscow and Vienna 2016.

304 pp., over 820 illustrations throughout the text, 9 tables and charts, 1 map. Bibliography pp. 289-298, Russian summary pp. 299-304 — ISBN 978-3-00-055514-5. € 39.

Reviewed by Dick Nauta, Dieren, the Netherlands.

This review concerns an entirely new catalog for a field of numismatics that so far has been poorly served by scattered publications of widely varying substance, academic quality and visual impact, not to mention perceptible lack of accessibility. With the present work, the authors have maintained high professional standards in every sense and have succeeded admirably in putting Central Asian coinage on the map, so to say.

The entire content of the Catalog under review is partitioned between the thematic parts listed in its subtitle. It covers the coinages of Central Asia from the late period of the Janid Khanate (late 17<sup>th</sup> century) through separate issues of different political entities within its territory until the end of the Bukhara Emirate and the Khanate of Khiva, finally resulting in the Khorezm People's Soviet Republic, also known as Russian Turkestan, as well as the Dzungar Khanate. From East Turkestan, now the Sinkiang Uyghur Autonomous Region of the People's Republic of China, a selection of coin issues demonstrating evidence of historical, ethno-cultural and linguistic interrelations with the coin issues of the above-mentioned areas has also been included.

This publication, an international project, is the result of a fruitful collaboration between a Russian professional orientalist and an Austrian expert numismatist; it took more than ten years to complete. What originally started as a modest but much needed revision of the relevant entries of the SCWC grew into an impressive and comprehensive treatment of these coin series.

This is not surprising in view of the fact that no compilation of previous work, hailing back to the late 17<sup>th</sup> century, on any aspect of Central Asian coinages exists. Collecting, selecting and sifting information, translating, critically assessing, separating historical fact from fancy, collating and analysing all that has been published and illustrated in a wide array of periodicals and other scattered documents in archives and museum collections, required the command of about a dozen different languages. This has been the leading author's great merit. The co-author has supported this daunting process by making sense of the information about frequently highly confusing coin types and series, presenting them in as much of a systematic manner as possible. The authors, more than once, acknowledge that they have benefited from expert assistance provided by many specialists in related and complementary fields, an indication of the complexity of the topic.

It can be said that Central Asian numismatics is not for beginners. This is immediately clear from the fact that coin legends may occur in Arabic, Persian, Uighur, Russian, Manchu and Chinese, presented in several different scripts, each with a choice of calligraphic renderings, whereas existing literature on these coinages, scattered over time and place, has been published in yet other, different languages. As Dr. Judith Kolbas, the former director of the Central Asian Numismatic Institute (CANI), Cambridge, UK, writes in her professional assessment of this work, this unusual breadth and depth of knowledge has all been rendered into English, so that the Catalog's vast content is now accessible to a very large numismatic community, which in recent years has grown considerably.

This Catalog is so far the only resource to cover the historically important transitional period from the late medieval to modern times in the pivotal area of Central Asia, which by its geographic

location touches upon numerous adjacent regions, while by its vast extent was able to maintain large pastoral traditions up to the present day.

To assist not only the beginner, but also the well-versed numismatist, a very thorough general introductory chapter together with sections on how the catalog has been composed and how to use it make its content readily accessible to all users. All recorded and reported coin types, subtypes, varieties, metal compositions, legends, mint names and their epithets, as well as years of issue are covered and described, together with main design features, latinized readings of coin inscriptions and metrological details as well as physical appearance. Every listing is provided with an estimation of relative rarity using a scheme of six indications from common to exceptionally rare which reflect the catalogers' personal consideration and experience. Almost all type and variety entries are provided with one or more colored coin illustrations, more than 820 in all. Combining historical facts, basic data and images, the coins themselves almost come to life which makes the catalog easy to use for scholars, museum workers, collectors and coin dealers.

Not expecting the reader to know the main political and cultural currents and events during the period covered, the authors have generously included short histories of the rise and fall of each of the coin issuing entities. Dates of issue obviously are defining features in this respect; their use and place in the coin legends therefore receive a great deal of attention in the coin listings; this frequently bewildering subject is also extensively dealt with in a separate, descriptive section. All variants of numerals are illustrated in a table showing both common and specific graphic variants encountered on Central Asian coins.

As Dr. Kolbas observes, a particularly valuable feature of the present Catalog, besides a handy AH to CE conversion chart, detailed listings of issuing authorities, local and regional mint names and mint epithets, is a map providing approximate locations of the Central Asian mints of the period. Moreover, there is a consistent analysis of the metrology of dynastic output followed by an analysis of the monetary system. Both these features are mostly lacking in other catalogs. Where possible, approximate exchange values between copper, silver and gold coins are attempted, and possible affiliations to adjacent currencies are suggested. These features provide a model for future works on any similar numismatic subject and provide subjects for possible interfaces with neighbouring monetary or numismatic systems.

As mentioned, no other comprehensive catalog or detailed study covering all Central Asian coins of the period exists. Hence an autonomous numbering system (NS- catalog numbers) has been designed for easy use and reference. Where meaningful, cross references with other catalogs have been included.

Dr. Kolbas writes: There are some specific non-conventional additions to this Catalog that need to be commented upon. In particular, the authors are careful to explain various terms that might be glossed over in other works. For example, the authors explain the Arabic origin for many of the names and relationships of the coins, showing that a 1300-year Islamic tradition held sway even into the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and caused the strength of the pre-modern monetary culture of Central Asia to continue till overwhelmed by events of a wider world.

Dr. Kolbas continues: The usefulness of the volume is extended by quite an imaginative internal organization. First, there is a summary of the main points in Russian, rather important since Central Asian specialists generally know enough Russian or are native speakers of it to access many of the publications cited. As important, Central Asia borders Russia proper, allowing much further original research by Russian scholars, all of whom may not be as proficient in English as the Catalog's authors are.

The authors have made full use of the possibilities which present-day digital composition, lay-out and illustration offer. This is evident in the high level of presentation at which this work has been compiled. In a similar vein the bibliography is sorted in a handy manner that is easy to understand but unique, having the entries grouped by dynasty and then by date of publication, the earliest first, starting in the eighteenth century. Indeed, as the authors note, at first the bibliographic project was too daunting requiring even more

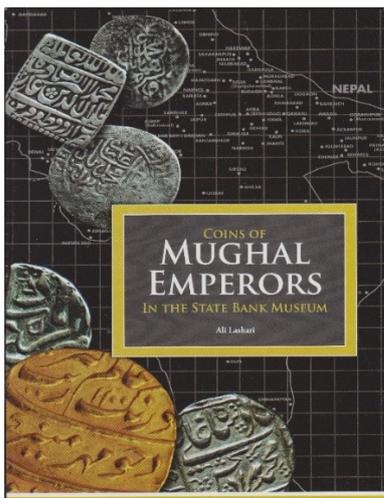
effort than finding and checking the coins themselves. However, for the sake of being as complete as possible, they added years to the project by including all the references they could find. Users are invited to submit any supplementary source material for a future edition. This suggests that the field of pre-modern Central Asian coinage will continue to attract more and more enthusiasts.

Thoroughly arranged and professionally formatted, combined with the amazing amount of illustrations, sometimes multiple ones of the same coin type, this publication will definitely provide optimal understanding of the coins and monetary systems of pre-modern Central Asia.

In conclusion, Dr. Kolbas writes, she found the catalogue to be an exemplar of numismatic research and a significant contribution to a much-neglected field, but one that grows in fascination every year. The authors have covered a region and time period that will encourage more finds and scholarship, surely an admirable goal for publishing this work. It will lead to greater appreciation of the historical significance and cultural aspects, alongside the artistic and collectible appeal of this highly interesting and diverse range of coin issues that have come into existence in recent centuries, but have remained largely unknown.

As the German expression goes: “*Unbekannt macht unbeliebt*” — the present Catalog is bound to change that as regards Central Asian coins. Surely, the thoroughly researched text combined with the incomparable illustrations will make this Catalog a standard reference for the subject for a long time to come. The cornucopia of images alone is reason enough to acquire this volume without delay!

***Coins of Mughal Emperors in the State Bank Museum* by Ali Lashari**, published by the State Bank of Pakistan Museum, 2009. Soft-bound, pp. 250 in all, illustrated throughout.



As far as the reviewer is aware, this is the first book on Mughal coins to be published by any museum in Pakistan since R.B. Whitehead's *Catalogue of Coins in the Panjab Museum, Lahore*, vol. II, *Coins of the Mughal Emperors*, published for the then Panjab Government by the Clarendon Press, Oxford in 1914. That book listed more than 3000 coins. The present book is far more modest as the State Bank collection, housed in Karachi, is of relatively recent formation, comprising material donated by or purchased from collectors or other sources. It begins with a number of introductory pages, including a map of the mints of the Mughal emperors, the genealogy and dates of the emperors, and a brief introduction to Mughal coinage running swiftly through its history and giving the principal legends to be found on the coins in Persian, transliteration and translation. There then follows the 217-page catalogue. Most of the 467 coins listed are rupees, but there are also some copper coins included, mainly of Akbar. The layout of the catalogue is clear and nicely designed, the listing being arranged by ruler and then by mint in English alphabet order. Oddly enough, the coins issued from each mint are not listed in date order but in what seems to be a rather haphazard manner. Both sides of each coin are illustrated against a black background; next to this are listed the name of the ruler, mint, date, metal and shape, weight and

denomination, diameter and thickness. Below this are given the legends on both sides in Persian and in transliteration, as well as the marginal legends, when clear. Any mintmarks are also illustrated along with their reference number. Though the state of preservation of the coins varies quite a lot, the actual-size images are generally clear. After the catalogue there is a list of numerals in Arabic masculine form and Persian, a list of words and phrases found on the coins, a table of mint-marks, a list of Mughal mints, a table of weights in grains and grams, a comparative table of the years of the Hijra and Christian eras, and a bibliography.

#### **Detailed comments**

The catalogue begins with four coins of Babur and four of Humayun. The denomination details are rather muddled here. Two of the Babur coins are called tankas while the other two are called half rupees – they are all tankas (also known as shahrukhis). The three copper coins of Humayun are referred to as half dams whereas they are really billon with a high copper content and a continuation of the billon bahlolis previously issued by the Sultans of Delhi. Ninety-four coins of Akbar are listed of which 70 are copper (mostly dams from common mints) and 24 silver coins of which six are of the type issued by the rulers of Baglana (coins 91, 93-98), and one a token ('coin' 90). Coin 22 is a half rupee of Kabul not Akbarabad and copper coins 42 and 43 are dams of Chainpur, not Khairpur. Ten normal-weight rupee of Jahangir are listed, of which coin 112, listed under "unknown mint", is of Delhi. For Shah Jahan I there are 48 coins (mostly rupees and a couple of half rupees), and one rupee of Murad Bakhsh. Aurangzeb is represented by 124 rupees, many of which were struck at the common mints of Lahore, Shahjahanabad, Surat and Tatta. The listing continues with 39 rupees of Shah 'Alam I, three of Jahandar, 29 of Farrukhsiyar, two of Rafi' al-Darjat and one of Shah Jahan II. There are 64 rupees of Muhammad Shah with a good selection of Lahore, including a number of the relatively scarce year 1 and 2 type with the mint name in the centre of the reverse, and various issues with the mintname Shahjahanabad including some struck by the state of Jaisalmir (e.g. coins 414, 416). Coins 426 and 427 "of unknown mint" are from Akbarabad. There are nine rupees of Ahmad Shah Bahadur and 14 of 'Alamgir II, of which the last coin, no. 450, described as being of Shahjahanabad is, in fact, of Akbarabad. The 17-coin listing for Shah 'Alam II includes 13 East India Company Coins of Farrukhabad, Murshidabad and Surat types. No mention is made of their having been struck by the Company. A single coin listed for Muhammad Akbar II turns out to have nothing to do with the Mughals but is an anonymous Barakzay rupee struck at Ahmadshahi in AH 1244 during the rule of Purdil Khan.

#### **Summary**

The layout and production values of this book have much to commend them but some more careful editing should have been undertaken. Certainly it was a strange error not to list the coins in issue order for each mint for each of the rulers. The small number of attributional errors in the listing should have been noticed as should some of the misspellings in the introductory part, e.g. "reignal" for "regnal" on various occasions. While this book does not add anything to our knowledge of Mughal coinage it could well be of interest to those who know little about it or who would like to know what the coin inscriptions say and mean. Certainly, the Bank should be congratulated on taking the initiative in publishing its growing collection

S.L. Goron

***Coins of Nadir Shah & Afghan Rulers, 2015, soft-bound, pp. 232 in all, illustrated throughout. This is actually two publications in one volume, viz. Coins of Nadir Shah & Afghan Rulers in State Bank Museum by Dr Amsa Ibrahim and Ali Lashari and Coins of Nadir Shah, Ahmad Shah & Taimur Shah in Lahore Museum by Dr Asma Ibrahim and Naushaba Anjum.***

As the Mughal empire was declining in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the Afsharid ruler of Iran, Nadir Shah, took the opportunity of regaining territories in what is now Afghanistan and extending his power in the Panjab and other areas of former Mughal control and influence.

after Nadir's death in 1740 years of conflict ensued in Iran as various contenders sought control, while in the eastern territories, Nadir's successor was Ahmad Shah Abdali, who, having assumed the title "Durr-i Durrani" ("Pearl of Pearls"), became known as Ahmad Shah Durrani. Ahmad consolidated his power in the Afghan territories, the Panjab, the Salt Range and invaded India on several occasions. His son, Taimur, once he became king, carried on his father's work but, thereafter, his successors, fought among themselves and were eventually replaced by the Barakzay, the most important of whom was Dost Muhammad. At some stage the British became involved, complicating matters considerably. There is no need to go into that here but anyone interested should read William Dalrymple's *Return of a King* (London, 2013).

The standard reference work for Durrani coins has hitherto been R.B. Whitehead's excellent *Catalogue of Coins in the Panjab Museum, Lahore*, vol. III, *Coins of Nadir Shah and the Durrani Dynasty*, published for the Panjab government by Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1934. This book catalogues over 1327 coins in all, of which 673 were in the Panjab Museum and the rest, not represented in that museum, were in other museum and private collections. As Whitehead's catalogue deals only with Durrani coins, it stops at the ephemeral ruler, Shahpur Shah, in AH 1258. For Barakzay and Alikozay rulers and issues the standard reference is the more recent listing in the Krause Mischler 19<sup>th</sup> century world coin catalogue. This and the 18<sup>th</sup> century catalogue also include an extensive listing of Durrani coins, though not all types and varieties are listed separately.

The present book is divided into two main sections – State Bank of Pakistan and Lahore Museum. The first part lists 264 coins and the second part lists 226 of the Lahore Museum coins - the rest, it is said, will be published later. It follows the general layout of the book on Mughal coins, reviewed above. The introduction, however, in this case is not as well written and the editing leaves much to be desired. Unlike the previous volume, no attempt has been made to discuss or provide the coin legends, with their transliteration and translation (though the legends and transliterations are provided in the catalogue part of the book). Nothing is written about the Barakzay coinage despite the fact that the State Bank Museum collection includes coins up to the reign of 'Abd al-Rahman. We are told that the coins of Zaman Shah "was averaged at 10.8g", which may apply to gold coins but does not apply to the rupees, which weigh 11.4-11.5g. Reading this introduction one would assume that the weight of the rupee remained more or less constant during the period covered, but it did not. In AH 1228, during the second reign of Mahmud Shah, the weight was reduced to less than 11g, with different weight standards at different mints e.g. around 10.7 at Kabul and Peshawar, 10.35 at Ahmadshahi. Only at Herat was the 11.5 standard retained, until AH 1239 [from hereon all dates mentioned are AH], after which it became 10.2 g. Subsequently the weight of the "Kabuli" rupee was reduced to under 10 g, while, at Qandahar, a light-weight "Qandahari" rupee of 5.75g and then 5.55g was introduced from 1260, though "Kabuli" rupees were also struck from time to time. At Herat, under the Alikozay and Barakzay rulers, from 1263, the principal silver coin was issued on the Iranian qiran (kran) standard. This started at 5.37 g and declined to 4.61g.

Main mints are lumped together with mints that struck relevant coins on one or just a few occasions. Thus, for Ahmad Shah, the Indian mints of Shahjahanabad, Anwala, Ahmadnagar Farrukhabad, Muradabad, are given alongside Ahmadshahi, Kabul, Peshawar, Multan, Lahore etc. as mints that struck coins in his name during his reign, which they were, but it should have been pointed out that they were not regular Durrani mints and in some of the cases the coins were struck by his Afghan supporters.

There are inconsistencies in the spelling of the mint names: we have Ahmadshai, Ahmadshahi; Hirat, Heart [the latter an autocorrect from Herat, no doubt]; Kashmir, Kashmire, all on the same page. We are told that "Derhojat" is an "unpublished spelling mint name" mentioned in Whitehead. As it is mentioned in Whitehead, it has clearly been published. In a table of mints mentioned in the present book and in Whitehead, we have Mash'had listed twice for Nadir Shah in the same list, Muqaddas,

the epithet of Mashhad listed as a separate mint, "Asfahab" presumably for Isfahan as well as "Asfahan"; for Ahmad Shah we have Sahrid (for Sahrind), Bateli and Bareli (for Barely); Herat and Hirat; Sind and Sindh.

Coming now to the catalogue sections, the images of the State Bank Museum coins are placed on a dark chocolate background, while those of the Lahore Museum are on a black background. The quality of the photographs is in many cases disappointing. The cause of this may be the state of the coins themselves, many of them having dark toning and / or surface dirt and accretions, poor lighting for the photography or poor printing. I do not think the last is to blame as, where the coins are "clean", the images are satisfactory. It is a pity the coins were not made more presentable prior to their being photographed. The images could surely have been digitally enhanced to make them brighter. Because so many of the coins have dark toning placing their images on a dark background was a mistake in this instance. Despite all of this, having the images, even if some of them are of little use, is a bonus. It is particularly good to see images of the coins of Nadir, Ahmad and Taimur from the Lahore Museum, many of which are not illustrated in Whitehead.

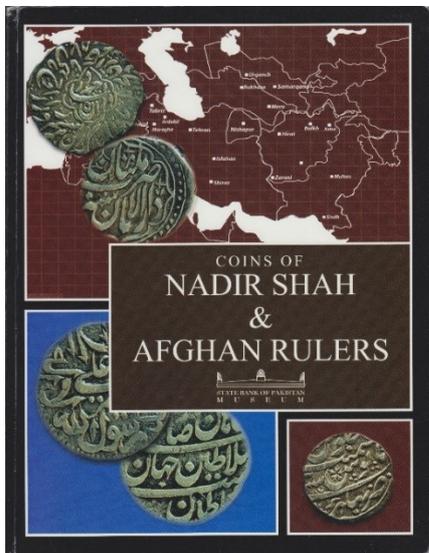
### *Some detailed comments on the catalogue*

#### *1. Standard Bank Museum coins*

The catalogue begins with seven rupees of Nadir Shah, including two struck at Shahjahanabad during his occupation of Delhi. These are followed by 16 unremarkable rupees of Ahmad Shah and 34 of Taimur Shah from Ahmadshahi, Attock, Herat, Multan, Kashmir and Sind. Again, as in the Mughal volume, coins are not listed in issue order, a rupee of Kashmir year 13, for example, being listed before rupees of years 8 and 9. Coins 25 and 26, of Ahmadshahi, are listed as dated 12[...]5 and without visible date; the former is clearly dated 1205 and the latter 1206, respectively. Coin 35, of Herat is clearly dated 1209, which is shown in the transliteration of the reverse legend, but not in the coin details above it. It is possible the date confused the cataloguer as it is a posthumous date. Mahmud Shah, unlike Zaman Shah, did not put his own name on the coinage until sometime in 1216 so coins in the name of Taimur Shah were struck as late as that year. There are two rupees of Multan both of which are listed as being struck when he was Nizam and not king. This is correct for the first coin (51) but not the second (52), which is clearly dated (11)98 year 5 and has his kingly couplet. There are four rupees of Sind, the first is a later light-weight rupee of 7.7g, while the others are heavier, 11g rupees. There is no reference to this difference in weight standards. Zaman Shah is represented by 22 rupees, the vast majority of which were struck at Ahmadshahi and Herat. Coin 72 and a few others, of Herat, are clearly dated 1312 (instead of 1213) on the reverse, a fact not reflected in the transliteration of that side's legend, where it is given as 1213. Herat rupees of this reign are often dated on both sides and not always with the same dates.

The coinage of the next two rulers, Mahmud Shah and Shuja' al-Mulk is more complicated. Both were sons of Taimur Shah but by different mothers and spent the next couple of decades in conflict with each other, each having more than one reign. Mahmud had his base at Herat and coins were struck in his name there from 1216 to 1245; in addition he was king at Kabul from 1216 to 1218 and again from 1224 to 1233. During each of the latter two reigns coins were struck in his name at various mints. Coins were also struck in his name, often posthumously, at Bhakhar by the Talpur Mirs of Sind (Khairpur) and, from 1259, by the British; at Derajat from 1235-1251 by the local ruler under Sikh authority; and for some years by the state of Bahawalpur. Shuja' al-Mulk had no fewer than five reigns: briefly at Peshawar in 1216 (no coins are known from this reign), 1218-1224 at Kabul, 1227 at Peshawar, 1233-1234 as local ruler at Bhakhar, and 1255-1258 at Kabul supported by the British. Ideally, coins of each of these reigns should be listed separately and in the correct order. This is not what we have in the present book, however. For Mahmud, there are 24 rupees from the two reigns and later light-weight issues from Bhakhar all mixed up. Coins 97-108 are from the Herat series, as is coin 110, though it is ascribed to Kabul; coin 112 is from the first reign at Kabul (mint of Peshawar), coins 92, 109, 111, 113, 114 are from the second reign at Kabul

(three mints), coins 91, 93, 94 and 95 are posthumous rupees from Bhakhar, three of them light weight, the last of which has the British lion on the reverse. No attempt is made to assign these to reigns or issuing authority nor are there any comments about the difference in weight standards in evidence. Eleven rupees of Shuja' al-Mulk are listed of which five (coins 80, 82, 88-90) are from his second reign and the rest from his fifth reign at Kabul. The cataloguer had difficulty in reading the date on some of the coins e.g. coins 81, 85, 87, which are all dated 1255.



Coins of the Barakzay rulers are less complicated in as much as they were struck at only three mints, viz. Kabul, Ahmadshahi / Qandahar and Herat. The main rulers at Kabul were Dost Muhammad, Sher 'Ali and 'Abd al-Rahman, the first two each having two reigns. At Kabul, Dost Muhammad's first reign lasted from 1241-1255 and rupees, weighing firstly 9.8 and then 9.4 g, were struck there. Three different couplets were used and there are many varieties depending on legend arrangement, date location, reverse cartouche shape. His second reign lasted from late 1258 to part of 1280. Rupees struck at Kabul (KM 497) during this reign are very common. Dost Muhammad was succeeded by Sher 'Ali in 1280. The latter reigned there until 1296, with an interruption from 1283 to 1285, and there he struck rupees weighing 9.2g in several types, including a couple of crudely milled types with tughra designs on one side. Half rupees were also struck in a couple of years. The "interruption" saw the brief reigns of Muhammad Afzal (1283-1284) and Muhammad A'zam (1296-1297). Sher 'Ali was followed by the brief reigns of Muhammad Ya'qub (1296-1297) Wali Muhammad (1297), and then by 'Abd al-Rahman (1297-1319), whose Kabul rupees of type KM 544.1 (from 1298 to 1308) are very common. At the start of his reign (1297-first part of 1298) half a dozen different types were struck all of which are scarce to rare.

At Ahmadshahi / Qandahar anonymous rupees weighing first 10.4g and then 9.1g were struck during the reigns of Purdil Khan, Sherdil Khan, and Kohandil Khan. Light-weight, "Qandahari" rupees were also struck from 1260-1271 during Kohandil's second reign, as well as some scarce half rupees during Rahamdil Khan's short reign (1271-1272). During Dost Muhammad's second reign, full-weight "Kabuli" rupees (9.3g) were struck at Ahmadshahi in 1272-1273, and light-weight "Qandahari" rupees (5.5 g) from 1272-1279. The latter were initially struck with mint name Ahmadshahi and then Qandahar. These were followed by various types of "Qandahari" rupees struck during Sher 'Ali's two reigns, and during the reigns of Muhammad Afzal, Muhammad A'zam, Muhammad Ya'qub and Wali Sher 'Ali (1297), the last of whom also struck "Kabuli" rupees there. 'Abd al-Rahman struck "Kabuli" rupees with mint name Ahmadshahi in 1298 and, thereafter, with mint name Qandahar until 1308. There was also an issue of "Qandahari" rupees in 1298.

Herat, from 1258 to 1271 was in the hands of two successive Alikozay rulers, Yar Muhammad and Sa'id Muhammad, and then briefly under Muhammad Yusuf Khan Sadozay (1272). From 1273-

1279, coins were struck there in the name of the Iranian ruler Nasir al-Din Qajar on the Iranian qiran standard (5.4g dropping to c 4.8g). Thereafter coins continued to be struck there on that standard (starting at around 5g and declining to 4.6g) in the names of Sher 'Ali (several types), Muhammad Ya'qub, and 'Abd al-Rahman.

Returning now to the State Bank catalogue, Dost Muhammad is represented by 28 coins. These comprise 20 rupees of Kabul, four from the first reign and 15 from the second reign. The latter are all KM type 497, two of which (coins 140, 141) have their reverses illustrated at 90 degrees to what they should be. Coin 133, an anonymous type dated 1258 (KM 493), previously attributed to Dost Muhammad has now been reallocated to Dost Muhammad's son, Muhammad Akbar. There are also eight "Qandahari" rupees in the listing. These are followed by three rupees of Muhammad Afzal and one of Muhammad A'zam. There are 37 coins of Sher 'Ali, of which seven are Herat qirans, 12 rupees and one half rupee of Kabul (not in the correct issue order), and 18 "Qandahari" rupees of several types struck at Qandahar. The Muhammad Ya'qub listing comprises four rupees of Kabul and three "Qandahari" rupees. Lastly come 65 coins of 'Abd al-Rahman, of which 40 are qirans struck at Herat (with and without clear dates), 19 rupees of Kabul (including a machine-struck rupee of 1309), 7 "Kabuli" rupees of Qandahar. There are also 6 "Unknown" coins of this ruler, four of which are rupees of Kabul, one of Qandahar and a qiran of Herat. Why these could not have been attributed by a simple comparison with the other Abd al-Rahman coins listed is difficult to understand.

## 2. Lahore Museum coins

This section comprises 58 coins of Nadir Shah, 162 coins of Ahmad Shah and six coins of Taimur Shah as Nizam. The images are on the whole better than in the Standard Bank section. The "data table" to the right of each pair of images has fewer fields than in the first section. There is, for example, no field for the date(s) on the coins. This information has to be gleaned from the coin legends provided and their transliteration. The numbering system is bizarre and confusing. For each ruler there seem to be separate numbering sequences for each metal. The coins, however, are for each ruler arranged by mint. Moreover, while the mints are arranged in English alphabetical order, the numbering for each mint appears to be in accordance with the Persian alphabet. More or less, as even then there are some exceptions! One important omission is any cross-referencing to the coin numbers in Whitehead's catalogue. All the coins in the present book, with the exception of the Iranian coins of Nadir, are listed in Whitehead, so quoting the Whitehead numbers should have been an obvious thing to do. The book is mentioned in the bibliography and some comments from it are found in the catalogue in relation to certain of the coins. So, presumably, there is a copy of it in the Lahore Museum.

As already mentioned, the Nadir Shah listing includes coins struck from Iranian mints. These are Isfahan (8) spelt Asfahaan (and in one instance, Asfahan) in the listing despite being spelt Isfahan in the Standard Bank section, Daghistan (1), Darband (1), Mashhad (9), Ganja (spelt Qanja) (1), Qazvin (1), Shiraz (1), Tabriz (spelt Tabraiz) (7) and Tiflis (2). Most of the coins are rupees, but there is also a double rupee of Nadirabad and a few 6-shahi pieces. No attempt is made to assign denominations to the coins. The following coins are good to see illustrated here: coin 1 (PMC 1) the gold mohur of Bhakhar, 1158; coin 23 (PMC 48) the Dar al-Saltanat Qabul rupee, 1159 (see also JONS 222, pp 47-8) and coin 2 (PMC 2) the gold mohur of Peshawar, 1154. Some corrections are to be made: coin 28, a rupee of Isfahan is dated 1160 not 1157; coin 39, Isfahan is clearly a rupee and not a copper coin (described as "AE"), coin 50, a 6-shahi of Isfahan is described as being without visible date but the date, 1150, is clearly visible in its usual position at the bottom of the reverse; coin 8, Bhakhar 1160 is described as being AV (i.e. gold) but is clearly a rupee, presumably PMC 20. The same applies to coin 13, Derajat 1158, also a rupee (PMC 30), not a mohur. Coin 35, a Mashhad rupee, described as dated "115\_" seems to be dated 1158. Coin 42, a 6-shahi of Mashhad is given the date of 1160, which is impossible for this issue – it is 1150. Coins 20, Shahjahanabad 1152 (PMC 42) and 17, Sind, no date visible (PMC 33?) are both described as "AV" instead of AR, i.e. rupees. Coin

51, a 6-shahi of Tabriz, described as "date not visible" is dated 1151 in the usual place.

The listing of Ahmad Shah Durrani coins comprises the following: Ahmadshahi (8), Anwala (2), Attock (6), Bareli (1), Bhakhar (15), Dera (31), Derajat (4), Farrukhabad (1), Herat (1), Kabul (18), Kashmir (7), Lahore (17), Mashhad (4), Multan (21), Peshawar (16), Sahrind (5), Shahjahanabad (6). Of particular interest are the two Dera mohurs (coins 61, 62 – PMC 12, 14) of year 9 and 14; a very good date-run of Dera rupees (coins 110, 117-141), the year 23 mohur of Derajat (coin 64 – PMC 19), a good date-run of Kabul rupees (coins 155-168), and two mohurs of Shahjahanabad (coins 65, 66 – PMC 170, 171), the first of 1170 year 11 with almost full legends and the other of 1173 year 14, a superb broad-flan coin with mount and full legends.

There are but few errors to comment on here. One persistent error is giving the few copper coins (coins 217, 218 (Dera), 219-220 (Multan), and 215, 216 (Peshawar) the designation "AR" instead of "AE". Elsewhere, coin 88 (Bhakhar – PMC 81) has its date of year 4 given as 14 in the transliteration of the reverse legend. Images of some of the Bhakhar and Multan rupees with the ruler's name in a central cartouche are placed at odd angles. Coin 221 (PMC 278) is listed as a mohur of Ahmad Shah with Ahmad's usual couplet whereas it clearly has a different couplet and is, in fact, an issue of Taimur Shah as Nizam. Lastly, coin 106, a Peshawar rupee of year 2 is given, as its reverse, the image of the following coin, a rupee of year 10.

The 6 coins listed for Taimur Shah as Nizam are 3 rupees of Bhakhar (coins 225-7, PMC 288, 292, 294), a mohur of Lahore (coin 222 – PMC 280) and two mohurs of Multan (coins 223-4 – PMC 284, 286), dated 1176/6 and 1182/12.

### Summary

While both these publications have their faults, both the State Bank and their colleagues are the Lahore Museum are to be congratulated on making the effort to publish their collections in modern format. The publication of the remainder of the Lahore Museum's Durrani (and Barakzay?) collection will be awaited with interest. While it is clear that a lot of care has gone into the provision of the Persian legends in the catalogue sections, both institutions are urged to pay more attention to the editing of the work, especially the parts in English to remove errors and misspellings, to ensure that the introductions cover all the coins catalogued, to provide a sensible numbering system etc. They are also urged to ensure that the coin images are clear in all cases – there is no point in publishing images where coin details are illegible. In other words, the authors and publishers need always to bear in mind the end-users and how they are going to use the books whether in hard-copy form or digitised online.

S.L. Goron

## REVIEW ARTICLE: WERNER BURGER'S *CH'ING CASH*

By Fresco Sam-Sin<sup>1</sup>

*Ch'ing Cash. Volume 1: Ch'ing Cash, Volume 2—Ch'ing Cash Year Tables.* By Werner Burger. Shipping Weight: 17.8 pounds. 324 pages. 13" x 15". Illustrations throughout. Two hardcover volumes in one slipcase Volume 1: 258pp. Volume 2: 13pp. and 53 foldout year tables of Ch'ing cash coin rubbings. Published by the University Museum and Art Gallery, Hong Kong University. Publication date July 2016. ISBN 978-988190-233-7. 324 pages, Hardcover. Price \$800.00.

### Introduction

For the completion of *Ch'ing Cash* Werner Burger moved mountains, both in the figuratively sense, as well as in more literal sense as he spent "endless hours of sorting through mountains of soiled coins" (p.5), or, even more specific, he ploughed "a total of 70 sacks, 100 kg each, which amounts to approximately 7 tons. If calculating 1 cash as weighing roughly 1 mace (aprox. 3.78g), then

the 70 sacks adds up to nearly 2 million in cash" (p. 14). Burger's mission: a work that would cover the whole of the Ch'ing dynasty from 1616 to 1911, expands on the scope of his doctoral publication *Ch'ing Cash until 1735*.<sup>2</sup> Reading his new *Ch'ing Cash*, you can almost see Burger moving mountains. Ch'ing rule produced millions of square-holed coins on a yearly basis. Thus, understandably, Burger at times felt "frustrated" (p.8), but he nevertheless tackled many of the "mysteries that had stumped the numismatic society." (p.5). One example of the author's admirable perseverance is his digestion of more than 43,742 pages of archival documents of the Grand Secretariat of Money Matters, all written in bureaucratic literary Chinese.<sup>3</sup> Werner Burger's hard work paid off: *Ch'ing Cash* is both a quantitative and qualitative leap forward in the study of Ch'ing money, deserving our fullest attention.

*Ch'ing Cash* takes the physical reality of coin collections as the main source to corroborate or refute written historical sources that oftentimes have no interest in describing the reality, even disguising facts in favor of Ch'ing political consideration, intention, or ideology. If any collection can tell the real story, it would have to be Burger's. His collection of Ch'ing cash coins is known, as he says himself, as "one of the most comprehensive, if not the most comprehensive in the entire world" (p. 8). In *Ch'ing Cash*, Burger connects his collection to massive bodies of published and unpublished archival documents. It is this combination that lays the empirical foundation of Burger's research in Ch'ing monetary history, its numismatic, financial, and economic aspects. It is this combination that will raise the bar for future numismatic projects.

Burger's interest in Ch'ing cash has long been firmly established. Its first showcase was the 1964 article "Manchu Inscriptions on Chinese Cash Coins". Interesting for me as a manjurist is that it came at a moment when specialists in Manchu studies started resurfacing after a decennia-long hibernation.<sup>4</sup> Burger's observed:

European language publications contain very little in the way of reliable information concerning the Chinese coins having Manchu inscriptions. The purpose of this article, then, is to present an annotated distribution list of the mints operating during the various Manchu reigns including spans of operation and the distinguishing mint signs in Manchu. It is hoped that this list will provide the collector with a reliable guide and also serve as a contribution to the financial history of the Ch'ing period.<sup>5</sup>



Image 1. Interview in Hsiangkang Ming-pao 1976. Courtesy of <http://www.chinepro.org/blog/?p=196>

Since his first article five decades have passed, and forty years since the publication of his doctoral work *Ch'ing Cash until 1735*. His dissertation made him one of the very few European scholars that received a PhD in Chinese numismatics (in fact, in that respect I only know of one peer: Lyce Jankowski<sup>6</sup>). With the exception of a short article on a Khitan cash coin<sup>7</sup> Ch'ing money is written all over Burger's oeuvre (see *image 1*). His works include "Um Amuleto em Manchu"<sup>8</sup>, and more recent, in 2005, "Minting during the Qianlong Period: Comparing the Actual Coins with the Mint Reports"<sup>9</sup> and "*Wo de Ch'ing-tai huo-pi yan-chiu li-chêng yü ch'êng-chiu*" (The course and achievements of my Ch'ing cash research).<sup>10</sup> The latter

two exemplify Burger's skill in setting coins alongside the archival material, and vice versa. Burger's research is thorough and profound to the extent that, seeing the sheer amount of material that the author has catalogued, described and contextualized for his lifework *Ch'ing Cash*, forty years actually still seems rather fast.

### **Burger's *Ch'ing cash* (2016) and Hartill's *Qing cash* (2003)**

*Ch'ing Cash* is not the first work to take an inventory of the cash coins of the whole Ch'ing. In fact, Burger's work comes in a millennium that already saw the production of a groundbreaking catalogue on coins from China's last dynasty: *Qing Cash*.<sup>11</sup> This was published by David Hartill in 2003.<sup>12</sup> In his preface, Hartill describes his publication as a "historical catalogue of cash issued by the Qing and the rebels of the time". With *Qing Cash* Hartill led the way to hitherto unknown information on the chronology and attributions of the coins. Comparing *Qing Cash* to *Ch'ing Cash* on a structural level, we see that the aforementioned is arranged geographically by minting place, whereas Burger's work is arranged chronologically, each coin by individual mint and the year of production.

Further, comparing the cataloguing scope of both works Hartill emphasized that his *Qing Cash* focuses "on coins intended for general circulation, and little attention has been given to forgeries, fantasies, and trials. Similarly, the mother cash, used as part of the casting process, have not been listed in detail." (*ibid*). Looking at it from a quantitative perspective, *Qing Cash* catalogues "only" 2100 cash coins, while *Ch'ing Cash* shows more than 6000 coins, plus about a thousand other numismatic objects. Evidently, when Burger mentions in his preface that he wants to "catalogue all known cast Ch'ing cash coins" (p. 8), he really does mean *all*, also including material that Hartill did not touch upon. *All* also includes ivory, brass, bronze, copper, zinc, lead and iron rare coins, as well as several hundred amulets with Ch'ing reign titles on them. In addition, *Ch'ing Cash* shows Burger's collection of Hsien-feng paper notes, silver sycees, Tibetan silver coins, golden Sinkiang coins, contemporary forgeries etc.

However, Burger chose "not to include rebel money, such as the "southern Ming" coins of Wu San-kuei, after he declared himself emperor, or the coins of the Taiping Rebellion." (p. 5) The author does not elaborate on the reasons for this omission. On the other hand, *Ch'ing Cash* does include cash coins cast in the Aisin State (pp. 27–35), and the ones cast by Rashidin under the flag of the Sultanate Kuche, as well as those struck by Muslim rebels Yakub Beg and Habibulla (pp. 156–158). A reason to exclude rebel money with Chinese monolingual legends might have been the elaborate treatment it got in *Qing Cash*.<sup>13</sup> Contrary to Burger's own demarcation, *Ch'ing Cash* does in fact include new discoveries on Ming rebel cash, such as the cataloguing of Wu San-kuei's *Hsi* coins under the second year of the K'ang-hsi reign, after he "was done with the casting of the Yünan *I-li* cash." (p.29).

Apart from the difference in structure and scope of cataloguing, Burger, has catalogued all cast Ch'ing coins "along with their related stories" (p.8), while yet another aim was to "analyse and draw conclusions about the cash-related economic data." (*ibid*). Likewise, *Qing cash* touches upon relevant contexts as well, and does so in a very clear and succinct way. Hartill not did not have access to the same quantity and quality of material as Burger and Hartill's *Qing Cash* is aimed principally at the collector whereas Burger's work targets a wider audience including econometrists, economic historians, sinologists and Manjurists. This all said, *Qing Cash* remains a landmark in its own right, and keeps its value for people interested in collecting Ch'ing coins that need a basic handbook, plus the ones with special interest in rebel cash from the Southern Ming, the San Fan or Taiping Rebellion.

### ***Ch'ing Cash*: aims and contents**

*Ch'ing Cash* addresses various issues. Summarizing them in one paragraph, *Ch'ing Cash* is produced for readers that want to understand every single aspect of a Ch'ing coin. Its analysis is exhaustive, done on the basis of numismatic and documentary evidence, consisting of routine administrative documents on all mints of the Ch'ing Empire. By combining both the tangible money and the written histories, Burger aims to bare new insights in the

monetary and financial history of the Ch'ing, as well as contemporary political narratives. Further, the author has compiled chronological mint statistics, comprising the exact numbers of strings of coins cast by a particular mint in a given year. With this, *Ch'ing Cash* wants to contribute to a better understanding of many issues in a period of economic, social, political and cultural crises, especially from the 19th century onwards.



Image 2. *Ch'ing Cash* slip Case with two volumes.

*Ch'ing Cash* comes in a 13 by 15 inch, yellow ochre slip case. Tucked inside one will find two well-bound, hardback volumes, on which rubbings of Ch'ing coins are impressed. The set has the feel of a luxurious coffee-table book. The 257 pages of volume 1, *Ch'ing Cash*, are reserved for fundamental background knowledge, the analysis per reign and mint, tables and minting lists. One should bear in mind that the pages are large. In other words: would this be a regular production, this volume would count around 500 pages. Volume 2, *Ch'ing Cash: Year Tables*, contains the rubbings of over 6,000 coins in 53 large foldout charts, printed on fine Japanese paper, hand-folded and hand-bound (see images 2–4).



Image 3. Page from chapter on "Casting" in Volume 1.

In both the acknowledgements (p. 5) and the preface (pp. 8–9), Burger gives us valuable insights into the history of his collection; on how he first got coins from Mr. Lau's imported scrap copper to Hong Kong from Indonesia (*Ch'ing Cash* circulated in Indonesia until the 1940s), allowing Burger to sort out the coins he wanted, free of charge (p.5). Burger worked hard to find all: searching the back alleys of Peking, Shanghai, Canton and Taipei; traveling to Kathmandu and Calcutta. How Burger has built his collection would be a good book in its own right. There is no real outline, although the preface does introduce some overarching themes.

Preceding the analytical chapters, Burger takes his readers by the hand, introducing conventions and fundamentals of Ch'ing money. This section includes a reign table; abbreviations for important contemporary sources (p. 10); the "key to coin identification numbers" (pp. 11–12); and under "cash" (pp. 13–17) one finds information on types of cash (e.g. mother cash, palace cash), and terminology of writing style of the inscription (e.g. 'Three round head *boo*' or 'three dots *erh-pao*'), rarity of cash (introducing the concept of strings of cash), mints (and its different meanings), metals, weights, forgeries, and mint accounting. With these parameters set, the author moves on by introducing the process of

"Casting" (p.18–26). The text is richly illustrated, including insightful infographics on distinguishing types and coin marks (p. 26).

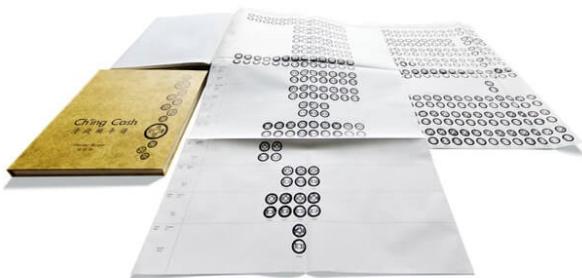


Image 4. Example of foldout in Volume 2. Images 2-4. Impression of Ch'ing Cash. Courtesy of format Limited. More images on their website <http://www.format.com.hk/>

The bulk of the following 12 chapters —chronologically representing 12 reign periods (Ch'ien-lung, Tao-kuang etc.)— all follow the same structure. Each chapter opens with an historical setting and the circumstances of the succession to the throne. This is then followed by an elaborate analysis of minting and casting activity per capital and regional mints, as well as monetary implications. As said, *Ch'ing Cash* aims to be all encompassing. Thus all aspects from the many stages of trial pieces to the final product are covered. For example the chapter on Ch'ien-lung (pp. 75–91) opens with informing the reader that ministers guided the emperor for the first fourteen years of his rule, implying that the emperor did not make all monetary decisions on his own. In the next paragraphs, Burger broaches the situation in the Peking mints, effecting the situation within the whole empire. Then, successively, the reader comes past the more than 20 regional mints from Chihli to Tibet (pp.76–86). Guiding the narrative, there are over 50 sharp images, varying from mother coins, sample cash, struck Sinkiang coins, silver coins from Tibet etc. Images are partly black and white rubbings, partly full color coin images. Every chapter comes with a clear map showing the location of the mints that operated at that time. These chapters close with the showcasing of a wide variety of amulets, plus a good selection of contemporary forgeries.

After the chapter on the coins of the last emperor (pp. 185-189), *Ch'ing Cash* provides its reader with a wealth of statistical information, based on archival documentation. First, Burger sketches the situation before 1736, pre Ch'ien-lung (pp. 191–192), and between the lines he also prepares the reader on how to read and understand the figures in the tables on the pages to come. "Cash production figures" presents tabular mint statistics, arranged by reign and mint (pp. 195–245). If available, the information includes: the reigning year of the emperor, the amount of furnaces and casting periods, the date of the report, additional information on the strings (e.g. "Recast forgeries" or "not enough Yünnan copper"), and the sum of all strings together.

The statistics are followed by the textual chapter "exchange rate of silver to cash" (p. 246-250), showing a collection of silver sycees. Information on silver is crucial, as it formed a parallel currency. Economically, it was based on a shifting number of cash coins exchanged for a fixed weight unit of silver. Following this is a page dedicated to "how much was a cash worth" (p. 251). In other words, what could one buy for a cash coin? Volume 1 ends with a "conclusion" and a bibliography (pp. 253–257). The conclusion shows the rise and downfall of the Ch'ing economy, ending in a low: "The belated introduction of machine-made silver and copper coins was too little too late. Popular uprisings caused by economic misery, such as the Boxer rebellion, delivered the final coup de grâce." (p. 253)

Volume 2 *Ch'ing Cash: Year Tables* contains the rubbings of over 6,000 coins in 53 large foldout charts. Each coin is arranged by individual mint and year produced, including a rarity index and an own number.

The remainder of this review article attempts to assess whether *Ch'ing Cash* meets the objectives that the author has set for himself.

### Discussion

It is beyond doubt that the *Year Tables* in Volume 2 of *Ch'ing Cash* contain an unparalleled collection of cash types. Each coin has its own unique reference number. Burger assesses his own work thus: "I list all coins referenced in official Chinese government documents, and all other coins that I have come across which appear to be genuine." (p. 9). As the *Year Tables* find their way to collectors, auctioneers, and researchers, the precision and exhaustiveness of Burgers cataloguing work deserves to make them the new standard, replacing the widely used Hartill identification numbers (and Frederik Schjöth's in *Chinese Currency*<sup>14</sup>). The reader is also treated to a wide range of amulets and contemporary forgeries, which I hope will receive their own identification number in future editions, comparable to the practice of Hartill in *Qing Cash*.<sup>15</sup>



Image 5. courtesy of auctioneer Stephen Album Rare Coins <http://db.stevealbum.com>

Beyond the scope of Ch'ing cast cash coins, Burger also takes the reader through a wide variety of struck cash such as square-hole machine cash, although understandably excluding the "machine made Kuang-hsü silver and copper coins (...) because they were produced according to the European system." (p. 8). Still, small gaps may be perceived, such as the coins struck in the context of the reconquest of Sinkiang (1876-1878), during the reign of Kuang-hsü (see e.g. image 5); the gaps might be stopped by the forthcoming work by Vladimer Nastich and Wolfgang Shuster *Catalogue of Pre-modern Central Asian Coins* (see review above).



Image 6. Courtesy of Shanghai Wuyue Collection Co., Ltd <http://www.wysecp.com/showdetail-72.html>

If one was to split hairs, it might be argued that Burger's discussion on banknotes issued during the Ch'ing leaves the reader wanting more. All-encompassing is the discussion of the paper notes issued during the Hsien-feng reign, including official and semi official banknotes, cash notes, official Fukien notes, Yünnan and Kansu government notes, notes from Peking and private money shops (pp. 137–144). Burger is thoroughgoing to the extent that possible

omissions can be expected to be left out for a reason. Yet there is no obvious explanation why the extremely rare *Pei-yang T'ienchin yin-hao* banknotes (see *image 6*), engraved by the British company Bradbury Wilkinson during the Kuang-hsü and Hsüan-t'ung reign, bearing the visage of Li Hung-chang (1823-1901) was omitted? It might very well be that Burger delimits himself to the pieces that went through his own hands. This aside, Burger's aim was to catalogue all *cast coins*, and this he has done--matchlessly.

The above makes clear that *Ch'ing Cash* surpasses the boundaries of "cast", as well as the boundaries of "cash coins". Pushing the scope even further, Burger also includes more than the dynastic realm of "Ch'ing". An example that concerns my own research, Burger frames the khans of the Aisin state (1616-1636) Nurhaci (1559-1626) and his son Hong taiji (1592-1643)<sup>16</sup> as the first rulers of the Ch'ing; the first and second of the "first five Ch'ing rulers." (p. 5). Indeed, post-conquest emperors of the Ch'ing went out of their way, ideologically, to make Nurhaci look like the first ruler of the Ch'ing, for the sake of legitimacy of rule. Placed within a contemporary perspective, however, Nurhaci Khan never alluded to overthrowing Ming China. Less straightforward is the case of Hong taiji. Nonetheless, should one want to place his rule within the continuum of the Ch'ing, then it is relevant to mention that Hong taiji proclaimed the Ch'ing as early as 1636, leaving 1644 as simply the year of the Ch'ing conquest of Ming Peking. The anachronism of Nurhaci (r. 1616-1626) and Hong taiji (r. 1627-1643) as Ch'ing rulers has consequences for the discussion of the coinage attributed to their name.



*Image 7. Chinese and Manchu coin. Courtesy of Zeno #7462*

Burger cites Ch'ing sources, the 1852 *Chih-ch'ien t'ung-k'ao*, which states in retrospect that 1616 was the year that Nurhaci declared himself ruler, and that according to Chinese tradition he started to cast cash in the same year of two types, one in Manchu and one in Chinese. The Manchu cash bears Nurhaci's reign title (*nien-hao*) *abkai fulingga han jiha* (translated as "Money of the Khan *Abkai Fulingga*") and the Chinese equivalent *T'ien-ming t'ung-pao* (see *image 7*).<sup>17</sup> This review is certainly not the place for a detailed analysis of these particular coinages, but let me mention two points that may lead us to rethink the scope of Ch'ing cash.

First, *abkai Fulingga/t'ien-ming t'ung-pao* was never used as a reign title in sources contemporary to the rule of Nurhaci. *Abkai fulingga* (that what the Sky has designated) is at second glance a direct calque from Mongolian *tengri-yin jayagatu*.<sup>18</sup> The allusion can be explained by the Manchu-Mongolic diplomatic conflicts at that time.<sup>19</sup> Second, stringed coins did not travel far (in contradiction to silver). Thus, the fact that Nurhaci coins are exclusively excavated (together with their moulds) in the areas where Nurhaci stayed after 1622, makes any numismatic, metallurgic etc. comparison with Ming dynasty Wan-li cash (r. 1572-1620) less logical than with Ming T'ien-ch'i (r. 1620-1627 (p. 27)).<sup>20</sup> Although more research could be done on the coinage preceding, surrounding and competing with the Ch'ing cash coins, I want to emphasize that we benefit greatly from the fact that Burger has the tendency to systematically go beyond his own set scopes. Because of him pushing boundaries, we now have a wealth of new information and rubbings of genuine coins. It is up to us to dot the i's and cross the t's, as Burger did with Ch'ing cash proper.

As for the other chief aims, Burger wanted to bare the "related stories" (p. 8). Indeed, Burger is at his best when he takes the physical objects as the main source to put down any smoke screen that often stands in the way of an in-depth analysis of issues in Chinese history, namely the fact that most written sources are mediated by several layers of political consideration or express

political intention rather than describing a situation as it was observed. Following the same line, Burger's third aim was to "analyze and draw conclusions about the cash-related economic data." In both respects, Burger comes through with flying colors.

Without having the illusion of being exhaustive here, "stories", including those that give new "cash related economic data", that stand out for me include: (1) the addition of Yünhsiang coins to the narrative of Shun-chi cash (p. 39); (2) the insertion of a whole new series of coins in the Yung-cheng reign; (3) the reconstruction of the nine Yünan mints during the Ch'ien-lung reign, and the presentation of the only known Manchu document on coins (p. 83); (4) the story of the Taiwanese "Old Man Dollar" and military cash (pp. 106-107); (5) the development of big cash coins during Hsien-feng, as well as the stories and fate of official and semi-official paper money, including an eyewitness report by an English diplomat (pp. 137-144); (6) the problem of the hitherto unknown Hsien-feng coin, belonging to Kweilin and Kwangsi (p. 133); (7) new information on the mints in Peking, Fukien and Kwangtung in relation to coinage of the Kuang-hsü reign; (8) and, last but certainly not least, the production of the mint figures from 1736-1911, showing that in the 18th year of the Ch'ien-lung reign one had 18 cash to spend per capita, going to ones knees during the Tao-kuang reign with 1/2 or 1 cash per capita. It explains the whole dilemma of the 19th century (p. 253).

A work of this magnitude and ambition is bound to come with some suggestions for improvement. My hope is that we will soon be treated to a second edition of *Ch'ing Cash* (relatively affordable, handy-sized), as well as a first Chinese edition. If so, one might consider taking the following suggestions into consideration.

My general observation is that *Ch'ing Cash* could have taken the reader by the hand more firmly. Before anything else, I think that (a) a better connection should be established between text and images, notably the connection between Volume 1 and 2. Other points where the reader may feel a bit lost at some points are (b) the lack of a clear outline of the book. To take readers into the rhythm even further, the chapters could do with a well-demarcated beginning, mid-section, and ending. The end of the chapter on the Ch'ia-ch'ing reign, for example, ends fairly abruptly with a quoted paragraph on Tibetan silver coins. (c) Where the reader could also use some more guidance, is in the introduction of consulted written sources. Those less familiar with Ch'ing documentation history will have a hard time assessing the status of sources such as the *Ch'ing Shih-lu* (Veritable Records). On the other end, those who are familiar with them, will have problems understanding why Burger did indulge into the *Tung-hua-lu*, as a parallel layer next to the *Shih-lu*, but passing over the layer of the *Ch'i-ch'ü-lu* (first-hand imperial diaries) all together. Along this same line: (d) some additional attention could be given to references. The density of information in *Ch'ing Cash* is admirable, and motivates me as a reader to track down the sources that Burger mentions. For example, when Burger states that he will exclude Kuang-hsü silver and copper coins, as they "were produced according to the European system, and there are already a number of excellent books covering these topics", I want to get to know these books. However, no reference is given.

Points (a) to (d), although structural in nature, are easy to readdress should a new version be in the making. This adjustability is all the more true for minor issues in the order of the *lin* for Linchow is miswritten as *min* (p. 42) or when Burger mentions Ch'ien-lung Palace cash (p. 75), he directs the reader to p. 26, where no palace cash is to be found.<sup>21</sup>

### Conclusion: A Quantitative and Qualitative Leap

*Ch'ing Cash* is the result of Burger moving mountains: mountains of soiled coins, of archival documents, mountains of statistics. It is the result of a life-long collecting and researching what was collected. The result means a quantitative and qualitative leap in all research areas that deal with money and economy of the Ch'ing dynasty. Never before did a scholar, or project team for that matter, manage to amass such an amount of material on Ch'ing money. What's more, the analysis coming from the connection between the coins and the written documentation is unparalleled and will remain to be so for a long time to come.

Burger already proved to be a great collector and numismatist in his 1976 doctoral work *Ch'ing Cash until 1735*. Thirty years later, as Burger mentions in his preface (pp. 8–9), his 1996 trip to Peking meant yet another leap in his research. He was able to obtain the mint reports from Ch'ien-lung till the fall of the dynasty. It took him a number of years to digest the entire 60 volumes, and although Burger found their contents, to some extent, "frustratingly vague", he kept on digging. His perseverance has resulted in a statistical breakdown of the financial situation during the Ch'ing that allows Burger to explain the dilemmas of the socio-historical and economic depression in 19th century China, based on the number of coins minted during individual reigns.

The devotion and determination an author needs to write such an all-encompassing work on Ch'ing Cash became clear in his preface to *Ch'ing Cash until 1735*: "I hope that perhaps one day I will be able to finish the second part, the Ch'ing cash from Ch'ien-lung (1736) to Hsün-t'ung (1910). Although I have most of the material already, without any financial help it will certainly take many years more."<sup>22</sup> Help came. Burger was able to accomplish his mission through his involvement as a research fellow in two consequent *Core Projects* within the large research group *Monies, Markets and Finance in China and East Asia, 1600–1900*.<sup>23</sup> Not only did Burger finish this second part, he also strengthened his doctoral work, making it relevant for a wider audience. Anyone interested in coins, art and Ch'ing history should see this work.

### Notes

- <sup>1</sup> Tübingen University/Leiden University
- <sup>2</sup> Taipei/Hong Kong: Mei Ya Publications, 1976.
- <sup>3</sup> *Nei-ko Han-wen t'i-pen hu-k'o huo-bi-lei* (Chinese Documents of the Grand Secretariat on Money Matters). This review uses Wade-Giles transcription throughout, in sync with Burger's convention.
- <sup>4</sup> Giovanni Stary. "Some remarks on Manchu autochthonous literature" in *Asiatica Venetiana* 1 (1996), pp. 183–192.
- <sup>5</sup> In *The American Numismatic Society Museum Notes XI* (1964), pp. 313–218, plates L-LV.
- <sup>6</sup> Her unpublished 2012 dissertation: *Les cercles de collectionneurs et de numismates dans la région de Pékin durant la première moitié du XIXème siècle – échange des monnaies anciennes, partage des idées et renouvellement des études numismatiques*.
- <sup>7</sup> "Q'i-tan hsiao-tsu min-su-ch'ien" (Khitan small script folklore money) in *Chung-kuo Ch'ien-pi* (Chinese Numismatics) 2010, Edition 1, p.64.
- <sup>8</sup> In *Boletim do Instituto Luís de Camões*, 1969.
- <sup>9</sup> In Christine Moll-Murata, Song Jianze and Hans Ulrich Vogel (eds.), *Chinese Handicraft Regulations of the Qing Dynasty* (2005), pp. 373–394.
- <sup>10</sup> In *Chung-kuo Ch'ien-pi* (Chinese Numismatics), 2005, Edition 1, pp. 12–18.
- <sup>11</sup> *Ch'ing* and *Qing* are different transcriptions (Wade-Giles and Pinyin) for the same character that marks the name of the last Chinese dynasty.
- <sup>12</sup> David Hartill. *Qing Cash*. Royal Numismatic Society Special Publication No. 37. London, 2003.
- <sup>13</sup> Hartill 2003, pp. 42–62.
- <sup>14</sup> Frederik Schjödth. *Chinese Currency Currency of the Far East*. Taipei, 1967 (reprint of 1929 publication).
- <sup>15</sup> Hartill 2003, plates 157–171.
- <sup>16</sup> Burger uses the transcription Huang T'ai-chi. While still not correct Manchu, it is still better than the non-existent name Abahai used in *Ch'ing Cash before 1735*.
- <sup>17</sup> *Chih-ch'ien t'ung-k'ao* 1852 (7273).
- <sup>18</sup> Note 34 of Farquhar "The Origins Of the Manchus' Mongolian Policy" in *The Chinese World Order*, edited by John K. Fairbank, 198–205 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University, 1968); Nicola di Cosmo "Nurhaci's Names" in *Representing Power in Ancient Inner Asia Legitimacy, Transmission and the Sacred* edited by Isabelle Charleux, Grégory Delaplace, Roberte Hamayon, and Scott Pearce, pp. 261–279. (Bellingham, WA: Center for East Asian Studies, Western Washington U, 2010).
- <sup>19</sup> Farquhar, p. 4; Nicola di Cosmo. "Marital Politics on the Manchu-Mongol Frontier in the Early Seventeenth Century." In *The Chinese State at the Borders*, ed. Diana Lary. Vancouver: UBC Press (2007), pp. 57–73.
- <sup>20</sup> Cf. Zhang Peilin. "Yi-si Nu-erh-ha-ch'ih' ch'iu-ch'ien yi-chih" in *Chungkuo Shou-tsang* 2011, Edition 4
- <sup>21</sup> Other small issues: p. 42: is this the correct *je*?; p. 84: missing reference for the Palace Coin collection of Huang P'eng-hsiao; p.84: missing English translation for *amban*; p.108: the silver dollar does not read Kiyani-ku: one superfluous tooth; p.109: Manchu *d* in *dong* is miswritten; p 123: about the Mukden coin, Burger assesses it as a "rather unorthodox style". I would say it is wrong; p.133: I agree that *joo* is more likely, like

Burger suggests (but then refutes); p.173: looks like *ning* (though strange writing), certainly not *boo ling*.

<sup>22</sup> Burger 1976, p.9

<sup>23</sup> Project 1 "Qing Coinage, 1850 to 1911: Mint, Numismatic Evidence, and Monetary Policy" (2005–2008) and project 2 "Qing Coinage, 1736–1850: Mint Statistics and Numismatic Evidence" (2008–2011), both lead by Prof. Dr. Hans Ulrich Vogel at the Department of Chinese and Korean Studies at the Eberhard Karls University of Tübingen. Project page <http://www.monieseastasia.uni-tuebingen.de/index.html>

## Articles

### AN UNATTRIBUTED SERIES OF GOLD COINS

By Simon Glenn

In 2001 Osmund Boppearachchi published in this journal two unique coins thought to have come from the second Mir Zakah hoard. The first was a small gold coin said to weigh 1.6g (**fig. 1**). The coin was subsequently offered for sale by Classical Numismatic Group in 2012 and 2013, with the weight given then as 1.06g. Unusually in the Graeco-Bactrian and Indo-Greek series to which it was tentatively attributed, the coin did not include the name of a king or queen in a legend. The only inscription present on the coin was a – C marking on the reverse. The types of the coin are equally unusual. The obverse features a circular shape with two extensions on either side, the interpretation of which is uncertain. Boppearachchi suggested that the shape may represent a shield, although he was unsure how to read the features at the sides, and he left the question of identification open in the hope of further discoveries. The coin remains unique, ruling out any new attempt to determine the obverse type and the best guess remains that offered by Boppearachchi. The reverse, however, is certainly a caduceus, although the horizontal line at its base is different from the depiction on other Graeco-Bactrian and Indo-Greek coins. The signs, or letters, in the right field pose more of a problem. Boppearachchi suggested the possibility that they represent an iota and a lunate sigma, although the orientation of the 'iota' would seem to be a substantial barrier to accepting that identification. The appearance of two distinct symbols of this sort is certainly not seen on other Graeco-Bactrian or Indo-Greek coins.

The one feature of this coin that is familiar from that series, however, is the astragalus or 'bead and reel' border. From Demetrius I onwards this sort of border is a regular feature of Attic standard tetradrachms issued under many kings down to Theophilus, Archebios, and Hermaios. The style is also familiar from other Greek and non-Greek media.<sup>1</sup> Only rarely does the bead and reel design feature on coins of other denominations. Although Boppearachchi accepted that without a legend the attribution of the coin to a particular ruler would only be a guess, he tentatively suggested that the coin was struck under Demetrius I. The use of the bead and reel border and types (shield and caduceus) that are found on Demetrius' bronze coins were the basis for this conclusion.



Figure 1: CNG Triton XV (3rd Jan 2012), 1345; CNG Auction 93 (22 May 2013), 680; AV 1.06g; 10mm; die axis not given. Image enlarged.

Unlike the bead and reel design, the issuing of gold coins under the Graeco-Bactrian and Indo-Greek kings is rare, we only have surviving examples struck under the Diodotai, Euthydemus I,

Eucratides I, and Menander I. It was coins assigned to the latter that Bopearachchi used as an analogy for the attribution to Demetrius I. A series of anepigraphic Attic weight staters (*BNBact* Menander série 1) is considered part of the issues of Menander because of the use of similar types on coins with his name (*BNBact* Menander série 2).<sup>2</sup> Three examples of these coins have been condemned as forgeries by both Mitchiner and Bopearachchi, partly because of damage to the die as well as die duplication. More recently, however, another example, now in the Miho collection, illustrates a die link between these coins and an example in the British Museum, usually thought to be genuine, thus potentially rehabilitating the three coins.<sup>3</sup> It is, however, interesting to note that the coins of this series also feature a bead and reel border on both obverse and reverse, similar to the example discussed above.

Two other gold coins struck on a very similar weight standard to the shield/caduceus example are known, although neither has been published before. One example (**fig. 2**) is in the collection of the American Numismatic Society and was acquired as part of the bequest of Edward T. Newell. Newell himself had acquired the coin from a Schulman auction.<sup>4</sup> The obverse features a club in another bead and reel border, while the reverse shows a wreath enclosed in a dotted border with the same – C marking to the right. The coin weighs 1.044g. A second example of this type is now held at the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford and was acquired as part of the collection of Adrian Hollis (**fig. 3**). It has the same obverse and reverse types and markings as the coin in New York and has a weight of 1.01g. According to Hollis' own records the coin was originally found in Afghanistan and he seems to have considered it most likely that it was issued under Menander, given the comparative series mentioned above (*BNBact* série 1), as well as the appearance of the club on some of that king's bilingual bronze issues (*BNBact* série 28). Although difficult to tell because of the poor striking of the two coins, it is quite possible that they were struck with the same pair of dies. Given this die linking and the seemingly worn condition of the dies it is also possible that these two coins are part of a series of forgeries to be linked to the condemned Menander staters mentioned above.



Figure 2: ANS 1944.100.63822; AV 1.044g; 12mm; 12 o'clock. Image enlarged



Figure 3: Ashmolean Museum, Hollis Collection; AV 1.01g; 10mm; 12 o'clock. Image enlarged.

If we assume, however, that the coins are genuine, there are a number of difficulties facing any attempt at attribution. The weight standard of c. 1.0g, although potentially an eighth of an Attic stater, is not one that is encountered elsewhere. An identification of the issuer based on the types and borders alone may find that Demetrius I is once again a plausible suggestion. We have already seen that the bead and reel border is found on that king's tetradrachms, while the reverse type of Demetrius' silver issues is Heracles standing, club in one hand, the other crowning himself with a wreath. The

iconographic parallels are clear. The lack of a legend, however, makes a Graeco-Bactrian attribution unlikely. Even coins of the smallest denominations, obols and hemiobols, were carefully produced with the royal title and the king's name on their reverse.

There is further evidence that these coins should not be considered part of the Graeco-Bactrian series. The results of X-ray fluorescence (XRF) analysis of the Hollis coin carried out at the Ashmolean Museum, reveal its composition to be as follows: AU-85.28%, AR-12.65%, Cu-1.39%, with smaller quantities of other elements. The reliability of the XRF technique has been questioned in the past and it is certainly not accurate for elements present in small quantities. It does, however, provide an indication as to the largest constituents of the coins, and the proportion of gold and silver is of great interest in this context. To my knowledge all other genuine Graeco-Bactrian gold coins that have been subjected to composition analysis have returned results within the range of 96% to 99% gold. A similar phenomenon is to be noted for genuine Graeco-Bactrian silver coins with no evidence for the adulteration of the silver. It seems likely that the coins were produced from a metal that was intended to be as pure as the technology allowed. Unfortunately, without further metal analysis undertaken on other series of coins, it is difficult to use this evidence to draw a positive conclusion.



Figure 4: AV Pushkalavati half stater, 17mm, 4.28g, 6 o'clock (CNG 91, 446).

One potentially similar coin series is the gold civic issue 'half stater' with the types of a bull and a female deity of which two examples are known. The first, held at the British Museum, was attributed to Pushkalavati by Mukherjee, before a second coin (**fig. 4**) was published by Senior and Babar in 1998. These coins, again on the basis of types shared with bronze coins of Azes were attributed to the second half of the first century BC or the first half of the first century AD.<sup>5</sup> The appearance of the lunate sigma in the legend of these coins is interesting, and if that is the correct interpretation of the symbol on the coins above may suggest a similar date, although such a connection should not be considered a firm basis for a dating argument. Whether any such link is a plausible one is unclear, but it seems likely that the three coins discussed above should certainly be placed later than the time of the Graeco-Bactrian kingdom.

**Bibliography**

- Abbreviation: *BNBact* – Bopearachchi (1991)
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  - O. Bopearachchi (2001), 'Two more unique coins from the second Mir Zakah deposit', *ONSN* 169, 21-22.
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  - M. Mitchiner (1975), *Indo-Greek and Indo-Scythian Coinage*, 9 volumes, London.
  - R. Morton Smith (1975), 'Bead-and-reel in India', *East & West* 25, 439-454.
  - B.N. Mukherjee (1965), 'The location of a mint of the Azes dynasty', *NC* 5, 109-112.
  - R.C. Senior and R. Babar (1998), 'A new king and a new deity', *ONSN* 157, 13.

**Notes**

<sup>1</sup> Morton Smith (1975).  
<sup>2</sup> Mitchiner (1975), vol. 2, p. 120.  
<sup>3</sup> Bracey (2011), 490.

<sup>4</sup> I must thank Shailendra Bhandare for bringing this coin to my attention and Peter van Alfen for his assistance in discovering the coin's provenance.

<sup>5</sup> Mukherjee (1965), 112.

## INDO-SCYTHIANS: SOME NEW VARIETIES, MISSING FRACTIONS AND RARE COINS

### Part III: AZES (ca. 60 – 45/35 BC)

By Heinz Gawlik

The III. Part of Indo-Scythian coins will continue with coins of Azes in line with the sequence of Indo-Scythian kings in Senior 2001.

#### AZES Æ units Senior type 77

The square Æ shows Poseidon facing holding trident in left hand and right hand on thigh. His right foot resting on river god. Reverse shows Yakshi between vines or flowers of the sacred Ashoka tree (*Saraca asoca*) with which she is closely associated. Yakshinis are mythical beings (guardians of treasure hidden in the earth) in Hindu and Buddhist mythology. The mint mark or monogram is in the lower left.



Fig. 1: Azes Æ units Senior type 77  
(28.4 x 27.0, 26.7 x 26.0, 26.9 x 24.0 mm; 12.48, 9.39, 9.48 g, 12h)

The legends in Greek and Kharoshthi are on three sides and read: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΑΖΟΥΥ and on the reverse *Mahrajasa Rajarajasa Mahatasa Ayasa*. Senior 2001 has identified three varieties with reference to differences in monogram, river god and drapery of Poseidon. Fig.1 shows three varieties of Senior type 77 which differ in the design of leaves or flowers on the reverse. The first is a coin with a general design of leaves. The leaves are upright at an angle of about 45°. The difference in the centre coin is the top left leaf which is almost invisible. The leaves of this example have many dots around it and look like flowers of the Ashoka tree. More significant are the differences in design of leaves in the third coin. The lower leaves are hanging down like flowers or fruits. There is another leaf hanging downwards between the centre and bottom leaves on left side. This leaf does not belong to this die and might be left from an earlier strike on a misplaced flan. Senior 2006 has published another variety of type 77 as S10.1. This issue has a different monogram but it also shows some leaves hanging downwards.

#### AZES Æ ¼ unit Senior type 81

Fig. 2 shows first a square Æ ¼ unit Senior type 81 (camel rider right / bull right) and below an unpublished variety of this type. The new variety bears a monogram above the yak and the Kharoshthi legend is placed on four sides starting in the right corner of the bottom line. This rarely used monogram is similar to the monogram on AR coins of type 105.55 (KMW right/Zeus Nikephoros – Rajarajasa).



Fig 2: Azes Æ ¼ units Senior type 81  
(16.2 x 15.3 & 13.3 x 13.1 mm; 3.27 & 2.36 g, 12h)

#### AZES Æ unit Senior type 84.6

Senior type 84.6 (KMS right/bull right) was known by a single Æ ¼ unit specimen which Senior published his comprehensive “Indo-Scythians Coins and History”. A first gap could be filled when a full unit was published by Senior in 2008. Fig. 3 shows a ¼ Æ unit together with an unpublished ⅛ Æ unit. The illustrated ⅛ Æ unit is of the same design with same legends as is found on the full and ¼ units.



Fig 3: Azes ¼ and ⅛ Æ units Senior type 84.6  
(17.8 x 17.0 & 13.9 x 13.8; 3.22 & 1.49 g; 12h)

#### AZES Æ units Senior type 91.1

Coins of Senior type 91 (KMS right/ bull right) are the largest and heaviest Æ units of Indo-Scythian coinage. The standard weight should be 24.20 g but most coins of this type are lighter. Two coins of type 91.1 are shown in Fig. 4. The monogram is in front of the bull and the Kharoshthi letter A is behind the bull. The weight of the two coins is 24.93g and 29.50g, both above 24.20g. The letter A behind the bull is invisible on the upper coin and it would be a new variety of this type if it were in fact missing.



Fig. 4a: Azes Æ units Senior type 91.1  
(33.5 -32.0 & 33.0 – 31.5 mm, 11.99, 24.93 & 24.50 g, 12h)



Fig. 4b: Azes AE units Senior type 91.1 (33.5 -32.0 & 33.0 – 31.5 mm, 11.99, 24.93 & 24.50 g, 12h)

**AZES AE unit Senior type 92**

A set of full, 1/2 and 1/4 units of Senior type 92.1 (KMS right/bull left) is shown in Fig. 5. Coins of this type are characterized by a round O in AZOY and a Kharoshthi legend on 3 sides. Two other 1/2 units in my collection have a weight of 5.09 and 5.65 g.



Fig. 5: Azes AE 1, 1/2 and 1/4 units Senior type 92.1 (24.5 x 24.4, 21.9 x 19.1 & 18.4 x 16.1 mm, 11.28, 4.90 & 2.77 g, 12h)

Senior type 92.3 is characterized by a Kharoshthi legend on four sides with a square O in AZOY. Fig. 6 shows a full unit and two 1/2 units of Senior type 92.3 for two reasons. The edge of a die is visible on the reverse. The rounded edge of the upper die (reverse or hammer) is more commonly encountered because it is easier to place the flan on the lower die than the upper die in the right position for minting. The edge of the upper die is curved but it does not mean that the die is circular. A circular die of this radius would be very large and eccentric and therefore difficult to handle. Another issue is the weight variation in 1/2 units. There are two more 1/2 units in my collection with weights of 3.97 and 4.54 g.



Fig. 6: Azes AE 1, 1/2 units Senior type 92.3 (32.3 x 21.8, 22.0 x 18.9; 18.8 x 17.8 mm, 11.85, 5.26, 3.98 g, 12h)

**AZES AR tetradrachms Senior type 93**

Senior describes type 98 as a transition type. Obverse: KMS and reverse: Zeus Nikephoros left as on type 105. The tetradrachm in Fig. 7 shows an unpublished variety of type 98 with letter Sva? in front of standing Zeus.



Fig. 7: Azes variety of AR tetradrachm Senior type 93 Sva? ①

**AZES AR tetradrachms Senior type 98**

The tetradrachm shown in Fig. 8 corresponds to the drachm of type 98.201 (KMW right/Pallas standing right) with the Kharoshthi letter La before the horse.



Fig. 8: Azes AR tetradrachm Senior type 98.201 (24.1 - 23.5 mm, 8.88 g, 8h)

Senior 2001 published a tetradrachm of type 98.221 with Kharoshthi letter Jha before horse. Fig. 9 shows an unpublished variety of a tetradrachm with the letter Jham before horse of this group.



Fig. 9: Variety Azes AR tetradrachm Senior type 98.22- Jham (24.0 - 23.7 mm, 9.07 g, 6h)

The coin illustrated in Fig. 10 is a variety of type 98.377. The difference is in the right monogram on reverse. Most coins have three crossing lines in the square box of the monogram. This coin has only two lines as observed in other coins of this series too. Senior has shown two varieties of type 98.325 with a similar monogram.



Fig. 10: Variety of Azes AR tetradrachm Senior type 98.327 Da (9.47 g) ④

An unpublished variety of type 98.350-361 with control letter Bha is shown in Fig. 11.



Fig. 11: Variety of Azes AR tetradrachm Senior type 98.35- Bha (9.37 g) ④

An unpublished variety of type 98.400-408 with control letter *Bha* is shown Fig. 12.



Fig. 12: Variety of Azes AR tetradrachm Senior type 98.40- Bha (9.46 g) ④

**AZES AR units Senior type 99 (KMW/Zeus right)**

Coins of series type 99 show Zeus right with a long sceptre over his left shoulder. The sceptre ends either in three balls or in three prongs. The coin illustrated in Fig. 13 does not show the top of the sceptre. The Kharoshthi legend is *Rajarajasa* and the coin might belong to type 99.22 with *De* before horse or it is an unpublished control letter for the type with three prongs.



Fig. 13: Azes AR tetradrachm Senior type 99.-- with De (9.49 g) ④

The next coin (Fig. 14) of the same Zeus right series does not show the top of the sceptre too. The legend is also *Rajarajasa* and the control letter is *Jha*. This could be a variety of type 99.65 with three prongs or an unpublished control letter of type with sceptre ending in three balls.



Fig. 14: Azes AR tetradrachm Senior type 99.-- with Jha (9.37 g) ④

Senior 2001 had doubts about the Kharoshthi control letter *Gi* on the obverse of tetradrachms of type 99.70 (KMW right/ Zeus standing right). He added a question mark to the letter. Fig. 15 shows a tetradrachm with the same letter/monogram but of a different die. There are differences to the letter *Gi* and it seems that dies of type 99.65 with letter *Jha/Jham* were recut to *Gi*.



Fig. 15: Azes AR tetradrachm Senior type 99.70 with Gi (24.0 - 23.5 mm, 9.57 g, 4h)

**AZES Æ units Senior type 100**

The full unit as well as the 1/2 and 1/4 fractions of Æ type 100 (elephant right, bull right) are round. Senior 2008 published a possible fourth denomination of a square 1/8 unit as type S16.1c. Fig. 16 shows a full and a 1/8 unit of type. Both coins bear a monogram and the Kharoshthi letter *A* above the bull.



Fig. 16: Azes Æ full and 1/8 units Senior type 100

The enlarged 1/8 Æ unit (Fig. 17) has all the elements of type 100. The legends read *BAΣIΛEΩΣ BAΣIΛEΩN MEΓAΛOY AZOY* and *Maharajasa Rajarajasa Mahatasa Ayasa* respectively as on other *Rajarajasa* coins of type 100.



Fig. 17: Azes Æ 1/8 unit Senior type 100. (13.5 x 13.2 mm, 1.66 g, 12h)

**AZES Æ unit Senior type 102**

The round Æ series of elephant/lion has many varieties in monograms and control letters and it is understood that there are still some gaps. The following coins will close a few gaps in this series. The details of Æ unit in Fig. 18 are less clear in the original than in the image, but it adds a new variety of type 102.161 with Kharoshthi letter *Na* before bull.



Fig. 18: Azes Æ unit Senior type 102.160-162 with Na (27.8 x 25.9 mm, 12.34 g, 8h)

No 1/4 unit of Æ type 102.160-162 has been reported so far. Fig. 19 shows a 1/4 unit of an unpublished variety of this type with letter *A* before bull.



Fig. 19: Azes Æ ¼ unit Senior type 102.16- with A (18.8 x 17.9 mm, 3.06 g, 12h)

Senior 2001 has illustrated a full unit of Æ type 102.172. Fig. 20 shows the corresponding ½ unit of type 102.172 with letter *Ti* before bull.



Fig. 20: Azes Æ ½ unit Senior type 102.172 with *Ti* (23.8 x 21.8 mm, 5.59 g, 12h)

Fig. 21 adds an unpublished variety of Æ unit of type 102.19- with letter *Mi* before bull.



Fig. 21: Azes Æ unit Senior type 102.19- with *Mi* (24.7 x 24.1 mm, 13.44 g, 4h)

The Æ unit of type 102.200 with *Jha* before bull isn't in good condition in Senior 2001. The coin in Fig. 22 shows clearly all the details, such as *Im* above lion and *Ha* in front of lion.



Fig. 22: Azes Æ unit Senior type 102.200 with *Jha* (26.0 x 24.9 mm, 11.76 g, 7h)

**AZES AR units Senior type 105 (KMW/Zeus Nikephoros)**

Fig. 23 shows an unpublished tetradrachm corresponding to drachm Senior type 105.189 with control letter *Na* before horse.



Fig. 23: Azes AR tetradrachm Senior type 105.189 Na ③

Only a few coins with a monogram of type 105.37 are listed in Senior 2001. The illustrated tetradrachm (Fig. 24) adds a new variety to type 105.37- with respect to the monogram over letter A and So before horse. Also coins of type 105.31 have a quite similar monogram over A. The sketches below show the differences.

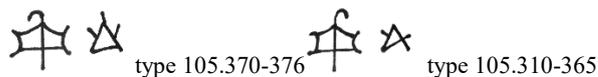


Fig. 24: Variety of Azes AR tetradrachm Senior type 105.37- So (24.3 - 23.0 mm, 9.60 g, 9h)

The drachm in Fig. 25 shows an unpublished variety in the group of type 105.42- with control letter *Sam* before the horse.



Fig. 25: Variety of Azes AR drachm Senior type 105.42- *Sam* ③

The tetradrachm in Fig. 26 belongs to the same group as the coin above and is also unpublished but the letter before shows a variety in the group of type 105.420-422 with control letter *Sam* before the horse.

Five tetradrachms of Senior type 105.46- (KMW right with monogram before king's head/Zeus Nikephoros) are illustrated in Fig. 27 to show variation in the execution of the nandipanda over the Kharoshthi monogram on reverse. The tetradrachms from top down are of following types with the particular control letter/monogram before horse: 105.460 Ka, 105.462 monogram, 105.462 monogram, 105.464 Ti and 105.468 Go. The nandipanda not only varies from type to type but also varies on same type as the following sketches taken from coins of the same type as Fig. 27 show:

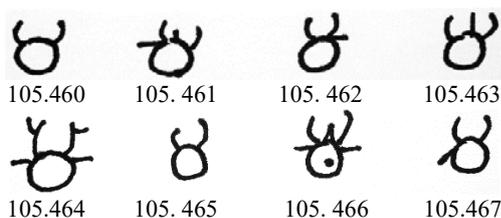


Fig. 26: Variety of Azes AR drachm Senior type 105.420-422 ③



Fig. 27: Variations of Azes AR tetradrachms with nandipanda Senior type 105.46- (from top: 105.460, 105.462, 105.462, 105.464, 105.468)

The following sketches are taken from illustrations of coins of the same group of types in Senior 2001.



The variation in the design of the nandipanda in this group of coins seems to be an expression of artistic freedom by die cutters or it might be a kind of personal mark

The drachm with *Rajarajasa* legend in Fig. 28 is an unpublished variety of type 105.50-with control letter *Sa* before horse.



Fig. 28: Variety of Azes AR drachm Senior type 105.50- with *Sa* (15.3 x 15.0 mm, 1.81 g, 2h)

Another unpublished variety of this group 105.50- is the drachm in Fig. 29 with control letter *Nam* before horse.



Fig. 29: Variety of Azes AR drachm Senior type 105.50- *Nam* 2.12 g ⑥

Coins in the group of type 105.680 have a monogram left and *Tha* right on reverse. The *Tha* on the tetradrachm Fig. 30 has something of a *Tham* but the control letter *Im* before the horse is still unpublished with this monogram. The king's name is spelt AZOYIY.



Fig. 30: Variety of Azes AR tetradrachm of Senior type 105.68 *Im* ③

Fig. 31 shows another unpublished variety of tetradrachm type 105.680-682 with control letter *Na* before horse. The king's name is spelt AZOYIY too.



Fig. 31: Variety of Azes AR tetradrachm Senior type 105.680-682 with *Na* (23.3 – 22.9 mm, 9.23 g, 6h)



Fig. 32: Azes AR tetradrachm Senior type 105.771 with *Va* (23.0 – 22.1 mm, 9.37 g, 1h)

Senior 2001 noted that coins with the same monogram as type 105.770 have *Rajadirajasa* in the Kharoshthi legend in a neat style and that the king's name is spelt AZIOY but some (see below) do not share this feature. The tetradrachm in Fig. 32 with control letter *Va* before the horse is similar to the Senior type 105.771 with *Rajadirajasa* and king's name spelt AZIOY. The next coin (Fig. 33) differs from the coin listed by Senior as type 105.772 with control letter *Ba* because the king's name is spelt AZOY and not AZIOY.

In addition the coin in Senior 2001 does not have an exergual line below the horse. A minor difference is found in the king's single streamer with a small fork at the end. Senior has mentioned the coin 105.772 as unusual in having round omicrons in the obverse legend.



Fig. 33: Azes AR tetradrachm Senior type 105.772 with *Ba* 23.9 – 23.0 mm, 9.55 g, 1h)

The third coin of this group is an unpublished tetradrachm with *Pra* before the horse (Fig. 34) and it corresponds to the drachms of type

105.773. The king's name is spelt AZOY. The king's single streamer has also the small fork at the end and Zeus has narrow double diadem ties.



Fig. 34: Azes AR tetradrachm Senior type 105.773 with Pra (23.3 – 22.9 mm, 9.19 g, 1h)

Senior states for the type 105.77- that coins with other control letters are reported but have not been confirmed by him. Fig. 35 shows a drachm of this type with control letter Sa before the horse. The king's name is spelt AZIOY on this type.



Fig. 35: Variety of Azes AR Drachm Senior type 105.77- with Sa (14 mm, 2.30 g) ⑤

Senior has decided for a Jham as control letter on style 105.912 but the letter on coin Fig. 36 looks a Nam/Na rather than Jham.



Fig. 36: Variety of Azes AR tetradrachm Senior type 105.912 with Nam/Na (9.80 g) ③

Senior was facing the same problem with the control letter for type 105.954 and wrote Jham (Nam?). The coin in Fig. 37 shows a Nam before the horse in my opinion as it is seen on the coin in Fig. 36.



Fig. 37: Variety of Azes AR tetradrachm of Senior type 105.954 with Nam ③

**AZES Æ unit Senior type 107**

The Æ unit (seated king/Hermes standing facing, Rajadirajasa legend) in Fig. 38 is an unpublished variety of type 107.93. The coin has two prominent dots left and right of the sitting king.



Fig. 38: Variety of Azes Æ unit Senior type 107.93 (26.9 x 26.0 mm, 9.90 g, 8h)

**AZES Æ units Senior type 109.10**

A possible monogram below the elephant is referred to by Senior for the square Æ coin of type 109.10 (elephant right/bull right). A coin with a clear monogram is illustrated in Senior 2008. According to my experience most coins of type 109.10 have the monogram below the elephant. The upper part of the monogram is even visible on the coin in Senior 2001. Three coins of this type are illustrated in Fig. 39. The first two coins have the monogram below the elephant. The second coin is shown to illustrate that the monogram is weakly executed or rubbed off on some coins so that it appears the coin is without a monogram. On all the coins with a monogram the elephant raises his left front leg.



Fig. 39: Azes Æ units Senior type 109 (14.6 x 13.9, 12.3 x 12.0, 12.4 x 12.2 mm, 2.13, 1.70, 1.59 g, 12h)

The third coin is special as can be seen in the enlargement (Fig. 40). The Greek legend starts in the left lower corner as on other coins but the second word ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ starts in the middle of upper line and continues on the right side followed by AZOY. This difference is not found on coins with the monogram below elephant where the name AZOY stands alone on the right side. Also it seems that the elephant does not raise his left front leg. There are scratches or lines from the die below the elephant and a monogram can't be ruled out. Traces of a possible monogram below the front part of the bull might be possible and it would be helpful to see further specimens of this variety.



Fig. 40: Variety of Azes Æ unit Senior type 109.10

**AZES Æ unit Senior type 112.10**

A well preserved Æ unit of type 112.10 (Hermes standing quarter left with caduceus/ City goddess with cornucopia to left) shows the details of this type (Fig. 41).



Fig. 41: Variety of Azes Æ units Senior type 112.10 (19.9 x 18.2 mm, 4.39 g, 4h)

**AZES Æ unit Senior type 120**

The Æ unit of Senior type 120.10 shows Lakshmi facing with a flower in her right hand and on reverse a bull standing right with letter Dhra before. A variety of type 120 without a letter before bull is shown in Fig. 42. Mitchiner 1976 already published this type without control letter before the bull as type 841a.



Fig. 42: Variety of Azes Æ units Senior type 120.10 (16.7 x 15.5 mm, 7.07 g, 12h)

**AZES Æ units Senior type 121**

With new finds of coins the series KMS/bull of type 121 becomes more and more complex. Fig. 43 shows varieties of Æ units of Senior type 121.12 with *Rajadirajasa* legend and additional control letters *Sa* or *Sam* before horse. Illustrated are from top: full unit with *Sam*, full unit with *Sa*, ½ unit? with *Sam* and ¼ unit with *Sa*. The ½ unit is questionable because the weight meets that of ½ unit but the die size is like that of a full unit. But questions can be raised whether mints have used dies of full unit to produce ½ units on a lighter flan. If the illustrated second coin is a ½ unit then both coins - ½ and ¼ nominal - would be unpublished for the type 121.12.



Fig. 43: Varieties of Azes 1, 1, ½?, ¼ Æ unit Senior type 121.12

(24.1 x 20.5, 23.9 x 22.4, 22.8 x 20.9, 14.8x 14.0 mm, 11.11, 9.27, 5.31, 2.06 g, 6h, 6h, 9h, 11h)

Fig. 44 shows an unpublished variety of ¼ unit type 121.12 with *Sa* in front of the horse.



Fig. 44: Variety of Azes ¼ Æ Senior type 121.12 (14.8 x 14.0 mm, 1.92 g, 12h)

The upper coin of Fig. 45 is an example of KMS/bull with *Rajadirajasa* legend of Senior type 121.20. The Kharoshthi legend of all coins with *Rajadirajasa* of type 121.20-25 starts on the bottom line after *Ayasa*. The second coin has also *Rajadirajasa* in the legend and *Dhra* before horse but the Kharoshthi legend starts in the middle of the right side. The king's name, *Ayasa* is placed in the lower half of the right side. The coin would be an unpublished variety of Senior type 121.22.



Fig. 45: Varieties of Azes Æ unit Senior type 121.20-25 (23.6 x 21.5, 22.9 x 21.4 mm, 9.57, 9.99 g, 12h)

The ¼ Æ unit in Fig. 46 has some sticking layer of corroded material in the upper part of reverse but with all visible details it can be concluded that the coin belongs to the *Rajadirajasa* group of Senior type 121.20-25. There is a letter before the horse and it could be a *Ra* or *Ba*.



Fig. 46: Variety of Azes ¼ Æ Senior type 121.20-25 (16.0 x 15.8 mm, 2.34 g, 12h)



Fig. 47: Variety of Azes ¼ Æ Senior type 121.20-25 (16.0 x 15.8 mm, 2.34 g, 12h)

The last coin of this group is a ¼ Æ unit with *Rajadirajasa* legend (Fig. 47). It has a monogram with the letter *Sa* over the bull and no letter before the horse. The coin is made in a neat style and it is shown in this group because traces of the king's name in Greek are visible and it reads rather AZOY/AZIOY than AZIAISOY. For a comparison the Azes Æ units of type 84 have the Kharoshthi legend on three sides but this coin has the legend on all four sides.

Clarification is expected if more and better coins of this type will surface.

**AZES Æ units Senior type 122**

Senior 2001 describes the type 122 (Fig. 48) as a lion with a circle above. Reverse: "Enthroned" deity with outstretched right arm and cornucopia in left arm. Monogram left and *Vi* right. The sitting device is marked by a few strokes in form of an open and closed triangle with a connecting line. The legends are only partially readable and several coins are required for a complete reading. The Kharoshthi legend reads: *Maharajasa rajarajasa mehatasa Ayasa* and starts irregular on flan. The type may include more than one denomination with reference to the weights of illustrated coins (4.03 & 5.53 g) and the weights (4.38 – 7.84 g) provided by Mitchiner 1976 (type 839e-g) and Senior 2001, 2006.



Fig. 48: Azes Æ unit Senior type 122 (20.0 x 18.9, 19.8 x 17.8 mm, 5.53 & 4.03 g, both 2h)

**AZES Æ units Senior type 123**

The deity on type 123 is cruder and Mitchiner and Senior both see the deity as standing. However, there are indications that deity is sitting. Both coins in Fig. 49 have an open triangle with opening to right behind the deity. This can be considered as part of a seat in a stylized form as on type 122. Coins of this type are of a lighter standard in general and vary between 1.60 and 4.39 g. Reverse: monogram in right field and A over Kharoshthi *Vi* rather than *Ra* or *Ru* left. It is similar to type 123.14.



Fig. 49: Azes Æ unit Senior type 123 (19.4 x 17.7, 18.0 x 17.3 mm, 4.19 & 2.52 g, 3 & 4h)

The coin in Fig. 50 is of type 123 with a variation in the symbol with a closed loop above the lion as on type 123.15. The reverse with A above symbol is as on type 123.14. The deity on this coin is in a sitting position without any traces of a seat. The name *Ayasa* is readable below the feet of the deity on the right side.



Fig. 50: Variety of Azes Æ Senior type 123 (4.39 g) ④

The variety of type 123 (Fig. 51) has two Kharoshthi letters like A and *Ra* or *Va* over lion. Reverse: monogram as last but letter or symbol in right field as on lead coin type 123.20.



Fig. 51: Variety of Azes Æ Senior type 123 (19 mm, 4.7 g) ②

**POSTHUMOS AZES ISSUES RELATED TO THE KHARAHOSTES FAMILY**

**KHARAHOSTES Æ units Senior type 143**

Fig. 52 shows a full unit of type 143.2 with KMS right and letter *Pra* before horse. Reverse: lion to right with X before and a character (Senior proposes *Kharo?*) added by *Sam* over lion. The Kharoshthi legend is on four sides and reads *Chatrapasa pra Kharaostasa Artasa putrasa*.



Fig. 52: Kharahostes Æ unit Senior type 143.2 (21 x 20 mm, 8.00 g, 12h) ②

A first ¼ Æ fraction of type 143 as S27.2 with a weight of 2.32 g was published by Senior 2006. Fig. 53 shows another ¼ fraction of this type. The letter before horse is probably *Pra*. The Kharoshthi legend is partly visible on top and left side and reads: *Kharaostasa Artasa*.



Fig. 53: Kharahostes ¼ Æ unit Senior type 143/S27.2 (15 x 15 mm, 1.50 g, 6h) ②

**MUJATRIA Æ unit Senior type 138 / Cribb type 1**

Cribb 2015 has attributed the Æ units of Senior type 138 to Mujatria son of Kharahostes. All coins of this type bear the name of Azes in Greek and Kharoshthi. The coin (Fig. 54) has already been published (Gawlik 2015). Obverse: KMW and a wheel like device before horse. Reverse: lion walking right with Kharoshthi *Shi* above and an x-shape in front. The Greek legend is the same as on Cribb type 1 / Senior type 138 with ΛΟΞ AZOY in the bottom line. The

Kharoshthi legend differs from other published coins and starts in the left corner of bottom line with *Maharajasa* and ends with *Rajatirajasa Ayasa* on the left side. All other published coins have the name *Ayasa* in the bottom line.



Fig. 54: Variety of Mujatria A unit Senior type 138.1  
(23.0 x 22.6 mm, 7.20 g, 3h)

**THE APRACHARAJAS AND ASPAVARMA**

**ITRAVASU c. AD 19**

Itravasu son of Vijayamitra who is probably the founder of the Apracharaja dynasty issued drachms and tetradrachms. Obverse: KMW and Ya before horse and reverse: Pallas standing right with right arm outstretched. The relationship with Vijayamitra his father is confirmed on the coins of Itravasu. Senior sees the following drachms of type 178 and 179 with differences in the Kharoshthi legend as probable issues of Itravasu.

**ITRAVASU drachms of Senior type 178**

Drachms of Senior type 178 show Pallas with double drapery and the letter *Pra* in right field. The full legend reads *Itra(?)vasasa Ispavasa Apacharajasa*. The legend on this drachm (Fig. 55) starts at 12 o'clock and ends with the visible characters ...*pacharajasa*.



Fig. 55: Variety of Itravasu drachm Senior type 178  
(12.0 – 11.7 mm, 1.89 g, 11h)

**ITRAVASU drachms of Senior type 179**

Fig. 56 shows a nice drachm of type 179.1 with letter *Pra* in right field and nandipada in left field. The legend starts at 3 o'clock and reads: *Ispavasa Idravasasa Avatirajasa*. The visible parts of the legend on this coin read: *Ispavasa Idrava .....tirajasa*.



Fig. 56: Variety of Itravasu drachm Senior type 179  
(12.3 – 12.0 mm, 2.39 g, 6h)

The drachm (Fig. 57) is in a neat style with Pallas standing right, right arm outstretched with letter *Dham?* in right field. Pallas' drapery is split at the end. The legend starts at 6 o'clock and ends with *Apacharayasa*.



Fig. 57: Variety of Itravasu drachm Senior type 179  
(13.1 – 12.7 mm, 2.12 g, 5h)

An unpublished variety of drachm Senior type 179 with *Pha* and a dot below horse and letter *Pri* in right field on reverse is illustrated in Fig. 58. Another significant difference is the quite corrupt Kharoshthi legend which reads from outside clockwise and starts at 10 o'clock. The word *Apacharajasa* is readable from 4 – 9 o'clock and separates the beginning of the legend by a double dot



Fig. 58: Variety of Itravasu drachm Senior type 179  
(12.6 – 12.2 mm, 2.20 g, 1h)

Fig. 59 shows an unpublished variety of Senior type 179. Reverse: deity standing right with a stick in outstretched right hand and letter *Pra* in left field. The Kharoshthi legend starts at 8 o'clock and reads: *Ispavasa Idravasasa Avatirayasa*.



Fig. 59: Variety of Itravasu drachm Senior type 179  
(13.7 – 12.5 mm, 1.88 g, 8h)

Another variety of Senior type 179 (Fig. 60) has the deity standing left also with a stick in the outstretched left hand and letter *Ma* in right field. The Kharoshthi legend starts at 4 o'clock: *Ispavasa Idravasasa Avatirayasa*.



Fig. 60: Variety of Itravasu drachm Senior type 179  
(13.7 – 12.5 mm, 1.88 g, 8h)

**ASPAVARMA c AD 19 - 50**

**ASPAVARMA drachm Senior type 182**

The drachms of Aspavarma (Senior type 182) have on obverse: KMW right with *Va* before horse and on reverse: Pallas right with monogram in right field and nandipada left. Senior read the Kharoshthi legend on drachms type 182 as *Imtravarmaputrasa Aspavarmasa Stratega* and on tetradrachm of type 183 as *Imtravarmaputrasa Aspavarmasa Strategasa Jayatasa*. The reason for this conclusion might be that the legends are off flan quite often and he might have had drachms with this reading only. In Fig. 61 are three drachms of Aspavarma which show clearly that the reading differs from Senior. All three coins have the complete word *Strategasa*. But there is more because the coins at top and bottom have a Kharoshthi legend which ends in *Strategasa Ja* and the middle coin ends in *Strategasa Jaya*. This is a clear indication that the cutter tried to transfer as much as possible of the whole legend. Therefore there are drachms with an incomplete legend due to limitation in space.

Senior, R., 2008, 'A few more new Indo-Greek and Indo-Scythian Discoveries', JONS 195, 14 - 17

## NEW TYPES OF NAKHSHAB COINS OF THE 7<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY

By Aleksandr Naymark\*

In a recent article devoted to a number of unpublished Sogdian coins Shinji Hirano presented three previously unknown types with a Y-shaped tamgha (Hirano 2016, pp. 12–13, nos. 5, 6, 7). To the three coins published by Hirano (figs.2–4), one can add a fourth one auctioned in February of 2016 on eBay (fig.1).



Fig. 61: Varieties of Aspavarma drachm Senior type 182 (13.5-13.0, 13.0-12.1, 13.3-12.8 mm, 2.84, 2.46, 2.42 g, 3, 2, 6h)

Senior identified two types, drachms with and without *Da* below the horse. But there is another difference in the form of nandipada. Coins in Senior 2001 and Fig. 61 have a nandipada with a circle below and two dots at the sides. Fig. 62 shows an unpublished variety with a different nandipada in excellent condition. The nandipada is simple and has a large dot in place of the circle and the side dots are missing. The Kharoshthi legend ends *Strategasa Ja* on this coin.



Fig. 62: Variety of Aspavarma drachm Senior type 182 (13.9 – 12.5 mm, 2.44 g, 7h)

Illustrations are not to scale.

### Abbreviations

JONS Journal of the Oriental Numismatic Society

KMW King Mounted with Whip

KMS King Mounted with Spear

Use and publication of marked images has been authorized by:

- ① Indus Numismatics
- ② Indus Valley Coins
- ③ LANZ, Munich
- ④ Muenzen & Medaillen GmbH
- ⑤ SARL - www.numiscorner.com
- ⑥ Sikka Numismatics

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Mitchiner, M., 1976, *Indo-Greek and Indo-Scythian Coinage*, London (9 volumes)

Senior, R., 2001, *Indo-Scythians Coins and History*, London (3 volumes).

Senior, R., 2006, *Indo-Scythians Coins and History*, London (volume 4)



Fig 1: New example with tamgha on reverse

The tamgha featuring on these coins is best known from the multiple issues of Samarqand rulers minted in the early 7<sup>th</sup> and the first half of the 8<sup>th</sup> century<sup>1</sup>. Hence Shinji Hirano's attribution of these three new types to Samarqand.

There is no doubt that the tamghas on Sogdian coins were the signs of various realms (Naymark 2005) and that they were introduced into the coin design to allow a person to identify the authority behind the coinage. Still, despite all the good intentions of early mediaeval mint masters, there are quite a few cases in Soghdian numismatics when the tamgha alone appears to be insufficient for the simple identification of the authority/realm responsible for the coin issue. One such cases is undoubtedly constituted by the three closely related coin types (figs.2–4) published by Shinji Hirano.



Fig 2: Hirano no.5



Fig.3: Hirano no.6

The problem is that no coins of these types are present in large numismatic collections from the site of Samarqand, in Eastern Soghd: they appeared neither in the publications of finds from Afrasiab – the site of the ancient Samarqand itself, nor in the extensive publications of coins from the excavations of Panjikant.

Besides the lack of finds in Samarqand, there are also typological arguments: none of the three new types displays any significant ties to the coinage of Samarqand, and any attempt to "insert" these coins into the solidly built sequence of Samarqand issues would lead only

to an unjustifiable “break” of apparent connections between the neighboring types of an already existing coherent system.



Fig.4: Hirano no.7 (tamgha on left of reverse)

On the other hand, the portraits on the obverses of the three new types display obvious similarity to the obverse images on the latest type of coins with *leontomachia* (combat with a lion, fig.5&6) that carries exactly the same Y-shaped tamgha on the reverse, but was definitely struck in Nakhshab (Naymark 2014, pp. 267–8). Among the common “stylistic” traits are: characteristic short haircut; very specific egg-like outline of the face; the manner in which nose, lips and chin are shown. Also identical is the almond shape of eyes marked by solid contour. In the publication devoted to the late type of coins with *leontomachia* I mistakenly interpreted a curved row of dots underneath the chin of the effigy (figs.5&6) as the depiction of a “balbo” beard (Naymark 2014, p. 267). With the three new portraits at our disposal it is clear that this is a somewhat clumsily depicted string of beads. In the monetary iconography of Soghd this important detail is very rare: besides the coins under discussion it appears only on the much later issues of Ikhshid Ayrid (Yazid) b. Ughrak (Ghurak) (Naymark 2015) and on the enigmatic Bukharan type with a horse and a legend *kndp’r* (Rtveladze 2004), where the portrait was evidently executed under the direct influence of the Nakhshab coinage. Among other common features is the elongated shape of “dots” in the rim surrounding the coin’s central field. Last, but not least, in the entirety of Sogdian numismatics the clothing of the lower part of the torso covers the beaded rim only on one of the varieties of the late coins with *leontomachia* (fig.6) and on the second of the new types under discussion (fig.3).



Fig.5: Leontomachia on reverse



Fig.6 Leontomachia on reverse

Unfortunately, none of the four known specimens representing these three new types preserves the entire legend. As a result the content of the legend is not yet here to help us in the attribution of these coins. However, the left to right direction of writing assumed by the inscription on the second of the new types (fig.3) is a feature that is recorded in Sogdiana only in the coinage of South Soghd: on Nakhshab coins with horse (figs.7&8) (Kochnev 1999) and on the coins with anchor-trident tamgha which were minted at an unidentified center in the valley of Kashka-darya (Naymark 2015b).



Fig.7: Nakhshab coin with horse



Fig.8: Nakhshab coin with horse

Taking into consideration all these common elements and “South Sogdian” features, one can hardly doubt that the three new coin types with Y-shaped tamgha published by Shinji Hirano represent the production of the Nakhshab mint. Moreover, the similarity of the characteristic facial features allows one to suggest tentatively that the portraits on one of the *leontomachia* coins (fig.5) and on one of the new coins (fig.2) were the work of one die sinker.

On the other hand, some rare features of these portraits such as the egg shaped face and the solid almond shaped contour of the eyes are found in somewhat exaggerated form in the royal effigy on the earliest type of the Nakhshab coins with the walking horse on the reverse (figs.7&8). The five types forming this latter series have been shown to represent the coinage of Nakhshab in the 8<sup>th</sup> century (Kochnev 1999, p. 56), but its first type could be minted already at the very end of the 7<sup>th</sup> century (in any case no later than in the first decade of the 8<sup>th</sup> century) (Naymark 2014, p. 270). The aforementioned common features are not common in Sogdian numismatics more widely and they suggest a direct connection between these types and coins of Nakhshab. There is, however, an obvious “stylistic gap” between the three new types and the earliest type of the Nakhshab horse series. This gap can be explained through either (1) the existence of types that are still unknown to us; or (2) a chronological gap in the work of Nakhshab mint in the 7<sup>th</sup> century.

To sum up, the three new types with Y-shape tamgha published by Shinji Hirano occupy the intermediate position between the latest type of Nakhshab *leontomachia* coins (late 6<sup>th</sup> or early 7<sup>th</sup> centuries) and the earliest type of Nakhshab horse series (late 7<sup>th</sup> or early 8<sup>th</sup> centuries). In other words, they represent the production of the Nakhshab mint of the 7<sup>th</sup> century.

With just four coins at our disposal, no sensible classification is possible and no definite dates can yet be offered. It would show even less sagacity to attempt an explanation of the reasons for the ‘coincidence’ between this tamgha and that employed by the rulers of Samarkand. Let us wait for new finds.

**Notes**

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1. The principal investigator of Samarqand cash for over 40 years was O.I. Smirnova, although significant contributions to the study of this subject were made also by A.A. Freiman, V.A. Livshits, O.G. Bol’shakov, B.I. Marshak, A.M. Belenitskii, and V.I. Raspopova. The results of this protracted exploration were summated in O.I. Smirnova’s classical catalog of Sogdian bronze coins which was compiled by the middle of 1970s, but was published only posthumously (Smirnova 1981). New materials that appeared during the last four decades and studies based on these data resulted in serious rearrangements in the order of the types and rulers, as well as in some significant adjustments to the dates. For the most up to date general table with the sequence of the reigns see Naymark 2005, p. 228. Yet

even this relatively recent plate already requires some adjustments of the dates due to fresh attributions (for example: Naymark 2014) and new arrangements of the types within some reigns (for example: Naymark 2013). The plate in question contains all images of tamghas on the coins of Samarqand (Naymark 2005, p. 228). For other appearances of this tamgha on Sogdian coins see Naymark and Treadwell, 2011, and Naymark 2014. For the earlier Hunnic stage in the history of this tamgha see Ilyasov 2007.

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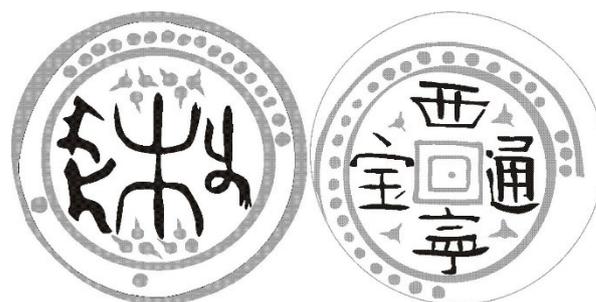
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## SOME SILVER COINS OF MONGOL STATES WITH CHINESE, UIGHUR AND TIBETAN LEGENDS

By Vladimir Belyaev

Coins with non-standard design and legends always attract considerable interest. Their study often allows us to open some important pages in the history of states or rulers. In this short article, based on the presentation I gave at the ONS meeting in Leiden in October 2016, I present a few unusual series of coins of Mongol states that I have researched and published recently (see notes 1-4).



Coin 1

The first interesting coin (coin 1) was published in Spring 2014.<sup>1</sup> Its design is very unusual:

1. it has Uyghur and Chinese legends;
2. it has an imitation of the design of a Chinese cash on one side, though it is not a cast bronze cash but a struck silver coin;
3. it mentions the name of a town in the Chinese legend (*xining tongbao* 西寧通寶).

Xining was, for many centuries, an important node of the so-called "Gansu corridor" - the northern part of the Silk Road in western China. This area has long been under Tibetan influence, and, from the first third of the 12<sup>th</sup> century, Xining belonged to the Tangut state of Xi Xia. At the time of the capture of Xining by the Mongols in 1227, the territory of the modern Chinese provinces of Gansu and Qinghai was inhabited by Tanguts and Uighur tribes, who had settled there as early as the 9<sup>th</sup> century.

The placing of Mōngke *qa'an*'s tamgha on the same side as the toponym indicates that this area was the property of this *qa'an* and that he managed the taxes collected there on his own.

Despite the seemingly fundamentally different designs of the coin's obverse and reverse, a closer examination reveals that both communicate the same message, that this is legal tender, in so far as is possible on a tiny metal circle. One side explaining the concept for the Mongol nomadic society and the other side one for a highly developed sedentary Chinese society.

It should be noted that the coin by metal, weight parameters, manufacturing method and general appearance corresponds to the standards of Central Asian coinage during the Great Mongol Empire.

Another important type was discovered together with the coin from Xining zhou.

Cast silver coins with the legend *dachao tongbao* 大朝通寶 have been well known to numismatists since the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. While it was generally accepted that coins were issued in the pre-Yuan dynasty period by the Mongols in China, the precise period and place of issue remained unclear.



Coin 2

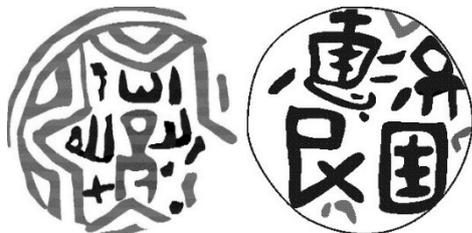
The discovery of the coin shown above can serve as a confirmation of the hypothesis regarding the identity of the Arabic expression *al-Ordu al-A`zam* and the Chinese binomial *dachao* (coin 2). As far as the author knows, the first to suggest that these two expressions had the same meaning was the Dutch numismatist Dr Tjong D. Yih in 2000. It took about 15 years to get direct confirmation of the version offered by Dr Yih.



Coin 3

The situation regarding the unclear origin of coins with the legend *dachao tongbao* (coin 3) changed with the discovery of a hoard of about 400 such coins in Gansu province of China in 2007. The study of this hoard<sup>2</sup> allowed the authors to present a classification of the coins according to the calligraphy of the obverse legend; to classify the countermarks, which are always struck on the reverse of these coins; and to propose views about the place and time of issue of coins with the legend *dachao tongbao*. It would appear that:

4. the casting of coins with the legend *dachao tongbao* began in the Qa'an's headquarters in the Liupan mountains no earlier than in 1251 and lasted until mid- 1260;
5. coins with the legend *dachao tongbao* had to be finally withdrawn from circulation no later than the autumn of 1262 because of the ban of the free circulation of silver in the territory subject to Khubilai Khan;
6. coins, apparently, could circulate individually as well as by weight, and their countermarking was performed for fiscal purposes;
7. the most likely time of the hoarding of the Longxi hoard was the autumn of 1260, when the loyal *noyons* of Ariq Böke were defeated by Khubilai in the western regions of China.



Coin 4

The next coin is a unique Golden Horde coin with a Chinese legend<sup>3</sup> (coin 4). The obverse design of the coin repeats the design of silver dinars struck in Saray. The coin's weight of 1.46g is close to the weight standard of 1.56g used for the anonymous silver dinars struck in Saray with the name of al-Nasir li-Din Allah. The noted features permit us to suggest that the coin was struck during the same period as the dinars with the caliph's name and hence should all be dated to AH 665–671.

The Chinese part of the legend clearly reads 济国惠民 *ji guo hui min*. This expression can be translated as “to bring benefit to the country and to show mercy to the people.” The meaning behind this legend reflects the traditional socio-political ideology of ancient China. Similar proclamations or concepts were mentioned in the theological writings of various religious and philosophical thoughts, as well as in Chinese classical literature.

Khubilai promoted Confucian morality and principles. Amongst his advisors were Confucian scholars, whose ideas he accepted and tried to disseminate among the Mongol nobility. This was reflected in the texts of seals granted to Il-khanid rulers. The meaning and interpretation of the Confucian declaration on the Golden Horde coins and their time of issue coincide with the commandment on the seal of Abagha and the time at which the seal was granted to him. Based on the above, it can be suggested that the legend on the coins reflects the text found on the newly-granted seal to Mengu Timur, which arrived with the envoys of Qa'an Khubilai.



Coin 5

Finally in the presentation was shown one more interesting Golden Horde issue – coins with Tibetan legends (coin 5). Such coins, known since their first publication in 1988, had been described by many authors but only in terms of their obverse legend; the Tibetan script remained unreadable. Finally about two years ago the Tibetan legend was read and translated<sup>4</sup>. It actually is the Uighur language text *qutlugh bolsun* transcribed in Tibetan letters as ལུང་ལུང་བོ་སུན་. It is the expression of good wishes well known on Juchid and Chaghatayid coins, found on some of types in Uighur and Arabic scripts and meaning “a blessing to you”, “good luck”.

The issue of these coins can serve as evidence of the introduction of Buddhist culture as a whole, and the Buddhist faith particularly, in the minds and hearts of the Mongolian aristocrats who were in power in the Jochi Ulus, and further characterize the pre-Islamic religious preferences of Toqta Khan.

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**BANKERS' ROLE IN THE MONETARY SYSTEM OF THE BENGAL SULTANATE - A FOCUS ON THE CHITTAGONG REGION.**

By Md. Shariful Islam

**Introduction**

Though the cowry was the longest serving and most widely-used form of money in Bengal,<sup>1</sup> during the Sultanate period, this region maintained a dual denominational monetary system comprising

silver tankas for larger transactions<sup>2</sup> and cowry shells for smaller transactions.<sup>3</sup> Bengal sultanate tankas maintained a relatively constant weight of 10.5–10.9g with 96–99% purity of silver making it a stable currency system. The basic materials used for both of these types of money were imported from other countries or kingdoms as Bengal did not have its own sources for those materials. Deyell<sup>4</sup> has shown that, in the medieval period, inter-regional trade between west, south and east Asia was as active as intra-regional trade. Bengal was well involved in this inter-regional trade. It was interlinked with Tibet as a source of silver, Yunnan as a source of gold and silver, Burma as a source of silver and precious stones, the Malay Straits as a hub of eastern trade, Kerala as a hub of western trade, and the Maldives as a source of cowries.<sup>5</sup>

While the Bengal sultanate was not as powerful as the Delhi sultanate for much of its existence, it managed to maintain its independence during most of that time, with its more powerful rulers being respected and feared as having a very large number of horses, elephants and men.<sup>6</sup> At the time of the battle with the Delhi sultan, Firuz Shah Tughlaq (AH 752–790/ AD 1351–1388), the Bengal sultan, Shams al-Din Ilyas Shah (AH 746–758/ AD 1345–1357) is said to have had 90,000 cavalry under him<sup>7</sup>. In the Assam expedition, Nasir al-Din Nusrat Shah (AH 925–938/ AD 1519–1531) sent 1,000 horses and 30 elephants accompanied by a reported one million men and other forces.<sup>8</sup> Da'ud Shah Kararani (AH 984/ AD 1576), the last Afghan sultan of Bengal, is reported to have had 40,000 cavalry and 33,000 elephants in his army. But these horses and elephants had not originated from within Bengal. Instead, Bengal used to import those horses and elephants from other regions. It is evident from historical records that Bengal sultans in their earlier years earned a good amount of *ghanima* or booty including elephants and most likely silver and gold from their conquest of Nadia, Orissa, Tirhut, Kamrup, etc.<sup>9</sup> But such income was occasional, shared between the state and the soldiers and ceased to exist with the process of Muslim domination in this region in the later phases of the sultanate.<sup>10</sup> Instead, the main source of revenue of the sultans of Bengal was *kharaj* or land revenue that was mostly paid in the form of crops, which were always abundant.<sup>11</sup> Bengal used to export agricultural goods and fine cloth to pay for importing horses and elephants for the army and cowries and silver for money, along with other commodities.

This paper presents a set of images of coins found from the Chittagong region bearing a few bankers' shroff marks on them which are not recorded or seen on Bengal coins from other hoards. Based on the available evidence on the coins, the paper argues that Chittagong became an economic zone where, for a certain period, the role of bankers became more important than that of the official mint or the authority of local or neighbouring rulers in the region.

### Chittagong as Port City for International Trade

Chittagong, mentioned in coins and in contemporary historical records as Chattigram, Chattigrama, Chattagrama, etc. was always an overseas port.<sup>12</sup> In the later period of the Bengal sultanate, the port of Chittagong became a source of revenue in the form of customs duty realized at the port.<sup>13</sup> Malacca was seized by the Portuguese in 1511.<sup>14</sup> From the early sixteenth century, the Portuguese started to arrive in the port of Chittagong and later they occupied the port for some time.<sup>15</sup> According to Tome Pires, during this period, the Portuguese found a well-developed maritime commercial economy throughout Indo-China and the Indies. It is claimed that changes in river routes in the second half of the sixteenth century linked Dhaka with the West Bengal Saptagram-Hugli ports via river channels making the western ports of Bengal an outlet for the eastern goods of Bengal, which diminished the status of Chittagong as 'Porto Grande'.<sup>16</sup> Despite that, the port of Chittagong probably remained an important international sea port even at that time as it was always linked to Dhaka by the powerful main stream of the Meghna river. Even today, Bangladesh has at least one river-based sea-going container route from the port of Chittagong to Dhaka. The Pangaon river container terminal in Naraynganj is one such river port that connects the port of Chittagong and Dhaka.

Beyond these issues, one thing is agreed by historians, namely that control of the port of Chittagong was often a matter of dispute between the Bengal sultanate, the rulers of Arakan, the kingdom of Tripura and even with the Portuguese in the later period<sup>17</sup>. By analyzing coins listed in the coin catalogue of Goron and Goenka (2001)<sup>18</sup> it is observed that while Chittagong (Chattigrama) features as a mint during the reign of various Bengal sultans, it was not used *consistently* as such during the reign of any sultan of Bengal. The same catalogue also presents a local trade coinage of Chittagong that shows crude inscriptions bearing the names mostly of Suri dynasty sultans, but also of the Mughal ruler Akbar, and the names of certain Arakanese governors or rulers<sup>19</sup>. In addition, there are some coins issued in Tripura bearing inscriptions claiming that Tripura kings' conquered or at least contested Chittagong, for example coin legends with the titles *Chattigram bijoyee*<sup>20</sup> and 'Protishindhu sim'.<sup>21</sup> Literary sources also confirm the occasional possession of the port by Arakan and the Portuguese<sup>22</sup>. Therefore, it is possible that whenever the Bengal sultanate lost control over Chittagong port, they might have used the Saptagram-Hugli ports of West Bengal as a route for international trade as mentioned earlier, with the port of Chittagong being used as an international port by one or more other authorities. And it is not unlikely that there were some interim period(s) when the port of Chittagong was not under the clear control of any of the said contesting sultanates or kingdoms.

### Bankers in the Coinage of the Bengal Sultanate

Bankers' marks, known as shroff marks, are quite common on the coinage of the Bengal sultanate, especially at certain periods. G.S. Farid<sup>23</sup> concluded that shroff marks were not mint marks or treasury marks, instead they appear to have been placed on the coins during circulation. These shroff marks became a dominant characteristic of the monetary system in the later part of the Bengal sultanate<sup>24</sup>. Shroff marks have been considered as having been used to test and certify the fineness and weight of the metal contents on the coins. These also indicate the importance and influence of the bankers in the contemporary monetary system in Bengal. According to John Deyell,<sup>25</sup> during the third phase of the Bengal sultanate (AD1494–1538) when Bengal reached its zenith, the coinage was being closely handled, inspected and marked by exchange bankers. In addition to this, bankers<sup>26</sup> at that time had begun to challenge the state for control of the money by manipulating the exchange process in their favour.<sup>27</sup> Deyell<sup>28</sup> asserts that, although Bengal tankas were issued by the sultans or their authorities, it is evident from the coins that 'the silver coinage was heavily mediated by a class of money changers and bankers...By the sixteenth century, their influence was so pervasive that silver coins could only remain in circulation with their sufferance.' It has been observed from hoards that shroff-marked coins of earlier rulers also were in circulation along with coins of the ruling sultan with the shroff marks indicating that the earlier coins were accepted by courtesy of the bankers' shroff-marking system. The money changers also had the practice of boring older coins to reduce their weight to that of any slightly lighter newer coins of the time and, at the same time, to take advantage of the extracted silver to make money from the process.<sup>29</sup>

### Discussion

It has been mentioned earlier in this paper that, although Bengal tankas were issued by contemporary sultans, bankers of that time had begun to challenge the state control of money. This paper presents a few coins from medieval Bengal found in the Chittagong region, with bankers' shroff marks but on coins of different kingdoms, showing the importance and influence of bankers in this region especially during a period when control of the port was being contested, and for which other primary source material is not available. Approximately 500 coins were found in Noakhali, Bangladesh, in what was probably a single hoard. Among the mostly Bengal sultanate coins there were about 100 Tripura coins, a few Portuguese coins and also some blank planchets of tanka weight. These coins were made available to numismatists at approximately the same time in several lots which appeared to bear similar features on them. Initially, the present author was able to obtain images, from one numismatist of 36 coins are particular

interest from the hoard, which was found during the year 2010/11. These coins comprised 18 Bengal sultanate coins mostly of the Husain Shahi dynasty and a few of the preceding Habshi dynasty; 3 Tripura coins, 2 Portuguese coins and 13 blank planchets which are not commonly seen in Bengal hoards. Of these coins, the latest of the Bengal sultanate coins were of Ghiyath al-Din Mahmud Shah (AD 1532–1538) and the latest Tripura coin was of Dhanya Manikya (AD 1490–1526) of *Chattigram bijoyee* type (Saka 1435/ AD 1513). According to the numismatist who provided these particular images and who had had the opportunity to examine most of the coins after they had been found, the Tripura component comprised various varieties of coins of rulers from Ratna Manikya (AD 1464–89) to Vijay Manikya (AD 1532–64). As the reign of Ghiyath al-Din Mahmud Shah started in the same year as the reign of Vijay Manikya, while the later continued his reign for a longer period of time compared to his Bengal counterpart, it is safe to assume that this lot of coins was used in the Chittagong region sometime during or after the reign of Ghiyath al-Din Mahmud Shah.

Subsequently, another numismatist provided images of 155 coins of which 8 could be identified as common to the images of the previous and later lots discussed. The images of the remaining 147 coins of the second lot were taken into account for the present study. In this group, 146 were Bengal sultanate coins and there was a single Portuguese coin. The latest of the Bengal sultanate coins were of Ghiyath al-Din Mahmud Shah.

On analysis of the shroff marks on the images of the available coins, it was observed that the coins of the study must have been circulating in the same area as they had the same set of symbols on them. Observing the images of the total 183 coins supplied by the said two numismatists (Table 1), it was found that 45 coins had a cross symbol only, 36 had a shell symbol only, 5 had a floral symbol only, 2 coins had what may be a lion symbol<sup>30</sup> only, 4 had only a star symbol made using a flat bar (see below), 1 had both the shell, cross and flat bar symbols, 1 had both the shell and floral symbols, 1 had both the cross and tentative lion symbols, 2 had both the shell and tentative lion symbols, 1 had the tentative lion and star symbols made most likely by flat bars, 1 had the shell and the star symbols made using a flat bar, 4 had the cross and the star made using a flat bar symbols, 27 had other symbols including a sun and a few unrecognized symbols. 53 had no symbol. Sun and floral symbols are common shroff marks on Bengal sultanate coins. Therefore, it is difficult to relate the sun and flora marks to a particular region. Moreover, the sun symbol has been found only on Bengal sultanate coins of the said lot, while the floral symbol has been found on two blank planchets and one Bengal sultanate coin. Another variant of the floral symbol has been found on a few more Bengal sultanate coins. The number of occurrence of the sun and floral symbols is not significantly large enough and the author has not been able to establish a relationship between these symbols and the available coins from different kingdoms such as the Bengal sultanate, Tripura, the Portuguese and also the blank planchets. On the other hand, the author was able to identify a relationship among coins and planchets that bear the shell, cross, flat bar and tentative lion symbols. These last mentioned coins and planchets are presented and discussed in a sequence that, it is hoped, will be helpful in understanding their linkages with each other. It should also be noted that only the side of the coins that bear the bankers' shroff marks have been illustrated.

Images of 18 coins have been presented to show the relationship of the coins and various shroffs. It will be observed from the images of the coins that the cross symbol is impressed on image 1 to image 9, while, of these, images 1, 2 and 9 are three Bengal sultanate coins, images 3 and 4 are two blank planchets, images 5 and 6 are two Portuguese coins, and images 7 and 8 are two *Chattigram bijoyee*-type Tripura coins.

Images 9, 10 and 12, all Bengal sultanate coins bear the tentative lion mark. Images 11 to 16 bear the shell mark on them. Of these, images 11, 12 and 14 are Bengal sultanate coins, image 13 is a *Chattigram bijoyee* type Tripura coin, while images 15 and 16 are blank planchets. Images 3 and 4 bear a mark that was most likely made by striking three times using a flat bar. Images 7, 8, 10 and 11 bear a similar mark which was most likely made by striking using a

flat bar twice. Image 17 is a Bengal sultanate coin bearing a shell mark on it where a chisel mark goes through the shell mark. Image 18 is a Bengal sultanate coin bearing a shell, a cross, and a mark that was made most likely using a flat bar.

### Conclusion

South-eastern Bengal, including Chittagong, had similarities with Arakan and had much dissimilarity with the Gangetic plains of Bengal. Rivers and shallow coastal water provided a good infrastructure for trade and commerce between Arakan and South-eastern Bengal.<sup>31</sup> Natural and geographic characteristics and the earlier-discussed political relations of Chittagong with the Bengal sultanate, Tripura, and Arakan may have created a special economic zone in the Chittagong region that remained active at least for a short period of time. The trade coins of Chittagong, mentioned earlier, often bear legends of Suri sultans while weighing around 10.6 g instead of the official weight of 11.6 g of Suri coins<sup>32</sup>. Therefore, these coins were a local issue. This also indicates that there was no clear control by the Suris or the Bengal sultanate over this region during their time of issue. Many of the coins of the hoard presented in this paper are of Ghiyath al-Din Mahmud of Bengal (AH 939–945/ AD 1532–1538) while the Suri interlude started in AH 945/ AD 1539 in Bengal. After 1538, when the last independent sultan of Bengal was defeated by the Mughals until 1576, the institutional framework continued functioning<sup>33</sup> but it is probable that the Bengal sultans lost their control and authority in at least some part of eastern Bengal. Hence the possibility that the coins featuring in this paper bearing symbols such as a shell, cross, flat bar and tentative lion were shroffed-marked by local bankers of Chittagong sometime during this period of confusion and, because of the lack of central control, coins of different kingdoms were in circulation in this region.

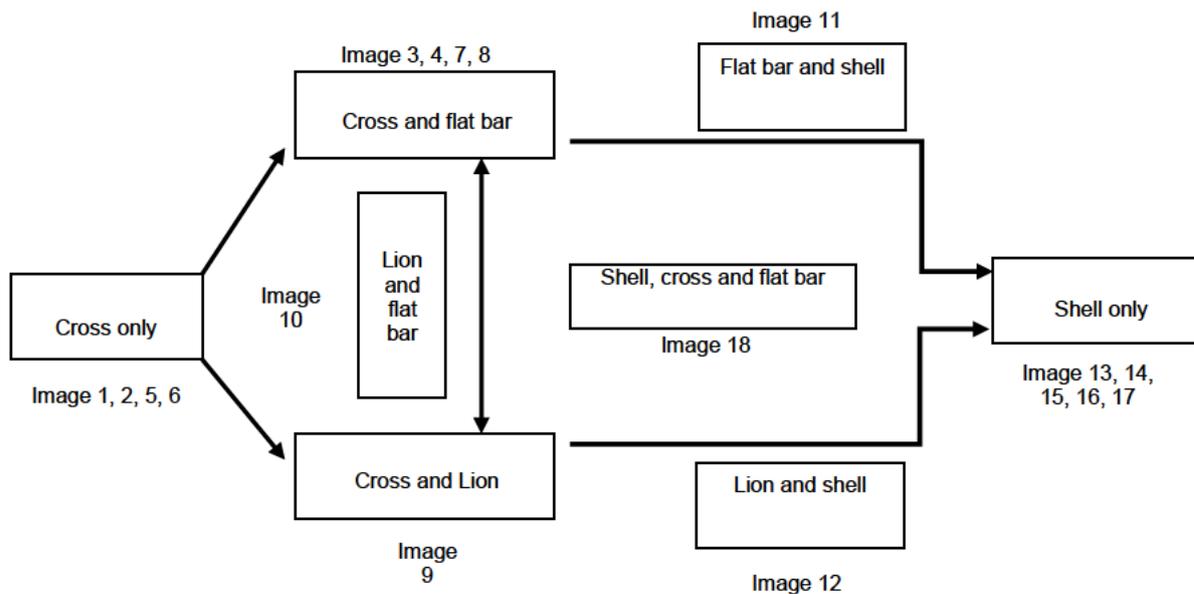
The mix of coins in the hoard, i.e. coins of the Bengal sultanate, Tripura, the Portuguese and, unusually, blank planchets with the same set of bankers' shroff marks, singly or in combination shows that bankers' shroff marks on those coins were more important than the origin of those coins. It is evident from close observation of the coins that silver was removed by sharp tools from the official coins of Bengal and Tripura making those coins underweight. Yet the mixture of the coins and the removal of silver that could be easily seen with the bare eye did not invalidate the coins. An admittedly serious weaknesses of this study is that it could observe only just over a third of the total number of coins of the original hoard, thus limiting the inferences drawn in the paper. Despite this weakness, the author has been able to draw certain links among the available images of coins based on the shroff marks on them (Fig. 1). Based on the available features, such as coins of different countries and/or kingdoms being in the hoard and the particular bankers' shroff marks featured on those illustrated below and which have not usually been seen on Bengal coins discovered in other hoards so far, this paper infers that those coins of the hoard originating from different countries and/or kingdoms including blank planchets bearing shroff marks such as a shell, cross, flat bar and tentative lion were used in a small geographical region, most likely in the Chittagong-based economic zone, where the role of bankers was financially more important than the role of the rulers in whose names the coins were struck. As the coins in question have these different but interlinked shroff marks it may indicate the involvement of more than one banker in the said economic zone. A few of those coins that bear two or three out of those four discussed shroff marks may indicate that those coins passed through more than one of those bankers of the region. The presence of some coins of Tripura and the crude shroff mark of an intended Tripura lion on Bengal sultanate coins also suggests the said economic zone included a part of Tripura, too. The Portuguese coins in the hoard show that the said economic zone had business relations with Portuguese traders at the time. The chisel mark that goes through the shroff marks shown in image 17 may indicate that these shroff marks were impressed on the coins at least one transaction prior to them being hoarded. This would seem to imply the acceptance of the shroff marks in the region for transactions. The blank planchets may indicate a shortage of coins or minting facilities at that

particular moment in the said economic zone, or that coins were needed before they could all be struck up, or the planchets were created privately and accepted as currency in the temporary absence of any central authority. Hence, the regional bankers and their shroff marks became financially more important at that time than the origin or any other important features of the circulating coins, making the area a special economic zone for that particular period, at least.

It has been observed from the images of the coins of the said hoard that almost a third of the coins have no shroff marks. This introduces a question ‘why does this feature prevail in the hoard, if shroff-marking was so important for the acceptance of coins in transactions?’ A probable cause of the fact is that the coins that had been accumulated in the hoard came from different transactions with different sources. Coins without any shroff marks may indicate that those unshroffed coins of the hoard may have come to the person who had hoarded them from other sources, while coins with the shell, cross, flat bar and tentative lion marks came from at least one transaction with one or more parties within the economic zone. As the number of coins discovered in the hoard was significantly large, this supports the fact that the person, who had hoarded those coins, was a large trader or a rich person or an institution that might have had transactions with different parties. And those coins were put in that hoard either on several occasions or on just one occasion but from different sources.

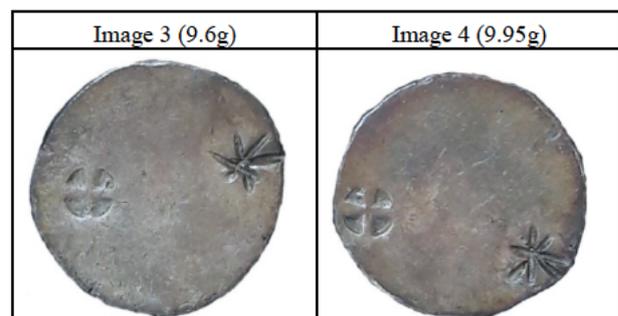
**Table 1: List of banker’s shroff marks observed**

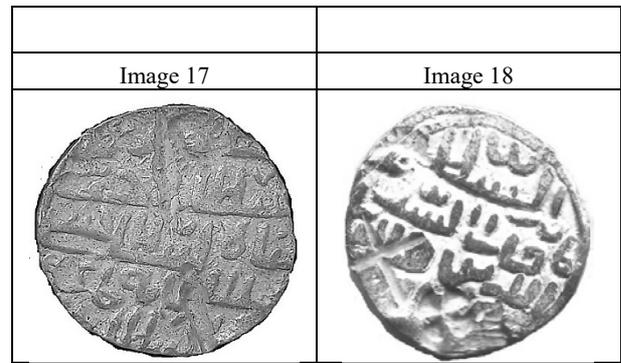
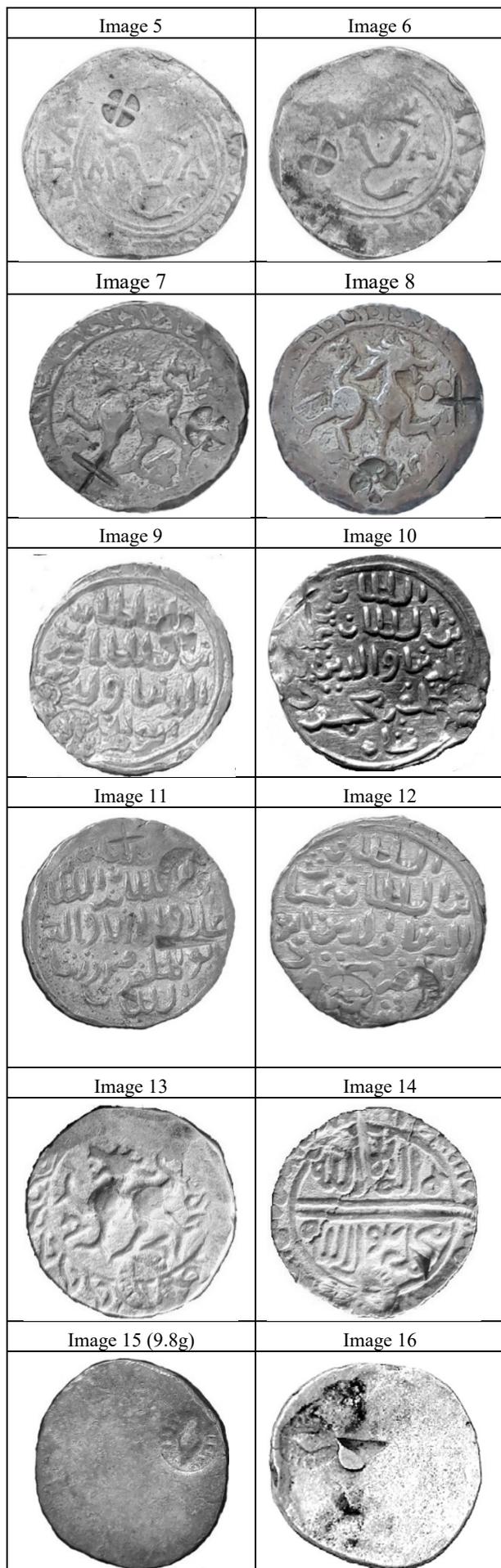
Shroff mark(s)	Number
Cross	45
Shell	36
Flora	5
Tentative lion	2
Star made by flat bar	4
Shell, cross and flat bar	1
Shell and flat bar	1
Cross and tentative lion	1
Shell and tentative lion	2
Flat bar and tentative lion	1
Shell and flat bar	1
Cross and flat bar	4
Other shroff marks	27
No shroff mark	53
<b>Total:</b>	<b>183</b>



*Figure 1: Diagram showing links of the banker’s shroff marks on the observed coins*

**Images of bankers’ shroff marks on coins**





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**Notes**

- <sup>1</sup>John S. Deyell (2011), 'Monetary and financial webs: The regional and international influence of pre-modern Bengal coinage', in *Pelagic Passageways The Northern Bay of Bengal Before Colonialism*, Rila Mukherjee (ed.), Delhi: Primus Books, p. 280; S.M. Rahman, M. Muhibullah, M.J. Islam, S.B. Salam, A.K. Shaha, and A. Samad, *Cowri to Taka Evolution of Coins and Currencies of Bangladesh*, Dhaka: Triune-Monitor Publications, 2011, p. 16-17.
- <sup>2</sup> It is observed that the Bengal sultanate did issue fractions of tankas at certain times, particularly during the economically successful Husaini period, when it was likely they were used for smaller transactions and/or for facilitating payments that involved a fraction of a tanka.
- <sup>3</sup> John S. Deyell (2010), 'Cowries and coins: The dual monetary system of the Bengal Sultanate', *Indian Economic and Social History Review*, 47, p. 64.
- <sup>4</sup> Deyell (2011), *op. cit.*, pp. 283-4.
- <sup>5</sup> *ibid.*, pp. 283-4; Rila Mukherjee (2011), 'Introduction: Bengal and Northern Bay of Bengal' in *idem.*, (ed.), *Pelagic Passageways-The Northern Bay of Bengal Before Colonialism*, Delhi: Primus Books, pp. 4-5.
- <sup>6</sup> Tome Pires (1944), *Suma Oriental*, vol. 1, Armando Cortesao (tr.), London: Hakluyt Society p. 92.
- <sup>7</sup> Shams-i-Siraj-I Afif, (1891), *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi*, text ed. by Maulavi Vilayat Husain, Calcutta: Bib. Indica, English Tr. In Elliot and Dowson, Vol. III. p.152-153 in Mohar Ali, p. 716.
- <sup>8</sup> *Assam Burunjid*, G. C. Barua, p. 67-68 in Tarafdar, M. R. (1965), *Husain Shahi Bengal - A Socio-Political Study*, Dacca, p. 103 in Mohar Ali, p. 717.
- <sup>9</sup> M.M. Ali, (1985), 'History of the Muslims of Bengal', Riyadh: Imam Muhammad ibn Sa'ud Islamic University, pp. 711-712.
- <sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 712.
- <sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 712-3.
- <sup>12</sup> Aniruddha Ray, 'The rise and fall of Satgaon: An overseas port of medieval Bengal', in S. Jeyaseela Stephen (ed.), (2008), *The Indian Trade at the Asian Frontier*, New Delhi: Gyan, p. 70.
- <sup>13</sup> Ali (1985), *op. cit.*, p. 715.
- <sup>14</sup> Deyell (2011), *op. cit.*, p. 285.
- <sup>15</sup> S. B. Qanungo (1988), *A history of Chittagong*, Vol. 1, Chittagong: Signet, pp. 134-6.
- <sup>16</sup> Rila Mukherjee, 'An elusive port in early medieval Bengal : The mystery of Samandar', in Stephen (2008), *op. cit.*, p. 67.
- <sup>17</sup> Ray (2008), *op. cit.*, p. 70.
- <sup>18</sup> S. Goron, and J.P. Goenka (2001), *The Coins of the Indian Sultanates*, New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers, pp. 135-275.
- <sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 263-6.
- <sup>20</sup> N.G. Rhodes. and S.K. Bose (2002), *The Coinage of Tripura*, Kolkata: Library of Numismatic Studies, Image plate-V, nos. 67-74.
- <sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, Image plate-VII, nos. 109-15.
- <sup>22</sup> Ray (2008), *op. cit.*, p. 70.
- <sup>23</sup> G.S. Farid (1978), 'The Markings on the Coins of the Sultans of Bengal', *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, Vol. 40 (1), pp. 27-33.
- <sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 27-33.
- <sup>25</sup> Deyell (2010), *op. cit.*, p. 69.
- <sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 100.
- <sup>27</sup> It has been noted that 'shroff marks on Bengal sultanate coins seem to occur more at times of confusion / ephemeral rulers.' [private correspondence from Stan Goron, the co-author of the book *The Coins of the Indian Sultanates*.]

<sup>28</sup> Deyell (2010), *op. cit.*, p. 283.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 79.

<sup>30</sup> Nicholas Rhodes (2010), 'Some coins countermarked in Tripura', *Journal of the Oriental Numismatic Society*, vol. 203, pp. 14-16, presented a few Bengal sultanate coins countermarked in Tripura with lion head-shaped marks. The said Tripura lion head countermarks are different from the lion-shaped bankers' marks of the present paper. Thus the lion-shaped bankers' marks of the present paper are described as tentative lion marks.

<sup>31</sup> Mukherjee (2011), *op. cit.*, p. 4.

<sup>32</sup> The actual weight of Suri rupees surviving today varies between 11.2 and 11.6 g

<sup>33</sup> Deyell (2010), *op. cit.*, p. 69

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**CONTENTS OF JOURNAL 229**

	Page
ONS news and meetings:	1
Review <i>Schuster, Catalog Of Pre-Modern Central Asian Coins 1680–1923 By Vladimir Nastich And Wolfgang</i> – reviewed by Dick Nauta	5
Review <i>Coins of Mughal Emperors in the State Bank Museum</i> by Ali Lashari, - reviewed by Stan Goron	6
Review <i>Coins of Nadir Shah &amp; Afghan Rulers</i> , by Dr Amsa Ibrahim, Ali Lashari, Dr Asma Ibrahim and Naushaba Anjum. – reviewed by Stan Goron	6
REVIEW ARTICLE: WERNER BURGER'S <i>CH'ING CASH</i> by Fresco Sam-Sin	9
AN UNATTRIBUTED SERIES OF GOLD COINS by Simon Glenn	13
INDO-SCYTHIANS: SOME NEW VARIETIES, MISSING FRACTIONS AND RARE COINS Part III: AZES (ca. 60 – 45/35 BC) by Heinz Gawlik	15
NEW TYPES OF NAKHSHAB COINS OF THE 7 <sup>TH</sup> CENTURY by Aleksandr Naymark	24
SOME SILVER COINS OF MONGOL STATES WITH CHINESE, UIGHUR AND TIBETAN LEGENDS by Vladimir Belyaev	26
BANKERS' ROLE IN THE MONETARY SYSTEM OF THE BENGAL SULTANATE - A FOCUS ON THE CHITTAGONG REGION.by Md. Shariful Islam	27

