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From the Editor

We are all living in a new reality, with the world facing a pandemic that is taking a huge toll on our lives and livelihoods. If history has taught us anything, it is that we humans have overcome plagues and epidemics before, and we will this time too. It is important to not lose sight of this fact as we each work out new ways of working, playing, learning, and entertaining.

In numismatics, Covid has changed the way we collect and study coins. Coin fairs and exhibitions have been cancelled for much of 2020, and the impact has been felt in trade as seeing and touching coins in one's hands is an important part of the collecting process. Nevertheless, most auctions have moved online, and are doing rather well, so all is not lost.

Here at the journal, the show goes on. The Society's 50th anniversary conference that was scheduled for April 2020 has rightly been postponed by a year, with April 10-11, 2021 as the tentative dates. We hope we will be able to welcome the speakers and attendees in Oxford next year.

In the meantime, let us use this time to reflect on what really matters to us: our families and friends. If you can also find the opportunity to study coins, I look forward to publishing your 'lockdown' research in our journal.

Be well and keep safe.

Karan Singh

COUNTERMARKS DERIVED FROM MAGADHA SERIES VII PUNCHMARKED COINAGE

Tyler Holman

From at least the fifth century BCE until the middle of the second, punchmarked coins constituted the primary currency of ancient India. While the past few decades have seen much progress in our understanding of these coins, particularly thanks to the work of Gupta and Hardaker (P.L. Gupta and T.R. Hardaker, *Punchmarked Coinage of the Indian Subcontinent*, revised edition, 2014; hereafter G&H), many aspects of this series remain enigmatic. Bold reverse marks, which become the norm on coins attributed to the imperial Mauryan dynasty from Series Vb onwards, according to the standard system established by Gupta and Hardaker, are one such aspect. Since the days of Cunningham, these marks, which sometimes replicate an obverse symbol on the coin of issue in a mysterious, hit-and-miss fashion, have been interpreted as having possible geographical connotations.

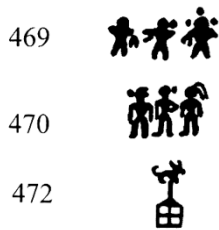


Fig. 1. Countermark symbols of Series VII as shown in G&H

The specific purpose of this paper is to examine two superficially similar reverse marks, but which are instead clearly countermarks applied to host coins after issue, sometimes long after the original minting of the host coin. The marks in question are the 'three-man' (G&H 469-470) and 'dog standard' (G&H 472) symbols assigned by Gupta and Hardaker to Series VII (Fig. 1). The existence of these countermarks has implications for the chronology of Magadha punchmarked coinage, as they call into question Gupta and Hardaker's designation of Series VII as potentially contemporary with Series Vb, which began circa 272 BCE, according to the most widely accepted chronology. This note will also record a new variation of the three-man symbol to cover its usage as a countermark, which is unique in form compared to the versions used as standard punches.

Series VII coins are notable for their exclusion of the sun and six-armed symbols that appear on all other series of Magadha punchmarked coins and which are often interpreted as symbols of the Magadha-Mauryan state. Their disappearance and subsequent replacement by the three-man and dog standard symbols was interpreted by Kosambi to indicate that they belonged to the post-Mauryan period and therefore post-dated types bearing the imperial symbols (Kosambi 1981: 108). Gupta and Hardaker, however, rejected this theory on the basis of a proposed relationship between Series VI, which does display the sun and six-armed symbols, and Series VII (G&H 2014: 183). Conversely, Tye has since established a sequence of coins (Fig. 2), which convincingly demonstrate the development of Series VI into Series VII, proposing that Series VII was indeed issued by a post-Mauryan authority, probably based in the northwest (Tye 2006: 167-71).

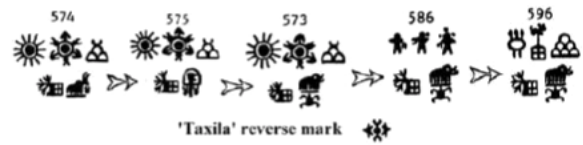


Fig. 2. Transition from Series VI to VII, according to Tye

The occurrence of these symbols as countermarks applied to earlier issues appears to strengthen Tye's theory by reinforcing the political connotations of the Series VII symbols, which are now shown to have both supplanted the traditional symbols of authority on Magadha punchmarked coins and to have been applied as countermarks to legitimise earlier issues. Contrary to G&H, the Series VII countermarks have been recorded on every series of Magadha punchmarked coins except for Series I: examples have been noted for Series II (Fig. 3), Series III (Fig. 4), Series IV (Fig. 5), Series V (G&H 2014: 174), and Series VI (G&H 2014: 182).



Fig. 3. Series II coin (G&H 273) countermarked with both three-man and dog standard marks, the only example noted on which both appear, 29 mm, 3.28 g (CNG e-Auction 396, 428)



Fig. 4. Series III coin (G&H 305) countermarked with a three-man mark, 27 mm, 2.80 g (CNG e-Auction 402, lot 386)



Fig. 5. Series IV coin (G&H 409) countermarked with a three-man mark, 2.9 g (Zeno.ru 24741)

The only explanation for this is that these marks must be countermarks applied to coins taken from circulation within a given region, as there is no apparent pattern to their occurrence on earlier issues, which were produced over a period of several centuries (Tye 2006: 168; G&H 183-184).

Countermarks must be distinguished from other marks applied to punchmarked coins: bankers' marks are typically small in size and have an inconsistent style, application, and ubiquity, while the practice of restriking refers to a new set of punches being applied over a host coin. While restriking extends back to the early Magadha period (roughly the late fifth to fourth centuries BCE), countermarking, in the sense of applying a single, clearly distinguishable stamp, was not common practice in the Magadha/Mauryan period. Countermarking is only noticed

following the breakdown of Mauryan authority in the second century BCE (G&H 2014: 38).



Fig. 6. Series VI coin (G&H 566) countermarked with an elephant/Ujjain symbol mark, 17 mm, 3.18 g (Ganga Numismatics, PM-060)

Gupta and Hardaker note a countermark showing an elephant accompanied by the ‘Ujjain’ symbol on examples of Type 566, all extremely worn and thus probably applied well into the post-imperial period by a “political unit centered in the area [which] drew upon the old Mauryan currency and ‘authenticated’ it to serve in local trade by adding its own stamp” (G&H 2014: 38). The Series VII countermarks’ relation with the Series VII would therefore be a precursor, in a different geographical region, for the appearance of the later ‘Ujjain’ countermark.

The versions of the Series VII symbols used as countermarks are distinguishable from their standard forms by placement and style. Since the Series VII marks serve as replacements for the sun and six-armed symbols, they appear primarily on the obverses of Series VII coins; while, as countermarks, they are exclusively placed on the reverse instead. Likewise, while clearly part of a single sequence, the three-man and dog standard symbols never appear together on Series VII coins, but do sometimes occur together as countermarks on earlier coins (see Fig. 3). Lastly, in the case of the three-man symbol, the shape of the punch and style of the figures used as a countermark is quite different (see Fig. 8 for a comparison).



Fig. 7. Series VII coin (G&H 586) with a three-man symbol, 15 mm, 3.33 g (Ganga Numismatics, PM-091)

The standard three-man symbol occurs as three separate punches applied side-by-side and is never used as a reverse mark (Fig. 7). On the other hand, the version of the symbol used as a countermark (Figs. 3-5), consists of a single oval punch. Gupta and Hardaker illustrate the occurrence of the three-man symbol within a single punch on Series V and Series VI issues (G&H 2014: 39). Much earlier, Allan noted the use of the three-man reverse mark (Allan 1936: XXXVI), and Bhattacharyya noted its occurrence as such on several coins found in the Purnea hoard, including their distinction of using a single punch (Bhattacharyya 1940: VI). Their uncertainty about the chronology of the coins, however, made it difficult for these authors to gauge the significance of these countermarks.



Fig. 8. Comparison of three-man obverse symbol (top) and later countermark (below), from Figs. 7 and 5

With knowledge of the broad chronology established by Gupta and Hardaker in hand, it is obvious that these marks must have been applied as countermarks in conjunction with the issuance of new coinage bearing the same iconography. This would have legitimised the authority of the issuing polity as a distinct entity from the Mauryan empire, and perhaps serve some fiscal function, much as the bold reverse marks must have been intended to do. Taking this into account makes Gupta and Hardaker’s chronology of Series VI and VII seem quite unlikely. The existence of these countermarks, combined with the chronological sequence presented by Tye, strongly suggests that Series VII was indeed issued by a post-Mauryan polity, dating to no earlier than the second century BCE (Tye 2006: 168-170).

Acknowledgement

Thanks is due to Robert Tye for his encouragement and expert advice in shaping this article.

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BALAMITRA: A NEW KING OF UJJAIN

Karan Singh

The Ujjain series of copper coins is rich in symbols and varied, yet it features only six inscribed types (Pieper 2013: 220, 222). These carry the name of the city (*Ujeniya*), a male figure (*Bramha*), a name that is still not fully identified (*Sidhatomadana*), and the names of three rulers: *Bhumimitasa*, *Vijayaka* and *Vijayamitasa*.

This short note will add one more king, Balamitra, to this exclusive club. Two specimens of this newly-discovered king are in my collection and illustrated below (Figs. 1-2):



Fig. 1. Copper coin of Balamitra (KS)



Fig. 2. Copper coin of Balamitra, 4.62 g (KS)

Obverse: Crowned male figure seated facing on a lotus, one hand holding a bow and the other resting on his knee; to left, a large 5-petaled flower with inverted taurine above; Brahmi legend *Rano Balamitasa* written anti-clockwise and read inwards, starting at 4 o'clock

Reverse: 4-orbed 'Ujjain' symbol with a large pellet inside each orb

The royal title *Rano* on these coins is important. Balamitra is called *Rano* (King), a title that is not seen on the coins of any other ruler in this series. His coin type also stands out for the placement of the legend, which is written anti-clockwise and read inwards (Fig. 3), a format that is rarely seen in ancient Indian coinage. We will come to this point later.



Fig. 3. Line drawing of Balamitra's obverse

Balamitra can be attributed to Ujjain (or the region of Malwa of which Ujjain was the political centre) on the basis of two factors. Firstly, the find-spot: the coin in Fig. 1 was acquired from the market at Ujjain itself, where itinerant coin dealers bring their latest material for sale. Secondly, the posture of the male figure matches closely with an uninscribed coin of Ujjain (Fig. 4).



Fig. 4. Uninscribed copper coin of Ujjain, showing the same posture of the male figure as on Balamitra (Pieper 275) (KS)

We can now compare Balamitra's coins with the three other kings of Ujjain who issued inscribed coins (Figs. 5-7).



Fig. 5. Copper coin of Bhumimitra, with legend 'Bhumimitasa' written clockwise and read outwards, starting at 1 o'clock (Pieper 405) (KS)



Fig. 6. Lead coin of Vijayaka, with legend 'Vijayaka' starting at 5 o'clock (Kothari 102) (KS)



Fig. 7. Copper coin of Vijayamitra, with legend 'Vija(yamitasa)' written clockwise and read outwards, 5.62 g (MACW 2676) (TA)

In fabric and style, Balamitra's coins are a close match to Bhumimitra's. From an iconographic point of view, the male figures seen on their coins are both seated on a lotus. However, the figure depicted on Bhumimitra's coins (Fig. 5) has the attributes of Mahakal, an early form of Shiva. He is seen carrying a *danda* (staff) and a *kandala* (water pot). In the case of Balamitra's coins, the figure is wearing a crown and holding a bow, which are kingly attributes (Figs. 1-2). It is therefore likely that it is Balamitra himself depicted on his coins.

There is little similarity between Balamitra's coins and the coins of Vijayaka and Vijayamitra (Figs. 6-7). One can therefore assume that Balamitra is closer to Bhumimitra in the numismatic sequence. With Balamitra's royal title *Rano* and the later palaeography seen on his coins, Balamitra probably ruled after Bhumimitra, and before Vijayaka and Vijayamitra.

The distinctive legend placement on Balamitra's coins recalls the legend seen on an extremely rare coin of Bhanumitra, which is also written anti-clockwise and read inwards (Fig. 8).



Fig. 8. Copper coin of Bhanumitra, with legend 'Rano Bhanumitasa' written anti-clockwise and read inwards, starting at 4 o'clock, 7.01 g (PC)

The legend here is similar in style to Balamitra's, so this coin was probably issued in close proximity to those of Balamitra. The find spot of the Bhanumitra coin is also Ujjain (or the region of Malwa), according to the dealer who supplied it. We can therefore assume that both Balamitra and Bhanumitra were kings of the same dynasty or political entity.

Conclusion

These two new kings can be added to the list of the few kings of Ujjain who issued coins in their own name. Ruling at some point after Bhumimitra, Balamitra felt emboldened enough to bear the royal title *Rano* and depict himself on his coinage. His coins therefore mark an important development in the numismatic record of Ujjain.

Acknowledgement

My thanks to Shailendra Bhandare for reading Balamitra's legend, and Raju Bhatt for our discussions on the coinage of Ujjain.

Sources of images

KS Karan Singh collection
PC Private collection
TA Todywalla Auctions

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ZEIONISES AS SUCCESSOR OF AZILISES

R.C. Senior

Three remarkable coins of the Indo-Scythians were sold at the CNG Triton XXIII auction on 14th January 2020. Individually each of these coins are worthy of note, but in fact they came from a small hoard of coins whose holistic or gestalt importance is perhaps considerably greater. The hoard reportedly surfaced near Baramulla in Kashmir, and consisted of 36 silver coins:

- a) One specimen of the extremely rare Gajalakshmi tetradrachm of Azilises, Senior type 33 (Fig. 1)
- b) Two examples of a new and unpublished ‘coronation’ tetradrachm of Zeionises (Fig. 2)
- c) Eight and possibly more, of the rare ‘Mahasatrap’ tetradrachms of Zeionises, Senior type 135 (Figs. 3a, 3b)
- d) 25 regular ‘Satrap’ tetradrachms of Zeionises, Senior type 132 (Figs. 4a, 4b).



Fig. 1. Azilises Gajalakshmi AR tetradrachm
(26 mm, 9.27 g, 12h)

1. Azilises, c. 65-35 BCE, AR tetradrachm

Obverse: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΑΖΙΑΙΣΟΥ, king right on horseback, holding whip; monogram to right

Reverse: *Maharajasa rajatirajasa mahatasa Ayilishasa* in Kharoshthi, Lakshmi standing facing on lotus, holding in each hand a lotus upon which stands an elephant spraying water from its trunk; *ya* in Kharoshthi to left, *a* in Kharoshthi to right

Senior 33.1T

This is an extremely rare type of Azilises and of the most beautiful and purely Indian iconography. The present coin is probably now the sole specimen of this type that is still in private hands.

Azilises coins of this ‘mint’ rarely come in hoards and the only source that I ever came across for such a group was Kashmir. That was also the origin of the coin I illustrated on the dust jackets of my series on *Indo-Scythian Coins and History*, Volumes I-IV.



Fig. 2. Zeionises ‘coronation’ AR tetradrachm
(27 mm, 9.62 g, 11h)

2. Zeionises, c. 35 BCE-5 CE, AR tetradrachm

Obverse: ΜΑΝΙΓΟΛΟΥ ΥΙΟΥ...ΣΑΤΡΠΑΤΟΥ

ZIONISOY, king in Parthian attire and holding whip right on horseback, as on the Azilises coin; Buddhist *triratna* (“Three Jewels”) to right; uncertain Kharoshthi letter between horse’s legs?

Reverse: *Manigulasa chatrapasa putrasa chatrapasa Jihuniasa* in Kharoshthi, king enthroned facing, being crowned with wreath by Tyche, standing left, holding cornucopia; monogram to left, *bu* in Kharoshthi to right

Unpublished. There is no other similar reverse design on a silver coin in the Indo-Scythian series.

This coin has an unusually good Greek legend for this series, which indicates that it was struck very early in Zeionises’ reign – the regular coins get cruder the later they are struck, and the Greek becomes completely garbled.

The rare issue of Senior type 131 has a Greek legend that is close to decipherable, and that too seems to be some sort of special issue celebrating Zeionises’ accession to the throne, with Tyche replaced by Nike. The still-unique British Museum specimen (Senior 130.1T) has *both* deities crowning Zeionises, but the Greek legend is even less intelligible. The fact that Tyche becomes the sole deity crowning the king on all subsequent issues may suggest that all Zeionises coins in fact came from a single large city rather than a province. Tyche was a presiding tutelary deity who governed the fortune and prosperity of a city.



Fig. 3a. Zeionises ‘Mahasatrap’ AR tetradrachm
(26 mm, 9.97 g, 3h)

3. Zeionises, c. 35 BCE-5 CE, AR tetradrachm

Obverse: corrupt Greek legend – type and symbol as last

Reverse: *Manigulasa putrasa mahachatrapasa Jihuniasa* in Kharoshthi, king standing right, being crowned with wreath by Tyche, standing left, holding cornucopia; monograms to left and right

Senior 135.1T

Two other examples of this ‘Mahasatrap’ type from the hoard are illustrated below (Fig. 3b) as these show the original patina and clear reverse legend.





Fig. 3b. Two Zeionises 'Mahasatrap' AR tetradrachms with clear 'mahachatrapasa' legend

Until this hoard surfaced, only two examples were known that gave Zeionises this exalted title of Mahasatrap. Now we can see that the period during which they were struck was probably longer than previously thought and his reign also.

Some thirty years ago I examined a very large hoard of Zeionises coppers of Senior type 133 that came together with an even larger group of Kujula Kadphises coppers (*ISCH*, Vol. II, p. 220, B11). This large hoard, which also had a link to Kashmir, showed that the Zeionises coins (more worn) came immediately before the Kujula Kadphises coins with no other issues in between. This is very significant in placing the Kushan occupation of Kashmir (?) around 5 BCE/CE. Unfortunately, I was unaware of the 'Mahasatrap' coins of Zeionises at the time the hoard was shown me and I didn't closely examine the Kharoshthi legends of those coins to see whether this title had migrated to his Æ coinage as well. I am sure that a keen eye will discover such a coin one day. Many of the Zeionises and Kujula coins exhibited the unusual characteristic of being often magnetic.

The following two 'Satrap' coins (Figs. 4a, 4b) were sold by CNG in its electronic auctions 462 and 464, and almost certainly came from the same hoard.



Fig. 4a. Zeionises 'Satrap' AR tetradrachm (28 mm, 10.07 g, 9h)



Fig. 4b. Zeionises 'Satrap' AR tetradrachm (28 mm, 10.07 g, 9h)

4. Zeionises, c. 35 BCE-5 CE, AR tetradrachms

Obverse: corrupt Greek legend – type and symbol as last

Reverse: *Manigulasa chatrapasa putrasa chatrapasa Jihuniasa* in Kharoshthi, king standing right, being crowned with wreath by Tyche, standing left, holding cornucopia; monograms to left and right

Senior 132T

Fig. 4a is in an early style with the Greek $\Sigma\text{ATPA}(\text{IIOY})$ legible and early form of the Buddhist symbol, while Fig. 4b is much cruder/later.

Conclusion

In *ISCH* I explained that Zeionises was the direct successor of Azilises in this eastern Indo-Scythian mint which had passed directly from Maues to Azilises then Zeionises.¹

The political links between the Vonones group, Maues, Azes, Azilises and the satraps are not very well understood, but they were probably related through inter-marriages and status. After the death of Azilises, in circa 35 BCE, Azes, as sole Maharaja, seems to have undertaken a re-coinage that was then issued over the whole territory previously occupied by both kings, except for this one province or city occupied by Zeionises.

The Taxila silver vase discovered by Marshall has the inscription *Maharajabhrata Manigulasa putrasa Jihonikasa Chukhsasa Kshatrapasa* (Zeionises [Jihonika] son of Manigula, Satrap of Chukhsa, brother of the Maharaja).² The Maharaja was probably Azilises, who himself was almost certainly the son of Maues, in which case Manigula's son became his heir and of sufficient importance to be left in charge of his own domain.

The single Azilises Gajalakshmi tetradrachm appearing together with coins of Zeionises is the first known physical evidence of this transition of power and sequence. No previous hoard has contained silver coins of *both* these rulers.

It was thought that Chukhsa might be a place – Chach, west of Taxila – but this is increasingly less likely and must represent a mint in Kashmir or even further east. The proper recording of hoards and find-spots, as well as the reports of future archaeological excavations, will be the only sure way of solving this issue.

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SINO-KHAROSHTHI COINS OF KUCHA: A NEW DISCOVERY

Joe Cribb

with Zhou Ti, Mitsuda Norifumi, and Chris Liu

A number of coin finds in Xinjiang during the last two decades suggest that the Khotanese series of Sino-Kharoshthi coins deserves re-examination. The discovery of a hoard of 3,000 Sino-Kharoshthi coins in the Kashgar area (Dai 2015) has significantly expanded the data-set for this series, and a small number of recently-found coins suggest that Sino-Kharoshthi coins were issued elsewhere than the Khotan area. These are important developments for the history of Central Asia during the early centuries CE. This paper presents evidence which shows that Sino-Kharoshthi coins were also issued in the country of *Qiuci* 龜茲 in the Han period, which covered approximately today's Kuche 庫車 County (modern Uyghur كۇچار Kuchar), Baicheng County, Xinhe County and Shaya County, being on the opposite side of the Taklamakan Desert from ancient Khotan. The attribution of these coins to Kucha was first made by Zhou Ti (2018: 62-73). While I agree with this attribution, I believe he misread the Kharoshthi inscription. In this paper, I will show that a correct reading of the coins' Kharoshthi inscriptions confirms Zhou's attribution. These new coins provide additional material for understanding Sino-Kharoshthi coins, reinforcing their evidence of Kushan interaction with the ancient kingdoms of Xinjiang.

Seven new coins

In 2005 two curious coins (Figs. 1 and 2) were shown to Mitsuda Norifumi, a collector in Japan, by Chris Liu, his correspondent in Xinjiang. Mitsuda then sent photos of them to me at the British Museum. The coins have characteristics which corresponded with the Sino-Kharoshthi coins of Khotan (Cribb 1984/5; Wang 2004: 37-39), i.e. they are die-struck coins without holes in the Western tradition, inscribed with their issuers' names and titles on one side in Gandhari, written using Kharoshthi script, and on the other side their weight denomination in Chinese, but they are unlike any of the Khotanese Sino-Kharoshthi coins so far examined. According to Liu, one of the coins was found at Aksipil, northeast of Khotan city on the southern edge of the Taklamakan desert (Fig. 1), and the other at Maralbashi, an ancient site in Bachu County, that is known for the Tumshuk ruins in the pre-Islamic period, and lies half-way between Yarkand and Aksu, on the northern edge of the desert (Fig. 2).



Fig. 1. Copper 5 zhu coin of unknown ruler of Kucha, found at Aksipil, 1.11 g, 18 mm (Chris Liu collection)

Obverse: Horse running to right, Gandhari inscription in Kharoshthi script (anti-clockwise starting at 3 o'clock): *kuja ma(haraja name)sa* = [coin] of *name*, great king of Kucha

Reverse: Chinese inscription in seal script: 五銖 *wu zhu* = 5 *zhu* (*wu* on left and *zhu* on right, mirror form). In the centre is a symbol that could be the Chinese character *che* 車, meaning chariot, or a *tamga* of the same shape.



Fig. 2. Copper 5 zhu coin of unknown ruler of Kucha, found at Bachu, 2.05 g, 20 mm (Chris Liu collection)

Obverse: Horse running to right, Gandhari inscription in Kharoshthi script (anti-clockwise starting at 3 o'clock): *(kuja ma)ha(rajā name)sa* = [coin] of *name*, great king of Kucha

Reverse: Chinese inscription in seal script: 五銖 *wu zhu* = 5 *zhu* (*wu* on left and *zhu* on right, mirror form). In the centre is a symbol that could be the Chinese character *che* 車, meaning chariot, or a *tamga* of the same shape.

The coins resemble Khotanese Sino-Kharoshthi coins in having a horse surrounded by Kharoshthi on the obverse and a Chinese inscription on the reverse, but every detail is different from the previously known examples. The horse is running, whereas all the Khotanese Sino-Kharoshthi coins have a horse standing or walking. The Kharoshthi inscription is obscured by corrosion, but the remaining traces do not match any known Khotanese coin. The Chinese inscription on the reverse is also novel: it had the Chinese denomination 5 *zhu* (*wu zhu* 五銖) in contrast to the 6 *zhu* (*liu zhu* 六銖) denomination of most of the Khotanese coins. *Wu zhu* is the standard inscription on Chinese coins of the Western Han (issued 118 BCE-9 CE) and Eastern Han dynasties (issued 25-220 CE), and refers to the official weight of the coins. On the new coins, the character *zhu* has the squared top and bottom strokes of its phonetic element 朱, as it appears on Western Han coins and on one series of Khotanese Sino-Kharoshthi coins (Cribb 1984/5, group 1), but it is mirror-written. In between the two characters *wu* 五 and *zhu* 銖 is another character that appears to be the character *che* 車 (meaning chariot), written in an unusual but well-attested form. However, Zhou Ti (2018: 62-63) read this character as *zhong* 重, so the Chinese inscription could be interpreted as *zhong* 5 *zhu* (meaning weighing 5 *zhu*). There are some Khotanese Sino-Kharoshthi coins (Cribb 1984/5, groups 7, 8, 9 and 11) which are inscribed *zhong nian si zhu tong qian* 重廿四銖銅錢 ('weighing 24 *zhu* copper coin', i.e. a copper coin weighing 24 *zhu*), so such a reading is possible. The only problem with this reading is that if this character is *zhong*, then it is written in an unusual and unattested form, missing expected strokes, whereas on the Khotanese coins it is written in the usual form for this period. If such a reading were correct, then the Chinese inscription on the new coins would read *zhong wu zhu* 重五銖 (weighing 5 *zhu*), but such a reading is unlikely.

If the central character is not *che* or *zhong*, then it could be a *tamga* (royal emblem), as such symbols occur in the centre of the later Khotanese coins (Cribb 1984/5, groups 7-13). A *tamga* would make more sense than the character *che* which appears to have no meaning in this context. Ching Chao-jung (personal correspondence) has suggested that the *tamga* could be a simplified and adapted form of the first character in the ancient Chinese name for Kucha, *Qiuci* 龜茲, as the *tamga* on some of the Khotanese coins could be an adapted version of the first character of the Chinese name for Khotan, *Yutian* 于寔.

The contemporary contexts in this region for the character *che* 車 (pronounced *ju*) are as the first part of *Jushi* 車師, the Chinese name for the kingdom of Turfan, to the east of Kucha, and as the second part of *Suoju* 莎車, the Chinese name for the kingdom of

Yarkand. The possibility of the inscription referring to either of these will be discussed below.

In 2008, a similar but different coin was uploaded onto Zeno.ru (Fig. 3), and a further example was added in 2015 (Fig. 4). Both coins have the same reverse inscription as the pieces I was shown in 2005, but the horse on the obverse is standing left and is very crudely drawn. Around it is a crudely written Kharoshthi inscription, although more legible than those on the coins seen in 2005. I featured the 2008 coin and the two 2005 coins in a lecture I presented at the British Museum during an East Asian Coins study day organised by the British Museum and the ONS in March 2012. I attempted to read the Kharoshthi inscriptions, but apart from the title *maharaja* (great king), could not yet make sense of it. I also gave an extended version of this lecture at the international conference *Archaeology of the Southern Taklamakan: Hedin and Stein's Legacy and New Explorations*, organised by the International Dunhuang Project, SOAS, and the Xinjiang Institute of Archaeology, and held at the British Library in November 2012 (Waugh 2013: 9-10).



Fig. 3. Copper 5 zhu coin of king Tuga of Kucha, 1.68 g, 20 mm (Asalan collection), (Zeno #57795; Zhou 2018: 63, no. 2)

Obverse: Horse standing left, Gandhari inscription in Kharoshthi script (anti-clockwise starting at 11 o'clock): *kujā maharaja tugasa* = [coin] of Tuga, great king of Kucha
Reverse: Chinese inscription in seal script: 五銖 *wu zhu* = 5 *zhu* (*wu* on right and *zhu* on left, mirror form). In the centre is a symbol which could be the Chinese character *che* 車, meaning chariot, or a *tamga* of the same shape.



Fig. 4. Copper 5 zhu coin of king Tuga of Kucha, 1.92 g (Zeno #154891; Zhou 2018: 63, no. 3)

Obverse: Horse standing left, Gandhari inscription in Kharoshthi script (anti-clockwise starting at 1 o'clock): *(ku)ja mahara(ja tugasa)* = [coin] of Tuga, great king of Kucha
Reverse: Chinese inscription in seal script: 五銖 *wu zhu* = 5 *zhu* (*wu* on right and *zhu* on left, mirror form). In the centre is a symbol which could be the Chinese character *che* 車, meaning chariot, or a *tamga* of the same shape.

In 2018, a new book on Sino-Kharoshthi coins by Zhou Ti, published in China, included the two coins from Zeno (2018: 63, nos. 2 and 3) and added two more similar examples, one (Fig. 6) from Zhou Ti's own collection and the other (Fig. 5) from another private collection (2018: 62-63, nos. 1 and 4 respectively). A further example (Fig. 7) has been discovered subsequently.



Fig. 5. Copper 5 zhu coin of king Tuga of Kucha, found at Khotan, 3.7 g (He Jufeng collection), (Zhou 2018: 63, no. 4)

Obverse: Horse standing to left, Gandhari inscription in Kharoshthi script (anti-clockwise starting at 1 o'clock): *kujā maharaja tugasa* = [coin] of Tuga, great king of Kucha
Reverse: Chinese inscription in seal script: 五銖 *wu zhu* = 5 *zhu* (*wu* on left and *zhu* on right, mirror form). In the centre is a symbol which could be the Chinese character *che* 車, meaning chariot, or a *tamga* of the same shape.



Fig. 6. Copper 5 zhu coin of king Tuga of Kucha, found in Xinhe County, Aksu Prefecture (i.e. the county west of Kuche County, of which the seat is c. 30 km southwest of Kucha), 2.8 g (Zhou Ti collection), (Zhou 2018: 62, no. 1)

Obverse: Horse standing to left, Gandhari inscription in Kharoshthi script (anti-clockwise starting at 1 o'clock): *(ku)ja ma)harajasa tuga(sa)* = [coin] of Tuga, great king of Kucha
Reverse: Chinese inscription in seal script: 五銖 *wu zhu* = 5 *zhu* (*wu* on left and *zhu* on right, mirror form). In the centre is a symbol which could be the Chinese character *che* 車, meaning chariot, or a *tamga* of the same shape.



Fig. 7. Copper 5 zhu coin of king Tuga of Kucha (Asalan collection)

Obverse: Horse standing left, Gandhari inscription in Kharoshthi script (anti-clockwise starting at 1 o'clock): *(ku)ja mahara(ja tugasa)* = [coin] of Tuga, great king of Kucha
Reverse: Chinese inscription in seal script: 五銖 *wu zhu* = 5 *zhu* (*wu* on right and *zhu* on left, mirror form). In the centre is a symbol which could be the Chinese character *che* 車, meaning chariot, or a *tamga* of the same shape.

All five examples I have seen with the horse standing left have the same Kharoshthi inscription, but three variations of the Chinese inscription on the reverse. Each Chinese inscription says the same thing, but the arrangement and style varies (see Fig. 8). Zhou's no. 4 (Fig. 5) has the same mirrored orientation

and Western Han style of the characters *wu zhu* as the two coins I saw in 2005. His no. 1 (Fig. 6) has the same mirrored orientation, but the character *zhu* has the rounded top and bottom of its phonetic element 朱, typical of Eastern Han coins (issued 25-220 CE). The other two examples, Zhou's nos. 2 and 3 and the additional coin (Figs 3, 4 and 7 respectively), have the correct orientation of *wu zhu* and the Western Han style *zhu*, but a shortened version of the radical 金, missing the central horizontal stroke. In all cases the central character *che* (or royal *tamga*) is written in the same style.



Fig. 8. Chinese inscriptions on Kuchean coins nos. 1-7 (drawings from Figs. 2, 3 and 6)

Tuga, king of Kucha

The obverse of all four coins published by Zhou Ti and of the additional example, show a crudely drawn horse standing left surrounded by all or part of a Kharoshthi inscription of 9 or 10 characters. On the two Zeno coins I had initially only been able to recognise *maharaja*. With the addition of the new coins, I was able to return to re-examine the Kharoshthi inscription. It was now clearer and the whole inscription could be seen on two examples (Figs. 3 and 5) as *kujamaharaja tugasa* and on one example (Fig. 6) an additional *-sa* (possessive inflection) was featured on the end of the first word: *kujamaharajasa tugasa*.

Zhou Ti read the Kharoshthi inscription as 'maharaja dubu ga (ga) tam ?? sa' (2018: 65), which he interpreted as 'Great king, protector of the cities, weighing five zhu' (ibid.: 69-70). He read *dubu* as a transcription of *du hu* 都護, a shortened version of the Chinese title, 'Protector in Chief of the Western Regions' (*xiyu da duhu* 西域大都護) bestowed by the Han emperors on the kings of *Suoju* 莎車 (Yarkand), Kang (c. 29 CE) and Xian (c. 41 CE). He saw what followed this as a similar transcription of the Chinese denomination in Gandhari. Zhou argued that the appearance of this title on coins from Kucha indicated they were issued during Yarkand's control of Kucha through the reign of Xian's son Zeluo after c. 46 CE (ibid.: 64). His judgement that the coins were issued by the ruler of Kucha in the 1st century CE seems to be correct, but his misreading of the Kharoshthi inscription invalidates his hypothesis about the identity of the issuer.



Fig. 9. Kharoshthi inscription on Kuchean coins (Figs. 3-7)



Fig. 10. Kharoshthi inscription as read on Kuchean coins in Figs. 3-7: 'kujamaharaja tugasa' = of Tuga, great king of Kucha (drawing from Fig. 3)



Fig. 11. Kharoshthi inscription as read on Kuchean coins in Figs. 3-7: 'kujamaharaja tugasa' = of Tuga, great king of Kucha (drawing from Fig. 5)

The Kharoshthi inscription *kujamaharaja(sa) tugasa* reads anti-clockwise, from the centre of the coin, starting at 11 o'clock or 1 o'clock above the horse's head, and should be understood as '[coin] of Tuga, great king of Kucha.' This formula is common on coins inscribed in Kharoshthi. The king's name (*tuga-sa*), and, on one coin, his title (*kujamaharaja-sa*) have the Gandhari possessive inflexion *-sa*, indicating '[coin] of.' The use of the possessive and of a title incorporating a place name (here, *kujā*) are also known from the coins of 1st century CE northern Pakistan, where coins issued in the name of the king of Apraca, Indrvasu, were inscribed *ispavasa avacarajasa itravvasusa*, meaning '[coin] of Lord Apracaraja Indrvasu' (Senior 2001: 137, types 178-9). Other rulers of the Apraca kingdom using this title (sometimes spelt *apracaraja*) are also known from inscriptions (Baums and Glass: CKI 176, 241, 242, 257, 359, 402 and 405). The kings of Swat in the same period, namely Varmasena, Senavarma and Ajitasena, were also known by a similar title in Buddhist donation inscriptions written in Gandhari/Kharoshthi: *varmasenasa odiraya* (ibid. CKI 249); *senavarme ispare odiraya* (CKI 401); and *ajidasena odiraya* (ibid. CKI 334), where *Odi* = Udayana (Swat).

In the Chinese chronicles of the Han dynasty, *Han Shu* and *Hou Han Shu*, there are several Kuchean kings recorded by the Chinese versions of their names at these dates:

1st century BCE:

- Jiangbin (絳賓), c. 60s BCE
- Chengde (丞德), c. 32-1 BCE

1st-early 2nd century CE:

- Zeluo (則羅), after 46 CE
- Shendu (身毒), c. 50s CE
- Jian (建), c. 75 CE
- Youliduo (尤利多), 91 CE
- Bai Ba (白霸), 78, 91, 106 CE
- Hong (弘), 107 CE
- Bai Ying (白英), 124 CE

From a slightly later period (from the late 3rd century onwards), there are several Kharoshthi documents now known naming the Kuchean kings Anteva, Pūraṇa, Yaśa, Sunedra, Dotige and Pitribhaktā. Some of these documents were found at the Kizil Grottoes (Baicheng County), about 50 km west of Kucha city (by national highway), others on the southern side of the Taklamakan desert. In all these documents Kucha is spelt *koci*, *kūci* or *kuci* (Ching 2012, 2014, 2018; Hasuikē 2004; Baums and Glass):

- Kocimaharaya devapotra Aṃ[t]evasya* (CKD 837)
- (K)ocimaharaya Yaśasya* (CKD 838)
- [K]o(c)i[mah]ā[ra]ya dev[a]p(o)tra Sunedra[sya]* (CKD 844)
- Kūcimahāraya devapotra Dotige* (CKD 869)
- Kocimaharaya d[e]va[p]o[tra] P[or]am[na](s)[ya]* (CKD 891)
- Kuci(mahāraya devaputra Pitribhaktena and Kuci mahāraya devaputra Pitribha[k]r[en]a* (Loukota 2020: 111 and 96)

Loukota (2020: 92) dated king Pitribhaktā to the late 3rd century and considered the document from his reign to be the earliest datable secular document so far known from Kucha.

As expected, none of the names in these later documents corresponds with the name on the coins. The structure of the

titles *kujamaharaja* and *kocimaharaya/ kucimaharaya/ kūcimahāraya* show a common practice between the coins and the documents. There is also a well-known parallel in the titulature of one of the kings of Khotan, who is entitled *khotanamaharaya* on a document found at Endere by Stein (Stein E. VI.ii.1, document 661; Baums and Glass: CKD 661). This is corroborated by the inscription *khotanamaharaja* on a recently published coin of the Sino-Kharoshthi series (Cribb at press; this is a new reading of the inscription on Cribb 1984/5, group 12 to be seen on Zhou 2018: 78, no. 1). A similar title *mahanuava maharaya* has been identified by Loukota (2020: 102-105) as the title of the kings of the southern state of Shanshan to the east of Khotan. This title was previously misunderstood as a reference to the ‘great majesty’ of the Shanshan kings, but Loukota realised that the Gandhari name for the state was *nuava* from the document of Pitribhaka, so the Shanshan kings of the 3rd century CE called themselves *mahanuava maharaya* (= great king of great Nuava), another parallel for the Kuche and Khotanese titles.

The coins inscribed *kujamaharaja(sa) tugasa*, i.e. Tuga, Great King of Kucha, parallel the title of the kings in the Kharoshthi documents, sufficiently to be certain that *kuja* is an earlier version of *koci/kuci/kūci* (the transliteration *koci* is most probably to be taken linguistically as *kuci*, Ching 2013: 62). In the Han period Kucha was known to the Chinese as *Qiuci* 龜茲, which, at the time of the coins, was probably pronounced *kudza* (Schuessler 2009: 93, 4-6). This pronunciation seems an even closer match to the inscription *kuja* on these coins than to the other versions in the documents.

Dating the Kucha coins from their palaeography

As described above, the Chinese inscriptions show features which suggest placing the coins between the 1st century BCE and the 2nd century CE. The Kharoshthi is more informative as there are parallels from Afghanistan and northern Pakistan.

The Kharoshthi script on the coins of king Tuga shows an unusual feature: both examples of the letter *ja* stand on a broad base, projecting from both sides of the upright, which is unusually short. The same form of *ja* is also visible on one of the Sino-Kharoshthi coins of Kucha seen in 2005 (Fig. 1). A foot on the base of *ja* is not unusual in coin inscriptions, normally projecting to the left on Indo-Greek and Indo-Scythian coins. It

appears not to have any phonetic value, and is a scribal embellishment (Glass 2000: 21-23). On the Scythian imitations of Indo-Greek Hermaeus and Eucratides’ coins made at Begram, there are examples of *ja* with the double-sided foot and a short upright (Senior 2000), and these are very similar to that on the Sino-Kharoshthi coins of Kucha. These imitations were issued from the second half of the 1st century BCE to the first half of the 1st century CE, when they were replaced by issues of the first Indo-Parthian king Gondophares (c. 32-60 CE). On Indo-Parthian coins, *ja* was written with a foot to right or to left or without a foot. On early Kushan coins, *ja* was also written with a foot to the right or without a foot. The same versions with foot to right or no foot also appear on the Sino-Kharoshthi coins of Khotan (Cribb 1984/5).

The letter *sa* on the Sino-Kharoshthi coins of Kucha is in the form with open top, as it appears on early Kushan coins, rather than the closed or semi-closed version appearing on Indo-Scythian and early Indo-Parthian coins (Glass 2000: 104-109). On later Indo-Parthian coins, the open-topped *sa* starts to appear in the reign of Sasan, a late contemporary of the first Kushan king Kujula Kadphises (c. 50-90 CE).

The use of Kharoshthi inscriptions on coins in Kushan territory ends with the accession of Kanishka I, c. 127 CE, after which Kharoshthi only appears on coins as isolated control marks. If a date for the Sino-Kharoshthi coins of Kucha was to be derived from its parallels in the Kharoshthi found on coins issued in Gandhara and Afghanistan, then a 1st century CE date seems most likely.

The Kushan period is also indicated by the availability in Xinjiang of coins inscribed in Kharoshthi, imported from Afghanistan and Pakistan as prototypes. Some of these imported coins were used to make new Sino-Kharoshthi coins in Khotan. Particularly noteworthy are the coins of the early Kushan period, imitations of Hermaeus, of a type current in Begram in the period c. 50-90 CE, which were overstruck as Sino-Kharoshthi coins at Khotan (Cribb 1984/5). Many examples of these overstrikes have been collected by Zhou Ti (2018: 98-110 and 165), probably from the Kashgar hoard described by Dai (2015). Coins of the Kushan kings Wima Takto, Wima Kadphises, Kanishka I (Cribb 1985/5) and Huvishka (Wang 1987: 29, no. 6b) have also been reported as finds from the area; and a coin of Kanishka I was found in the Kashgar hoard (Dai 2015).

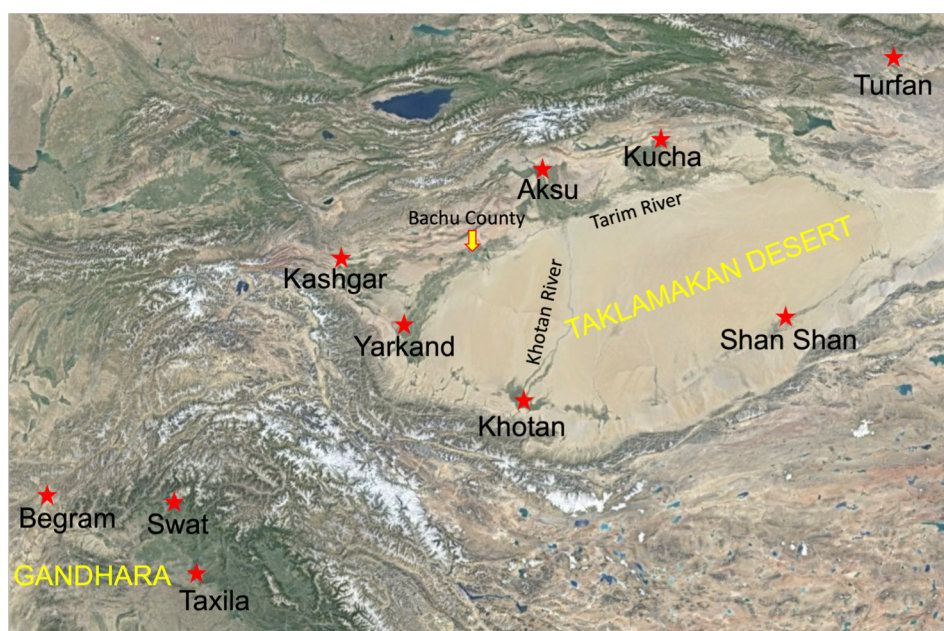


Fig. 12. Map of Gandhara and Xinjiang, showing kingdoms of 1st century CE

The style of the Kharoshthi script on the Khotanese coins most closely resembles that of the Indo-Parthian and early Kushan period, i.e. from c. 32 CE to c. 127 CE. The arrangement and content of the Kharoshthi inscriptions on the Khotanese and Kuchean coins reflects the practice in Afghanistan and Pakistan in the same period.

In addition to the coins, numerous Kharoshthi inscriptions on wooden documents, leather and birch bark have been found in Xinjiang, showing the widespread use of the script and the language of Gandhara in this region (Salomon 1998: 159-160; for a complete list with references see Baums and Glass: https://gandhari.org/a_documents.php).

The style of Kharoshthi on the majority of the documents and their archaeological context place most of them in the 3rd-4th centuries. Nevertheless, a significant part of the Kharoshthi documents found around Kucha may be as late as the 5th-6th centuries, given their palaeographical features or the concurrence with Brahmi texts written in the Kuchean (Tocharian B) language (Ching 2013: 58, 88). Although they are later than the context suggested for the coins, they contain many aspects of royal titulature which link them with the Kushans. As seen above, five of the six Kharoshthi documents naming the kings of Kucha used the Kushan title *devaputra*, which was also used by the kings of Shanshan, a state to the east of Khotan (Baums and Glass list many examples). It seems that Gandhari, written in Kharoshthi, was used as the official language in several of the kingdoms around the Taklamakan desert (Salomon 1998: 45-46). There is insufficient evidence to show when Gandhari arrived in the region and why it was so widely adopted, but the Chinese reports in the *Hou Han Shu* attest to the presence of Kushan armies in Xinjiang (Zürcher 1968, pp. 369-371). From these reports we know of a Kushan army being in Xinjiang in the 80s-90s CE, helping the Chinese general Ban Chao to attack Turfan and then turning on him unsuccessfully. The army was led by the Kushan viceroy Xie and he is reported as seeking help from Kucha when the Chinese army cut off his supplies. In 114-116 CE the Kushan king again sent an army into the region to impose a king on Kashgar.

The finds of Kushan coins suggest that the influence from Gandhara was already being felt in the 1st century CE. The legendary origins of Khotan suggest links with India (Stein 1907: 159-166), but the population of the city spoke an eastern Iranian language, known as Khotanese Saka, suggesting that they were part of the Central Asian Saka (Scythian) people (Bailey 1970), so the legend seems unlikely. Their adoption of Gandhari and Kharoshthi for administrative purposes suggests that previously they did not have a form of writing of their own, so adopted a system suited to their need for an official language and writing system.

Identifying king Tuga

By placing king Tuga's coinage in the early Kushan period, it is profitable to see if his name can be matched with any of the names featured in the Chinese sources. There is only one name which shows any linguistic parallel, that of the Kuchean king whose Chinese name is Shendu (身毒). His reign was first mentioned in the *Hou Han Shu* as started by c. 50 CE and was over by the time of the mention of his successor Jian c. 75 CE. The Chinese version of his name has been reconstructed as *sin-douk* in the Han period (Schuessler 2009: 32-23, 14-5). Accordingly, the second part of his name *douk* matches the Gandhari/Kharoshthi name *tuga* on the coins. Diego Loukota (personal correspondence) has suggested that the first syllable of his name could represent a Chinese family name adopted by this king, as *shen* 身 is attested as a surname in Han times and the practice of taking Chinese surnames in a Chinese context has parallels at a slightly later period elsewhere among the rulers of the cities around the Taklamakan desert (Loukota 2020: 100-101). According to the *Hou Han Shu* (Hill 2009: 38-39) Shendu (or Shen Du) was appointed as king of Kucha by the Xiongnu, the Hun nomad state in north-western Xinjiang, which periodically contested control of the kingdoms around the Taklamakan desert

with the Chinese. According to the Chinese chronicle, his appointment as king had been requested of the Xiongnu by the people of Kucha after they had assassinated Zeluo (c. 46-50 CE), the previous king who had been appointed to the throne by his father Xian, king of Suoju (Yarkand). Zhou Ti's commentary on the coins attributed here to king Tuga attributed them to Zeluo.

The identification of king Tuga as Shen Du offers no further explanation of the character that looks like *che* 車 on his coins. If that is the reading, then could it express a connection with *Ju shi* 車師 (the Chinese name of the kingdom of Turfan), or *Suoju* 莎車 (the Chinese name of the kingdom of Yarkand). At the time of Shen Du, Turfan was also under the control of the Xiongnu (Hill 2009: 48-49), but that is the only connection. Shendu (or Shen Du), a Kuchean noble, was appointed king by the Xiongnu after the influence of Yarkand had been rejected by the people of Kucha, so any connection with that kingdom seems even less likely. The current name of Kucha is *Kuche* 庫車, and is in no way connected with these coins as this version of the name was only adopted in the 18th century.

The two coins first seen in 2005 (Figs. 1-2) cannot yet be attributed to a ruler. The most likely scenario is that they were issued immediately before or after those of king Tuga, as they share many features with his coins. Until better examples are found, their attribution must remain unsolved.

Accommodating two monetary systems

While the Kharoshthi inscription names the king, the Chinese side explicitly states the value of the coin. On the Sino-Kharoshthi coins from Kucha, the value is given as *wu zhu* or '5 *zhu*'. The inscription *wuzhu* was the main coin-type of the Han dynasty (issued 118 BCE-220 CE). In the Han system, *zhu* was a weight (c. 0.6 g), and there were 24 *zhu* to 1 *liang* (c. 15 g). The Han coins were originally issued with this inscription because it is what they weighed, but the inscription became conventional and later reflected the denomination rather than the actual weight. The Kharoshthi inscription does not state the value, but accommodates the western-style coins to the Chinese system. As I showed in 1984/85, the Khotanese Sino-Kharoshthi coins, which have Chinese inscriptions stating they are 6 *zhu* and 24 *zhu*, correspond respectively to drachm and tetradrachm on the reduced Attic standard, the weight system adopted by the Kushans in Bactria.

The role of the Sino-Kharoshthi coins as local currency shows that they were accommodated to both the Gandharan and Chinese systems. The two systems correspond at the level of Greek *obol* = Chinese *zhu*, both being 1/24 of the Kushan Attic standard tetradrachm and the Chinese ounce (*liang*) respectively. However, the Chinese inscriptions on the Sino-Kharoshthi coins of Khotan and Kucha differ, with 6 and 24 *zhu* on the coins of Khotan (closer to the Kushan convention), and 5-*zhu* on the coins of Kucha (closer to the Chinese convention).

Conclusion

The seven coins discussed above are of two types: two examples with a horse running to right, with an illegible Kharoshthi inscription (Figs. 1 and 2), and five examples with a horse standing left, inscribed in Kharoshthi with the name and title of Tuga, great king of Kucha (Figs. 3-7). Their relationship with the Sino-Kharoshthi coins of Khotan, and the style and content of their inscriptions, place them in the 1st century CE. They provide evidence of the early adoption of the Kharoshthi script and the Gandhari language for official purposes on the northern side of the Taklamakan desert in about the same period as it was adopted on the southern side at Khotan, i.e. during the 1st century CE. Finds of Sino-Kharoshthi coins of both Kucha and Khotan suggests movement of coins between the two city-states, probably via the Khotan and Tarim or the Keriya rivers. Their find spots keep them mostly within their zones of issue. There is no evidence that they were made for the long-distance trade beyond Xinjiang, as no

examples of either Khotanese or Kuchean coins have ever been found in central China or Afghanistan and Pakistan. They remain local currencies, adopted in this unexpected form for reasons which can be speculated upon, but which still remain hidden from us today.

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BILINGUAL COINS OF SULAYMAN: A SAMID AMIR OF MEDIEVAL MULTAN

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and Pankaj Tandon

This paper presents the first confirmed coins of Amir Sulayman, a medieval ruler of Multan, and provides details of his hitherto unreported *biruda*: the local (Indic) royal title taken by the Muslim Amirs of Multan and inscribed on their bilingual coinage in the local regional script.

The city of Multan is identified with the ancient city of *Kaspapuros* mentioned by early Hellenic sources, such as Hecateus, Herodotus and Ptolemy (Cunningham 1875: 129).¹ *Kaspapuros* is also mentioned on Indo-Scythian coins and inscriptions (Cunningham 1875: 129). The local name of Multan is mentioned as *Kashyapa-pura* after Maharishi Kashyap, one of the seven *saptarishis* of the Rigveda, who is considered the city's founder (Cunningham 1871: 232). The name Multan is derived from the Sanskrit name *Mula-sthana*, where *Mula* is an appellation of the Sun god Surya/ Aditya/ Mithra (Cunningham 1871: 234). The reference to the solar deity is based on Multan's famous ancient temple of Aditya, which brought devotees from all over India and enjoyed the patronage of numerous ruling dynasties during the medieval period. After the Muslim takeover of Multan in the 8th century CE, the temple continued to be a center of pilgrimage and devotion (Cunningham 1875: see Multan).

Historically, Multan is portrayed as a rich and prosperous city. Xuanzang, the Chinese Buddhist missionary who visited India in 641 CE, describes Multan as a city that houses the famous Sun temple to which the kings and noble families of all of India pay homage and make offerings of gems and precious stones (Beal 1911: 152). That was one of the reasons that the temple housed a huge amount of gold and treasure accumulated over time. These resources fell into Muslim hands once Multan came under Muslim rule as a result of Muhammad bin Qasim's Indian campaign that began in 712 CE. According to contemporary Arabic historical sources, such as *Istakhri* and *Masudi*, the amount of treasure that fell into Muslim hands compelled them to name Multan as *Farj Bait al-Zahab* ('the frontier house of gold') (Elliot 1879: 14). Impressed by the riches of Multan, Masudi (erroneously) reports that the name Multan means '*meadows of gold*' (Elliot 1879: 36).

Under the influence of the Caliphate, Multan retained its status as one of the main urban centres of the Caliphate ('frontier-') province of Sind. In the middle of the 9th century CE, a locally-settled family of Quraishi descent wrested control of Multan from the official Caliphate governor and asserted its independence (Rose 1997: see Qureshi, 260-261). This dynasty, known as the Amirs of Multan, claimed descent from the progeny of Ghalib, one of the ancestors of Prophet Muhammad. The dynastic origins have been traced to Sama bin Lu'ay bin Ghalib (Mubarakpuri 1967: 169-171), whose name gave the name Samid to the dynasty. Later, the dynasty was also known by the name of one of its more prominent rulers, Banu Munabbih (Asimov et al. 1992: 302-303).

Coinage of the Amirs of Multan

The Amirs of Multan issued silver coins struck to the local standard of *damma* or Qanhari *dirham*, as opposed to the standard Caliphate *dirham*. Initially, their coin legends were in Arabic, but, starting sometime in the middle of the ninth century, they began to issue a series of bilingual *dammās*, with Sanskrit (or Prakrit) legends inscribed in the regional script on the obverse and Arabic legends inscribed in Kufic script on the reverse. Whereas a number of experts identify the regional script as Sharada, the time period of these issues pre-dates the formation of the actual Sharada script (or

Sharada proper (Bühler 1959: 76-77)), which is dated to have developed from the end of the 10th century to the early part of the 11th century CE (Deambi 1982: 24-28). The regional Indic script on these coins can be labeled as proto-Sharada or the *Sidhamatrika* of Al-Beruni (Bühler 1959: 68). The bilingual Multani *dammās* constitute the earliest known 'Islamic' bilingual (Arabic-Sanskrit/Prakrit) coinage in medieval India.²

The obverse legend on the bilingual coins carries the local (Indic) royal title adopted by the issuing Amir in proto-Sharada. Some of these titles are constructed by Sanskrit-ising the Arabic name of the Amir, such as *Madhumati* for Muhammad³ or *Ahamadi* for Ahmed. However, other titles used on the Multani coins are either rooted in local religious mythology or adopted from the royal titles of famous Indian monarchs. For example, the royal title of Mihira Bhoja I of the Gurjara-Pratihara dynasty, *Shrimad Adi Varaha*, was adopted by two of the Multani Amirs: *Shrimad Varaha* by Amir Asad and *Sri Adi Varaha* by his son Amir Munabbih I (Fishman & Todd 2018: 275). The adoption of royal titles based on the man-boar avatar of Lord Vishnu by the Amirs of Multan is a unique example of inter-religious acceptance and syncretism. The reverse design has a three-dot motif in the center surrounded by the phrase *Sri Tapa* in Sharada letters, which was a carryover from the previous indigenous coinage of the region. The name of the issuing Amir is inscribed below the three-dot motif in Kufic script, prefixed with *Lillah* ('for Allah'). The short Arabic inscription conveys the message of the issuing authority being subservient to the supreme ruler, i.e., Allah with whom rests all power (*Quran*: 65(12)) and who has the ownership of all that is between the heavens and earth (*Quran*: 4(126)), including the coins struck by the Amir.

The use of local political and religious elements on these *dammās* can also be seen as a device employed by the issuing amirs to impart legitimacy and a local character to their coinage. This may have led to a general acceptance of the coinage among their majority non-Muslim subjects and could have helped establish trust within the regional trade networks, of which Multan formed an important hub. Whatever the case maybe, these coins paint a picture of a multicultural and religiously diverse Multan. By adopting local titles rooted in Indian religious mythology and history, the Amirs of Multan were actively engaged in creating a novel and hybrid political and cultural identity for their rule, which is a unique example of religious and cultural syncretism in the medieval Indian encounter of Islam with the Indic religions (Flood 2009).

The openness of the Samid Amirs of Multan to adopt Indic titles and then subsequently have them inscribed in the local language (and script) on their official coinage also supports the hypothesis that the Amirs of Multan were autonomous, i.e. they did not have a strong allegiance to the Abbasid Caliphate. This point is further borne out by the coinage of other contemporary Indian Muslim emirates, such as the Habbarid amirs of Mansurah and the Ma'dani amirs of Makran,⁴ which also issued *dammās*, but whose coins do not carry local symbols or textual legends.

Coinage of Amir Sulayman

Coins issued by Amir Sulayman are listed by Album (2011: 162), though the listing does not provide any details about the coins' legends. Fishman and Todd rule out the existence of any coins of Sulayman, and attribute the previously reported coins as being based on an erroneous reading of the stylised Sharada word *Sri* as *Sulayman* (Fishman and Todd, 2018: 313). The two specimens we report in this paper clearly show the name of the issuing Amir as *Sulayman*, written in Kufic script on the reverse (see Figs. 1-2). The coins are part of a private personal collection and belong to a hoard that contained approximately 800 to 1,000 *dammās*. Unfortunately, the exact find-spot and the hoard composition cannot be determined. However, to the best of our knowledge, the find-spot is in northern Baluchistan, Pakistan.



Fig. 1. Silver damma of Amir Sulayman, 0.50 g, 9.2-9.9 mm (PC)



Fig. 2. Silver damma of Amir Sulayman, 0.47 g, 9.1-9.6 mm (PC)

Obverse: Proto-Sharada legend *Sri Bharatha*

Reverse: Three dot motif in centre, with Brahmi legend *Sri* (above) *Ta* (left) and *pa* (right); Arabic legend in Kufic script below *لله سليمان* (*Lillah Sulayman*, 'for Allah (issued by) Sulayman')

The above two *dammās* of Amir Sulayman adhere to the general layout of the bilingual series. The obverse has the local title or *biruda* of Amir Sulayman; composed of only four letters or *aksharas* – *Sri Bha ra tha* – it is shorter than most other coins in the series. The epigraphic details of each *akshara* are presented below:

1. *Sri* (श्री)

The first *akshara* can be clearly identified as *Sri* (श्री), a common honorific that was widely used on coins and is still used for addressing famous and prominent personalities. It has a broad spectrum of meanings, ranging from being of noble descent to denoting wealth and prosperity or auspiciousness. On Sulayman's coins, *Sri* is inscribed in a form similar to other coins in the bilingual series, such as the coins of Hassan II, Ahmed II (for comparison see Fig. 6c) and on certain issues of Munabbih I and Asad (Fishman and Todd 2018: 274-328).

2. *Bha* (भ)

The coins of Sulayman are the only ones to use the *akshara Bha* in the entire Multan series, which makes it difficult to correlate its construction with coins of other rulers. There is a possibility of reading this letter as *Ha*. However, based on epigraphic evidence from inscriptions in Sharada and proto-Sharada, a similar style of constructing *Bha*, with the right arm forming a downward flourish, is found in a number of inscriptions, such as the Baijnath temple inscription (c. 804 CE, Bühler 1959: pl. V) and the Bakhshali manuscript (c. 800 CE, Sarasvati 1979: 7). The construction of *Bha* is similar to the so-called 'acute angled' script that was in use in northwestern India, including Kashmir, and *Madhyadesha* (Bühler 1959: 68; Deambi 1982: 33). The 'acute angled' script, also known as the *kutīla* or *sidhamatrika* script, can be seen as a precursor to Sharada; it matured later around the tenth century and came to be the de-facto script used in Kashmir. Furthermore, the identification of the second *akshara* with *Bha* is also supported by the roughly contemporary coinage of the Utpala rulers of Kashmir. Figs. 3-5 show coins of Abhimanyu Gupta (ruled 958-972 CE), Tirbhuvana Gupta (ruled 973-974), and Bhima Gupta (ruled 974-79 CE). In each case, the *Bha* closely matches the second letter on Sulayman's coins.



Fig. 3. Bronze stater of Abhimanyu Gupta, Obverse: Goddess Lakshmi surrounded by Sharada legend, 'A' on the left and 'bhima(nyu)' to the right (KS)



Fig. 4. Bronze stater of Tribhuvana Gupta, Obverse: Goddess Lakshmi surrounded by Sharada legend, 'Tri' on the left and 'bhuvana' to the right (KS)



Fig. 5. Bronze stater of Bhima Gupta, Obverse: Goddess Lakshmi surrounded by Sharada legend, 'Bhi' on the left and 'ma Gu' to the right (KS)

With the downward looped flourish on its right, the second *akshara* could be confused with the letter *Ha*. In the early western Brahmi and proto-Sharada scripts, *Ha* is also constructed with a downward loop on the right. Fortunately, a number of Multani Amirs adopted *birudas* that contain the letter *Ha*. For example, this letter is seen on the issues of Asad, Munabbih I and Hassan II, who adopted titles based on the man-boar avatar of Lord Vishnu, *Varaha*. The *akshara Ha* is also found on the coins of Amir Ahmed II (*biruda: Sri Ahamadi*) and Amir Munabbih II (*biruda: Sri Mihira Deva*). These coins are shown in Fig. 6, and the construction of *Ha* can be compared with that of the second *akshara* on the coins of Sulayman. As can be observed, the overall construction of *Ha* in Samid coinage is more angular than that of the second *akshara* on the coins of Sulayman. Furthermore, there is no continuing stroke or a tail on the left of the main stem of *Ha*, while *Bha* clearly has a distinct stroke to the left of the main stem. The left tail is similarly more pronounced in the *Bha* seen on the coins of Kashmiri rulers (see Figs. 3-5).





Fig. 6. Silver dammas of the Amirs of Multan that have the akshara 'ha/hi': (a) Asad, (b) Hassan II, (c) Ahmed II, (d) Munabbih I, and (e) Munabbih II (PC)

3. Ra (ॠ)

The construction of *ra* is similar to other coins in the series, and can be compared to the inscriptions on the coins of Asad, Munabbih, and Fahad. The mature Sharada script (including the modern Sharada alphabet) does not have this lower tail of *ra*; nevertheless, this construction is seen in the contemporary northwestern inscriptions that use proto-Sharada and the 'acute angled' scripts (Khaw 2015: 116-121).

4. Tha (थ)

In the entire bilingual series of Multani dammas, only the *biruda* of Sulayman contains *tha*. Once again, the identity of this *akshara* can be established by looking at contemporary inscriptions and manuscripts. Both the Baijnath temple inscriptions (c. 804 CE, Bühler 1959: pl. V) and the Bakhshali manuscript (c. 800 CE, Sarasvati 1979: 7) have similar styles for *tha*. However, the epigraphic style on Sulayman's coins is closer to the Bodhgaya inscription of Mahanaman (c. 588/589 CE, Bühler 1959: pl. IV) and the Lakhmandal temple inscriptions (c. 600 C.E., Bühler 1959: pl. IV).

Harry Falk, in a private email, suggested that this letter might represent the number 20. However, in the context of the coin legend, this is unlikely. No other Samid coin contains a number (presumably representing a date) on it.

The meaning of Bharatha

In order to find the meaning of the *biruda*, we have two possible avenues to initiate our search: a) historically prominent figures who had adopted the same title, and b) a possible connection between *Bharatha* and the solar deity Aditya whose famous temple was in Multan. The adoption of *Bharatha* as a royal title is quite unprecedented in Indian history; Amir Sulayman may be the only

Indian ruler to have adopted this title. Unfortunately, there are no official records or surviving textual sources that can explain its usage. *Bharatha* at first can be seen as a reference to the legendary emperor Bharata from the epic *Mahabharata*. However, the name on the coins is clearly *Bharatha*, as opposed to *Bharata*. It is unlikely that this is a transcription error. According to Harry Falk, such an error could be expected in the southern languages, such as Telugu or Tamil, but cannot be expected in northern inscriptions.⁵ However, if we look at the meanings of this word, we find that *Bharatha* is a masculine noun that means king, world-protector and also Agni (fire) (Monier-Williams 1899: 747), and that *Bharata* is also a name of Agni (Monier-Williams 1899: 747). Thus, we cannot rule out the possibility that the epithet *Bharatha* did indeed refer to the king *Bharata*. Further, relating to the Aditya temple of Multan, it is worth noting the close relationship between Agni and Surya (Aditya). In the Agnihotri ritual, for example, practised twice each day, the morning ritual offering is to Surya and the evening ritual offering is to Agni (Bodewitz 1976). Thus, both avenues of our inquiry seem to have some validity.

Chronological placement

In the absence of hoard data, it is difficult to assess the exact time period of the issues of Sulayman. There are no historical sources that list the order of succession of the Samid Amirs of Multan, the only exception being the rule of Munabbih I, which is dated to around AH 300 (912-13 CE), when the Arab historian and geographer *Masudi* visited India (Flood 2009: 19). However, the issues of Sulayman can be dated using the overall design of his coins, inscription styles and weight, following the trends identified by Fishman and Todd (2018).

As far as the overall fabric of the coin is concerned, the coins of Sulayman are markedly similar to the coins of Hassan II (Fig. 6b) and Ahmed II (Fig. 6c). Both these rulers are the immediate successors (in that order) of Asad whose reforms lowered the weight and size of the bilingual dammas (Fishman and Todd 2018: 293-299). Based on the weight trends of the bilingual series (Fishman and Todd 2018: 323, fig. 8.44), the coins of Sulayman, with an average weight of 0.49 g, can be grouped with the post-reform issues of Hassan II and Ahmed II. Furthermore, based on the average weight alone, the coins of Sulayman can be placed before the coins of Hassan II, making Sulayman the immediate successor of Asad.

The placement of Sulayman's coins, based on their average weight, is further supported by the style in which the *akshara Sri* is inscribed. Fishman and Todd note that the style of *Sri* changed from the old style (Fig. 6a), having two bottom horizontal lines, to the new style (Fig. 6c) during the late coinage of Asad (2018: chapter 8.7). The style continued unchanged through the issues of Hassan II, Ahmed II, and the early coins of Munabbih I. Since the inscription style of *Sri* is identical to the coins of Hassan II and Ahmed II, the order of succession of Sulayman can be safely placed after Asad and before Munabbih I. Since we have a date for Munabbih I of 912-913 CE, the date for Sulayman would then be in the late 9th century.

Conclusion

This paper reports the coins of Amir Sulayman that were issued as part of the bilingual coinage of the medieval Amirs of Multan. A reading of the new Amir's *biruda* provides new insights about the influence of local languages and culture on the coins of Multan and the efforts made by the Arab Amirs of Multan to assimilate within the cultural, political, and religious landscape of medieval India. Based on the overall fabric of the new coins, their epigraphic details, and average weight, the reign of Sulayman can be placed immediately after the reign of Asad. The chronological placement should be regarded as tentative and requires more specimens in order to attain statistical significance.

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Sources of images

PC Private collection
KS Karan Singh collection

References

1. Some historians identify the city of *Kaspapuros* with the region of Kashmir (Cunningham 1871: 232).
2. With the exception of the single bilingual gubernatorial issue of Unayna bin Musa al-Tamimi (758-760 CE) (Fishman and Todd 2018: 102-103).
3. This Sanskrit-isation of Muhammad as *Madhumati* is supported by the Chinchani Rashtrakuta inscription of Saka 848 (926 CE) (Flood 2009: 21-22).
4. *Dammas* bearing the name of Amir Eesa are attributed to Eesa Bin Ma'dan of Makran (Fishman and Todd 2018: 129).
5. Personal communication of Pankaj Tandon with Harry Falk.

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RARE BRONZE COIN FROM EARLY MEDIEVAL TOKHARISTAN

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We would like to publish an early medieval bronze coin that was probably minted in Tokharistan (the name for Bactria in the early medieval period). So far as we know, this type has not been published yet (Fig. 1).



Fig. 1. Bronze coin with heraldic roebuck and variant of the swan-shaped tamgha, 24 mm, 6.7 g (Ekkehard Doehring collection)

Obverse: Roebuck galloping to right. Its antlers look like those of a usual roebuck (burr, beam with pearls, and tine), but are greatly exaggerated and are equal to the length of its corpus. They are almost parallel to each other and to the body of the animal. The short tail of the roebuck is erect.

Reverse: Rectangular frame in the centre, imitating a rectangular hole in the middle of the coin. At right is a variant of the swan-shaped *tamgha*. The term 'swan-shaped *tamgha*' was introduced by M. Fedorov (2004, 22; 2005, 15). The swan-shaped symbol is facing left and mounted on a pedestal. Part of the pedestal is off the flan and somewhat effaced, but it is a trident turned down. The fact that part of the pedestal is off the flan indicates that this coin was minted and not cast in a mould. Left of the frame is a legend of three letters, written in a Central-Asian script based on the Aramaic alphabet (Fig. 2). It looks most of all like the Sogdian script (Oranskii 1960, 203). The first letter (reading from left to right) is *n* or *z* (annoyingly, some letters of Central-Asian scripts, based on the Aramaic alphabet, were written the same way), the second letter looks like *p*, and the third letter is '(a). So we have *n/zp*' (*n.pa* or *z.pa*).

Like other early medieval coins of Central Asia, this coin has no date. But circumstantial data allows us to establish an approximate date: the first and most important dating feature is the rectangular frame in the centre, which imitates a rectangular hole in the middle of the coin. Since the second quarter of the 7th century CE, bronze Sogdian coins were issued on the pattern of Chinese *Kai Yuan Tong Bao* coins that had a rectangular hole in the centre. Then, around the end of the second quarter of the 8th century, after the Arab conquest of Sogd, bronze Sogdian coins were issued without the hole, but with a rectangular frame in the middle that imitated the hole. Such frames first appeared on the coins of the Sogdian ruler whose name Smirnova (1981: 42) read as '*wr'kk* 'Urak' and Akhunbabaev (1986: 81-84) read as '*prykk* 'Afrig', which in Sogdian means 'Blessed'. He came to the conclusion that it was an honorary epithet of Penjikent ruler Divashtich. Sogdian documents found on Mount Mugh in Tadjikistan labelled Divashtich as 'Sogdian king, ruler of Samarkand'. Livshits (1979: 62-63) deemed that Divashtich bore this title for two years.

'	𐰀	𐰁𐰂	𐰃	𐰄𐰅	𐰆𐰇
B	𐰈	𐰉𐰊	𐰋	𐰌	𐰍
C				𐰎𐰏	𐰐
H	𐰑				
W	𐰒	𐰓	𐰔	𐰕𐰖	𐰗
Z	𐰘	𐰙	𐰚	𐰛	𐰜
X(H)	𐰝	𐰞𐰟𐰠	𐰡	𐰢𐰣	
J	𐰤	𐰥	𐰦	𐰧𐰨	𐰩
K	𐰪	𐰫	𐰬	𐰭	𐰮
D(L)	𐰯	𐰰	𐰱	𐰲	𐰳
M	𐰴	𐰵	𐰶𐰷	𐰸	𐰹
N	𐰺	𐰻	𐰼	𐰽	𐰾
S		𐰿	𐱀	𐱁𐱂	𐱃
P	𐱄	𐱅𐱆	𐱇	𐱈	𐱉
Ĉ(Š)				𐱊𐱋	𐱌
R	𐱍	𐱎	𐱏	𐱐	𐱑
Š	𐱒	𐱓		𐱔	𐱕
T	𐱖	𐱗	𐱘	𐱙	𐱚
h			𐱛	𐱜	𐱝

Table A. Sogdian alphabet (columns 2-5) compared to Parthian alphabet (column 1), according to I.M. Oranskii (1960: 203)

According to Akhunbabaev, coins with the epithet 'Afrig', Samarkand *tamgha* and the *tamgha* related to Penjikent, allow us to look at the problem from another point of view. In 718 CE, Ghurek, king of Sogd, sent an embassy to China, asking for help against the Arabs. Having learnt about this, the Arabs appointed Divashtich as the king of Sogd instead. Akhunbabaev wrote that coins, citing 'Afrig', were issued in Penjikent in 719-720 CE, when Divashtich was appointed the king of Sogd. Fedorov (2003: 10-11) shared the opinion of Akhunbabaev. Coins of 'Afrig' had rectangular frames in the middle, imitating a hole on both obverse and reverse. A rectangular frame, imitating the hole, was on the obverse of the coins of Kesh (eastern part of southern Sogd, in Kashka Daria valley), minted by the ruler 'wprpt Akhurpat (Fig. 2). Naymark (2004, 220-221) wrote that Akhurpat came to power after 722 CE and reigned till not later than the end of 738.



Fig. 2. Bronze coin of Kesh ruler Akhurpat

This makes us infer that the new coin, described in this article, was issued about the end of the first or in the second quarter of the 8th century CE.

It is more difficult to localise the coin. There is no such coin in the comprehensive and exhaustive catalogue of Sogdian coins compiled by Smirnova (1981: 85-175, nos. 1-1417). It makes us infer that

such coins were issued outside Sogd proper, but not far from it. The swan-shaped part of the *tamgha* (it resembles the silhouette of a swimming swan) is also seen on the coins of the Bukhara oasis, Khwarezm and Chach (Tables B-C). This means that the ruler who minted coins with a variant of the swan-shaped *tamgha* and heraldic roebuck was related to the Central-Asian dynasties who minted coins with variants of the swan-shaped *tamgha* north of the Amu Darya.

















1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
							
9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
							

Table B. Swan-shaped *tamghas* on coins of the Bukhara oasis, Khwarezm and Chach, according to M. N. Fedorov (2007: 11):

- 1. Bukhara oasis, imitation of Euthydemus tetradrachm;
- 2-7. Khwarezm, imitations of Eucratides tetradrachm and coins of Khwarezmshahs; and
- 8-16. Chach, coins of the Wanwan dynasty

There has been much research on the origin of this *tamgha* (M. Masson 1933: 9; 1953: 113; V. Masson, 1955: 41; Vainberg 1977: 34-42; Smirnova 1981: 37; Fedorov 2004: 22; 2005: 15; Rtveldadze 2006: 19; 2010: 52; Musakaeva 2014: 9). M. Masson attributed coins with the Chachian variant of the swan-shaped *tamgha* to the 'Kanghuiu mintage'. V. Masson wrote that swan-shaped *tamghas* indicated the political subjugation of some regions (of Transoxiana) to the Kanghuiu nomad state with its centre on the banks of the Syr Darya. Musakaeva (2014: 9) shared his opinion. According to Rtveldadze (2006: 19), one may suppose that the rulers portrayed on ancient Chachian coins were of Kanghuiu origin, but he wrote that one should not ignore the Chinese chronicles that stated that the rulers of Bukhara, Samarkand, and some other kingdoms between the Amu Darya and Syr Darya, were descended from the 'House of Djaovu', i.e. from the Yueji. Later though, Rtveldadze (2010, 52) was more definite: "since *tamgha* is ... the state symbol, one can surmise, that Khwarezm, Bukhara, Chach were in the Kanghuiu confederation, which grew stronger by the first ages of our era, or that in those regions reigned rulers of the Kanghuiu origin". Vainberg (1977: 37) wrote: "We deem it possible to connect the origin of the dynasty, minting coins in ancient Khwarezm, with the Yueji and date appearance of this dynasty in the country to the second half - end of II century B.C." Fedorov shared the opinion of Vainberg, though Fedorov now believes that the Kanghuiu origin of the swan-shaped *tamgha* should not be totally excluded.















1	2	3	4	5	6	7
						
8	9	10	11	12	13	14
						

Table C. Swan-shaped *tamghas* (No. 1-5, 13, 14) on coins of Khwarezm, according to B. I. Vainberg (1977: 34-42)

The appearance and texture of the present coin has some affinity to Kushan copper coins, though Kushan coinage had nothing of this type. It allows us to place this coin in northern Tokharistan (north of the Amu Darya), where imitations of Kushan coins were minted for a long time after the Kushans had lost northern Bactria/Tokharistan. And if this coin was minted in northern Tokharistan, it should be the eastern part of northern Tokharistan, since in the western part of northern Tokharistan, imitations of Kushan coins were soon supplanted by Kushano-Sasanian coins. So this coin was probably minted in a principality in north-eastern Tokharistan where the coinage was not so influenced by Sasanian coinage.

But if so, it is rather far from Sogd for northern Tokharistan coinage to be influenced by Sogdian coinage, though it is not impossible. Southern Sogd (Kashka Darya valley) was nearer than Khwarezm, Chach, Samarkandian and Bukharan Sogd. And it was just on the coins of Akhurpat, the ruler of Kesh in southern Sogd, that the frame, imitating a rectangular hole in the middle of the coin, was only on one side of it, with the other side occupied by an image. This same arrangement is seen on the present coin (Fig. 1). The *tamgha* on this coin has the swan-shaped upper part, but mounted on a Kushan-inspired pedestal of upturned trident. And the legend is Sogdian. Hopefully more specimens with a firmly established provenance will help to solve the problem. Copper/bronze coins usually served domestic trade and were not used as international money, so the find spot would help in identifying the issuer.

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ATTRIBUTING THE GEORGIAN COIN WITH EQUESTRIAN FIGURE OF DAVIT, SON OF GIORGI

Pavle Chumburidze and Irakli Paghava

By means of this short article we will attempt to settle the more than one century-long dispute over the attribution of a certain Georgian copper coin type (Fig. 1).



Fig. 1. Copper coin of Davit, son of Giorgi

Obverse: Equestrian figure of a monarch, with or without his abbreviated name in Georgian:

ⴁ (D) or ⴁⴃ (DT)

i.e. D(avit) or D(avi)t

Reverse: Arabic legend in three lines:

الملك الملوك

داود بن كيوركى

حسام المسيح

(King of Kings

Da'ud son of Kūrki

Sword of Messiah)

There is a disagreement among numismatists over who issued this coin type, whether it was Davit IV (1085-1089-1125 CE), son of Giorgi (II), or Davit VI (1247-1270 CE), son of Giorgi (IV).

In 1860, Victor Langlois was the first scholar to attribute this coin type to Davit IV the Builder (Langlois 1860: 45-50). One year later, in a supplement to his work, Langlois provided one more argument in favour of his attribution, by describing another specimen with the AH date 500 (خمس مئة) (= 1106/7 CE) in the fourth line on the reverse – a date corresponding to the reign of David IV (Langlois 1861: 536-537). Langlois was later supported by Davit Kapanadze, who published an article attempting to prove the attribution to Davit IV (Kapanadze 1958: 39-47).

Both authors considered the coins of this type to constitute the ones described by Al-Fāriqī (Langlois 1860: 45-46; Kapanadze 1958: 42), an Arab man of letters, who visited Georgia and served for a while as secretary of Dimitri I, son of Davit IV in AH 548-549 (1153-1154 CE) (Minorsky 1949: 31; სიბსა რელიქტე 1999: 15). Al-Fāriqī left a remarkable testimony of the monetary reforms of Davit IV in the time period after the capture of Tiflis. He described the situation in Tiflis after its transfer to direct Georgian rule and the still effective rights granted by the Georgian king to the local Muslim populace. Al-Fāriqī noted that Davit IV “guaranteed to the Muslims everything they wished, according to the pact which is valid even to-day... He struck dirhams for them, on one side of which stood the names of the sultan and the caliph, and on the other side stood the names of God and the Prophet, on him be peace, (whereas) the king’s own name stood on a side of the dirham” (Minorsky 1949: 33-34).

Kapanadze made a significant observation that on rare specimens the fourth line on the reverse was visible and contained smaller graphemes (Kapanadze 1958: 39). Referring to Tamar Lomouri, he

considered them to be the date in Arabic, thereby confirming Langlois’ statement (Kapanadze 1958: 42). Kapanadze also argued that the presence of the arrogant titles ‘King of Kings’ and ‘Sword of Messiah’ was inappropriate for the period of Mongol dominance, when Davit VI Ulu (1247-1270 CE), Davit IV’s son, had to acknowledge the Mongol overlord on his silver coinage (Kapanadze 1958: 40-41, 44).

Relatively recently, Tinatin Kutelia analysed this coin type and also inclined to Davit IV as the issuer (ქართულია 2005: 188-195, 381). Giorgi and Tedo Dunduas considered both options hypothetical, albeit seemingly inclining more towards Davit VI Ulu (დუნდუა 2006: 197-199).

Yevgeniy Pakhomov, Tamar Lomouri, Irine Jalaghania, and Gocha Japaridze attributed this coin type to Davit VI Ulu. The Naskh calligraphy, the iconography of the horseman, and the minting techniques (the regularity of the flans and the technology employed to produce them) – all these pointed to the period of Mongol dominance. The presence of the titles ‘King of Kings’ and ‘Sword of Messiah’ did not render this attribution impossible, as the Mongols often abstained from stringently regulating the coinage issued by subdued rulers.¹ Irine Jalaghania checked the coins mentioned by Victor Langlois and Davit Kapanadze, and could not find any traces of the date formula on them (Jalaghania 1958: 38).

Irakli Paghava’s re-discovery of Davit IV’s irregular type mono-epigraphic copper coinage with Arabic legends, clarified what was the subject of Al-Fāriqī’s description (Paghava 2012: 220-261). This discovery supported the attribution of the present coin type to Davit VI Ulu rather than Davit IV. However, that was not a final proof, as at least theoretically Davit IV could have issued two different coin types with Arabic legends.

Fortunately, we have now discovered a specimen of the present type with a date, which effectively ends the discussion and provides us with solid ground for a final attribution. This specimen was accidentally found in 2019 in the Kvemo (Lower) Kartli region of Georgia (Fig. 2).



Fig. 2. Copper coin of Davit, son of Giorgi,
1.75 g, 18.5-22.5 mm

Obverse: Equestrian figure of a monarch, with no Georgian letters

Reverse: Fragments of Arabic legend in three lines:

وك

داود بن

حسام المسيح

and a fourth line with mirrored text in Georgian:

ⴁⴃⴁⴃ



Fig. 3. Close-up of fourth line on reverse of Fig. 2, with corrected mirror legend below

After correcting the graphemes (Fig. 3), we obtain a clear date formula, with the letters of the Georgian alphabet serving as numerals, as was common on the Georgian coinage of the previous epoch (Davit IV – Rusudan):

KUOB
i.e. K(oronik'on) UOB (472)

Georgian Koronik'on 472 corresponds to 1252 CE, i.e. during the reign of Davit VI Ulu (1247-1270 CE). Moreover, in AH 650, which corresponds to 14 March 1252-3 March 1253 CE, Davit VI Ulu began issuing silver dirhams acknowledging the Great Qa'an Mungke (Fig. 4). Evidently both silver and copper coins were issued at more or less the same time in 1252.



Fig. 4. Silver dirham of Davit VI Ulu

Conclusion

The new specimen of the copper type with a date (Fig. 2) provides us with an opportunity to finally attribute the equestrian figure of Davit, son of Giorgi, 'King of Kings' and 'Sword of Messiah', to Davit VI Ulu.

Two distinct varieties of this copper type were probably minted: without and, rarely, with the date. We have no doubt that the date indicates the time when the coin type was elaborated and adopted, as on the Georgian copper coinage of previous monarchs (Pakhomov 1970: 84-85). Later on, these coins were struck with the same date, or probably without the date, as the majority of specimens of this type bear no date.

Two additional comments can be made. This coin provides us with the first (and only?) instance of Nuskhuri Georgian script appearing on a Georgian coin. The Georgian legend on the fourth line provides a transition from Asomtavruli to Nuskhuri scripts; the first three graphemes can still be considered Asomtavruli, while the final B is very distinct and pertains to the Nuskhuri script.

Secondly, in contrast to the Arabic letters, the Georgian letters were engraved on the reverse die improperly. It would be tempting to conjecture that the Arabic and Georgian legends of the reverse were engraved by the die-cutter with no proper knowledge of the Georgian language and/or script. However, in our opinion that would certainly be a far-fetched conclusion, particularly taking into consideration that the shape of Georgian letters is negligent, but still more or less adequate.

Acknowledgement

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THE ELUSIVE 1897 RUPEE: THE KASHMIR CONNECTION

Amit Surana

Collectors of the coins of British Imperial India are well aware of the relative rarity of the George V rupee of 1911 (also known as the 'pig rupee') and the George VI rupee of 1939. They are also aware of the rarity of the Victoria Empress rupee of 1897. These are considered rare mainly due to their lower mintage: in 1897, the Calcutta mint produced 470,184 coins and the Bombay mint 1,054,593 (Pridmore 1980: 119). The reason for their lower mintage is not widely known. This article attempts to shed light on this fact.



Fig. 1. Silver rupee of 1897, Calcutta mint,
C3 I C incuse (SA)



Fig. 2. Silver rupee of 1897, Bombay mint,
C2 I B incuse (CN)

The Indian monetary system was based on the silver standard (Allen 2009: 235), which means a monetary system in which the standard economic unit of account is based on a fixed quantity of silver.

From the 16th century till the latter half of the 19th century, the value of gold in relation to silver maintained a relatively stable ratio of about 15½ : 1. In simpler words, 15.5 g fine silver was equal to 1 g fine gold.

Between 1835 and 1893, the mint authorities in British India allowed the public to bring silver in for coinage (Allen 2009: 236). Only silver coins were legal tender. The mint master would receive from the public gold and silver bullion, in any form, brought to the mints for coinage. This custom had been established by the East India Company, following historical precedent, during the great reform that had taken place in Bengal in 1792, when, as a measure to encourage the public to bring bullion and old coins to the mints for re-coinage, they had resolved:

That for Bullion, or old coins Sicca standard as to fineness delivered into the Mint, an equal weight of Sicca Rupees should be returned to the Proprietor, without any charge whatever. (Pridmore 1980: 65)

Although subsequent rules relating to the operation of Indian mints varied slightly in so far that a small duty was levied on the bullion or coin, and a charge made towards the expenses involved in preparing it for receipt into the mint, this privilege or free right of the public to unrestricted coinage continued (Pridmore 1980: 66).

However, silver depreciated relative to gold worldwide in the 1870s, following the move by countries in Europe and North America to the gold standard (Wiegand 2019: 5). This depreciation has also been attributed to Germany's decision to stop minting the silver thaler coins in 1871 (idem.). On 23rd November 1871, following the defeat of France in Franco-Prussian War, Bismarck exacted one billion dollars in gold indemnity from France, and then proceeded to move Germany towards a new gold standard which came about on 9 July 1873 with the introduction of the gold mark (idem.). Today the ratio of silver in relation to value of gold, although variable, is closer to 70:1. That means that 70 g fine silver is approximately equal to 1 g fine gold now.

As Indian currency continued to be based on a silver standard, the depreciation of silver after 1871 resulted in the heavy import of silver into India by private individuals who took it to the mints for coinage into rupees. Consequently, the coinage of rupees exceeded demand and further upset the value of the currency for internal payments (Pridmore 1980: 66). In 1893, the quantity of rupees in circulation was considered so excessive that it was officially estimated it would be many years before any demand arose for the minting of coins (idem.). On 21st October 1892, the secretary of state for India appointed the Herschell committee to study the proposal of Colonel J.T. Smith (former master of the Madras mint) for the immediate closing of Indian mints to the coinage of silver for the public (with the government retaining the right to purchase bullion and coin it into rupees), and to reopen them after an interval for the free coinage of gold into coins of twenty or ten rupees, which would be legal tender for any amount (idem.). The committee issued their report in 31st May 1893, and this resulted in the passing of Act VIII, 1893, at Simla on 26th June of that year. The Act repealed Sections 19 to 26 of the Indian coinage Act, 1870 and closed the Indian mints to the unrestricted coinage of silver for the public (idem.). After 26th June 1893, the only coins struck consisted of normal issues of the smaller silver denominations and the copper currency.

This situation soon changed. Stability in the exchange rate and an upturn in trade resulted in a complete reversal of the situation. In four years, from a position of abundance the rupee became scarce, and when the Durbars of Bhopal and Kashmir decided to substitute the British Indian rupee for their local currencies, it became necessary for the government to sanction a special coinage of rupees (idem.). Bhopal had not issued silver coins for a number of years, but Kashmir state had issued its own rupee until 1895, and after that there was no state coinage. Herrli mentions an exchange rate of about 12 *annas* for a Kashmir Sikh rupee, and that fell to about 8 *annas* during the later years when the bullion quality was further degraded (private communication with Jeevandeep Singh).

Following the decision of these two princely states to adopt the British Indian rupee as their currency, the Government of India determined to issue a coinage of rupees in 1897 and 1898 to meet the demands of these states, with a small coinage taking place in the first of these years followed by a larger one in 1898 (idem.). This explains why the coinage of rupees was started again in 1897, following its cessation several years earlier.

The 1897 rupee therefore had a connection with the Kashmir state and the change in the Indian monetary system from a silver standard to a gold standard.

The relative rarity of the 1897 rupees and their consequent value has led to an upsurge in modern forgeries, some of which are very good, and this article offers an opportunity to report two forgeries (Figs. 3-4).



Fig. 3. 1897 rupee, re-tooled from 1877 type A1/I, with numeral 9 distorted (AS)



Fig. 4. 1897 rupee, re-tooled from coin dated 1890-1893 type C3/I C incuse, with numeral 7 distorted (AS)

Acknowledgements

My thanks to Paul Stevens for his help in editing this article, and to Shailendra Bhandare for his guidance.

Sources of images

AS Amit Surana
 CN Classical Numismatic Gallery
 SA Stephen Album Rare Coins

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ONS NEWS

North America meeting, New York (18 January, 2020)

The annual meeting of the North America section of the Society was held on Saturday, January 18th, 2020, at the Grand Hyatt Hotel in New York. The meeting was held, as always, in conjunction with the New York International Numismatic Convention.

There were four speakers and, as has become the custom, the talks were webcast live on the ONS-North America Facebook page. The talks are still there for anyone who wishes to view them. Thanks to member Ed Snible for handling the webcasting chores.

The first speaker was Aleksandr Naymark, who spoke on ‘Coins of the Mint of Ishtikhan in the 8th century’.



Fig. 1. Silver damma with ‘Sri Samarmiyanka’ legend on obverse

Bilal Ahmed then spoke on ‘Jain influence on medieval Multan: redeciphering the biruda of Amir Fahad’. Bilal offered a new reading of the local Indic title adopted by the medieval Amir of Multan, Amir Fahad, who reigned around the middle of the 10th century CE. Fahad issued bilingual coins, struck to the local *damma* standard, carrying inscriptions in both Sharada and Kufic script. The new reading, *Sri Samarmiyanka*, has its origin in a Jain text and shows that the rulers of medieval Multan were influenced by and were open to the diverse religious forces in India. While Fahad’s predecessors had adopted local titles (*birudas*) from Hinduism, his newly deciphered title shows that he was influenced by Jainism and adopted a title from a Jain *Dharmic Kaha* (religious text) called *Samaraicca Kaha*, written by Haribhadra Suri in the 7th century CE. This new discovery opens up new insights about the medieval encounter of Islam with Jainism, and shows the diverse political and religious landscape that the Arab rulers of Multan had to embrace in order to establish the legitimacy of their rule.



	A	B
Silver:	77.50%	36.60%
Copper:	16.56%	61.29%

Fig. 2. Comparative metal analysis of the surface (A) and core (B) of a gadhaiya paisa

The third speaker was John Deyell, whose talk was titled ‘Shiny deception: surface enrichment in medieval Indian silver coins’. The fineness of a coin is a key determinant of its function as money. In the past, few coins were tested for their metal content, because the laboratory procedures were difficult to arrange. Nowadays, X-Ray Fluorescence (XRF) machines are commonly available in the gold trade. However, the results of XRF surface scans do not match the published laboratory results. To investigate this discrepancy, John conducted an experiment in which about 20 silver coins were cut down the middle, so that both the interior and exterior of the coins

could be scanned. It was found that analyses in the highest quintile (over 80% silver) and the lowest quintile (less than 20% silver) were fairly accurate. However, for coins between these upper and lower limits, the surface and interior results varied considerably. This talk discussed the significance of the findings, and solicited next steps that might be taken to carry the work forward.



Fig. 3. New variety of Kumaragupta III gold coin (9.56 g)

The final speaker was Ujjwal Saha, who gave a brief talk on ‘New Varieties in Gupta coinage’. The coins he presented included a new Lion Slayer type of Chandragupta II, a new *Chhatra* type coin of Kumaragupta I, and a new Archer type coin of Kumaragupta III, featuring an unusual and still unidentified object in front of the king’s face.

After the meeting, those who could repaired to our traditional Indian dinner at Bukhara Grill.

Besides the New York meeting, the Society has, over the past few years, co-hosted the annual Kochnev Seminar held every March at Hofstra University, and organised by member Aleksandr Naymark. This year’s meeting, the twelfth in the series, was held on Saturday, March 7, 2020. Once again, thanks to Ed Snible for handling the webcasting duties as all of the talks were webcast on the ONS-North America Facebook page, where they are still available for viewing.

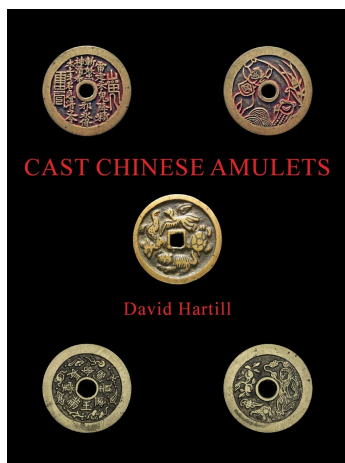
The schedule of speakers was as follows:

- Jeffry Lerner, ‘Bilingual Bricks of Ai-Khanoum’
- Pankaj Tandon, ‘Are these the earliest Greek coins of Bactria?’
- Aleksandr Naymark, ‘Sogdian miscellanea’
- Stuart Sears, ‘The Organization of Mints and Minting in the East after the Conquests’
- Michael L. Bates, ‘The Coinage of Iran under its Early Muslim Governors, 651-705’
- Waleed Ziad, ‘Brahmi on Umayyad Coppers, Kufic on Hindu Shah Coppers: Interpreting numismatic transculturation in Gandhara’
- Ann Feuerbach, ‘Anglo-Saxon Mappa Mundi: Re-examining Early Medieval Trade, Travel, and Knowledge’
- Stefan Heidemann, ‘Jacob Georg Christian Adler (1756-1834) and the Sources of His Interest in Oriental Coins’

Besides lunch and coffee breaks during the session, the speakers and audience were treated to the traditional dinner at the restaurant Chorsu Samarkanda in Brooklyn.

Pankaj Tandon

New Releases



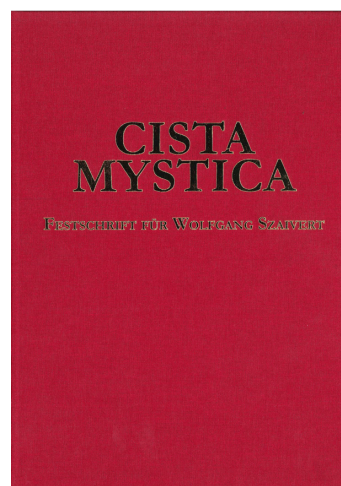
***Cast Chinese Amulets*, by David Hartill**
New Generation Publishing. 788 pp hardcover.
Available from Amazon.

For over 2,000 years, the Chinese have been producing amulets in the shape of flat metal objects, usually cast in brass or bronze, some shaped like traditional square-holed cash coins, others in a variety of fancy shapes, promising good luck in various fields, the turning away of evil influences, or conveying religious sentiments. Some have inscriptions taken from the classics of 500 BCE.

Previously, catalogues of these amulets were arranged in various different ways – by shape, size, meaning, emperor's name, or a common feature. However, this made it difficult to locate a particular piece – it would not be immediately clear to a non-expert whether a piece was 'Lucky', 'Religious', 'Family' or 'Coin'.

This catalogue is designed for ease of identification. It is divided into four sections: Openwork, Pictorial, Zodiac, and Inscriptions. Preceding the detailed catalogue for each section is a Finding Guide which is arranged by salient features, or by the first character of the inscription. There is also a section which lists inscriptions that might not be clear as they are in non-standard scripts or lay-outs. In the catalogue, there is a brief description of the piece, the inscription (if any) in Chinese characters and Pinyin, and a translation, explanation, and source.

Over 5,000 amulets are included in the catalogue. Together they provide a fascinating insight into traditional Chinese beliefs and aspirations.



Cista Mystica. Festschrift for Wolfgang Szaivert
Edited by Martin Baer, Wolfgang Fischer-Bossert, and Nikolaus Schindel
Österreichische Forschungsgesellschaft für Numismatik, c/o
Institut für Numismatik und Geldgeschichte, Universität Wien.
The price of the book is 78 €. ISBN 978-3-9504268-2-3.

On the occasion of the 70th birthday of the Austrian numismatist Wolfgang Szaivert, this festschrift contains 28 articles by friends, colleagues, and pupils. The publication has been realised thanks to generous contributions from Austrian and international coin dealers. The title *Cista Mystica* alludes to cistophoric tetradrachms, one of Wolfgang's areas of interest, as well as to the wide thematic range of this book. It contains more than 600 pages.

The following articles might be relevant to those interested in oriental numismatics:

Schriftenverzeichnis Wolfgang Szaivert (including several contributions on Sasanian coinage)

Michael Hollunder and Nikolaus Schindel, *Noch eine osmanische Petitesse* (discussing 31 Zebid akces of Sulayman I)

Robert Keck and Wolfgang Hahn, *Die administrativen Beizeichen in der aksumitischen Münzprägung – ein Erklärungsversuch* (about marks on Axumite coins)

Fabrizio Sinisi, *The last Arsacid tetradrachms* (arguing against the idea that Arsacid tetradrachms were struck after the Sasanians' victory in 224 CE)

The full table of contents can be viewed at:
<https://numismatik.univie.ac.at/forschung/publikationen/veroeffentlichungen-des-instituts-vin/vin23/>

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