



CONTENTS OF JOURNAL 237

	Page
<i>Second Specimen of a New Coin Type of Amyntas, and the Legends on Rectangular Indo-Greek Coins</i> ~ Heinz Gawlik and Aslam Zahid	1
<i>Two Newly-Identified Hun Kings and A Hoard from Pushkalavati</i> ~ Pankaj Tandon	8
<i>A Kufic Graffito Citing al-Hajjaj?</i> ~ Nikolaus Schindel	12
<i>Aghbugha I the Great, Shaykh Uways Jalayir and Bagrat V: The Numismatic Triangle</i> ~ Irakli Paghava, Pavle Chumburidze and Goga Gabashvili	14
<i>Akbar Copper Coin of Surat Mint</i> ~ Abhishek Chatterjee	18
<i>Some Late Benares Control Marks</i> ~ Alan S. DeShazo	20
<i>New Bust Varieties of 'Victoria Empress' Half Rupees</i> ~ Leitton Rezaul	21
<i>Two Tea Garden Tokens from Sylhet</i> ~ S.K. Bose and Md. Nuruzzaman Sarkar	24
ONS News and Meetings	25

From the Editor

We cover a wide range of oriental numismatics in this issue, ranging from Indo-Greek bronzes and two new Hun kings, to a discovery in Akbar's copper coinage and several articles on British Indian coins. I thank members for their contributions and look forward to more submissions from members interested in presenting new areas of numismatic research.

Karan Singh

SECOND SPECIMEN OF A NEW COIN TYPE OF AMYNTAS, AND THE LEGENDS ON RECTANGULAR INDO-GREEK COINS

Heinz Gawlik and Aslam Zahid

A new type of bronze coin issued in the name of Indo-Greek king Amyntas (c. 95-90 BCE Boppearachchi, c. 80-65 BCE Senior) was published by Pankaj Tandon in *JONS* 231 in 2018. The design of this new type, depicting a female deity on obverse and a bull on reverse, is already known because it follows the design of a common bronze quadruple unit issued by Philoxenos. A second coin of the new type was offered in the Peshawar market in February 2019. The find spot was not revealed by the dealer. This

coin (Fig. 1) is not only the second specimen recorded of the new Amyntas type, but it also supports some of Tandon's conclusions.



Fig. 1. Amyntas *Æ* quadruple unit
8.51 g, 21.6 x 21.9 mm, 12h

Obverse: Female deity (city goddess) standing three-quarters left, holding cornucopia in left arm and a device like a crown in right hand; Greek legend on three sides: *BAΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΝΙΚΑΤΟΡΟΣ ΑΜΥΝΤΟΥ* (King Amyntas the Conqueror)
Reverse: Humped bull standing right with monogram below; Kharoshthi legend on three sides: *Maharajasa jayadharasa Amitasa*

The coin published by Tandon is illustrated in Fig. 2 to enable a direct comparison.



Fig. 2. Amyntas A quadruple unit ①
6.19 g, 20 x 19 mm

At first glance the two coins look similar, but a closer look reveals a few interesting differences:

1. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ (Fig. 1) – ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΝΩΤΣ (Fig. 2)
2. Weight
3. Monogram
4. Exergual line below bull

There is a slip of the pen in reading the Greek legend on the first published coin (Fig. 2): instead of *HIKATOPOΣ* it is printed as *HIKATOPOY*. Tandon discussed the new type critically, especially the use of the term *ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΝΩΤΣ*, because the standard term used by Indo-Greek kings on their coinage is *ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ*. It could be speculated that the coin had a mistake caused by an engraver that was corrected later. Another critical point raised by Tandon is the weight of 6.19 g with the dimensions of a quadruple unit. His coin is of high quality (Fig. 2), but the weight is low for a quadruple and high for a double unit. The quality of the new specimen (Fig. 1) is of lower grade, but at 8.51 g it has the standard weight for a quadruple unit.

Monogram 1 in Fig. 3 is well known for Amyntas, but it was also used by Menander II and on joint issues of Spalirises with Azes. Mitchiner (1975) assigns this monogram, together with its variant, monogram 2 in Fig. 3, to Arachosia, an ancient province of the Achaemenid empire, located in present-day southern Afghanistan, adjoining Pakistan. Senior (2001) assumes that Spalirises, together with Azes, used this monogram somewhere to the west of Taxila. Spalirises and Azes are connected to Vonones and his family. Senior (2001) states: “Vonones series, though contemporary with the Maues coinage, began some time later than the former and further west”. Maues expanded his realm from the Scythian-dominated Hazara-Kashmir to the west, acquiring Taxila and probably advanced further west, at least for a short while. All this information is an indication that the monograms in Fig. 3 are related to an area west of Taxila, probably Arachosia.

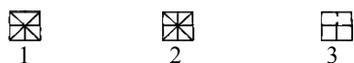


Fig. 3. Selected monograms used by Amyntas

The monogram no. 3 on the discussed coin of Amyntas (Fig. 1) has the vertical cross of monogram no. 1, but the diagonal cross is missing or the engraving was weak and the lines vanished by circulation or corrosion. Scepticism remains about the correctness of the monogram, because the Greek and Kharoshthi legends look very clear in comparison with the figures of the female deity and the bull. The clearness of the legend could be the result of some skilled tooling. It is possible that both legends on obverse and reverse were readable before the tooling took place, but the

monogram was weak and knowledge of the correct monogram was not available.

The discovery of an unlisted coin is already a highlight, but this is even more exciting if it also has an unusual detail, like the arrangement of the Greek legend in this case. The unusual feature in this coin is the king’s name *AMYNTOY*, to be read from outside upwards.

Most of the rectangular Indo-Greek bronze coinage has a continuous Greek legend usually consisting of three words arranged on three sides, beginning with *ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ* at lower left, with an epithet on top and the king’s name at right, to be read from the inside. Interestingly, this is not the first type of Amyntas to have this unusual reading of the king’s name from outside. Senior (2002) published a coin of Bopearachchi Série 15 with a similar arrangement of the king’s name. That coin (Fig. 4) is now in the collection of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.



Fig. 4. Amyntas A quadruple unit. Bop Série 15 var.,
7.06 g ⑭

Obverse: Bust of king (or syncretic god Zeus/Mithra) right, without a long staff or sceptre

Reverse: Pallas Athene standing left

Senior believes this might be the second known example with such an arrangement of the Greek legend. The first example was published by Mitchiner as his Type 397b and is illustrated as the third coin of the type without any remarks. It should be added that all coins with this special arrangement of the king’s name in Greek bear a similar square monogram.

There are only a few types of rectangular types on which the Greek legend is arranged discontinuously. Tandon mentions the coinage of Menander I and Zoilos I with this feature. Before such examples are discussed, it is necessary to take a closer look at the rectangular bronze coins of Philoxenos with an almost similar motif as found on the new type of Amyntas. One difference between the coins is a device in the outstretched hand of the goddess which looks like a crown. Tandon assumes that the coin commemorates a victory and that the epithet *HIKATOPOΣ* supports this assumption. He also cites one of the proposals for the chronology of later Indo-Greeks made by Bopearachchi that Amyntas succeeded Philoxenos. The succession may have involved the defeat of Philoxenos and so Amyntas issued a ‘victory’ coin that follows a type that was issued earlier by the defeated Philoxenos.

PHILOXENOS (c. 100-95 BCE Bopearachchi, 125-110 BCE Senior)

In comparison with the new type of Amyntas the female deity on the obverse of Philoxenos’ Bop Série 10 raises her right hand as though bestowing a blessing. The Greek legend *ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΑΝΙΚΗΤΟΥ ΦΙΛΟΞΕΝΟΥ* (King Philoxenos the Invincible) on three sides begins clockwise at lower right to be read from the inside. Also, the Kharoshthi legend *Maharajasa apadihatasa Philasinasa* is on three sides and read from inside, but it begins at lower right and runs anti-clockwise. As mentioned above, the continuous arrangement of the legends in this particular form is the most common one on the bronze coinage of the Indo-Greek kings and can be considered the “standard” form. An examination of the bronze coins issued by Philoxenos depicting the female deity/ bull motif reveals a number of unexpected variations which are illustrated in Figs. 5-13.



Fig. 5. Philoxenos *Æ* quadruple unit, Bop Série 10F

The coin illustrated in Fig. 6 belongs to the same variety as the coin above, but the execution of Greek letters is crude and partly incorrect. The top line with *ANIKHTE* has been corrupted and in my opinion is an example of tooling with the intention of making a corroded coin more attractive for selling.



Fig. 6. Philoxenos *Æ* quadruple unit, Bop Série 10F

Figs. 7-10 show additional coins with differences in the arrangement of the Greek legend. Some of the coins bear the same combination of monogram and field letter, and were most probably minted in the same place.



Fig. 7. Philoxenos *Æ* quadruple unit, Bop Série 10F ③



Fig. 8. Philoxenos *Æ* quadruple unit, Bop Série 10H



Fig. 9. Philoxenos *Æ* quadruple unit, Bop Série 10H ⑤

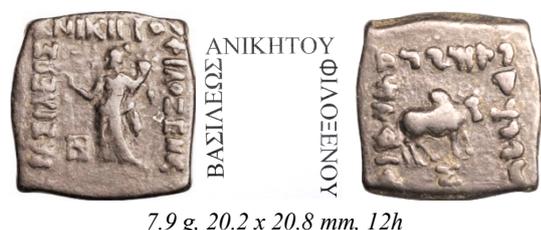


Fig. 10. Philoxenos *Æ* quadruple unit, Bop Série 10H ④

The next two illustrations show coins with the same motif and the legends are arranged in the same “standard” form, but there are differences in the depiction of the female deity. The coin in Fig. 11 is listed as Bop Série 11 and shows the female deity facing, holding her right hand on her hip. On this particular specimen the first Kharoshthi character *a* in *apadihatasa* is missing in the top line.

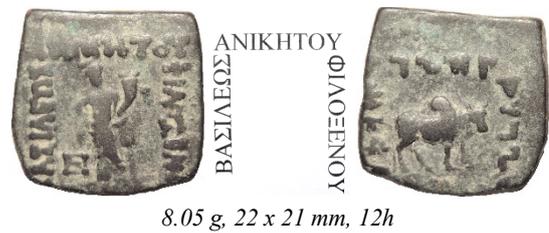


Fig. 11. Philoxenos *Æ* quadruple unit, Bop Série 11 ③

Fig. 12 shows an unlisted coin which appeared in an auction in 2011. The female deity stands to the right and the monogram is also moved to the right, though the arrangement of the legend follows the “standard” form. It might be an example of an error caused by the engraver who got muddled with the correct negative on the die.



Fig. 12. Philoxenos *Æ* unit, unlisted variety ⑧

All the coins we checked of Bop. Série 10 and 11 show an unusual number of variations in the arrangement of the Greek legend *ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ANIKHTOY ΦΙΛΟΞΕΝΟΥ* (King Philoxenos the Invincible), as well as in the depiction of the female deity. No variety with a discontinuous legend or a change in the direction of the legend could be found though. The Greek and Kharoshthi legends have a continuous arrangement on all the coins examined and all are to be read from the inside. Nevertheless, there are coins featuring a discontinuous or interrupted legend on rectangular bronze coins of the Indo-Greek kings, and the results of our examination are illustrated and discussed below, starting with the coinage of Menander.

MENANDER I (c.160-130 BCE Boparachchi, c. 165-135 BCE Senior)

Menander, a contemporary of the Greco-Bactrian and Indo-Greek kings Eucratides I, Antimachos I and Apollodotos I, reigned over a large realm for a period of about 30 years to become one of the most important Indo-Greek kings. Menander issued by far the largest number of coin types, featuring manifold images of Greek and local deities, as well as other pictures depicting animals or objects. His coins are found in large numbers over a wide geographical area, perhaps underlining his efforts to facilitate trade and commerce across his realm.

Our examination of Menander’s rectangular bronze coinage led to the observation that the type with helmeted bust of Pallas/ shield with the Gorgon’s head (Bop Série 17 and 19) is probably the single type with the largest number of varieties. There are not only varieties with reference to the arrangement of the Greek legend but also in the arrangement of the Kharoshthi legend. Figs. 13-16 show four coins with variations in the arrangement of a continuous Greek legend *ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΟΤΗΡΟΣ ΜΕΝΑΝΔΡΟΥ* (King Menander the Saviour), to be read clockwise from the inside. The continuous Kharoshthi legend *Maharajasa tratarasa Menamdrasa* is without variation. It begins at lower right and is to be read anti-clockwise from the inside.



5.92 g, 22 x 22 mm, 12h

Fig. 13. Menander *AE* quadruple unit, Bop Série 19A ③

The coin shown in Fig. 14 is of type Bop Série 19A, but the monogram is engraved horizontally.



6.91 g, 21 x 21 mm

Fig. 14. Menander *AE* quadruple unit, Bop Série 19A var. ③



8.61 g, 22 x 22 mm, 12 h

Fig. 15. Menander *AE* quadruple unit, Bop Série 19A ③

The coin illustrated in Fig. 16 has a design and monogram similar to Bop Série 19A, but it is an unlisted double unit.



4.29 g

Fig. 16. Menander *AE* double unit, unlisted

Another variety is Bop Série 18 with a specimen shown in Fig. 17. The obverse has the standard design with a bust of Pallas right and a continuous Greek legend, but the Kharoshthi legend is placed interrupted with *Maharajasa tratarasa* at top and the king's name *Menamdrasa* on the bottom line.



9.86 g, 24 x 22 mm, 12h

Fig. 17. Menander *AE* quadruple unit, Bop Série 18 ③

A third type with an interrupted Greek legend is Bop Série 17. The coins of this type bear the Greek legend on three sides, but it begins at top left with *ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ* horizontal and *ΣΟΤΗΡΟΣ* vertical. The king's name *ΜΕΝΑΝΔΡΟΥ* starts at bottom left. Fig. 18 shows a specimen with epithet *ΣΟΤΗΡΟΣ* and the king's name to be read from the outside.



9.40 g, 24 x 22 mm

Fig. 18. Menander *AE* unit, Bop Série 17 ③

There is another variety of the same type (Fig. 19) which appeared in auction in 2011. The coin represents an unlisted variety of Bop Série 17. The Kharoshthi legend is arranged as on the variety above, but the epithet *ΣΟΤΗΡΟΣ* is to be read from the inside upwards.



9.65 g, 24 mm

Fig. 19. Menander *AE* quadruple unit, Bop Série 17 unlisted ⑧

The common coin illustrated in Fig. 20 has been selected as an example out of four denominations with the same motif issued by Menander. These coin types do not have a variety with a discontinuous legend and only the "standard" form is known. The obverse shows the helmeted bust of Pallas and the reverse depicts the winged Nike standing right, holding a wreath and palm. The Greek and Kharoshthi legends are the same as on Bop Série 17 and 19, and they follow the "standard" arrangement.



12.71 g, 23 x 23 mm

Fig. 20. Menander *AE* sextuple unit, MIG Type 243b

An examination of more than 50 coins yielded just two varieties in the arrangement of the Greek legend. The variety shown in Fig. 20 is more frequent than that shown in Fig. 21.



7.29 g

Fig. 21. Menander *AE* quadruple unit, Bop Série 32B

The question arises: why is the quality in the preparation of dies for two common coins so different? The majority of this type bears the same monograms attributed to Pushkalavati and Taxila. Another example of Menander without deviations in the legend is the bilingual *chalkous* of Bop Série 28 type with an elephant head right on obverse and a club on reverse. These coins are common with many different monograms, but without any variety in the arrangement of the legends. If coins are manufactured in the same mint then a similar level of quality assurance or supervision could be assumed in the preparation of dies and in the mint process. One can enquire why one type is almost without varieties and another

type has it in abundance. The explanation will have to be based on assumption as reliable information is not currently available.

Most of the bronze coins with a Greek legend on three sides and king's name on the baseline have a blank side on the right, but as usual there are exceptions. One example with a blank side on the left (Fig. 22) was issued by Menander (Bop Série 21). This coin depicts the diademed heroic bust of the king thrusting a javelin to left/ Pallas standing right with shield on raised left arm and hurling a thunderbolt. The Greek legend has the king's name *MENANΔPOY* in the bottom line, to be read from the outside. The arrangement of the Kharoshthi legend is unusual, because it begins with *Maharajasa tratarasa* anti-clockwise at upper right, to be read from the inside, and continuous with *Menamdrasa* at lower right, to be read from the outside.



8.53 g, 22 x 21 mm, BM id: IOC.96 ⑦

Fig. 22. Menander Æ quadruple unit, Bop Série 21B

Another coin of the same type, but with a minor difference in the arrangement of the Greek legend and a different monogram, is shown in Fig. 23.



8.10 g

Fig. 23. Menander Æ quadruple unit, Bop Série 21A

The coin shown in Fig. 24 is similar to the coin in Fig. 23, but the last character *sa* of *tratarasa* is missing or very weak on the left side of the reverse. The engraver might have missed the character or the die was damaged.



9.8 g

Fig. 24. Menander Æ quadruple unit, Bop Série 21A var.

A scarce type of rectangular bronze coin issued by Menander (Bop Série 22) is shown in Fig. 25. The coin has an almost similar obverse as Bop Série 21, but the reverse shows a winged Nike standing right, holding a palm branch and wreath. In contrast to the coin above, the Kharoshthi legend *Maharajasa tratarasa Menamdrasa* follows the "standard" arrangement as seen on the majority of rectangular bronze coins. It begins at lower right and continues anti-clockwise to be read from the inside.



Fig. 25. Menander Æ quadruple unit, Bop Série 22A ⑪

Discontinuous Greek legends with the king's name on the baseline are also known from bronze coins issued by Zoilos I and Eukratides. We will illustrate three coins of Zoilos I as these are an interesting variety in the arrangement of the Kharoshthi legend.

ZOILOS I (c.130-120 BCE Boparachchi, c. 150-140 BCE Senior)

The coin in Fig. 26 shows the bust of Herakles right with the Greek legend *ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ ΖΩΛΟΥ* (King Zoilos the Just) around; *ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ* starts at bottom left and goes clockwise, with *ΖΩΛΟΥ* on the baseline. A club and cased bow inside a victory wreath is on the reverse. The arrangement of the Kharoshthi legend *Maharajasa dhramikasa Jhoilasa* is unusual, because it starts at upper right and continuous anti-clockwise to be read from inside. The coin has to be rotated to read the legend comfortably. The victory wreath on reverse is a circular line with small laurel leaves around and a bow knot at the right side.



8.96 g, 23 x 23 mm, 12h, BM id: MIG258a-121.10 ⑦

Fig. 26. Zoilos I Æ quadruple unit, Bop Série 6A

The victory wreath around the combination of Heraklean club and a Scythian composite bow on reverse is interpreted to symbolise a possible closer contact or even an alliance with the Saka (later Indo-Scythian) or the Yuezhi, the horse-mounted people from the north-eastern steppes and mountains. Fig. 27 shows an example of an exceptionally well-engraved victory wreath with a loop knot at the top and a bow knot at the bottom.



8.96 g, 23 x 23 mm, 12 h

Fig. 27. Zoilos I Æ quadruple unit, Bop Série 6B ③

All coins of this type that we've checked have the continuous arrangement of the Kharoshthi legend, with one exception that is illustrated in Fig. 28. The legend *Maharajasa dhramikasa* of this unpublished variety starts at upper right, but the king's name *Jhoilasa* begins at bottom right to be read from outside. It is possible that the engraver aimed at an easier reading and modified the Kharoshthi legend accordingly, so that both legends can be read without rotating the coin.



6.5 g, 22 x 23 mm, 12h

Fig. 28. Zoilos I Æ quadruple unit, Bop Série 6B, unlisted variety ⑩

EUCRATIDES I (c.170-145 BCE Boparachchi, c. 171-139 BCE Senior)

The vast and prestigious coinage of this Greco-Bactrian usurper king is the product of a long reign and the establishment of a considerably large territory and influence in Bactria and north-

western India. The expansion and temporary hold of territory as far as the river Indus are indicated by his abundant bilingual bronze coinage. He is seen as one of the early representatives of a new monetary system, with a weight reduction of the bilingual copper denominations to harmonise the Hellenistic/ Bactrian standard with the “Indian” standard.

An example of his most common rectangular type (Bop Série 19) is illustrated in Fig. 29. The coin shows the helmeted bust of king right and the Dioscuri mounted on horseback prancing right, with a discontinuous arrangement of legends *ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΟΥ* (King Eucratides the Great) and on reverse the Kharoshthi legend *Maharajasa Evukratidasa*.



Fig. 29. Eucratides I *AE* quadruple unit, Bop Série 19C ②

Eucratides issued a relatively small number of coin types during his long reign of about 30 years and the majority show the bust of the king on obverse and generally the Dioscuri or their pilei on reverse. The examination of this common type with various monograms – a sign that the coin was issued in various territories of his realm over a long period – resulted in a surprise, because the examination did not reveal any varieties with respect to the arrangement of legends or the depiction of the motif. Besides the common type shown in Fig. 29, two more types of Eucratides’ bronze coins have an interrupted legend (Figs. 30-31).



Fig. 30. Eucratides I *AE* half unit, Bop Série 25

Several pieces of a rare quarter unit (Fig. 30) exist in the collection of the British Museum.

Obverse: Bust of king right with Greek legend *ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΟΥ* on three sides as in Fig. 29

Reverse: Palm leaves and pilei of Dioscuri flanked by Kharoshthi legend *Maharajasa Evukratidasa*

Another rare coin type in the collection of the British Museum (Bop Série 22) is shown in Fig. 31 to complete the picture of Eucratides’ rectangular bronze coinage with interrupted Greek legend. The design of the coin is almost similar to Bop Série 21 of Menander (Fig. 25), with the difference that the king wears a helmet. The Greek legend *ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΟΥ* is arranged discontinuously and with a change of direction. The reverse shows winged Nike standing right, holding a wreath in her outstretched right hand. The Kharoshthi legend *Maharajasa Evukratidasa* flanks Nike to be read from inside.



Fig. 31. Eucratides I *AE* double unit, Bop Série 22

As an exception to all the bronze coins, a rare type of Eucratides’ rectangular silver coinage is shown in Fig. 32. Senior (1999) published this bilingual hemi-drachm which surfaced from the Mir Zakah II hoard. It shows the helmeted bust of king right on obverse, but the Dioscuri are depicted standing without horses on reverse. The continuous Greek legend *ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΟΥ* is arranged on three sides. Such an arrangement of the Greek legend is so far unique for the bronze and silver coins of Indo-Greek kings. The legend begins at lower right and is to be read clockwise from inside. The Kharoshthi legend *Rajasa mahatakasa Evukratidasa* follows the “standard” arrangement on three sides and begins anti-clockwise at lower right.



Fig. 32. Eucratides I *AR* hemi-drachm

APOLLODOTOS II (c.80-65 BCE Bopearachchi, c. 85-65 BCE Senior)

Coins with discontinuous legends were also issued by later Indo-Greek kings. An extensive coinage is left by Apollodotos II in terms of the number of types as well as of surviving coins. The origin of this king is still uncertain, but later Indo-Greek rulers may have been descended from a mix of Greeks, Scythians and Indians. The coinage of Apollodotos II is special with respect to the variation of his titlature. Four forms of title or epithet are used on his coinage. Only Strato I had more, with five different epithets, one of which links the coinage of these two kings, and probably also the coinage of the Indo-Scythian king Maues. An example of the complex and long form of title appears on coins of the type Bop Série 17. The coin illustrated in Fig. 33 is exceptional, because it shows all the details on obverse and reverse. The task of an engraver is not easy, especially if he has to accommodate such a long legend *ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΟΤΗΡΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΦΙΛΟΠΙΤΟΡΟΣ ΑΠΟΛΛΟΔΟΤΟΥ* (King Apollodotos the saviour and the father-loving) on a small die. He had to use the full space around the figure of Apollo. The Kharoshthi legend *Maharajasa tratarasa Apaladatasa* is shorter, but it was also placed on four sides around the tripod. The major part of both legends is to be read from the inside except the name of the king which is placed in the lower line to be read from the outside.



Fig. 33. Apollodotos II *AE* unit, Bop Série 17A ③

There is also a larger denomination double unit issued by Apollodotos II (Bop Série 16). The coin shown in Fig. 34 is similar in design, but it has a beaded interior frame on both sides. The long Greek legend and the Kharoshthi legend have a continuous arrangement on three sides to be read from the inside.



9.60 g, 20 x 22 mm

Fig. 34. Apolloiodotos II \AE quadruple unit, Bop Série 16B ⑬

The arrangement of the legends on three sides confirms the assumption that limited space connected with a conformity of the Kharoshthi legend are most likely the reason for the use of all four sides on smaller units.

The reader must have already realised that this paper does not follow the chronology of Indo-Greek kings, but to complete the picture of bronze coinage with an interrupted or discontinuous Greek legend we will cite the following early bronze coins of Antimachos, Pantaleon and Agathocles. The relationship of these three kings and their line of succession are still an issue. Antimachos is probably as brother the legitimate successor of Demetrios, but Pantaleon is also sometimes believed to have been as a younger contemporary the successor or associate king of Demetrios. Agathocles may have replaced Pantaleon as a probable brother or son. Demetrios was the first ruler to extend the Greco-Bactrian realm south of the Hindu Kush where he initiated a new bilingual coinage. Antimachos, Pantaleon and Agathocles may have ruled south of the Hindu Kush for some time in parallel to Eucratides I before he divested them and occupied the territory of Parapamisadae, Arachosia and Gandhara.

ANTIMACHOS I (c. 185-170 BCE Bopearachchi) was the first to introduce a square and rather crude bronze coinage with an Indian design in the region of Arachosia. The monolingual coins have an advancing elephant right and on reverse a winged thunderbolt with the Greek legend *ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΜΑΧΟΥ* (Fig. 35).



12.60 g, 20 x 19 mm

Fig. 35. Antimachos I \AE Attic tri-chalkon, Bop Série 7 ③

Another denomination of similar design, but struck on an irregular flan, is shown in Fig. 36. The reverse differs in this type because the winged thunderbolt and the Greek legend are incuse. A coin with an incuse can be struck accidentally if the previous coin is not removed, but there are more examples known and we can assume that such a die was cut on purpose.



7.71 g, 20 mm

Fig. 36. Antimachos I \AE Attic di-chalkon, Bop Série 7 ④

PANTALEON (c. 190-180 BCE) issued scarce bilingual bronze coins representing a panther or lioness with Greek legend *ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΠΑΝΤΑΛΕΟΝΤΟΣ* above and below. An example of this Bop Série 6 is illustrated in Fig. 37. The reverse shows a female deity, probably the Indian goddess Lakshmi or Subhadra, flanked by Brahmi legend *Rajane Pamtalevasa*. The legend begins at top

right and is read top to bottom. The scarcity of his coinage might indicate an even shorter reign.



Fig. 37. Pantaleon \AE unit, Bop Série 6 ⑧

AGATHOCLES (c. 190-180 BCE) as a contemporary or a successor of Pantaleon, issued coins of a similar design (Bop Série 10). The Greek legend *ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ* and Brahmi legend *Rajane Agathuklayasa* are also placed in the same way (Fig. 38).



15.92 g, 28 x 20 mm, BM id: IOC.16 ⑦

Fig. 38. Agathocles \AE unit, Bop Série 10

The introduction of this design was probably done to increase its acceptance by local people familiar with such copper coinage bearing an elephant or lion/ horse attributed to Taxila/ Pushkalavati region (Fig. 39). There are unscripted coins with a Greek monogram like an A below the horse, that may be attributable to Agathocles. There is a proposal by Bopearachchi and Rahman that these unscripted coins could be attributed to Demetrios I as an attempt to introduce a new coinage to the territories south of the Hindu Kush. Some scholars see in the figure of the cat a leopard/ panther, but the animal depicted on the coins with long legs and compact body may be an Indian lioness.



8.46 g

13.20 g

Fig. 39. Two Taxila/ Pushkalavati \AE units, MIG type 537 and 539

APOLLODOTOS I (c. 180-160 BCE Bopearachchi, c. 174-165 BCE Senior)

The bronze coinage of Apollodotos I is rather limited in the number of types, so we will cite an exemplary specimen of his rectangular bronze coinage with the "standard" form of Greek and Kharoshthi legends. The most common bronze coin is the rectangular type Bop Série 6 with a remarkable number of monograms. The obverse shows Apollo standing facing with a radiate head and the reverse bears a tripod in a beaded interior frame (Fig. 40). The Greek legend *ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΠΟΛΛΟΔΟΤΟΥ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ* (King Apollodotos the Saviour) and the Kharoshthi legend *Maharajasa Apaladatasa tratarasa* are arranged on three sides to be read from inside.



Fig. 40. Apollodotos I \mathcal{A} quadruple unit, Bop Série 6, unlisted with single monogram

The square bronze coin of type Bob Série 6 issued by Apollodotos I is selected on purpose, because we have checked over 100 coins with the result that this type does not show any variation in the arrangement of legends. But as usual there is an exception: a single coin was found with a deviation (Fig. 41). The Greek legend of this coin differs because two letters are added. It is assumed that the engraver started to cut ΑΠΟΛΛΟΔΟΤΟΥ first and continued ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ or ΣΟΤΗΡΟΣ from the lower side of the die. Realising later that there would be a gap at the top, he closed it by adding a letter on each side.



Fig. 41. Apollodotos I \mathcal{A} quadruple unit, Bop Série 6, unlisted variety ③

If this single coin with a deviation is left out of consideration than there is another type without variation in the legend arrangement. It is the common type of Eukratides I (Bop Série 19), a specimen of which was discussed already (Fig. 29).

Both Eukratides I and Apollodotos I extended and/ or consolidated their realm and issued a large number of coins, yet their mint masters were able to implement and maintain a steady quality in the production of some coin types.

Conclusion

The discovery of a second specimen of the newly-discovered type of Amyntas is significant, because it provides additional information as well as clarification of certain assumptions. On the other hand, some of the questions raised by Tandon remain unanswered. The new find confirms the unusual arrangement of the king's name, but it does not confirm the two anomalies – ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΝΩΤΕ and low weight – observed on the first coin. The present specimen has ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ engraved correctly and the weight of 8.51 g is very much in the range of 8.50 g for a quadruple unit. There is reason to believe that the coin is an official issue, rather than an unofficial issue as suggested by Jens Jakobssons (mentioned by Tandon).

The new bronze type of Amyntas with an unusual feature in the Greek legend remains special, but a closer look at the rectangular bronze coinage of Indo-Greek kings shows that such a variation in the arrangement of the legend is not unique. The two examples of Amyntas' type Bop Série 15 var. confirms that the special arrangement of the king's name is found on another type too. The four coins of the two types bear a comparable monogram, which means they have probably been minted in the same place.

The selection of different rectangular coins listed in this paper show several varieties with respect to the Greek and Kharoshthi legends. The variation in the arrangement of legends on coins of the same type might be a reflection of the freedom in craftsmanship and/ or responsibility granted to a mint master/ supervisor or even to an engraver. On the other hand, it might be just a lack of supervision and quality assurance.

A reasonable answer is still missing to the question: why do two common series of a type issued by the same king and marked by JONS Vol. 237, Autumn 2019

monograms of the same location differ significantly in the number of variations? A further examination is required once sufficient material is available to shed more light on this matter.

Abbreviations

BM id	British Museum identification number
Bop	Bopearachchi 1991
JONS	Journal of the Oriental Numismatic Society
MIG	Mitchiner 1975
Obv.	Obverse
Rev.	Reverse
var.	variety

Sources of images

- ① Pankaj Tandon
- ② Marcos Xagoraris
- ③ CoinIndia.com
- ④ arscoinwien
- ⑤ Sphinx
- ⑥ NumisCorner
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TWO NEWLY-IDENTIFIED HUN KINGS AND A HOARD FROM PUSHKALAVATI

Pankaj Tandon

New Hun types and kings seem to keep turning up as more coins are discovered. In this brief paper, I present coins of two new kings identified from their copper coins. I also report on a hoard of Hun coins apparently found in Pushkalavati, the source of the coins of one of the newly-identified kings.

New king 1: Bagīcca or Bagīkhkha

Fig. 1 shows the first two known examples of a coin type of a new king whose name can be read on the coins as Bagīcca or Bagīkhkha. These coins were reportedly found in a place called Kabirwala some 45 km northeast of the city of Multan in south-central Punjab.



(a) #696.40: 2.41 g, 18-19 mm, 12h



(b) #696.41: 2.06 g, 16-17 mm, 12h

Fig. 1. Copper coins of Bagīcca or Bagīkhkha

Obverse: Bust of king right, apparently clean-shaven, wearing crenelated crown, drop pearl ear-ring and pearl necklace; Brahmi legend at right: *bagīcca* or *bagīkhkha*

Reverse: Lion couchant right, with prominent diadem end attached to necklace; dotted border around

The first two letters in the name are quite clear on both coins and can be read as *bagī*. This element of the name – *Baga* (god) – is well attested on many names and on coin legends. The third letter, a compound one, is less obvious. It seems to consist of two letters which repeat one another. I had read *cca*, yielding the name *bagīcca*, which can be compared to the name BAFIZO on an unpublished silver cup reported by Sims-Williams.¹ Sims-Williams suggested, in a private email, that the suffix could be seen as a diminutive modification of the first element. Harry Falk, in a private email, suggested *khca* for the third letter, although he acknowledged that it seemed quite unpronounceable. He compared it to the letters seen on a baked clay sealing in the collection of Aman ur Rahman (Fig. 2), which he had read as *khkhakhkhivah*.



Fig. 2. Baked clay sealing²

While the letter forms are slightly different, to me the *khkha* reading of the compound letter is attractive, which would yield the name *bagīkhkhkha*, although I am unsure what this might mean. I entertained the thought that perhaps there was a fourth letter, possibly *ra*, which might yield a somewhat more intelligible name such as *bagakhvara*,³ but the diacritic for the long *i* is very clear and *bagīkhvara* would not be so intelligible. In any case, there doesn't seem to be room for a fourth letter as that space is occupied by the king's (proper) left shoulder. Hopefully an example with a clearer legend will show up, although the problem may lie in the unfamiliar and unique letter forms.

Shailen Bhandare, with whom I exchanged a few emails about this coin, preferred to read the name as *Baśiṣṭha* or *Baśiccha*, both perhaps being versions of the well-known name *Vaśiṣṭha*. While this is tempting, I believe the second letter is indeed a *ga* and the diacritic on it is clearly a long *i*.

The lion on the reverse seems to have a diadem around its neck, as suggested by the prominent diadem end seen in the first coin. At JONS Vol. 237, Autumn 2019

first, I thought that element was a wing. However, winged lions had not been featured on any coins from this area in several centuries. A close examination revealed the “wing” to be composed of a highly geometric design, consistent with a diadem end rather than a wing.

In terms of who this king might be, the coins seem to be related to the Hunnic coins from Sind. The crown, in particular, seems to resemble the crown on the coins of Rānāditya Satya, an example of which is illustrated in Fig. 3.



Fig. 3. Gold coin of Rānāditya Satya⁴
6.86 g, 18 mm, 12h

The find spot of Kabirwala, near Multan, is close to the areas in which the Rānāditya Satya coins are found. However, the coins of the latter king have a round ornament above the crown, which the new coins appear to lack, although it is possible such an ornament maybe off their flans. The treatment of the shoulders and chest is also distinctly different, with the shoulders each being represented by roughly circular blobs and the chest consisting of two more blobs (representing perhaps the pectoral muscles). This treatment was used on coins of the Sasanian king Shapur III which were imitated by the Alchon Huns when they first arrived in Bactria in the mid-4th century CE. Fig. 4 illustrates such a coin. The jewellery on this coin also resembles that on our new coins.



Fig. 4. Silver drachm of the early Alchon Huns,
imitating coin of Shapur III⁵

The new coins do not carry any of the marks of the coins of the Alchon Huns, such as the lunar *tamgha* or the crescent crown ornament. It must therefore appear that the king did not belong to that tribe. His coins appear to fill a gap between the later Hun kings in Sind and the early Alchon; his date would therefore be somewhere during the middle of the 5th century.

New king 2: Khunva

Two copper coins from a hoard discovered in Pushkalavati (on which I report in detail in the next section) proved to be examples of a previously unknown type, illustrated in Fig. 5.

These two coins identify a king whose name I am reading as Khunva (or possibly Khuncha). Shailen Bhandare, in a private email, suggested Khundha and further speculated that, rather than being a name, this might refer to a place or something like a tax for which the money was used. In the context of the hoard, however, it is more likely to be a name.



Fig. 5. Copper coins of Khunva

The coins are not in good enough condition for a detailed description to be possible; in particular, we are unable to see the crown that the king is wearing. What we do see on the obverse is the bust of the king left, surrounded by a circular border of large beads, and a reverse consisting only of the Brāhmī legend *khunva*, surrounded again by a circular border of large beads. The visible beads make it quite clear that there are no additional letters in the name that are missing from the coins.

The circular borders of pellets on both sides, especially visible on the second, less attractive, coin in Fig. 5, connect the type closely with the copper coins of Toramāṇa, such as Göbl 120,⁶ and coins of Śruta and Vaysira, whose coins were also present in the hoard. Further, the hoard consists mostly of coins of Khīṅgila, further fixing its date to late in the 5th century. Thus Khunva is likely to have been a king in eastern Gandhara in the 5th century.

Although the similarity is remote, the name Khuncha calls to mind the Kidarite king Kunchas (properly, Kunkhas) mentioned by Priscus.⁷ Considering the late 5th century date for deposition of the hoard (to be argued below), the timing would indeed be right for this identification. The coins are very worn, so they had obviously circulated for some time before being deposited, and Kunkhas can be dated to c. 465 CE. The identification, however, seems highly unlikely albeit not impossible.

The Pushkalavati Hoard

As mentioned earlier, the Khunva coins were part of a hoard reported to have been found in the area of Pushkalavati. The hoard was found in a lidded bronze container hidden within a brick column. Fig. 6 shows a photo of the container as it was discovered, along with photos of the container itself as found and after cleaning.



(a) Container within brick column



(b) Container upon removal



(c) Container after cleaning



(d) Container and lid

Fig. 6. Lidded container in which the hoard was found

The container weighs a total of 316 g, with the bowl weighing 200 g and the lid 116 g. The dimensions of the bowl are as follows:

Bowl: 86 mm diameter, 43 mm height

Lid: 91 mm diameter, 25 mm height.

The metal is approximately 1 mm thick.

The hoard contained 145 copper coins. Including the two coins of Khunva, the group included the following:

- 115 coins of Khīṅgila (Göbl 54)
- 1 coin of “Tora” (Vondrovec GC-A 23)⁸
- 1 coin of Śruta (Vondrovec 125A)
- 2 coins of Vaysāra (Göbl 132)
- 2 coins of Khunva (unpublished)
- 12 coins with “ja” (Vondrovec GC-A 14)
- 12 coins unidentified

The following figures show examples of the Kṅgila and “ja” coins, along with the other identifiable coins. Where warranted, I discuss the coins briefly.



Fig. 7a. Kṅgila coin (Göbl 54)
(0.91 g, 11-12 mm, 2h)



Fig. 7b. Kṅgila coin (Göbl 54)
(0.67 g, 12-14 mm, 6h)

Fig. 7 shows two examples of the Kṅgila coins, which are all of the same type. The coin in Fig. 7b appears to be overstruck on the same type, probably a correction of an earlier weak strike. As there is a large number of coins of this type in the hoard, it is possible to do a metrological analysis, which I will discuss below.



Fig. 8. Toramana (0.81 g, 11-12 mm)
(Vondrovec GC-A 23, p. 374)

Vondrovec was the first to publish a coin similar to that in Fig. 8, although he was able to see only the letter *to* in the left field. This example clearly shows the letter *ra* in the right field, confirming that the coin is an issue of Toramana, as suspected by Vondrovec. This coin seems to have a much smaller head than the coins published by Vondrovec.



Fig. 9. Śruta (1.57 g, 15 mm)
(Vondrovec 125A, p. 380)

Although coins of Śruta were known to Göbl (his types 124 and 125), the type illustrated in Fig. 9 was first published by Vondrovec. The Göbl types featured a full-length figure on the obverse and a rosette above the name on the reverse. The rosette, of course, connects closely to the copper types of Toramana; the presence of coins 8 and 9 in the same hoard again point to a link between the two kings. Unfortunately, it appears that the obverse of the coin has been tooled, thereby compromising the integrity of the portrait.



Fig. 10a. Vaysāra (0.68 g, 11 mm) (Göbl 132)



Fig. 10b. Vaysāra (0.41 g, 9 x 9 mm) (Göbl 132)

The two coins in Fig. 10 appear to be examples of Göbl 132, on which Göbl had read the name Vaysāra. The name of this king is a matter of much confusion, as the initial letter is sometimes *va* and sometimes *ba*, and the diacritic on the compound letter *ya* (denoting the sound *za*) is sometimes absent and, when present, has variously been read as a long *i* or a long *a*. Whatever his name, I have argued previously that his coins belong in what I call the Toramana series,⁹ and the presence of his coins in this hoard in conjunction with coins of Toramana and Śruta further strengthens this point.

Finally, Fig. 11 displays the best example of Vondrovec’s GC-A 14, of which there were twelve coins in the hoard. Vondrovec reads the letter *ja* at left and identifies the object at right to be a fly-whisk. Here, it looks more like the letter *ra* with a modifying diacritic, perhaps rendering *rī* and creating a legend *jarī*. Admittedly, none of the coins is in good enough condition to make a definitive reading possible.



Fig. 11. Coin with “ja” (0.67 g, 10 x 10 mm)
(Vondrovec GC-A 14, p. 281)

Metrology of the Kṅgila coins

The large number of Kṅgila coins in the hoard (115) makes it possible to consider the metrological properties of the coins. In particular, we could ask if the coins can suggest to us a possible weight standard to which they were minted. It turns out that there does not appear to be a weight standard at all. Figure 12 displays a histogram of the weights of the Kṅgila coins.

Distribution of Weights

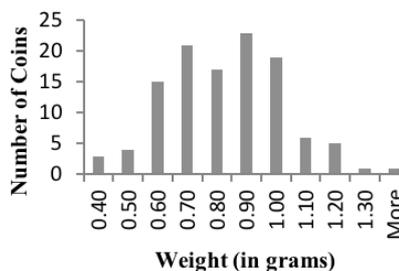


Fig. 12. Histogram of Kṅgila coin weights in the hoard

The range of weights is 0.38 g to 1.38 g, and the average weight is 0.78 g. But the most interesting aspect of the weights is that the

distribution is almost uniform between the weights of 0.50 g and 1.00 g. Such a wide range is not consistent with a fixed weight standard.

There could be three likely explanations for this distribution:

1. The coins had no denominational value but were simply weighed during trade.
2. The coins were minted to a weight standard which changed over time.
3. The coins were a fiat currency with a nominal value well in excess of the bullion value.

I had assumed that the first explanation was the most likely one, despite the obvious inconvenience this would be for trade. However, on further consideration, it seems that the third is the most likely explanation. The second explanation is unlikely to be true, because, if the coins exchanged on par with one another, we would expect the heavier ones to be withdrawn from circulation in order to be melted down. With the third explanation, we would expect the heavier coins to be clipped in order to extract “extraneous” metal for sale, since a smaller, clipped version of the coin would still have the same value in the marketplace. Indeed we do see this in the coins. While coin 7b displays an expected circular shape (especially considering the design with its circular borders on both sides), coin 7a shows clear signs of clipping, both from its square shape and from the clear clipped edges. Figure 13 shows a representative sample of the coins and we see that almost all of them feature a square shape, suggesting that many have indeed been clipped.



Fig. 13. Representative sample of Khingila coins, showing their mostly square shape and clear signs of clipping

It might be argued that this is consistent also with the second explanation, that the weight standard changed over time. But, if that were the case, we would expect the coins to not only be clipped but for the heavier coins to be withdrawn. The fact that they were not suggests that the trade value of the coins was in excess of their metal value. The combination of a wide range of weights and the clipped edges is most consistent with the notion that the coins constituted a fiat currency. Considering that the Alchon may have been familiar with the Chinese practice, this theory does not seem too far-fetched.

Acknowledgements

Thanks to Nicholas Sims-Williams, Harry Falk and Shailen Bhandare for their advice and suggestions on the legend readings.

References

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2. Aman ur Rahman and Harry Falk, *Seals, Sealings and Tokens from Gandhara*, Reichert Verlag, Wiesbaden, 2011, number 16.01.09 (p. 169); photo courtesy Harry Falk.
3. Among the Pāratarājas, we have names such as *Bagamira* and *Mirahvara*, so *Bagakhvara* (an alternative spelling of *Bagahvara*) would be consistent. It would mean “the glory of god.”
4. CNG 100, Lot 198.

5. Tandon collection #375.1.

6. All references to Göbl are to Robert Göbl, *Dokumente zur Geschichte der Iranischen Hunnen in Baktrien und Indien*, Otto Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, 1967.

7. R.C. Blockley, *The Fragmentary Classicising Historians of the Later Roman Empire*, Francis Cairns, Liverpool, 1983, p. 349.

8. All references to Vondrovec are to Klaus Vondrovec, *Catalogue of the Iranian Huns and their Successors from Bactria to Gandhara (4th to 8th century CE)*, Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Vienna, 2014.

9. Pankaj Tandon, ‘Notes on the Evolution of Alchon Coins’, *Journal of the Oriental Numismatic Society*, No. 216, Summer 2013, pp. 24-34.

A KUFIC GRAFFITO CITING AL-HAJJAJ?

Nikolaus Schindel

Graffiti are a recurrent phenomenon on coins throughout the ages. They are moderately common on late Sasanian silver coins, and have been already commented upon,¹ even if we still lack a comprehensive treatment. In my experience (having worked on quite a few Sasanian coins), in many cases it is difficult even to distinguish intentional graffiti from mere scratches. Only in rare cases is it possible to identify letters, or even words, with a sufficient degree of probability. Even finding out in which language a graffito was written can be quite demanding a task.

As regards the present coin (Fig. 1), this last question at least can be answered with certainty: the graffito is written in Kufic Arabic.



Fig. 1. Khusro I silver drachm AY (Eran-khwarrah-Shapur in Khuzistan). Regnal year 45. 3.87 g. 33 mm. 4 h. Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Münzkabinett, Prokesch-Osten

Let us start, however, with the host coin. It is a silver drachm of the Sasanian king Khusro I (531-578 CE), struck in regnal year 45 (575/6 CE) at the mint of AY (Eran-khwarrah-Shapur in Khuzistan). Unsurprisingly, it bears the canonical type combination II/2 according to Göbl.² The drachm is not clipped; the broken part at 3 h easily explains the deviation from the ideal weight of ca. 4.15 g.³ The continued circulation of a coin more than a century after its production is not completely unusual, as is attested by coin hoards from the late Sasanian and early Islamic period.⁴

Now to the graffito. It is placed on the obverse, roughly between 11 h and 10 h.

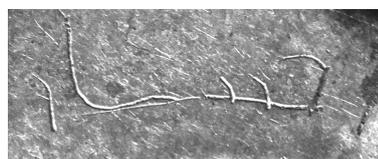


Fig. 2. Close-up of graffito from Fig. 1

The first letter is merely a horizontal stroke, covered with some product of corrosion, but still well visible. It resembles an Arabic *ل*. The second sign looks like a Kufic *ج*, if it were not for the semicircle above – this element makes no sense in any language I could think of. Then follows what looks like two times the letter *ح/ج/خ* – the lack of diacritical dots in Kufic does not allow a clear distinction of these three variants. After this comes yet another *ل*. The last letter at first glance looks like a *ز*, or maybe also like a *ن*; we shall discuss it soon. The letter forms as such (except the third sign) look Kufic; one has to bear in mind that the total length of the graffito is about 8 mm, with the tallest letter measuring less than 3 mm. Because of the smallness, as well as the problems the writer obviously had in scratching into the metal surface (note the insecure execution of the basic lower line), we should not put too much weight on individual inaccuracies in single letters. If we consider the rules of which elements can be connected to the left and which cannot, the letters fully comply with the rules of Kufic Arabic. The letters cannot be Pehlevi because some signs, such as the last letter but one, simply do not exist in this form (a cursive Pehlevi “L” should be connected to the left).

Because of the ambiguity of the Kufic script, as well as the partially faulty execution of some letters, the overall reading is not straightforward, but rather a matter of hypothesis. I would suggest to read the graffito as *الحجاج*, i.e. “al-Hajjaj”, the name of the famous Umayyad governor of the East, al-Hajjaj b. Yussuf.⁵ Admittedly, this reading does not do justice to the most obvious reading of the last letter as a *ز* or *ن*. Still, the peculiar form of the Kufic final *ج* (cf. Fig. 3) would probably have been particularly difficult to write, especially for a person obviously not well versed in inscribing the surfaces of silver coins.



Fig. 3. Al-Hajjaj b. Yussuf. AR drachm BYŞ (Bishapur in Fars) mint. 77 AH. 3.85 g. 34 mm. 6 h. Eretz Israel Museum Tel Aviv, Kadman Numismatic Pavilion, K/50787. N. Schindel, *Sylloge Nummorum Sasanidarum Israel*, Vienna 2009, pl. 15, no. 199

In this case, it is unlikely that further material will bring about more relevant data with which to verify or falsify my hypothesis. There are some other objects – apart from the well-known coins (Fig. 3) – on which the name of al-Hajjaj can possibly be found,⁶ even if here, too, sometimes the interpretation is hypothetical (Fig. 4).⁷



Fig. 4. Uniface PB tessera
Obv. legend *بسم الله بركة / للحجاج*
2.76 g. 21 mm. Schindel (as note 6), p. 106, fig. 1



Fig. 5. Obverse of Fig. 4 after cleaning

Even if the hypothetical reading of the graffito as *الحجاج*, viz. “al-Hajjaj”, should be accepted, this still would not mean that we know exactly why the name was scratched into this coin: was it to mark a payment from, or to al-Hajjaj? In this case, the famous governor would not necessarily be the only candidate – the name could also refer to a homonymous person not otherwise attested. Was it a token of respect of loyalty towards the governor?

While the reading is already hypothetical and offers severe problems from a paleographic point of view, building further hypotheses on it would result in mere guesswork. In the end, we cannot tell why the name was written on this coin. Still, in the long run even inconspicuous phenomena such as graffiti like the one presented here might offer new insights into the history of the early Islamic period (admittedly, defined in a very broad sense), as long as the material is comprehensively collected and critically reviewed. The purpose of this modest paper – apart from bringing this potentially interesting coin (Fig. 1) to the knowledge of those interested in early Islamic numismatics – is to stimulate further research in this field.

Acknowledgement

I wish to thank Lutz Ilisch for our valuable discussions. The hypothesis advanced here (and any possible errors connected with it) are purely my own.

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5. For an overview, A. Dietrich, “al-Hadjjādī b. Yūsuf”, in *Encyclopaedia of Islam Second Edition*, Vol. 2, pp. 39–42.
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7. N. Schindel, Eine umayyadische Bleitessera mit dem Namen al-Haġġaġ, *Mitteilungen der Österreichischen Numismatischen Gesellschaft* 47/4, 2007, pp. 166–171. The legend could mean “blessings to al-Hajjaj” or “blessings to the pilgrims”.

AGHBUGHA I THE GREAT, SHAYKH UWAYS JALAYIR AND BAGRAT V: THE NUMISMATIC TRIANGLE

Irakli Paghava, Pavle Chumburidze and
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This short article is to publish a previously unknown coin type issued in the name of Shaykh Uways Jalayirid (1356-1374 CE/ AH 757-776) at one of the Georgian urban centres, and to discuss the historical significance of this discovery.

We are aware of two specimens of this new coin type: the first (Fig. 1) was accidentally found in the territory of Okroqana settlement in the vicinity of historical Tiflis in January 2019, while the second (Fig. 2) was uploaded on Zeno.ru in 2010,¹ but has so far not been attributed (as far as the mint name is concerned).



Fig. 1. Coin 1 of Shaykh Uways Jalayirid,
Akhalsikh (Akhalsikhe) mint

Coin 1

AR, weight 0.64 g, dimensions 12.0-13.8 mm
40-45% of the surface was not affected by the dies and remained blank.

Obverse: Trefoil cartouche with central circle; all within first linear and then beaded circles.

Arabic legends:

Acknowledgement of the Jalayirid ruler in the upper-right segment (of the cartouche):

شيخ اويس

The end of his title in the bottom segment:

... عظيم

Within the central circle:

الله حسبي

Reverse: Square grid within first linear and then beaded circles.

Arabic legends; Sunni Shahadah within the square:

لا اله الا الله

محمد

رسول الله

The names of two righteous Caliphs in the bottom segment:

على ابوبكر

Isolated mint name (without ضرب) in the right segment:

اخلسيخ



Fig. 2. Coin 2 of Shaykh Uways Jalayirid,
Akhalsikh (Akhalsikhe) mint

Coin 2

AR, weight 0.72 g, dimensions 14-15 mm

Obverse: Trefoil cartouche with central circle; all within first linear and then beaded circles.

Arabic legends:

In the right segment: خلد الله

In the top-left segment:

السلطان الاعظم (sic)

Sultan's name in the bottom-left segment:

شيخ اويس

Within the central circle: الله حسبي

Reverse: Square grid within first linear and then beaded circles.

Arabic legends:

Sunni Shahadah within the square:

لا اله الا الله

محمد

رسول الله

The names of two righteous Caliphs, the first and the fourth in the bottom segment:

على ابوبكر

The name of the second righteous Caliph in the left segment:

عمر

The name of the third righteous Caliph in the top segment:

عثمان

Isolated mint name (without ضرب) in the right segment:

اخلسيخ

These two specimens share the reverse die; the distances between the graphemes are identical. However, as the coins were hammered in a different way, the thickness of the letters is not always equal (as reflected in our drawings). Based on these two specimens, we can now reconstruct the coin type entirely:

Obverse: Trefoil cartouche around the central circle; all within first linear and then beaded circles.

Arabic legend distributed differently in three foils:

خلد الله السلطان الاعظم شيخ اويس

Within the central circle: الله حسبي

Reverse: Square grid within first linear and then beaded circles.

Arabic legends:

Sunni Shahadah within the square:

لا اله الا الله

محمد

رسول الله

The names of two righteous Caliphs, the first and the fourth in the bottom segment:

علي ابوبكر

The name of the second righteous Caliph in the left segment:

عمر

The name of the third righteous Caliph in the top segment:

عثمان

Isolated mint name (without ضرب) in the right segment:

اخلسيخ

The weight of both coins corresponds to the standard weight of Shaykh Uways' 1/3 silver dinar (i.e. 2 dirhams) denomination in the period AH 762-774 (0.72 g).²

The coin type is quite remarkable insofar as it bears the mint name of Akhalsikh, which is previously unknown in Jalayirid coinage.³ Akhalsikh or Akhaltsikhe (*Akhal-Tsikhe* or 'New Fortress' in Georgian) is a prominent Georgian medieval city. The Akhalsikh/Akhaltsikhe mint was first read by Tamar Lomouri back in 1944 (previous generations of scholars had read this mint erroneously).⁴

Akhaltsikhe was the principal centre of a vast territory ruled by the Jaqelis, a prominent Georgian feudal dynasty. They appropriated the title of *atabag*; hence their principality with its core province of Samtskhe was called Samtskhe-Saatabago. It was perhaps the strongest of the Georgian feudal political entities. Taking advantage of the advent of the Mongols and the ensuing decline in power of the royal Georgian authority, the Jaqelis even attained a certain degree of independence from the former, becoming a direct subject of the Ilkhans.⁵ However, in some cases this dynasty pursued its own policy in the region, at times even opposing the Ilkhans by disobeying their orders.⁶

The relationship between the royal Bagratids and the Jaqelis became particularly intimate by the end of the 13th century, as the future king Giorgi V the Brilliant (1299?-1302, 1314?-1342), was raised at the court of his grandfather Beka I Jaqeli (1285?-1306 or 1308?), and was enthroned for the first time with the support of this feudal lord.⁷ Later on, Giorgi V obtained the throne for the second time (in 1314?) due to the support provided by his uncles, Sargis II and Qvarqvare, sons of Beka.⁸

However, it seems Samtskhe-Saatabago subsequently lost its semi-independent status and was incorporated by Giorgi V back into the united Georgian kingdom in 1317-1334, after the death of Uljāytū.⁹

Nevertheless, the Jaqelis continued to rule their territory and eventually even played a pivotal role in the partition process of the Georgian kingdom in the second half of the 15th century.¹⁰

According to Stephen Album, we know of 4 types/ sub-types of silver coinage in the name of Shaykh Uways in the Tabriz zone:¹¹

1. TA ("hexafoil/ square"), dated AH 761 only
2. TB ("plain circle both sides, mint in obverse centre"), dated AH 762-765
3. Iraqi type B ("square/ octofoil") "at some Adharbayjan mints", briefly introduced" in AH 765, and replaced by
4. TC1 ("trefoil design with mint in centre/ pentafoil"), dated AH 766-774
5. TC2 ("as TC1, but *Allah hasbi* in obverse centre and mint above reverse field"), dated AH 773 only.

The present Akhalsikh coin type is neither TA nor Iraqi B, but rather a hybrid of TA (having a square-in-circle reverse), TC1 and TC2 (trefoil obverse design), and, most importantly, TC2 (*Allah hasbī* in obverse centre). In other words, it has a TC2 obverse, but with the mint name in the right segment (not above reverse field, as in original TC2) and a standard TA square reverse.

Employment of the *Allah hasbī* formula in the obverse centre is significant, as it serves as a dating element (the coin type bears no date). We consider it extremely improbable that this formula could have been introduced independently at the Akhalsikh mint earlier than AH 773. Therefore, AH 773 (1371/2 CE) has to be considered the earliest date for issuing Akhalsikh coins of this type. Shaykh Uways Jalayirid died in AH 776 (1374 CE), so this coin type could hardly be minted later than this year (unless it's a posthumous issue, which is improbable).¹² In terms of weight standard of 1/3 dinar, both coins fit the later AH 762-774 standard (0.72 g) rather than the earlier AH 759-761 standard (0.92 g). Therefore, the four-year period of AH 773-776 (1371/2-1374 CE) seems to be the time when this coin type was issued in Samtskhe-Saatabago.

As to the TA reverse, which was normally employed for minting the coins dated AH 761, we have two possible explanations, both of which were expressed by Stephen Album while discussing Coin 2 (on Zeno.ru #92447):¹³

1. Employment of an old die, preserved at the mint;
2. Production of a unique local coin type (inspired by TA, TC1 and TC2, but differing in some aspect from all of them).

It is noteworthy that we have two Akhalsikh coins sharing the same TA-type square reverse die, but struck with different *Allah hasbī*-mint name obverse dies. This may imply that the use of the TA (or TA-like?) reverse die was rather systematic than accidental. Moreover, we have seen two other specimens (Figs. 3-4), also of TC2 obverse-TA-reverse type with blundered and illegible legends in the reverse segments, on which we cannot read the mint name.¹⁴



Fig. 3. Shaykh Uways Jalayirid, TC2 obverse-TA-reverse type, illegible mint, 0.63 g (Zeno.ru #92447)



Fig. 4. Shaykh Uways Jalayirid, TC2 obverse-TA-reverse type, illegible mint, 0.64 g (Zeno.ru #92448)

Were these two specimens (Figs. 3-4) minted somewhere else? If so, that would also favour the idea of a separate "Akhalsikh" coin type, minted in Akhalsikhe and possibly somewhere else too in AH 773 or later. On the other hand, if this coin type was unique to Akhalsikhe mint, then Figs. 3-4 possibly constitute later imitations of the Akhalsikh coins in the name of Shaykh Uways.

Alternatively, if the old AH 761 die was employed at the Akhalsikh mint in AH 773-776, that would imply that coin minting activity had started at Akhalsikh mint, i.e. in Samtskhe-Saatabago, by at least AH 761 (1359/60 CE), though no specimens have survived (or been published so far). We personally incline to the former hypothesis, that this is a new local type.

So far we knew of Akhalsikh coins in the name of the following Ilkhans only:

- Ghāzan Māhmūd (AH 757-776/ 1356-1374 CE) (Fig. 5), with the earliest date being AH 698 (1298/9 CE) or AH 700 (1300/1 CE)¹⁵
- Ūljāytū (AH 703-716/ 1304-1316 CE), with the latest date being AH 716 (1316/7 CE)¹⁶ or even AH 717 (1317/8 CE) (a posthumous issue?)¹⁷
- Abū Sa‘īd (AH 716-736/ 1316-1335 CE), with the dates AH 717 (1317/8 CE) and 718 (1318/9 CE).¹⁸



Fig. 5. Ghāzan Māhmūd, Akhalsikh (Akhalsikhe) mint

According to numismatic literature, the Akhalsikh/ Akhalsikhe mint was active in AH 698 (1298 CE) or AH 700-718 (1300/1-1318/9 CE). These coins were therefore minted in the reign of Beka I (1285?-1306 or 1308? CE) and Sargis II (1306 or 1308?-1334? CE).

Mirian Rekhviashvili outlined a noteworthy hypothesis for the reasons for starting the mint in Akhalsikhe: that Akhalsikhe was a politically and economically flourishing city and the residence of the Jaqelis, with Beka I being the authoritative (for Mongols) and influential leader, one of the two who could and would provide adjuvant military force from Georgia in case of need. According to the modern Georgian scholar, the Jaqelis controlled the mint: “Probably, Ghāzan took into account also this circumstance, when starting a mint at Akhalsikhe. Beka would have been assigned with a task to organize a mint and would bear the responsibility for its work”.¹⁹ Tsiola Ghvaberidze also stated that the mint was organised at Akhalsikhe not only because of the favourable geographical location of the city, but also due to the political situation in the country.²⁰

In a similar manner, one cannot exclude that the mint at Akhalsikhe ceased its activities following the general decline in the power (and prosperity?) of the *atabags* of Samtskhe. According to Tsiola Ghvaberidze,²¹ who considered Ūljāytū’s coinage of AH 716 (1316/7 CE) or 717 (1317/8 CE) to be the last Akhalsikh issue, the Akhalsikhe mint ceased production after and due to Giorgi V’s successful visit to the Ilkhanid court after the death of Ūljāytū, when the Georgian monarch obtained the right to reestablish the crown’s control over Samtskhe-Saatabago.²² Akhalsikh mint apparently continued to issue coins in the name of Abū Sa‘īd for another year. Nevertheless, the hypothesis appears convincing: it is possible that the activity of the Akhalsikhe mint reflected the political autonomy of the Jaqeli house.

It was earlier thought that the Jaqelis resumed minting their own coinage only in the 15th century under Qvarqvare II (1451-1498 CE) (Fig. 6), since 1451 or most probably 1466,²³ when their coinage lost any connection with Islamic tradition: it displayed the effigy of a fish (ΙΧΘΥΣ = "Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, Θεοῦ Υἱός, Σωτήρ") but did not mention a mint or a date.²⁴

That means that we had a hiatus of approximately 130-150 years (1319-1451 = 132 years; or 1319-1466 = 147 years) when the Akhalsikh mint was not operating. The new data indicates unequivocally that the coinage was minted on the territory of Samtskhe, in its principal urban centre, not only in the 1310s and 1451 or 1466-1498 time period, but also in the 1370s.



Fig. 6. Qvarqvare II, [Akhalsikhe mint?]

But who was minting this coinage in the 1370s? We have already mentioned that Akhalsikhe was located in Samtskhe-Saatabago, a powerful feudal dominion (comprising about a *third* of the territory) within the (united, more or less) Georgian kingdom. This kingdom was ruled at that time by Bagrat V (1360-1393). However, the Akhalsikh mint was located on the territory controlled by the local *atabags* of Samtskhe, so we can assume that they exerted some level of control upon the mint located in their capital city.

Precise chronology of all the 14th century rulers of Samtskhe-Saatabago has not been clarified yet. However, we do have more information for the 2nd half of that century, i.e. the period we are interested in. In 2011, Temo Jojua and Irma Beridze published an outstanding analysis of two Easter table annotations of 1352 and 1356 in a medieval Georgian manuscript;²⁵ both mentioned *amirspasalar* Aghbugha, and the authors drew a logical conclusion based on this primary and contemporary source, that in contrast to hypotheses published earlier, Aghbugha started to rule Samtskhe-Saatabago at least from the early 1350s.²⁶

Temo Jojua and Irma Beridze analysed all the available Georgian, Armenian and Islamic sources on the life and reign of Aghbugha: he was still alive in 1400, but had died by 1403.²⁷ Evidently Aghbugha’s reign lasted for about half a century (early 1350s-early 1400s); his was a lengthy reign, though not without analogues. Therefore the coins in the name of Shaykh Uways Jalayirid were minted at Akhalsikhe in the reigns of Bagrat V, king of Georgia, and of Aghbugha I the Great, *atabag* of Samtskhe.

Ruling over about a third of the territory of the Georgian kingdom, Aghbugha naturally played a significant role in the contemporary political life of the state.²⁸ For instance, is remarkable that he extended a codex of law, composed by Aghbugha’s grandfather, Beka I, which was called Beka-Aghbugha’s Law.²⁹

By means of these coins minted in Akhalsikhe, the capital city of the principality, we now have material evidence shedding some light on the economic life of Samtskhe-Saatabago during Aghbugha’s reign. The discovery of Akhalsikh coins in the name of Shaykh Uways the Jalayir also has some political significance.

It is quite remarkable that previously we knew of only one Georgian mint issuing coinage in the name of Shaykh Uways, and that was Tiflīs, the capital city of the Kings of Georgia.³⁰ The Tiflīs coinage in the name of Shaykh Uways played a role in the monetary circulation of the eastern provinces of the kingdom.³¹

It could be not a mere coincidence, and not just an economic necessity, that the only other Georgian mint issuing coinage, i.e. a public declaration of allegiance according to Islamic tradition, was Akhalsikh (Akhalsikhe), the capital city of Samtskhe-Saatabago. There is no name of Aghbugha on the coins, so this coinage definitely did not constitute an overt assertion of his independence from either Bagrat V or anyone else. However, the acknowledgement of Shaykh Uways on the coins minted in Akhalsikhe may indicate a special relationship (again) between Samtskhe-Saatabago, or rather Aghbugha I himself, and the Mongol (Jalayirid, not Ilkhan, in this case) suzerain, to the detriment of Bagrat V and Georgian unity.

Certainly, this is just a hypothesis; nevertheless, a hypothesis supported by the records of Jaqeli separatism from the united Georgian kingdom in the past (13th-early 14th centuries) and future (second half of the 15th century), and perhaps also by the newly-discovered numismatic evidence.

Acknowledgement

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AKBAR COPPER COIN OF SURAT MINT

Abhishek Chatterjee

One of the important victories of Mughal emperor Akbar was the conquest of Gujarat. This not only added a new and prosperous province to the growing Mughal empire, but also gave it access to the all-important maritime trade routes. The ports of Gujarat were the main entry points for silver imports in the form of bullion to be converted into Mughal currency.¹ It was also through these ports that the annual Haj pilgrimage was undertaken. Of these the most important was Surat, which became one of the most important ports of the Mughal empire, so important that Aurangzeb labelled the port *Bandar-i-Mubarak* or ‘the blessed port’ on his coins.²

A small copper coin, recently discovered, is a testimony to this key conquest by Akbar. The coin bears the mint name of Surat (Fig. 1). No copper coin of Akbar has so far been reported from Surat mint. This coin therefore adds another mint to the long list of mints that issued Akbar’s copper coinage.



Fig. 1. Akbar copper coin, Surat mint
(5.2 g, 14 x 15 mm), unpublished



Fig. 2. Legends drawn over coin in Fig. 1

Obverse (from top to bottom):

ضرب فلوس سورت
zarb falus Surat

Reverse (from bottom to top):

۹۷ خ نهشده هستاد و
nuhshad hastad wa (X) 97x

On Akbar’s copper coins, the date is written in both words and numerals. On this coin the date is written in words in Persian on the reverse, though the last digit is not seen and denoted here as ‘X’. The date in words translates as 98x. But in numerals the date 97x is visible at the top. To clear this dichotomy, the complete word *hastad* meaning ‘80’ is fortunately seen on the flan, so the numeral 7 seems to be a die maker’s error for 8. Such an error is not uncommon in Mughal copper coinage. AH 98x also fits the historical sequence of events described below. Hence the date should be considered as AH 98x.

The weight of this coin is slightly higher than what is expected if it represents a quarter *dam* of Mughal *dam* standard. During the reign of the last Gujarat sultan Muzaffar III, copper coins of 96 *rati* standard (11.1-11.5 g) were prevalent.³ The present coin fits exactly in this 96 *rati* weight standard as a half *falus* (5.0-5.4 g) in the Gujarat sultanate weight standard.

The mint mark in the *seen* of *falus* looks like an anchor. The anchor, a symbol of maritime activity for which Surat is still famous, is aptly represented on this coin.

Historical background

After the death of Gujarat sultan Ahmed III in July 1561 (AH 968), a supposed son of Ahmed III was enthroned as Shams al-Din Muzaffar III. But Muzaffar was sultan in name only; his nobles carved up the kingdom and kept on squabbling among themselves.⁴

Seeing the chaos, one of the chief nobles I’timad Khan invited Akbar to invade Gujarat. On receiving this invitation, Akbar sensed an opportunity to annex Gujarat and marched from Fatehpur Sikri on July 2, 1572 (AH 980). Making his way through Ajmer, Nagaur and Sirohi, Akbar reached Ahmedabad on November 20 that year.⁵ Overawed by the superior Mughal forces and hampered by a lack of unity among the nobles in the sultanate, Ahmedabad surrendered without a fight. The fugitive sultan Muzaffar III was found hiding in a corn field, and was brought in by I’timad Khan. He surrendered to Akbar and was imprisoned.⁶

The emperor then marched towards Khambayat where he saw the sea for the first time. He also received the Portuguese merchants in Khambayat who paid their respects.⁷ There he appointed Mirza Aziz Koka as the first governor of Gujarat. But the Mirzas – Timurids and therefore distant relatives of Akbar – organised a rebellion against Akbar and occupied the three cities of Baroda, Surat and Champaner. Akbar proceeded towards Baroda first, while dispatching a force towards Champaner. After a brief, bloody and valiant skirmish, Akbar managed to capture Baroda while Mirza Ibrahim who had occupied Baroda fled towards Sirohi. Akbar then turned towards Surat to chastise Mirza Muhammad Hussain who had occupied Surat. On the arrival of the imperial forces, Mirza Hussain escaped to the Deccan, leaving the defence of the fort to his aide Hamzaban. Akbar arrived near Surat on January 11, 1573 (AH 980) and laid siege to the fort. After a siege of six weeks Hamzaban surrendered the fort on February 26, 1573 (23rd Sawwal AH 980).⁸ Akbar appointed Kalij Khan in charge of the fort of Surat. Akbar then set the administration of the newly-conquered province in order. He left for Fatehpur on April 13, 1573 and reached Sikri on June 3, 1573 (AH 981). Muzaffar III, who had been taken prisoner and taken to Fatehpur with Akbar, was spared and granted the jagir of Sarangpur.⁹

Within three months of having returned to Sikri, Akbar got news of trouble brewing in Gujarat. An Abyssinian noble Ikhtyar ul Mulk in the service of the erstwhile sultan, along with Mirza Hussain, laid siege to the capital city of Ahmedabad. Akbar decided to act swiftly; he collected a selected band of personal companions and dashed towards Ahmedabad on August 23, 1573 (AD 981). He covered the distance of 1,000 km in only 9 days – a remarkable feat.¹⁰ Ikhtyar ul Mulk and Mirza Hussain were caught off guard with the speed of the Mughal march and were totally unprepared. In the battle of Ahmedabad on September 2, 1573 (AH 981), Akbar emerged victorious and both Ikhtyar ul Mulk and Mirza Hussain were slain.¹¹

Akbar stayed in Ahmedabad for 11 days and then proceeded towards his capital on September 13, 1573, reaching Sikri on

October 5, 1573. Akbar constructed the Buland Darwaza in Fatehpur Sikri to commemorate his Gujarat victory.

The Gujarat sultanate had all but ended, except for a small but formidable revolt by the last sultan Muzaffar III. He escaped and organised a revolt in 1582-83 (AH 991-992), occupying the throne for just a few months before he was ultimately defeated.¹²

Akbar's Gujarat coinage

During Akbar's reign, as the Mughal empire expanded its footprint across India, it adopted the local systems of monetary exchange. In Gujarat, copper coins bearing the dates and name of Akbar have been found that follow the metrology of the earlier Gujarat sultanate copper coins (Figs. 3-4).



Fig. 3. Akbar copper coin, Gujarat issue, 5.31 g (Oswal Antiques, Auction 76, Lot 190)



Fig. 4. Akbar copper dokdo, Gujarat issue, 11.29 g (Oswal Antiques, Auction 63, Lot 166)

Some specimens bear dates late in the reign of Akbar and some even carry the name of Jahangir who succeeded him (Fig. 5).



Fig. 5. Jahangir copper trambiyo, Gujarat issue, 3.01 g (Oswal Antiques, Auction 69, Lot 230)

These coins suggest that monetary integration and the imposition of Mughal metrology took a long time in Gujarat even after the province was formally annexed by the Mughal empire.

Significance of the Surat copper coin

The only other coins of Akbar known so far from the Surat mint are two silver rupees bearing the dates *Ilahi* 37 (1599-1600 AD) and *Ilahi* 38 (1600-1601 AD), illustrated in Figs. 6-7.



Fig. 6. Akbar rupee Surat mint, Kalima type, *Ilahi* year 37 (Zeno.ru #157514)

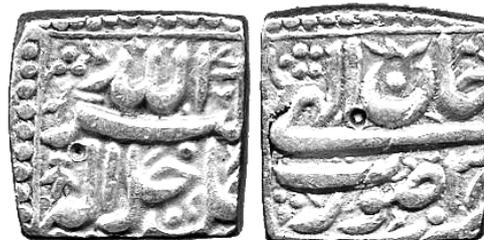


Fig. 7. Akbar rupee Surat mint, *Allahu Akbar* type, *Ilahi* year 38, 11.38 g (Zeno.ru #82978)

The specimen dated *Ilahi* 37 has Akbar's name on one side and the Kalima on the other side (Fig. 6), while the *Ilahi* 38-dated rupee has the *Allahu Akbar Jallejallallah* legend and month *Jan (Mihir)* on it (Fig. 7). A mint in Surat did not exist during the Gujarat sultanate period. Hence, it seems that Akbar established a mint there after he captured Surat.

On both silver coins Surat is spelt with the Persian letter 'Swad-ص' as in 'صورت'. This feature of writing the name of 'Surat' with the Persian letter 'Swad-ص' is seen only on the silver rupee of Akbar. In all other coins of the Mughals from Jahangir onwards, the mint name was spelt with the Persian letter 'Seen-س' as in 'سورت'. This confusion is superbly dealt with by Indian numismatist S.H. Hodivala in *Historical studies in Mughal mint towns and other essays*. According to Hodivala, both names 'صورت' and 'سورت' are interchangeable and cited various contemporary literary texts to prove this fact.¹³ The present copper coin with mint name written as 'سورت' is therefore not surprising. It is also noted that the obverse does not bear Akbar's name, but follows the same pattern of anonymous copper coins issued by almost all of Akbar's copper mints.

The date AH 98x on the copper coin corresponds to the decade 1572-1582 AD, considering that Gujarat was annexed in AH 980. This makes it the earliest coin discovered of the Surat mint. It also testifies to the fact that the mint was probably established shortly after the fall of Surat in AH 980.

Thus, this copper coin has the distinction of being the earliest coin we know of Surat mint and also the only copper coin of this mint known so far. This discovery therefore adds a vital piece to the monetary history of Surat.

Acknowledgement

I wish to thank Sheetal Bhatt for helping me in acquiring this coin.

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establishing a mint such as were previously sent to others for the mints at Dacca and Patna.

In January 1805, Burges once again requested to go to Calcutta to see how that mint operated and requested that Dr Yeld take his place during that time. He was allowed to go, but it was not to be to his advantage as Burges not only lost his salary and his position, but Thomas Yeld was made master assayer in his place. Yeld remained master assayer and became the mint master for several years.

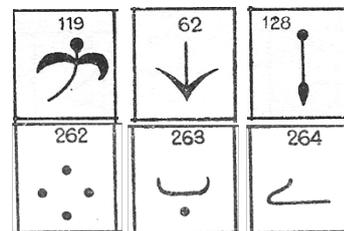


Fig. 1. Control marks seen on the coins

SOME LATE BENARES CONTROL MARKS

Alan S. DeShazo

The Paul Stevens book on the coinage of the Bengal Presidency provides great detail on the mint at Benares (Chapter 7). An important feature of the coins that were struck at the end of this series can now be further related to the historical record.

That record contains extensive quotations from the actual correspondence between the principals involved in the decisions that were made on the operation of the mint.

It began with the appointment of D. Burgess as Assay Master on 13 October, 1803, but who was unable to arrive in Benares until August 1804. In October he wrote to the government that he had not yet been informed about his salary or establishment. Since he was also uninformed about the operations of a mint, he also asked to be allowed to attend the assays at the Calcutta mint. He was then advised of the salary, but refused the visit to Calcutta.

By December of 1804 Burgess reported taking charge of the mint, dismissing as master assayer Baboo Gavindoss, while retaining the old darogha, Shaik Ali Ahsun, for a short time. Subsequently he appointed Lutchmun Doss, a local shroff, whose symbol on the coins may have been 128 (Fig. 1) as the new darogha and superintendent. In a further letter Burges requested instructions for

These events are clearly reflected in the coinage (Fig. 2). The date combination AH 1219 and regnal year 47 spanned parts of 1804 and 1805 AD:

- The Mark J coins referenced here were the last struck under Baboo Govindoss.
- The following Mark K issue displays the change in control by the replacement of symbol 119 with 263, 62 with 128, and the addition of 263 on the reverse just to the left of the regnal year.
- Symbol 263 is the Persian letter *Be* and refers to the surname of D. Burgess.
- Symbol 262 that is immediately under the fish symbol on the Mark J coins is retained on Mark K. It may reflect the last bit of control of the Mint Committee that was formed in April 1801 and was composed of the Agent of the Governor-General, the Magistrate of the City and the Collector of the Province of Benares.
- In the transition from Mark K to Mark L, symbol 262 disappears and 264 replaces 263 on the reverse. This is the Persian letter *Ye* for the surname of Thomas Yeld. Burgess is still indicated as the Assay Master and Yeld is the acting master assayer. This continues into AH 1220 (1805-1806 AD).
- In Marks M and N, symbol 263 is no longer recorded, so Burgess is out. Yeld continues to initial the reverse, signaling his successful assumption of the office.

1219 Mark J	1219 Mark K	1219 Mark L	1220 Mark L	1220 Mark L	1220 & 1221 Mark M	1221-1227 Mark N
17/47 No reverse mark	17/47 <i>Be</i>	17/47 <i>Ye</i>	17/47 <i>Ye</i>	17/48 <i>Ye</i>	17/48 <i>Ye</i>	17/49 <i>Ye</i>

Fig. 2. The transition of control marks at Benares mint

Not long after taking control of the mint, Thomas Yeld submitted some AH 1221 dated patterns that were not approved for production (Fig. 3). His initial letter *Ye* is entered below and between parts of the word *Alam*.



Fig. 3. AH 1221 dated patterns submitted by Thomas Yeld (not to scale)

Acknowledgement

I wish to thank Paul Stevens for reviewing this article and for the use of his coin images. Any errors or omissions are mine only.

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**NEW BUST VARIETIES OF
'VICTORIA EMPRESS'
HALF RUPEES**

Leitton Rezaul

British Indian coinage is a popular subject for coin collectors, particularly in the Indian subcontinent. From the gold *mohur* to the twelfth *anna*, many denominations were introduced in the uniform coinage period from 1835 to 1947 in various metals.

A lot of work has been undertaken on the varieties of the rupee denomination, but comparatively little on lower denominations. The silver coins of Victoria are divided into various periods, such as 'Victoria Queen' (1874-1876) and 'Victoria Empress' (1877-1901),¹ depending on the queen's title shown on the coins. This article discusses two new obverse varieties of the half rupee issued by the Bombay mint during the 'Victoria Empress' period.

The first new variety

There are four types of obverse busts for the half rupee in the 'Victoria Queen' period. These have been labelled as A, B1, B2 and C,² based on differences in the jabot panel and the bodice embroidery floral design. Busts A and C were used by the Calcutta mint, while Busts B1 and B2 were used by the Bombay mint. Bust C was not used after the 'Queen' period.

In 1877, the first year of the 'Empress' period, the Bombay mint introduced a new bust for the half rupee, Bust A1, similar to the Bust A of Calcutta mint. This new bust has a raised baseline at the

bottom of the bodice and some new embroidery floral designs (Fig. 1).



Fig. 1. Bust A1 of Bombay mint on 1877 half rupee

A detailed comparison between Busts A and A1 is shown below:



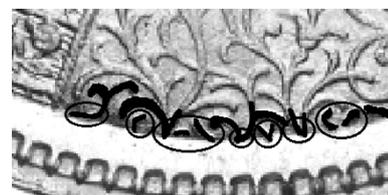
(a) Bust A of Calcutta mint



(b) Bust A1 of Bombay mint

Fig. 2. Comparison of Busts A and A1

The black baseline in Fig. 2b indicates the raised bottom line, and the black marked areas indicate the new floral embroidery designs on Bust A1 that do not match with Bust A (Fig. 2a). Apart from this, the remaining embroidery design is the same as Bust A, though a little thicker. A better understanding of the differences can be seen in the close-ups illustrated in Figs. 3-4.



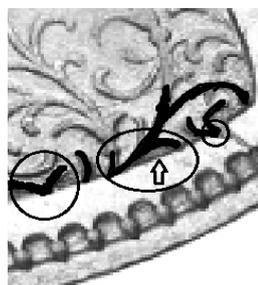
Bust A



Bust A1

Fig. 3. Comparison of close-ups of Busts A and A1

The black baseline of Bust A1 indicates a raised line that is absent in Bust A. The two images in Fig. 3 have seven elements circled to show the differences in the designs.



Bust A



Bust A1

Fig. 4. Comparison of gaps seen in Busts A and A1

Both images in Fig. 4 have three black circles which show the different embroidery designs. An arrow mark in both images indicates the different gaps between the flower petal and the baseline of the queen's bodice.

The Bombay mint introduced Bust A1 in 1877, but surprisingly did not use it in subsequent years. From 1877 till 1884, Bust B2 was used in the half rupee.³

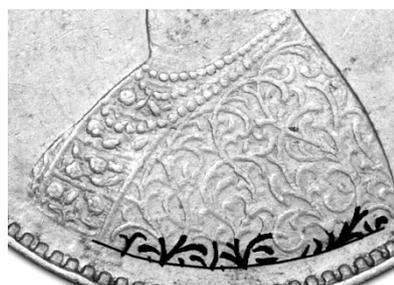
The second new variety

In the second year of striking half rupees (1881), the Bombay mint introduced another new bust, Bust A2. This is similar to both Bust A and the new Bust A1. This second new bust also has a raised baseline at the bottom part of the bodice, but in some specimens this bottom raised line is not continuous and has sections cut out. It has a prominent embroidery floral design at the bottom part of the bodice, that does not match with Busts A and A1. Apart from these minor changes the remaining embroidery design is the same. Fig. 5 shows this second new bust introduced by Bombay mint in 1881.

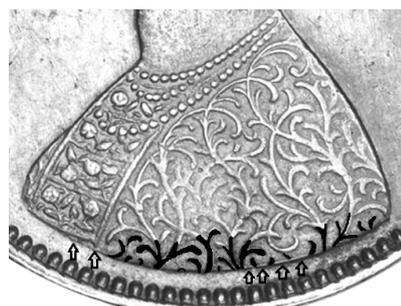


Fig. 5. Bust A2 of Bombay mint on 1885 half rupee

The comparison of this new bust with Bust A1 is shown below:



Bust A1



Bust A2

Fig. 6. Comparison of Busts A1 and A2

The differences in the embroidery floral designs are highlighted in Fig. 6. The arrows show a raised baseline at the bottom part of the bodice, which is the only similarity. It should be noted that some parts of the floral design have crossed the raised baseline in Bust A1, but not in Bust A2. As before, this is more visible in the close-ups (Figs. 7-8).



Bust A1



Bust A2

Fig. 7. Comparison of close-ups of Busts A1 and A2

In Fig. 7, each image has seven black circles that indicate the differences in the embroidery floral designs.



Bust A1



Bust A2

Fig. 8. Comparison of floral embroidery in Busts A1 and A2

The only similarity between the two images is the arrow-marked area. Both have the same gap between the floral design and the baseline of the bodice.

The Bombay mint introduced the Bust A2 in 1881 and used it till 1899. For the first three years (1881-1884) both Busts A2 and B2 were used by the Bombay mint. After 1884, it was only Bust A2. However, there are a few years in which this bust has not yet been recorded; for example, 1899.

Another new feature of Bombay mint

In 1882, the third year of striking 'Empress' half rupees, another small change was made. Pridmore mentioned that Bust A of Calcutta mint (Fig. 9) was the only Bust A variety used by the Bombay mint in the 'Victoria Empress' period.⁴ Actually, the Bombay mint used a Bust A design with one minor change.



Fig. 9. Bust A of Calcutta mint on 1899 half rupee

In the Bust A of Calcutta mint, there is a small raised V-like privy mark at the centre of the baseline of the bodice (Fig. 10), while on some specimens the V looks like a reverse tick.



Fig. 10. V-like symbol highlighted on Bust A of Calcutta mint

However, in the new Bust A of Bombay mint (Fig. 11) there is no raised V or tick-like mark, only the left stroke (Fig. 13). The difference is a minor one, but noticeable enough to identify the mint.



Fig. 11. Bust A of Bombay mint on 1893 half rupee



Fig. 12. Close-up of Bust A of Calcutta mint showing a complete V privy mark

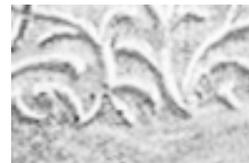


Fig. 13. Close-up of Bust A of Bombay mint with only the left stroke visible

Acknowledgement

My thanks to Paul Stevens for his help in writing this article.

Sources of images

Bust A1 (Fig. 1)	Private collection
Bust A2 (Fig. 5)	Baldwin's Auctions, Auction 84, Lot 2314
Bust A (Fig. 9)	Joseph Kunnappally
Bust A (Fig. 11)	Stephen Album Rare Coins, Auction 23, Lot 1970

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TWO TEA GARDEN TOKENS FROM SYLHET

S.K. Bose and Md. Nuruzzaman Sarkar

Tea garden tokens were issued by tea companies in colonial India for circulation within individual gardens. A unique addition to Indian numismatics,¹ these tokens were poorly documented till the early 21st century.

Following the publication of *British Mūdrā Babosthāi Chā Bāgāner Paisā* in Bengali in 2011,² despite the barrier of language, a large number of collectors and numismatists in India have become interested in tea garden tokens. Historians and research scholars too have realised the importance and impact of these tokens in the socio-cultural affairs and economics of garden labourers, resulting in more research being carried out on the topic.

Most of the tea gardens that issued these tokens were located in undivided Sylhet in pre-independence India. Following Partition, a large chunk of the gardens fell within the geographical territory of present-day Bangladesh.

Two hitherto-unrecorded tokens of the Jagcherra tea garden have recently been noticed in Bangladesh. In 1990, Nicholas G. Rhodes had published a line drawing of a token from Jagcherra.³ It was an octagonal brass token with a diameter of 30 mm. The obverse and reverse bore the name of the company, *THE CONSOLIDATED TEA & LANDS Co. LD*, in a circular fashion along the periphery with *JAGCHERRA* in the centre (Bose & Dutta 57.1). It also had three small holes forming a triangle. The Calcutta Mint records state that two such types of tokens were struck in the year 1926, the other being 25 mm in diameter (Bose & Dutta 57.2).⁴ The latter is yet to surface.



Fig. 1. Jagcherra token, Bose & Dutta 57.1



Fig. 2. Jagcherra token, Bose & Dutta 57.3

Noman Nasir of Dhaka noticed a new variety of the Jagcherra token (diameter 30 mm) with a different legend, which can be listed as Bose & Dutta 57.3.⁵ The name of the company is written as *THE SOUTH SYLHET TEA Co. LD*, with the other inscriptions being the same.

Recently, Nuruzzaman Sarkar (Labu) found another specimen, which we can list as 57.4. The legend of this token is similar to 57.3, but it is of a different size (diameter 25 mm). The token is in poor condition with its surfaces quite worn.



Fig. 3. Jagcherra token, Bose & Dutta 57.4

If we go through the history and management of the Jagcherra estate, the reason behind the change in its name becomes apparent. An old Scottish company, James Finlay, had ventured into India to set up tea gardens. Prior to that this company traded in and manufactured cotton. To diversify its business, it set up two companies, South Sylhet Tea Company Ltd. and North Sylhet Tea Company Ltd., incorporated in the United Kingdom in 1882. These companies laid the foundation of a tea plantation in Sylhet. The two companies were merged in 1896 to form the Consolidated Tea and Lands Co. Limited. By this time they also held large tracts of land in Assam, the Dooars, Darjeeling, North Travancore and Ceylon. The new company was then floated on the Glasgow Stock Exchange, with Finlay retaining a significant shareholding. In 1955, the company's assets were transferred to three subsidiaries, with those in Sylhet passing to the Consolidated Tea and Lands Co (Pakistan) Limited. But following the liberation and formation of Bangladesh in 1973, the company adopted the name 'The Consolidated Tea and Lands Co. (Bangladesh) Limited.'

It is therefore clear that the Jagcherra garden was initially managed by the South Sylhet Tea Company Ltd. which explains the earliest token system issued in their name between 1882 and 1896. This changed to Consolidated Tea and Lands Co. Limited in 1896. Though no records are available to indicate where the South Sylhet Tea Company's tokens were struck, we may reasonably attribute them on the basis of the minting technology used, to be from Ralph Heaton & Sons (The Mint, Birmingham Limited) or the Calcutta Mint⁶ at Calcutta.⁷

Acknowledgement

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7. On 1st June 2004, James Finlay's related businesses in Bangladesh were acquired by JF (Bangladesh) Ltd., wholly owned by Bangladesh nationals, thereby putting an end to the foreign parent company's stake altogether.

ONS meeting, Leiden (19 October, 2019)

The Europe chapter organised a successful annual meeting on the premises of Leiden University, that was attended by 29 members, mostly from the Netherlands, Belgium and Germany.

Yiğit Altay gave an introductory presentation on the coinage of the Ilkhans (Mongols of Persia), with a particular focus on the type changes during the golden age of the Ilkhans, starting from Gāzān Maḥmūd and ending with Abū Saʿīd who died without naming an heir. Yiğit also gave a general perspective of the coinage practices of the Ilkhans by comparing Islamic and Mongol numismatics. It is important to understand how Mongols used money in areas where the population was rarely fully Muslim. He showed an interesting example that identifies the trinity (Fig. 1).



Fig. 1. Ilkhans, Ābāqā, AR dirham, Tiflis, Sha'ban AH 6(8)1 (Altay-354)

To explain the political and economic reasons behind the type changes, Yiğit started with Gāzān's standard double dirham, minted after his reform of the coinage. Yiğit discussed the meaning of Phags-Pa characters and the religious implications of the Uighur-Mongolian script. Then he presented the three major types of Ūljāyū and eight major types of Abū Saʿīd with some of their variations, and explained the connections between these changes and historical events.

At the end of his presentation, Yiğit gave insights into his ongoing research on die linkages and mints, in addition to the book he is preparing on the bronze coins of the Ilkhans.



Yiğit Altay discussing the coinage of the Ilkhans

Patrick Pasmans then presented a lecture on the earliest coins minted on the Arabian peninsula. These coins are mainly imitations of Athenian coins depicting the helmeted head of Athena on obverse and an owl on the reverse, as well as imitations of the Macedonian tetradrachms of Alexander the Great depicting the head of Herakles on obverse and a seated Zeus on reverse. Patrick then discussed in detail the Arabic imitations of Seleucid and Characenean coins.

Kris Van den Cruyce gave a lecture on the large tin and lead coins of Tenasserim. He got interested in these coins only two years ago, when he bought some in a private sale during lunch at the ONS meeting in Leiden – the best proof that these gatherings are meaningful. Currently Kris is writing a catalogue on this coinage, and he presented us with his (intermediate) findings based on a study of about 130 pieces.

Tenasserim is a narrow piece of land in lower Burma between Thailand and the Andaman Sea, and is now called Tanintharyi.

The first important question one asks of this series is: are we talking about coins, weights or medals? Given the size and weight of these pieces, it is a legitimate question. Most (if not all) have a diameter greater than 60 mm and weigh more than 30 g (up to 525 g). When reading historical documents and books by French travellers (in 1670 and 1688) and an Italian priest (1784), one finds references to these pieces as money. But in 1844 an English officer in Pegu writes "... the coins were not counted, but measured by the basket..." So the answer is that these were both weights and coins at the same time. Certainly, the pure lead coins that weighed more than 300 g were used as weights. Some pieces shown during the presentation could have been medals since only one specimen is known. But Kris considers this unlikely.

Another angle to look at these mysterious coins is the fact that, although we speak of Tenasserim coins, history teaches us that from about 1330 CE to about 1767 CE large parts of Tenasserim were a 'province' of the Siamese Ayudhya Kingdom. Although the Toungoo empire absorbed this Siamese kingdom for a while and Tavoy was part of Burmese kingdoms after 1541, the fact is that during Siamese occupation there would have been some influence on Tenasserim coinage.

Trading routes between India and Siam (and from there on to China) passed by the ports of the Tenasserim cities Mergui and Tenasserim city, in an attempt to avoid pirates active in the Malayan archipelago. The ports not only played an important role in the trade from West to East, but also in the trade between the Burmese kingdoms in upper Burma and the Malayan peninsula. Important ports create a lot of wealth and there must have been money circulating among the merchant class.

Kris explained the animals shown on the coins, such as the Hansa bird, the serpent and dragon, and the mysterious Tò. The Hansa bird was important in Mon culture and can be seen on the obverse in Fig. 2.



Fig. 2. Dawei coin, weight 52 g, diameter 68 mm

On the reverse we can read , which is pronounced as 'ta-veh' or Dawei. Dawei is one of the three major cities in the Tenasserim province.

An interesting type in this series has Chinese characters on obverse and a square on reverse (Fig. 3). The square was most likely a reference to Chinese cash coins and is also found on Sino-Tibetan coins.



Fig. 3. Weight 30.39 g, diameter 57 mm

The afternoon session started with a presentation by Peter Kraneveld with the title *Of technology and politics. Asian telephone tokens*. The first telephone was constructed and tried in 1860 in Germany. As the technology slowly spread, it was popularised by

public telephones in post offices, leading to automatic pay phones in the street as a public service. At first, they could be used for local calls only, serviced by early telephone magnates, such as Bell, Edison and Ericsson, and often run by local companies, or city governments. In time, local telephone networks were connected into national grids, controlled by the government.

Telephone technology was of interest to both military and civilian colonial authorities, so it spread to Asia through colonialism. Tokens of Cambodia, Lebanon and Syria are witnesses of French colonial policy. They have the same specifications as the homeland Taxiphone or national tokens, supporting the *mission civilatrice de la France*, the French attempt to spread its culture.

In the early days of the Second World War, silver coins were recalled and replaced by base metal or low silver content coins in the British colonies. This led to the issue of telephone tokens in Ceylon (Sri Lanka) and Singapore. As Singapore was overrun by the Japanese army shortly after, a Japanese language telephone token was issued in Singapore during occupation.



Fig. 5. Shanghai local call token with nationalist symbols (Kuo Min Tang sun, now part of the flag of Taiwan), 22.2 mm

After independence, India took over responsibility for its telephone network. Repairmen were equipped with test tokens to check on their repairs. A test token appeared in China also.



Fig. 5. India Post & Telegraph nickel test token (4.98 g) (Bombay Auctions, Auction 7, Lot 716)

As prices changed rapidly, coins became unsuitable for public telephones. They were replaced by tokens, whose price could simply be changed, so that changes to the payment mechanism were unnecessary. This was the case in Indonesia, the Philippines, Israel and Taiwan.

After the presentations, we held a successful auction of 166 coins and 16 numismatic books. Our thanks to all those who supplied or donated material for the auction as well as those who took part in bidding. The day was concluded in an oriental atmosphere with dinner at a Chinese restaurant, Asian Palace, in the city centre at Leiden.

Our thanks are particularly due to Ellen Raven for being our host at the University of Leiden. The proposed date for our next meeting is Saturday, 17 October 2020.

Patrick Pasmans

ONS meeting, Pune (15 November, 2019)

The South Asia chapter organised a successful meeting during the annual Pune Coinex fair. It was attended by around 20 members, along with academics and students from colleges in Pune.

Manjiri Bhalerao began the session with a talk on *The word Nanaka*. She discussed various literary sources where *nanaka* referred to money or coins. *Yājñavalkya Smṛiti*, one of the many *dharma*-related texts of Hinduism and dated to circa 3rd-5th centuries CE, used the word *nanaka* extensively. Manjiri referred to Naneghat near Junnar, Nashik, as possibly an ancient money/ toll collecting point. She then discussed how certain popular coins are referred to by the images that they bear. She concluded by saying that money was referred to as *nanaka/ nanak* in early Sanskrit literature. The term was then substituted by other names in various regions, but in Marathi literature the term came back into use later and coins were known as *nane*.



Manjiri Bhalerao giving her presentation

Dilip Rajgor then presented a talk on the *Dumraon Hoard of Magadha punch-marked coins*, found in the Buxar district of Bihar, India. The coins are of a different weight range and also bear certain symbols that have not been recorded earlier. He went on to discuss that how certain coin types, which were put in a separate series in his book on punch-marked coins, have been overlooked by other scholars. Dilip pointed out how the weights of punch-marked coins were reduced as the territorial extent of Magadha started increasing, and how the coins of the Dumraon Hoard fell perfectly between the *vimshatika* coins of Series 0 and *karshapana* coins of Series 1 (c. 550-430 BCE).



Fig. 1. Magadha silver coin from Dumraon Hoard

The next to present was Amol Bankar, and his topic, *Some recent discoveries in early medieval coins of India*, focused mainly on the silver coins of the Seuna or Yadavas of Devagiri (850-1309 CE). The talk was a further take on his presentation at the ONS Pune meeting in 2018. Bankar shared his research on the newly-discovered silver coins of Western Chalukya rulers Someshvara II and Someshvara III from Nanded region, on the *gadhaiya* coins of Narwar rulers from central India, and on the reattribution of some *gadhaiya* coins from Malwa region.

Contd. on page 28

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Amol showed how he had reconstructed legends on coins by studying specimens and comparing the names to the ones seen in inscriptions. His study includes attributing coins which do not bear complete legends and trying to create a chronology by analysing their paleography.



Fig. 2. Silver coin of Balla, a Western Chalukya feudatory

The final talk for the day was by Gev Kias on *The posthumous issues in the name of William IV issued by the East India Company*. He highlighted the various mint master initials seen on the silver rupees of William IV dated 1835. Based on the years when the mint masters were in service, Gev listed a relative chronology.



Gev Kias presenting his findings

He then went on to describe that how after the death of William IV coins were still being struck in the name of William IV, and how the rupee with the bust of William IV bearing the year 1840 was an intentional issue and not an error. He compared the reverse of the 1840 rupee with an 1835 rupee of William IV, and showed that the year had been changed from 1835 to 1840 in the reverse die. He concluded by classifying the 1840 rupee of William IV as a posthumous issue rather than a mule.



Fig. 3. William IV rupee with 1840 date

The meeting ended with Basti Solanki handing personalised mementos to all the speakers on behalf of the International Collectors Society of Rare Items, Pune.

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