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Karan Singh

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From the Editor

We cover a wide range of numismatics in this issue, ranging from Indo-Scythian bronzes and a hitherto unattributed Parataraja king, to an 18th century Japanese collection of Vietnamese coins and a Palestinian donation certificate of the 20th century.

This issue also showcases two important discoveries in South Asian numismatics: the first depiction of goddess Durga on a coin, and a well-preserved seal of the Vakataka dynasty.

It is a pleasure to inform members that most of the past issues of the journal (till Vol. 225) have been digitised and can be downloaded from: http://orientalnumismaticsociety.org/ons_journal/archive_of_the_society_journal. Mohit Kapoor and Graham Byfield deserve our thanks for making this online archive possible.

Our thanks also to Spink to have graciously sponsored the editing of the journal for 2020. I look forward to more submissions from members interested in presenting the results of their numismatic research.

Karan Singh

AN IMPORTANT NEW INDO-SCYTHIAN DISCOVERY

R.C. Senior

In my book *The Coinage of Hermaios and its Imitations Struck by the Scythians* (CHIS), I used line drawings, tables, and maps to assess the silver coinage bearing the name of Hermaios and the bronze issues associated with it. It was obvious that the combined lifetime and posthumous coinage of Hermaios was an extensive and complicated series issued over many decades, and only by listing each variety in detail could a start be made on understanding it. With such a catalogue, collectors could identify pieces in their own collections and also, more importantly, note unrecorded types, monograms and varieties to add to the corpus.

Table A shows the monograms I identified as associated with this coinage and numbers 6-42 being the identically numbered posthumous issues. No. 44 is a variant of 5.












































1		12		23		34	
2		13		24		35	
3		14		25		36	
4		15		26		37	
5		16		27		38	
6		17		28		39	
7		18		29		40	
8		19		30		41	
9		20		31		42	
10		21		32		43	
11		22		33		44	

Table A. Monograms associated with Hermaios coinage

The lifetime issues of Hermaios are:

- Issue 1: Hermaios with Calliope/ cavalier on prancing horse. Monograms 1, 3 and 4.
- Issue 2a: Amazon on prancing horse/ enthroned Zeus. Monograms 6 and 7 [drachms only known so far].
- Issues 2b-2d: Cavalier on prancing horse/ enthroned Zeus. Monograms 2, 3 and 9 [the latter known only from an Utmanzai forgery].
- Issue 3: Helmeted bust of Hermaios/ enthroned Zeus. Monograms 1, 2, 3 and 4.
- Issue 4: Diademed bust right with straight diadem ties/ enthroned Zeus. Monograms 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 and 44.

The bronze issues bearing the name of Hermaios (Issue 5) fall into two types depending upon whether the Zeus bust has rays or not. The monograms used are: 1, 3, 6, 7 and 9. The existence of monogram 9 on the Issue 2 Utmanzai forgery suggests that there is an original coin somewhere (from which it was cast), and the bronze is associated primarily with that issue 2. Some of these bronze coins are a little crude, but I suspect they all, bearing Hermaios' name, are likely to be his only lifetime bronze issues (Fig. 1).



Fig. 1. Bronze coin of Hermaios (Issue 5)

The silver issues numbered 6-42 are posthumous issues in my opinion, though 6 to 10 are 'irregular' and *could* include in their varieties some lifetime issues, especially those bearing monograms 6, 7 and 9, since we have the above bronze Issue 5 bearing those monograms. From Issue 11, the bronze denominations bearing the corresponding monograms have either the name and types of Apollodotos I or Eukratides, not Hermaios.

The following table shows the coins identified so far, though I feel sure that others exist which will make this a more complete catalogue. Finding more bronze coins of Apollodotos I type would indicate that the accompanying silver are posthumous issues. Sure enough, one such coin has now surfaced due to the eagle eye of my good friend Vincent Green (Fig. 3), and it is for Issue 8 of which we had no known bronze issue at all.

















P-H issue	Mon.	Apollodotos		EUKRATIDES			
		unit	1/2 unit	unit	1/2 unit	unit	1/2 unit
11		unit		Round Nike left	Kapisa	square	Nike right
12		unit					
17		unit					
18		unit	1/2 unit	unit			
19		unit	1/2 unit	unit		unit	
24		unit					
25		unit					
27				unit	1/2 unit		
29				unit		1/2 unit	
28				unit			unit 1/2 unit
30						unit	1/2 unit
31						unit	1/2 unit
34						unit	
38							1/2 unit
39							1/2 unit
40							unit

Table B. Bronze denominations for post-Hermaios silver issues

Issue 8 contains the only known Attic tetradrachm of Hermaios (Fig. 2) and one might have considered that it must therefore have been a lifetime issue, but on considering the style of the coin, the throne on which Zeus sits, and the fact that Zeus wears Scythian dress, I concluded it must be a posthumous issue. This is a view I repeated on page xxxi of *Indo-Scythian Coins and History*, Vol. IV Supplement (2006).



Fig. 2. The known silver issues with Issue 8 monogram

The new discovery is the bronze denomination A8:



Fig. 3. Bronze coin A8 (8.65 g, 20 mm)

This discovery firmly places Issue 8 amongst the posthumous series and has also relevance to the silver coins with this monogram, bearing the names of Menander and Amyntas as discussed in CHIS.

My thanks to Vincent Green for bringing this coin to my attention, and should any reader have other unpublished varieties to report, please contact me.

Pankaj Tandon, on his excellent website <http://coinindia.com/galleries-hermaios.html>, illustrates two such new varieties. One (ex CNG Triton XIV, Lot 437) is a lifetime issue of Issue 2, but with monogram 7 (Fig. 4), and the other, discovered by Pankaj himself, is a drachm of the early posthumous series with a hitherto unlisted monogram P that seems to be related to the monograms 5 and 44 (Fig. 5).



Fig. 4. AR drachm, 1.82 g, 17 mm, axis 12h
(Senior H2AbD proposed)



Fig. 5. AR drachm, 2.47 g, 17-19 mm, axis 12h
(Senior 44aD proposed)

Bibliography

- Senior, R.C., 2000, *The Coinage of Hermaios and Its Imitations Struck by the Scythians: A Study*, Lancaster.
- Senior, R.C., 2006, *Indo-Scythian Coins and History*, Vol. IV Supplement, Lancaster.

TENTATIVE READING OF AN UNREAD 'PĀRATARĀJA' COIN

Pankaj Tandon

In my catalogue of the coins of the Pāratārājas (2010: 15-31), I included a coin (number 75) as “an example of one other coin type that sometimes appears with other Pāratārāja coins and features the reverse swastika typical of the coins of this series.” I noted that the legend on the coin remained unread and also my belief that “this coin was issued much later than the coins discussed so far and may not even be a Pāratārāja coin at all” (*Ibid.*: 22). More examples of the type have been appearing in trade or at auction, and recently I set myself the task of seeing if the accumulation of coins was now sufficient for a reading of the legend to be possible. I was able to gather images of 25 coins, and have a tentative reading based on several examples. This note is to report on the results of my enquiry.



a. Tandon collection 653.32



b. Zeno.ru no. 108246

Fig. 1. Examples of the coin type being examined

Two examples of the type are illustrated in Figure 1. They differ in one important way: coin 1a has a legend that must be read from the inside, while coin 1b has a legend read from the outside. Of the 25 coins in my archive, five have legends that are read from the inside and 20 have legends that are read from the outside. As far as I can tell, the legends are the same on all coins, with some minor variations that I will discuss below. With that caveat, the coins can be described as follows:

Obverse: Bearded bust of king right, wearing rounded crown adorned with crescent at the brow and prominent rectangular ear-ring, diadem ends streaming behind; strands of hair arranged in ringlets protruding diagonally behind the head, all within a dotted border.

Reverse: Central swastika turning to right, Brāhmī legend around: *śrī rājño śāhi vijayapotasya*,¹ all within a dotted border.



Fig. 2. Reconstruction of the whole legend from five different coins²

Figure 2 is a reconstruction of the entire legend, drawing from five different examples of the type. Judging from the coins in my archive, it appears the reading is correct, in which case the name of the king can be taken to be Vijayapota; the meaning of this, however, is uncertain. The word *pota* in Sanskrit refers to the young of any animal. Although we do not know of its application

to the young of humans, it is tempting to speculate that that is what is intended here, so that the name would mean ‘the son of Vijaya’. Harry Falk, in an email exchange, proposed a relationship to the Avestan *pōi*, “to protect”, which would make the name a synonym of the more usual *Vijayapāla*. However, Nicholas Sims-Williams, also in an email exchange, asserted that the “development of the vowel *ō* in such a word is peculiar to Avestan” and that therefore it was unlikely to be relevant to this name. We are left therefore with considerable uncertainty as to the meaning of the name and of course cannot rule out that an alternative reading is necessary.

a. CNG e145.144	b. Karan Singh collection	c. Ashmolean 0036285	d. Waleed Ziad

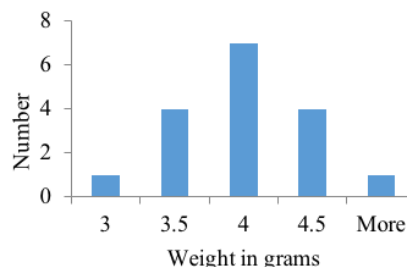
Fig. 3. Examples of the ‘o’ diacritic on the letter ‘pa’

It is tempting to read the legend as *vijaymitasya*. However, on no coin is an *i* diacritic clearly visible on the letter following the *ya*, while on four coins, two of which use the same reverse die, the *o* diacritic on the letter is very clear; this is illustrated in Figure 3. On two other coins, there appears to be an *o* diacritic, although it is not as clear. Also, *ma* and *pa* both seem possible readings of the consonant; *vijayamota* appears to be a less sensible reading than *vijayapota*. The following letter, being read as *ta*, could conceivably be *na*; *ga* could be thought of as another possibility, but can be ruled out because of a clear vertical connector between the top line and the lower one on several coins.

Since none of these alternatives seem to provide a more plausible reading, I have chosen *Vijayapota* as the likely name. We cannot, of course, rule out the possibility of two different legends, although this seems unlikely. Nor can we rule out the possibility of an unfamiliar, non-Indian suffix to *vijaya*. The Appendix provides photographs of all 25 coins in my archive in order to assist researchers in exploring the reading.

Metrology

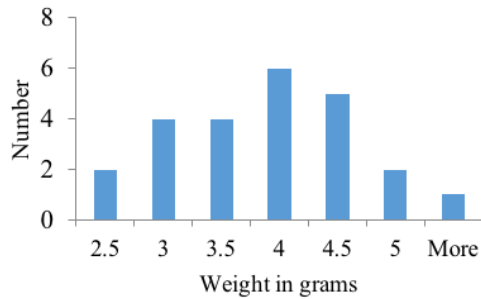
Of the 25 coins in my archive of images, I have the weights for 17 of them. The average weight is 3.75 g, although the spread is quite great; the lightest coin weighs 2.7 g and the heaviest 5.00 g. Nevertheless, a look at the distribution of weights (see Graph A) shows no indication of multiple denominations; there is a clear mode in the interval between 3.50 and 4.00 g, so the average of 3.75 g seems very representative. The target weight at the mint may have been a little higher, with wear and tear then accounting for the variation in the observed weights.



Graph A. Distribution of coin weights in the sample

By way of comparison, I looked at the weights of the didrachms of Datayola II, the last known Pāratārāja, who ruled c. 280-300 CE. The average weight of the 24 coins of this king in my collection is 3.60 g, with a minimum of 2.40 g and a maximum of 5.08 g. Figure 5 shows a histogram of the weights. We see that the spread is a little greater than the coins of Vijayapota, but the two distributions are otherwise quite similar, and the averages of 3.60 g versus 3.75 g are also not that different. It

would be reasonable therefore to identify the Vijayapota coins also as didrachms.



Graph B. Distribution of coin weights for Datayola II

Dating the coins

There are two features in the design of the coins that help to date them. The first is the presence of the crescent on the brow of the king. This was a feature introduced by the Sasanian emperor Yazdgird I (ruled 399-420) and we can therefore be quite sure that the Vijayapota coins date from after c. 400 CE. It would be impossible to imagine him having introduced a feature that the Sasanian emperor imitated. See Figure 4a for a drachm of Yazdgird illustrating the crescent on the crown.

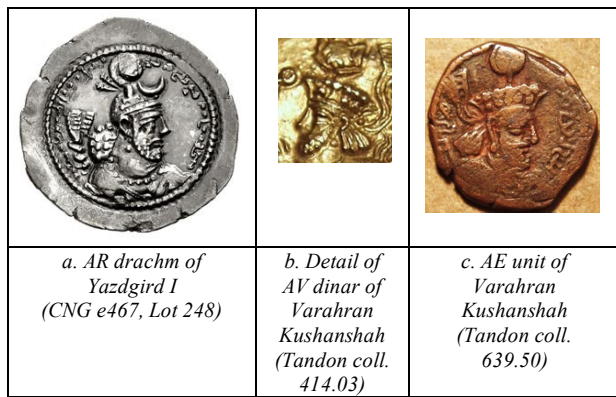


Fig. 4. Coins that help to date the Vijayapota coins

The second feature of the coins that helps to date them is the treatment of the hair. As we see in the photographs, the Vijayapota coins have an unusual representation of the hair, streaming out from under the diadem behind the ear in radial lines rather than the traditional bunches. This representation of the hair was introduced, as far as I can tell, by the Kushano-Sasanian king Varahran, who ruled after Shahpur II (ruled 309-379) and so would be slightly earlier or roughly contemporary with Yazdgird I. Coins b and c in Figure 4 show the detail from a gold dinar and the obverse of a copper unit of Varahran Kushanshah, in which we see the rather unusual treatment of the hair. Thus, a dating of the Vijayapota coins to early in the 5th century seems consistent with the two rather unique design features on the coinage.

Who was Vijayapota?

Having established fairly confidently a date for these coins, we can begin to ask the question of who exactly this king was. In the trade, his coins are referred to as Pāratārāja coins and are said to be found with other coins of that series. The presence of the swastika as the central device on the reverse certainly suggests this identification. Also, sources in the trade almost universally say that the coins are found in the Loralai area, the same place where the coins of the Pāratārājas are predominantly found.³ So both of these factors argue that Vijayapota may well have been a Pāratārāja. Against this, however, are several other factors. Firstly, the coin legend does not identify him as such. Most of the (other) known coins of the Pāratārājas bear legends that state

that the king belonged to the tribe; a typical legend would announce the name of the king, followed by his patronymic, followed by his title *Pāratārāja*. That title is notably absent on these coins. Secondly, the last known Pāratārāja coins are of the king Datayola II, who can be dated to c. 280-300. Thus, the Vijayapota coins date from more than a century later and it would be natural to wonder whether a dynasty caught between great powers such as the Sasanians and the Kushano-Sasanians could have maintained itself while issuing no coins for a century. Thirdly, the name Vijayapota does not show any affinity to the names used by the Pārata kings.

Given the fact that there are factors that argue both sides of this question, none of which can be refuted, I have to conclude that it is impossible to identify Vijayapota with any degree of certainty. The most likely possibility, however, is that he was a scion of the remnants of the Pārata dynasty, a dynasty which had fallen on hard times by the end of the 4th century and perhaps enjoyed a brief recovery a century later. Certainly, the prominent swastika and the Loralai find spot argue strongly for this conclusion. The lack of affinity to the names of other Pārata kings could be explained by the fact that the dynasty, which already showed some Indian influence in the names Arjuna and Bhimarjuna, had become increasingly Indianised. No other dynasty presents itself as a real possibility. Remember that at this time the Sasanians had taken possession of Sind and were issuing coins there, so Vijayapota must have been a local ruler who somehow managed to avoid Sasanian domination and maintain his Indian identity. It is worth noting that the two titles present on the coin, *rājño* and *śāhi*, are consistent with titles known to have been used by the Pāratārājas. Of course, all their coins identify them as *rāja*. In addition, the title *śāhi* is known to have been used by Yolamira on at least one known coin and on potsherds found at Loralai by Aurel Stein.⁴ Further, the metrology of the coins seems to be quite close to the coins of Datayola II, the last known Pāratārāja.

I therefore come to the tentative conclusion that Vijayapota was indeed a Pāratārāja, or belonged to a successor dynasty that drew much of its inspiration from the Pāratārājas. However, we must await further information before we can reach a definite conclusion on this enigmatic king.

Acknowledgements

I wish to thank Shailendra Bhandare for a helpful online discussion of the legend reading discussed here and for providing me with images of the coins in the Ashmolean Museum, and David Kaplan, Bhushan Kapadia, Wilfried Pieper, and Karan Singh for sharing images and thoughts with me. Thanks are also due to Harry Falk and Nicholas Sims-Williams for email exchanges on the meaning of the name revealed in the legend on this coin. I remain responsible for any errors contained in this paper.

References

1. When I put out an appeal on Facebook for images of this coin type, Shailendra Bhandare responded with a partial reading: *śrī rājño* (or *rājñāh*) *śāhi vijaya.....sya*. Although I had seen most of these letters on the coins, I had not yet attempted to put them together as he had.
2. The five coins from which the images are taken are, in order: Tandon collection 701.37 (ex-CNG e246.200), Zeno.ru no. 108246, Aman ur Rahman collection x46, Waleed Ziad collection, and Tandon collection 477.09.
3. For example, Karan Singh, in an email message, informed me that coins 18 and 19 in the Appendix had appeared in the market along with a coin of Koziya and another of Datayola II; all the coins had the same patina, suggesting that they had indeed been found together.
4. See Tandon, *op. cit.*, coin 4 and the discussion around that coin on p. 17.

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Tandon, P., 2010, 'The Coins of the Pāratārājas: A Synthesis', *Supplement to the Journal of the Oriental Numismatic Society 205 (Autumn 2010): A Seminar on the Occasion of the 100th Anniversary of the Numismatic Society of India*, pp. 15-31.

Appendix: Reverse images of all Vijayapota coins in the author's archive

				
1. Tandon 477.08	2. Tandon 477.09	3. Tandon 649.39	4. Tandon 653.32	5. Tandon 653.65
				
6. Tandon 701.37	7. AurRahman x01	8. AurRahman x46	9. AurRahman x055	10. Ashmolean 0036285
				
11. Ashmolean 0036286	12. Ashmolean 0036287	13. CNG e145.144	14. Bhushan Kapadia 1	15. Bhushan Kapadia 2
				
16. Bhushan Kapadia 3	17. Karan Singh 1	18. Karan Singh 2	19. VAuctions 31.488	20. Waleed Ziad
				
21. Wilfried Pieper	22. Zeno 14367	23. Zeno 27630	24. Zeno 97942	25. Zeno 108246

SEAL OF VĀKĀṬAKA KING PṚITHIVĪṢEṆA II DISCOVERED

Amol Bankar and Ashoksingh Thakur

In July 2020, an important copper seal of the Vākāṭaka dynasty was discovered at Gojoli village in Gondpipri sub-district of Chandrapur district, Maharashtra (coordinates: 19°43'N 79°41'E). The seal was discovered by local newspaper reporter Nilesh Zade at the house of Ranjit Urande. Considering the importance of this find, it was reported in the local newspapers, which in turn alerted the Department of Archaeology and Museums, Maharashtra. Despite the difficulties caused by the Covid-19 pandemic, the seal was acquired by the department for further preservation.



Fig. 1. Recently-discovered seal of PṚithivīṣeṇa II
(photo courtesy Ashoksingh Thakur)

The seal is of copper alloy, oval, and well-preserved. Its weight is 67.42 g, and it is 8.5 x 7.5 cm in size. The edges of the seal are bent to make a rim 2 mm thick, that provides strength to the seal and prevents it from bending. There is a hole in the centre of the seal. It appears that to facilitate its use, a metal handle was soldered to the seal at this point. But this handle has since been lost, leaving behind the hole.¹

The engraving on the seal is beautiful and precise. Four lines of Sanskrit inscription, in 'box-headed' Brāhmī script, are incised on the seal in the negative. The transliteration in Devanagari and English are as follows:

नरेन्द्रसेनसत्सूनोः	<i>narendrasenasatsūnoḥ</i>
भर्तुर्व्याकाटकश्रियः	<i>bhartturvvākāṭakaśriyah</i>
प्रिथिवीषेनो(णो)नृपते[र*]	<i>prithivīṣeno(ṇo)nṛpate[r*]²</i>
जिगीषोर्जयशासनं	<i>jigīṣorjjayaśāsanam</i>

The inscription can be translated as:

'This is the victorious order belonging to PṚithivīṣeṇa, good son of Narendrasena, lord/ protector/ husband of the royal fortune (*śrī*) of the Vākāṭakas and the king eager for conquests.'

Above the inscription, there is a seated figure of a goddess (discussed below), with two annulets/ circles and wavy lines emanating from her that bracket the inscription.

Writing style

Vākāṭaka king PṚithivīṣeṇa II (c. 475-495 CE) was the son of Narendrasena and grandson of Pravarasena II. Four copper-plate grants of PṚithivīṣeṇa II are known so far, discovered at Mahurjhari, Balaghat and Mandhal (two copper plates with RY 2 and RY 10). Among these, only the Mandhal copper plates (RY 2 and RY 10) have circular seals (diameter 8.3 cm and 8.4 cm respectively) fastened to hold the plates together (Kolte 1972: 184). A flat disc of copper measuring 6 cm was found fastened to the Balaghat plates, but it was uninscribed (Mirashi 1963: 32). The palaeography and text of the inscription on the present seal is very similar to that on the Mandhal copper plates (Shastri 1989, 159-160; 1997: pl. LXIX-LXII).



Fig. 2. Eye copy of the inscription

The inscription on the seal is composed in the *anuṣṭubh* metre. The characters are engraved in the box-headed (*peṭikāśīrṣaka*) variety of the southern style, which is found fully-developed during the Vākāṭaka period. The principle characteristic of this script is a square head mark with the letters moulded into peculiarly rectangular forms. Punctuation marks, such as those for *visarga* and *anusvara*, are used in the inscription, and lines are separated by very small spaces. As the inscription is engraved in negative, this seal was probably used for stamping impressions on soft clay or other objects.³



Fig. 3. Positive impression of the goddess on the seal

Iconographic details of goddess Śrī

Above the inscription, the seal carries an image of Śrī, who is identified in the inscription as *Vākātaka Śrī* or ‘the personification of wealth and prosperity of the Vākātaka kingdom’. The goddess is seated facing on a stylised lotus in *padmāsana*, holding a lotus blossom or a bunch of water lilies in her right hand, with her left hand resting on her lap. Though her image is small, it is well-engraved and one can make out that the goddess is wearing large earrings, armlets, and a necklace, with her head adorned by a crown or hairstyle familiar in Vākātaka art. The depiction of goddess Śrī is probably inspired by the coinage of the Guptas.

The purpose of the two round dots flanking the image of Śrī, and the wavy line connecting them, remains unknown. But these might represent ties of a string that would have bound the cloth on which an order would be inscribed.

Historical background

Prīthivīṣeṇa II’s grandfather Pravarasena II (c. 422-457 CE) was the grandson of Gupta emperor Chandragupta II and was well-known from his copper-plate inscriptions. In the second half of the sixth decade of the fifth century, Narendrasena succeeded his father Pravarasena II to the throne of the Eastern Vākātakas.

King Narendrasena is described as “one whose commands were implicitly honoured by the rulers of Kosalā, Mekhalā, and Mālava” (*kosala - mekalo - mālav - ādhipatibhir - abhyarcita - śāsanasya...śrī narendrasenasya*). According to Bakker, Narendrasena married one of his daughters to Vyāghradeva of Uccalpa dynasty and another daughter to Mādhavarman II of Viṣṇukūṇḍina dynasty (Bakker 1997: 49-52). Narendrasena is known to have married Ajjitabhāṭṭārikā, the daughter of the ‘Lord of Kuṅṭala’ (*kuntalādhipati-sutāyāmmahādevyā*).

Prīthivīṣeṇa II was the son born from this marriage. He professed to be a devout Vaiṣṇava (*atyanta-bhāgavata*), declaring himself “a great devotee of the Lord, a store, as it were, of energy and forbearance”. Three inscriptions discovered in Madhya Pradesh – two from Nācane-kī-talāi and one from Gaṅja – refer to the reign of the Uccalpa Mahārāja Vyāghradeva (470-490 CE), who was married to Prīthivīṣeṇa II’s sister and had acknowledged the overlordship of the Vākātakas in the Bundelkhand region (Mirashi 1963: 82-92). These inscriptions are written in the box-headed variety of Brāhmī script. Prīthivīṣeṇa II’s return to the religion of his Gupta great-grandparents by placing Vākātaka kingship once again ‘under the gracious protection of the Lord (*bhagavata*) whose emblem is the *cakra*’, becomes iconographically visible in the two stone inscriptions at Nācane-kī-talāi and Gaṅja (Bakker 1997: 49-52).

During the reign of Prīthivīṣeṇa II, the Vākātaka kingdom began to decline. He faced intrusions from the Nala kings of Bastar; King Bhavadattavarman ousted Prīthivīṣeṇa II from his capital and ruled proudly from Nandivardhana in about 493 CE (Bakker 1997: 55). Bhavadattavarman’s Riddhapur copper-plates (Gupte 1983: 101-104) record that this charter was made during a pilgrimage of the king and his wife to Prayāga (on the confluence of the Gangā and Yamunā rivers), but it was issued from Nandivardhana. In the same year, Vākātaka suzerainty in Bundelkhand came to an end, as suggested by the use of the Gupta era by Prīthivīṣeṇa II’s nephew Jayanātha in his inscriptions (GE 174 = 493 CE).



Fig. 4. Map showing the find spots of the copper plates and inscriptions discussed in this article © Google Earth

The importance of this discovery

A number of literary references attest to the use of royal seals for various purposes. According to *Yājñavalkya*, a king's orders must bear the stamp of his seal as proof of their validity (Thaplyal 2008: 2). The custom of a new king adopting a new seal is reflected in the *Harṣacarita* of Bana, which describes a scene of Harṣa launching a punitive expedition (Verma 1983: 2-3). On the banks of river Sarasvatī, a village record-keeper or *Grāmākṣpatalika* approaches Harṣa with his retinue of clerks and requests the king to issue commands by presenting him with a golden seal with a bull symbol and a ball of wet clay (idem). The Chinese pilgrim Xuanzang procured letters from Harṣa addressed to the rulers of the countries through which he planned to pass during his return to China. These letters, written on fine cotton cloth, were authenticated with the seal of Harṣa (idem). It appears that after a new king's coronation, he would adopt a new seal of his own (idem), and the seals of his predecessor would be destroyed. However, the present seal has survived, perhaps accidentally.

This seal is a welcome addition to our sigillographic knowledge of the Vākātakas, which includes a newly-discovered terracotta sealing of Pravarasena II from Kālāñjara fort (Bankar: forthcoming) and a sealing with the name of regent queen Prabhāvatī Guptā (ruled as regent 405-419 CE; died 449 CE?) from the Nagardhan excavation (Dandekar et al 2018: 43-48).

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1. Another explanation could be that the seal may have been reused by attaching it to a copper-plate charter (Bakker: personal communication).
2. Shastri conjectures *h*, which is maybe not the correct *sandhi* form, but these are often not applied between *padas* and here we are at the end of a line, so the *visarga* is justifiable (Bakker: personal communication).
3. This reinforces the suggestion that the seal may have originally had another function, but was later attached to a copper-plate and pierced in the middle for that purpose (Bakker: personal communication).

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THE FIRST NUMISMATIC DEPICTION OF DURGA

Karan Singh

In the divine pantheon of Hinduism, the goddess Durga occupies a special position as the embodiment of female *shakti* (cosmic energy), fighting against evil demons. Her *vahana* (vehicle) is the lion, and she is depicted with many arms – anywhere from two to twenty – holding a multitude of weapons (Agrawala 1958: 124-127). Her most popular depiction, especially in eastern India, is in the *Mahishasura Mardini* form, where she is shown slaying the demon Mahishasura (half-human, half-buffalo) at her feet. According to the 7th century CE Hindu text *Markandeya Purana*, Mahishasura received a boon that he could not be killed by a god or by a man, so when he terrorised the world, goddess Durga emerged to destroy him (Desai 1968: 3-4).

It will therefore come as a surprise to numismatists that despite the many sculptural examples of the goddess in the early medieval period (see Fig. 5), no coins depicting Durga have so far been documented.

I will hereby publish the first numismatic depiction of Durga as *Mahishasura Mardini* to be discovered. These coins were issued by a single ruler in two different types: one in silver and the other in copper. The find spot of these coins is Prakasha in north Maharashtra, along the Gujarat border.

Type I



Fig. 1. Silver dramma, c. 0.5 g (KS)

Obverse: Goddess Durga standing, slaying demon in the shape of a recumbent buffalo left

Reverse: Nagari legend in two lines
sri ka na (da)
stha li sya

Type II

In copper, there appear to be two denominations: the full unit weighing around 0.66-0.80 g and a half denomination of 0.36 g.



Fig. 2. Copper unit, 0.66 g (PJ)

Obverse: Goddess Durga standing, slaying demon in the shape of a recumbent buffalo left

Reverse: Crescent at top; Nagari legend in two lines
x ka na da
x li? x



Fig. 3. Copper half unit, 0.36 g (KS)

Obverse: Goddess Durga standing with head right, slaying demon in the shape of a recumbent buffalo left

Reverse: Traces of Nagari legend in two lines
sri ka na (da)
x li sya

The Nagari legend is the same on all three coins. The script is paleographically datable to the 9th century and is from the region around Mumbai (Harry Falk: personal communication). The first letter on the second line is a conjunct *akshara* that can be read as *stha* (see Fig. 4), though Falk prefers to read this as *sthu* (personal communication).



Conjunct letter highlighted from Fig. 1 'stha'

Fig. 4. Comparison of the conjunct letter with 'stha' ('sthi' with 'i' diacritic removed, from Dani 1963: pl. XVIIb, no. 12; my thanks to John Deyell for this visual comparison)

The legend can therefore be read tentatively as *sri kanaḍasthalisya*, the meaning of which we will discuss later.

The female deity seen on the obverse is clearly Durga. Compare her posture with the four-armed goddess in the sculpture below (Fig. 5). The angled position of the buffalo here also matches that seen on the coins. In fact, the sculpture shows the goddess holding Mahishasura by the tail, and this is exactly what the goddess is shown doing on the present coins too.



Fig. 5. Statue of Durga as Mahishasura Mardini, slaying the demon that she holds by the tail, in Cave 1 of the Badami cave temples (6th century) (PM)

Iconographic development of Durga

Part of the explanation for the absence till now of Durga from our numismatic record is that her sculptural iconography developed later than that of goddess Lakshmi. Durga is seen on terracotta and stone plaques and statues from the 1st century CE onwards (Handa 2011: 90), but she reached her current form only around the 8th century (Seshadri 1963: 1-28).

We do have glimpses of Durga’s attributes in the centuries leading up to this period. The easiest way to identify Durga is that her *vahana* is a lion. The earliest examples of a goddess on a lion are the rare Kushan gold coins that show Nana seated on a lion (see Fig. 6).



Fig. 6. Gold dinar of Huvishka with Nana seated on a lion, 7.91 g (Göbl 359) (SA)

Nana was a Babylonian-Iranian deity (Azarpay 1976: 536-537), so this Kushan depiction is certainly not Durga. But it probably provided the seed of a numismatic idea that circulated within the multi-cultural Kushan empire. For the first Indian indigenous depiction on a coin of a goddess seated on a lion, we have to wait another two centuries till the Gupta empire (see Fig. 7).



Fig. 7. Gold dinar of Chandragupta II with goddess seated astride a roaring lion (Kumar Class III, Variety A.7) (KS)

The deity in Fig. 7 can be considered as proto-Durga, an early form of the goddess in the 4th century with some of the attributes that we may recognise today. The iconography here is still at an early stage, with the goddess not carrying any weapons. In fact, the Gupta mint-masters may not have thought of her as a separate deity, just *Sri* Lakshmi seated on a lion. But this does provide us a hint of the numismatic path that eventually leads to the fully-developed form of Durga by the 9th century, seen on the present three coins.



Fig. 8. Close-up of goddess Durga from Fig. 3

Attribution of Sri Kanaḍasthalisya

In the early medieval period, north Maharashtra had a well-established numismatic tradition of small denomination coins weighing around 0.5 g (Fishman and Todd 2018: 386-393), so the coins of *Sri Kanaḍasthalisya* fit right into this. A direct comparison can be made with the silver *drammas* of Kalachuri king Kalahasila (Fig. 9).



Fig. 9. Silver drammas of Kalahasila with circular Brahmi legend 'Sri Kalahasila' (Fishman and Todd U5.1) (KS)



Sri Kalahasila Sri Kanaḍasthalisya

Fig. 10. Comparison of letters between the two issues

If one compares the three *aksharas* – *sri*, *ka* and *la* – that are common to Kalahasila and *Sri Kanaḍasthalisya*, we find that *sri* and *la* are similar in both issues (Figs. 10a and 10c). But the angular *ka* seen in *Sri Kanaḍasthalisya* (Fig. 10b) indicates that the present coins can be dated slightly later than Kalahasila’s coins.

The issuer of the *Sri Kanaḍasthalisya* coins was probably a feudatory of the later Rashtrakutas. The find spot of these coins, Prakasha, is also where the silver *drammas* of the Rashtrakutas are found with a boar on obverse (Fishman and Todd 2018: RA7-RA8). Shailendra Bhandare (private communication) suggests the *Sri Kanaḍasthalisya* coins may instead have been Gujarat issues of a Gurjara-Pratihara feudatory, as coins of south Gujarat/ Kathiawar are found in north Maharashtra. However, the discovery of the Type II copper coins (Fig. 2-3) strengthens the view that these were issued locally in north Maharashtra, as copper coins do not travel much in trade.

Interestingly, the legend *Sri Kanaḍasthalisya* is not the name of a person; it means ‘of the place of the Kanaḍa people’. This may refer either to a place in Maharashtra that was called Kanaḍasthala, i.e. a place populated by the Kannada people, or it may refer to the homeland of the Kannada people. Since no such place-name Kanaḍasthala is recorded, these coins throw up the intriguing possibility that, in the 9th century, the region

around Mumbai may have been populated by Kannada people and saw itself as part of greater Karnataka. The attribution cannot be determined any further at this stage.

Conclusion

The coins of *Sri Kanaḍasthalisya* are incredibly rare. I have recorded just three copper specimens (Type II), while Type I is known by only one, so far unique, silver specimen.

This new discovery once again highlights the link between numismatic designs and sculptural motifs prevalent at the time. It is interesting to note the red deposits on the silver coin (Fig. 1), indicating the use of *sindoor* (vermilion). This specimen was perhaps used as a votive piece after circulation, due to the presence of the deity on it.

So why did a local feudatory issue coins depicting goddess Durga? It is possible that there was an important religious centre in his territory that had a Durga temple, so the issuer may have wished to use the goddess' image to legitimise his coinage. Or these coins may have been issued by a temple itself. Even today, there are several important Durga temples in north Maharashtra, at Saptashrungi and Patnadevi for instance. But whether any of these existed in the 9th century needs to be researched further.

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Sources of images

KS	Karan Singh collection
PJ	Prakash Jinjuvadiya
PM	Projit Mondol
SA	Stephen Album Rare Coins

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UNTOLD HISTORY OF 'ALI BIN MARDAN REVEALED FROM HIS COINS

S.M. Iftekhhar Alam

After the unsuccessful Tibet expedition by Ikhtiyar al-Din Muhammad Bakhtiyar Khalji, he was murdered on 18 March, 1206 CE (6th of *Sha'ban*, AH 602) at Deokot, allegedly by Rukn al-Din 'Ali bin Mardan, one of his three principal lieutenants (Hussain 2003: 16). 'Ali bin Mardan was captured and imprisoned in Barsala (in the Ghoraghat region) by Muhammad Shiran Khalji, who was in charge of the south-western region of Bakhtiyar's dominion. 'Ali bin Mardan was kept in confinement under a *kotwal* (Persian word *kotwal*, كوتوال means a person in charge of security of a city or town) named Baba Safahani (صفاهاني) ('Umar-i-Uthman 1983: 45). But 'Ali bin Mardan managed to escape from imprisonment soon afterwards by convincing Baba and was eventually appointed the governor of Lakhnauti by the Delhi sultan, Qutb al-Din Aibak, probably in the first half of AH 606 or a little earlier. Some time later, 'Ali bin Mardan rebelled in Bengal and took the title of sultan. His first coins (Fig. 1) were struck from Bengal in *Ramadan* AH 606 which corresponds to February-March 1210 CE. However, it is not known whether Aibak tried to suppress this rebellion.



Fig. 1. Silver tanka of 'Ali bin Mardan, 26.5 mm, 10.7 g (SM)

Obverse: Horseman advancing to left, holding a mace; Arabic legend on margin, starting from 9 o'clock and counter-clockwise:

لا إله إلا الله محمد رسول الله بتاريخ رمضان سنة ست و ستمائة

Reverse legend within a dotted circle:

السلطان
المعظم ركن
الدنيا و الدين أبو
المظفر علي بن
مردان

When Qutb al-Din Aibak died in November 1210 (*Jamadi* 1st-*Jamadi* 2nd, AH 607) without a son as heir, the Khalji Maliks split into two groups when selecting the next sultan (Ali 1985: 77). One group chose Aram Shah, a so-called adopted son of Aibak, for the throne in Lahore, while the other group nominated Shams al-Din Iltutmish, son-in-law of Aibak and the governor of Badayun, for the Delhi throne. Iltutmish had to deal with the opposing group and by 1212 CE (AH 608/609) was able to establish his full control on the Delhi sultanate by subduing all his rivals (Ali 1985: 83).

Iltutmish was too preoccupied in fighting his rivals at Delhi to pay much attention to Bengal, a far-flung region being ruled by a rebel, 'Ali bin Mardan. But did 'Ali bin Mardan continue to rebel against the new Delhi sultan and strike coins in his own name in subsequent years? The recent discovery of a coin (Fig. 2) in the name of Iltutmish, struck by 'Ali bin Mardan in Bengal in AH 607, provides a possible answer to this question.



Fig. 2. Silver tanka, 28 mm, 10.7 g, two photos taken in different light (SA)

Obverse: Inside a dotted and a solid circle a horse galloping left, with the horseman holding a sword in his right hand, the halter in his left hand and a bow attached to the back of the horse. The legend on the margin starting from 3 o'clock, counter-clockwise:

لا إله إلا الله محمد رسول الله بتاريخ ذو القعدة سبع و ستمائة

Reverse legend in a plain area:

ملك البر و البحر شمس الدنيا و (الدين)
أبو المظفر التتمش القطبي
برهان أمير
المؤمنين

*Malik al-barr wa al-bahr shams al-duniya wa (al-din)
abu al-muzaffar iltutmish al-qutbi
burhan amir
al-mu'minin*

(King of land and sea, sun of the world and [the religion], father of the victor, Iltutmish the *qutbi*, leader of the faithful by proof)

It may be noted here that on the obverse, between *muhammad* and *rasul* there is an extra part of *rasul* written as *rasu* (رسو), which is obviously a mistake by the engraver. A big area at the top of the reverse has been left empty, whereas *al-din* (after *shams al-duniya wa*) has fallen outside the flan for lack of space. This could have been easily avoided by rearranging the scripts, as more than necessary area has been used for the last two lines (*burhan amir/ al-mu'minin*) besides the empty space at the top. Also, there is a bigger than usual space between *dhu'l qa'dah* and *saba'* on the obverse.

A careful examination of the coin reveals that the surface of the flan is uneven, with traces of previous scripts and the front leg of a horse galloping right is lying just at the exact position of the tail of the present horse. That means this coin was over-struck on the flan of an earlier coin.

All the above matters indicate that this coin was struck hurriedly at short notice in a situation where some coins showing allegiance to Iltutmish were necessary without delay. And this coin, dated *Dhu al-qa'dah* AH 607, was struck within five to six months of Iltutmish's ascension of the throne of Delhi when he was dealing with multiple adversaries and subduing his rivals gradually. Issuing coins in the name of Iltutmish, describing him as the "king of land and sea" and refraining from striking coins in his own name in the subsequent years of AH 607 and 608, prove that 'Ali bin Mardan did not want to take the risk of angering this mighty Turkish Malik; instead he waited to see Iltutmish's attitude towards Bengal. The fact that Iltutmish did

not proceed to Bengal for two years might have given ‘Ali bin Mardan an impression of the Delhi sultan’s leniency towards Bengal. So after a pause of two years, ‘Ali once again issued coins in his own name in the month of *Ramadan* AH 609 (Fig. 3).



Fig. 3. Silver tanka, 27 mm, 10.7 g (RI)

Obverse: Horseman advancing to left, holding a mace; Arabic legend on margin, starting from 3 o’clock and counter-clockwise:

لا إله إلا الله محمد رسول الله بتاريخ رمضان (سنة) تسع (و) ستمائة

Reverse legend:

السلطان
المعظم
ركن الدنيا و الدين
أبو المظفر علي
مردان

But issuing independent coins in ‘Ali’s name proved to be a miscalculation, as he was finally killed by Iwad Khalji and discontented nobles in 1213 CE (AH 609/610), perhaps with the tacit consent and support of Iltutmish (Ali 1985: 78).

Acknowledgement

I wish to thank Robiul Islam for providing the good quality picture in Figure 3.

Source of Images

RI Robiul Islam
SA S.M. Iftekhar Alam
SM Shah Muntasin Mujtaba

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MAMLUK COPPER COINS FROM DAMASCUS WITH AN INTERWOVEN TRIANGLE DESIGN: AN UPDATE

Warren C. Schultz

In *The Coinage of the Mamluk Sultans of Egypt and Syria* (1964), Paul Balog identified four copper coin types which featured a design of an interwoven triangle on both sides. These types date from the second half of the 8th century *hijrī*, during which the sultanate was held by many descendants of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Qalāwūn (ruled AH 693-694, 698-708, and 709-741). The first of these types, number 374, was linked to *fulūs* minted in Damascus in AH 762, the last year of the second reign of Sultan al-Nāṣir Ḥasan (ruled AH 748-752 and 755-762). Balog described the central design as a “field divided by a triangle with interwoven sides, into three peripheral segments and a small central area” (Balog 1964: 200), as illustrated in Figure 1.



Fig. 1. Type 374 (Balog 1964: 200)

Obverse: In the segments, clockwise:
 السلطان الملك الناصر
 Centre: حسن
 Reverse: In the segments, clockwise:
 دمشق سنة | اثنين وستين | و سبعمائة
 Centre: ضرب

The design of the remaining three types, numbers 388-390 – one each from the three years of the reign of the next sultan, al-Manṣūr Muḥammad (ruled AH 762-764) – were described in the same words as type 374 (Balog 1964: 204-205). Six years later, in his ‘The Coinage of the Mamluk Sultans of Egypt and Syria: Additions and Corrections’ (1970), Balog identified another type with a similar design, a *fals* of al-Ashraf Sha’bān (AH 764-778), who followed al-Manṣūr Muḥammad to the throne. This type was also minted in Damascus. Balog described the main design found on both sides as a “triangle, in which a central circle” (Balog 1970: 143). Balog assigned this type number 459A, immediately after the two copper coin types from Damascus listed for this sultan in *CMSES*. In addition, he read the coin’s partial date as AH 77x, with only the century and the decade of the year visible. While it is true that the sides of the triangles are not interwoven, the design is essentially the same as types 374 and 388-390, as can be seen in Figure 2.

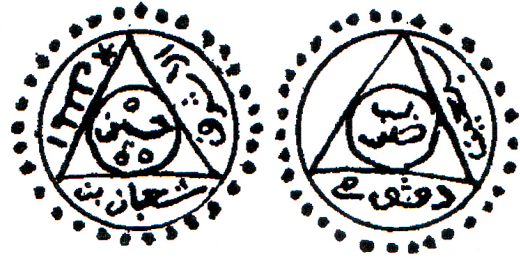


Fig. 2. Type 459A (Balog 1970: 143)

Obverse: In the segments, clockwise:
 الملك * | الاشرف | شعبان بن
 Centre: حسين
 Reverse: In the segments, clockwise:
 دمشق في | سنة . . . | سبعين
 Centre: ضرب

In the *Checklist of Islamic Coins* (2011), Stephen Album described the Syrian copper coinage of these three sultans as common (Album 2011: 113). As such, specimens of the types 374, 388-390, and 459A would not require additional attention here if it were not for two observations. The first is that variants of types 374 and 388-390 do exist. One set of variants feature a dot in the corners of the triangle. I first observed examples of dots on some specimens of all four types ten years ago when studying the Mamluk coins preserved in the Ahli Bank Numismatic Museum in Amman, Jordan, and have seen several more since then. Balog was unaware of this variant, even though the cast of the coin type 389 found in the volume’s plates featured these dots. That particular coin is British Museum Collection number 574 (Balog 1964: pl. XV). While also not mentioned in his description, these dots are also found on the 459A specimen cited by Balog, as seen in the illustration provided (Balog 1970: pl. XXXII). Furthermore, I have recently examined three additional examples of 459A in a private collection (18 mm, 3.24 g; 20x17 mm, 3.87 g; and 17 mm, 2.84 g), and all three feature the dots. I have little doubt that a re-examination of coins with this interwoven triangle design in public and private collections will reveal additional examples of the dotted variants hiding in plain sight.

The second observation is more significant, however. The first four types fall in chronological order over three years: types 374 and 388 in AH 762, which was the last year of al-Nāṣir Ḥasan’s reign as well as the first year of al-Manṣūr Muḥammad’s; type 389 in AH 763; and type 390 in AH 764. As mentioned above, however, the type 459A of al-Ashraf Sha’bān was missing its year digit, and the decade was read by Balog as 70. I find this reading suspect – it would have us believe that this triangle design resurfaced in AH 770 (at the earliest), i.e. at least six years after the design was previously used. It is thus significant that two of the three specimens of type 459A mentioned above clearly bear the year AH 765. One of these is illustrated in Figure 3. Unfortunately, but all too commonly, the date is off flan on a third of these coins.



Fig. 3. Specimen of a Type 459A fals of al-Ashraf Sha'bān, dated AH 765 (18 mm, 3.24 g)

The legends on the side of this coin, featuring the sultan's name and title (Fig. 3), are the same as on Balog's specimen. The reading of the mint and date side of this coin is as follows:

In the central circle, the word *duriba* with the final *bā'* written above the first two letters:

ب
ضر

In the segments, clockwise starting from the segment below the central circle:

دمشق سنة / خمس و ستين / و سبعماية

The arrangement of the legend in the segments differs from the example of 459A cited by Balog by providing all three digits of the date. Upon closer examination of his 459a specimen via the plates in 'Additions and Corrections', I think the reading of AH 77x on Balog's specimen of type 459A should be corrected to AH 7xx.

Thus, the date linked to type 459A should be AH 765 as per these new examples. This correction results in the conclusion that there was a series of copper coins minted in Damascus from AH 762-765 which shared the same design and overlapped the reigns of three successive sultans. Finally, since the next example of a dated copper coin of Damascus, with a very different design, from later in the reign of al-Ashraf Sha'bān is from AH 770 (type 454, Balog 1964: 220), it is possible that coins with this interwoven triangle design with dates post-765 and pre-770 may also exist.

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THE *TOZAI SENPU* COIN RUBBINGS AND KUTSUKI MASATSUNA'S VIETNAMESE COINS

J. Mark Ritchie

Summary

The *Tozai Senpu* (東西錢譜) ['Eastern and Western Coin Book'] is an anonymous manuscript album of 413 coin rubbings of European, Islamic and East Asian coins and amulets now held in the library of Waseda University, Japan. It has been proposed that the album belonged to Japanese numismatist Kutsuki Masatsuna (朽木 昌綱) (referred to in the British Museum archives as Prince Tamba) and documented part of his collection, substantial portions of which are now divided between the British Museum and the Heberden Coin Room (HCR) of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. This paper briefly reviews the history of the Kutsuki (Tamba) collection, parts of which may have a documented history as far back as the late 17th century. It reports the results of a survey of the Vietnamese coin rubbings in the *Tozai Senpu* and their comparison with the c. 746 Vietnamese coin images in the HCR collection database. The album is likely to have reached its present form around 1783-1787, when the Western coin rubbings would have been added. The inscriptions of the 16 Vietnamese coin rubbings in *Tozai Senpu* have been identified, including three rubbings which can be matched with confidence to specific *Trần* Dynasty coins of the *Thiệu Phong* era (1341-1357) in the HCR's portion of the Kutsuki collection (HCR 58269, 58266 and 58268). The study confirms that the *Tozai Senpu* includes Vietnamese coins from Kutsuki Masatsuna's personal collection and therefore is most likely to have belonged to him or to a close associate.

Introduction

The link between a unique Japanese album of coin rubbings, titled *Tozai Senpu* (東西錢譜), and the aristocratic Japanese numismatist Kutsuki Masatsuna (朽木 昌綱) (1750-1802), was first posited by Craig Greenbaum (2013), who demonstrated the co-occurrence of particular coin types among the *Tozai Senpu* rubbings and the woodblock illustrations in several of Kutsuki's numismatic publications.¹ Greenbaum concluded that the notebook probably belonged to Kutsuki and contained rubbings of coins from his personal collection. However, until now no definite examples have been presented of specific coins that are known to have belonged to Kutsuki and are represented among these rubbings. This paper identifies three Vietnamese coins from the collection of Kutsuki Masatsuna, now located in the collection of the Heberden Coin Room of the Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford, which can be convincingly matched to their rubbings in the *Tozai Senpu*.

The *Tozai Senpu*

The *Tozai Senpu* ('Eastern and Western Coin Book') is an anonymous and undated album of coin rubbings now held in the library of Waseda University, Japan.² It consists of 31 double-sided pages bound in landscape with printed cardboard covers, measuring approximately 174 x 242 mm and reading from right to left, with the binding on the right side. It contains 413 rubbings of coins, medals, and amulets. The rubbings have been cut out and pasted onto the pages, carefully positioned in rows according to the size of the coins, mostly with the obverse above the reverse. The album has a designed layout, with endpapers left blank at both ends of the album. The reverse of the opening flyleaf carries the four-character handwritten title on a vertical strip of paper pasted close to the outer margin. The reverse of the closing flyleaf is left blank. One page has been left blank between the Chinese coins and the amulets. All but two of the pages of rubbings, including the first and last pages, were completely filled with rubbings without gaps, though one

rubbing has since been lost.³ It is likely that the album was conceived as a complete assemblage over a short period of time, rather than being a haphazard compilation over an extended period.



Fig. 1. *Thiệu Phong Thông Bảo* (紹豐通寶) (read TBRL). Reverse: crescent moon above hole. Above: *Tozai Senpu* rubbings. Below: HCR 58269. Vietnam, *Trần* Dynasty (Barker, p. 73, cf Fig. 19.2). Weight: 3.63 g

The rubbings are arranged sequentially in three categories. Firstly, there is a selection of 260 mainly Chinese cash and other oriental coins. Sprinkled among these are 16 Vietnamese cash and one Cambodian coin, one Nagasaki trade coin,⁴ and three cash coins produced in Japan for the rebel Koxinga in Taiwan.⁵ Next are a selection of 44 amulets, and finally 109 Western and Islamic coins.⁶ The last-dated European coin in the album appears to be from 1783. The implication is that the album could not have been prepared before 1783. The latest Chinese coins are of the Southern Ming and Qing Rebels. No rubbings of Qing Dynasty coins are represented, beyond a single coin from the reign of the Manchu Nurhachi (1616-1626).⁷ The apparent absence of domestic Japanese cash coins from the album is notable.⁸ The quality of the rubbings in the *Tozai Senpu* varies, being generally better for the larger coins and worst for the very smallest, which include the Vietnamese issues. Despite this and the limitations of scanning technology, only one rubbing in the album has proved impossible to read, even in part, owing to its indistinctness, occasioned by the small size and presumably poor casting or condition of the coin.

Kutsuki Masatsuna's publications and the significance of coin rubbings

Among his voluminous numismatic output,⁹ Kutsuki published several woodblock printed books based on rubbings, including *Zōho kaisei kōhō zukan* (改正孔方圖鑑) ['Enlarged and revised illustrations of coins'] in 1784, and *Zōho kaisei chinka kōhō zukan* ['Enlarged and revised illustrations of rare coins'] in 1785.¹⁰ In 1787 Kutsuki published his first work on European coins, *Seiyō senpu* (西洋錢譜) ['Account of Western coins'], which is assumed to be based on coins he received from Isaac Titsingh (1745-1812), Chief of the Dutch East India Company's factory at Deshima,¹¹ whom he may have met at Edo in 1780 and certainly met there in 1782, and with whom he exchanged coins and correspondence for the rest of his life.¹² The rubbings of Western coins in the *Tozai Senpu* appear likely to have been part of Kutsuki's preliminary work for the production of the *Seiyō senpu*. It would therefore be reasonable to propose a date of 1783-1787 for their creation.

In 1788, the first edition appeared of Kutsuki's comprehensive (*Wakan kokon senka kan* (or *kagami*) (和漢古今泉貨鑑) ['Mirror of (Chinese and Japanese) ancient and modern coinage']) in 20 volumes, which was to be reprinted five times between 1790 and 1804. Greenbaum (2013: 55-56) matched 14

Vietnamese coin rubbings from the *Tozai Senpu* to illustrations in the *Wakan kokon senka kagami*, including a rare *Thiệu Phong Thông Bảo* (紹豐通寶) with a crescent moon on the reverse. The *Tozai Senpu* includes rubbings of only a small number of Chinese and Vietnamese coins, compared to the much larger range of these coins in the portion of Kutsuki's collection presently housed in the HCR. There would therefore have been better examples of some of the coin types used for these rubbings, so presumably either these were not to hand when the rubbings in *Tozai Senpu* were made, or else these specific coins were considered to be of special interest. It might be expected that some of Kutsuki's large and important collection of Japanese coins would also have been recorded as rubbings but if so they are not presented in the *Tozai Senpu*. There is therefore a possibility that other albums of rubbings based on Kutsuki's collection might still remain to be discovered.¹³

Kutsuki Masatsuna's coin collection

Kutsuki Masatsuna was referred to in Europe as 'Lord of Tamba'¹⁴ or 'Prince Tamba'¹⁵ after one of his feudal possessions. After the arrival of a major part of his collection in England, it was initially known (both at the British Museum (BM) and at the Ashmolean) as the Tamba collection. His own published catalogue of his collection, *Saiundō zōsen mokuroku-sen* (彩雲堂藏泉目録) ['Catalogue of the Coin Collection of the Hall of Coloured Clouds'], which was not issued until 1788 and only exists today in two copies,¹⁶ stated that he had acquired the collection of the great Japanese numismatist and collector of the previous generation, Uno Muneaki (宇野宗明) (1702-1773).¹⁷ Recently, Greenbaum (2017)¹⁸ has advanced the view that many of the coins in Kutsuki's collection would have come, via Uno Muneaki, from the collections of earlier Japanese numismatists, in particular that of Tennoji-ya Chobee (天王寺屋, 長兵衛) (fl. 1680-1714).¹⁹ Greenbaum demonstrated that many of the same coin types had been illustrated repeatedly by earlier authors before Kutsuki used them in his own books, but the accuracy of his images indicates that they are based on rubbings. This hypothesis is based on the two extant copies of a now lost original manuscript, *Kecho Ruishu* (化蝶類集), compiled by Tennoji-ya from his own collection between 1683 and 1714. As evidence of this long chain of custody, Greenbaum (2017: 49, Chart 1) cites a sequence of images of rare Japanese *Shima Sen* coins from Tennoji-ya's collection which correspond with those that are now in the British Museum component of Kutsuki's collection. Kutsuki's rare Vietnamese coin, HCR 58268, *Thiệu Phong Nguyên Bảo* (紹豐元寶) (Fig. 3) is another possible candidate to have been one of Tennoji-ya's coins, since a coin with this inscription features on page 9 of *Kecho Ruiju* (化蝶類聚), an undated facsimile copy of Tennoji-ya's lost *Kecho Ruishu*, held at the National Diet Library of Japan.²⁰

After the death of Kutsuki Masatsuna in 1802, his oriental coin collection appears to have remained largely intact, but its history is unknown until 1881 when about 9,000 coins were offered to Reginald Poole, Keeper of the Department of Coins and Medals at the BM by a London-based general dealer and commission agent, Rudolph Frenzel (1835-1915), who was himself a coin collector, though with no holdings of oriental coins.²¹ It appears likely that Frenzel was only acting as agent for the real owner of the collection, since in Poole's submission to the Trustees in 1881, he described Frenzel as being the person "in whose hands the Tamba Collection is placed for disposal".²²

Albert Terrien de Lacouperie (1844-1894) was employed by the BM to make a survey and selection from the Tamba collection and in 1884, 2,524 coins, mainly said to be Japanese and Korean, were finally purchased.²³ By then Frenzel had already sold the whole collection on to Howel Wills (1854-1901), a barrister and book collector (and also a friend of de Lacouperie), who duly completed the sale to the BM, retaining the residue of the collection himself, although he appears to have

had no personal interest in coins.²⁴ This is significant because it makes it unlikely that the collection received any additions during his tenure of it.

In Poole's 1881 memorandum to the BM Trustees, he stated that Kutsuki's collection was already complete by 1783, the supposed date of a 16-volume catalogue of the collection which Poole said he had seen.²⁵ Presumably this "catalogue" was not a copy of the very rare *Saiun-dō zōsen mokuroku-sen* of 1788, but more likely consisted of parts of the *Wakan kokon senka kan*. In any event, it seems that no catalogue relating to Kutsuki's collection is present in the BM today. It is possible that Wills, a bibliophile, may have retained it in his own extensive library.

It seems likely that Wills donated the remaining 6,500 or more coins of Kutsuki's collection to the newly established (1883) Indian Institute of Oxford University, soon after he acquired them. There they remained until 1922 when they were transferred to the Ashmolean Museum.²⁶ In the HCR, Kutsuki's coins are mostly identified only by their oblong card tickets, presumably written by Terrien de Lacouperie, bearing suggested transliterations of their inscriptions.²⁷ The tickets were originally attached to the coins by yellow or red silken thread.²⁸ No overall unified inventory has been made of the HCR's Kutsuki collection, which is now divided up by countries in different parts of the main collection. However, E.T. Leeds (1877-1955), Keeper of the Ashmolean Museum (1928-1945), made four manuscript catalogues of parts of the Kutsuki collection between the 1930s and the early 1950s, adding his own catalogue numbers in pencil to the reverse of many of the tickets.²⁹ His catalogues covered the Chinese, Vietnamese and Korean coins, omitting only the Japanese coins. Leeds estimated that there were 6,037 Chinese coins in Kutsuki's collection. From 2014 to 2017, during her tenure of a Sackler Fellowship, Lyce Jankowski, with the help of volunteers, identified and ticketed many of Kutsuki's coins from the "Surplus Chinese" collection and elsewhere, assigning them to the Chinese, Japanese, Korean and Vietnamese sections of the main HCR collection, as appropriate.



Fig. 2. *Thiệu Phong Nguyên Bảo* (紹豐元寶) (read clockwise, seal script). Reverse: plain. Above: *Tozai Senpu* rubbings. Below: HCR 58266. Vietnam, Trần Dynasty (Barker, p. 71, Fig. 18.1). Weight: 2.17 g

Vietnamese coins in *Tozai Senpu* and the Kutsuki collection

In this study, all 16 of the Vietnamese coins rubbings recognised in the *Tozai Senpu* have been identified and the position of each of them in the album has been documented (Table A).³⁰ These rubbings include one coin of the Đinh Dynasty, four of Trần Dụ Tông of the Trần Dynasty, one of Trần Cảo from the period of the War of Independence against the Ming, three each of the Later Lê and the Mạc Dynasties, one of the Later Lê Restored, and three unattributed coins. Two of the latter are of the type assigned by Hartill to his category 'Large Copper – Distinct Calligraphy, Group 2 (Hi Nguyen Type)'. The third unattributed

Vietnamese coin in the *Tozai Senpu* is a *Khai Định Thông Bảo* (開定通寶), which has not been seen since at least 1817, when an accurate drawing of it appeared in *Chinsen kihin zuroku* (珍錢奇品図録) by Ōmura Shigetomi.³¹

In the last few years there has been a major effort to make parts of the HCR's coin collection available online. This has included parts of the East Asian collections, thanks to Lyce Jankowski and volunteers.³² In March 2020, digital photographic images of coins and tickets for most of the Vietnam collection were uploaded to the database and these are now being documented. The 16 Vietnamese rubbings recognized in the present study (Table A) have been checked against all 746 Vietnamese coin images currently in the HCR database. This exercise has produced just three exact matches, which are shown in Figs. 1-3. Matching is complicated by the fact that inked rubbings do not always precisely map the raised areas of a coin. The ink may go beyond or lag behind the edges of the raised design at any point, depending on the skill and intentions of the person making the rubbing. Where a common cast coin lacks unique features that will be reproduced in the rubbing, particularly areas of missing or excess metal, it may be difficult to confirm the identity of the rubbed coin. Each of the coins matched did have such unique features.

All three of the coins matched to rubbings in this study are of the *Thiệu Phong* era (1341-1357) of *Trần Dụ Tông* of the *Trần* Dynasty. Fig. 1 shows HCR 58269, a *Thiệu Phong Thông Bảo* (紹豐通寶) classed by Barker as rare.³³ The rubbing of this coin from the *Tozai Senpu* was illustrated by Greenbaum (2013: Fig. 7) and matched by him to the woodblock illustration in Kutsuki's book *Wakan Kokon Senka Kagami*. Figs. 2 and 3 show two *Thiệu Phong Nguyên Bảo* (紹豐元寶) coins, one in seal script and the other with the 元 written in regular script. This last coin is also regarded by Barker as rare,³⁴ and both it and the *Thiệu Phong Thông Bảo* coin are the only examples of their type within both the HCR's Kutsuki collection and the HCR collection as a whole.



Fig. 3. *Thiệu Phong Nguyên Bảo* 紹豐元寶 (read clockwise, normal script 元). Reverse, plain. Above: *Tozai Senpu* rubbings; Below: HCR 58268. Vietnam, Trần Dynasty (Barker, p. 71, cf Fig. 18.3). Weight: 2.58 g

The matching features between the rubbings and coins are outlined as follows:

- HCR 58269, Fig. 1: Apart from the fact that this is the only coin of its type in the collection, the reverse shows several matching areas of excess or insufficient metal, including an obvious blob on the left-hand end of the crescent moon and also on the right side of the centre hole. The pattern of damage on the outer rim between 3 and 6 o'clock also matches.
- HCR 58266, Fig. 2: The obverse shows an obvious pattern of excess metal to left and right of the bottom character 元, which is faithfully reproduced by the rubbing. The reverse of the coin is almost flat, hence the large amount of ink deposited across the flan of the coin in the rubbing.
- HCR 58268, Fig. 3: This is also the only example of its type in the HCR. Its obverse shows a malformed top character 紹 which is reproduced in the rubbing. However, the most obvious feature visible on both obverse and reverse faces of the coin is the missing metal to the lower left corner of the central hole, which is also reproduced in the rubbing.

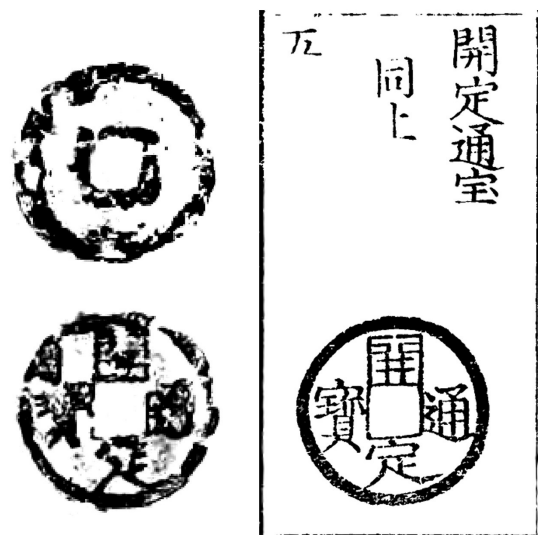


Fig. 4. *Khai Định Thông Bảo* (開定通寶). Reverse plain. Left: *Tozai Senpu* rubbings; Right: woodblock illustration from *Chinsen kihin zuroku* (珍錢奇品図録) [‘Illustrated record of rare coins’] by Ōmura Shigetomi (大村成富), 1817

Because of its extreme rarity and its absence from internet databases and recent numismatic literature, the *Khai Định Thông Bảo* (開定通寶) coin rubbing mentioned above is illustrated in Fig. 4, together with the high-quality woodblock illustration from *Chinsen kihin zuroku* (珍錢奇品図録) by Ōmura Shigetomi in 1817. In Fig. 5, the textual listing and an illustration of what is presumed to be the same coin are reproduced from the pdf file of the unique copy of *Kecho Ruiju* (化蝶類聚) held in the National Diet Library, Japan. This is a later (but undated) copy of the lost *Kecho Ruishu* (化蝶類集) which was compiled by Tennoji-ya Chobee from 1680 to 1714. It is likely that this coin was in Tennoji-ya's own collection and eventually passed to Kutsuki.³⁵

The question naturally arises as to where the remaining Vietnamese coins used for rubbings may be, if they have not simply been overlooked during this survey. There are several possibilities: some of them may be in the BM collection, while others may have been gifted or exchanged by Kutsuki himself, or dispersed after his death. There is also the possibility that some are presently lying unrecognised elsewhere in the HCR collection. It is likely that more of them will come to light in the future.

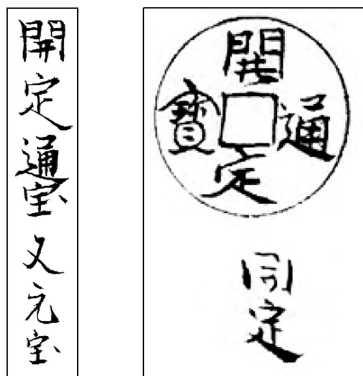


Fig. 5. Khai Định Thông Bảo (開定通寶), reproduced from the *Kecho Ruiju* (Date?), by Tennoji-ya, Chobee (pdf file of the unique copy in the National Diet Library, Japan).

Left: listing in the text of Volume 1 of *Kecho Ruiju*. Tennoji-ya here uses the abbreviated form of bao; Right: illustration from Volume 3 of *Kecho Ruiju*

Conclusion

The discovery of three of the 16 Vietnamese coins used to make rubbings in the *Tozai Senpu* confirms that the album was indeed at least partly based on Kutsuki Masatsuna's personal collection, and was therefore in all probability either his own record or made by a close associate with access to his collection. It also helps to place a part of his collection in his hands as early as the mid-1780s. As the digitising of the Kutsuki collection proceeds, it will eventually become possible for interested numismatists to link more of the coin and amulet rubbings in *Tozai Senpu* to his collection. It will also permit more detailed comparisons between the pattern of coin types present in the collection and those illustrated in early Japanese numismatic books, building on the work of Craig Greenbaum. This in turn will shed further light on early Japanese coin collecting patterns and coin availability, and will improve dating estimates for some currently unattributed coins and amulets.

Acknowledgements

I am grateful to the Keeper of the Heberden Coin Room, Professor Chris Howgego, and to Shailendra Bandare for access to the East Asian coin collection of the HCR and for the opportunity to participate in documenting and making available online and in print information about this important collection. I am particularly indebted to Lyce Jankowski for mentoring me during my first two years working as a volunteer with the Chinese and Vietnamese collections of the HCR and for reviewing this text. I thank Craig Greenbaum for facilitating access to literature and for helpful email exchanges. The reproductions of rubbings are taken from the online pdf file of the *Tozai Senpu* (copyright, Waseda University) and the photographic reproductions of coins are courtesy of the Ashmolean Museum, the copyright holder.

References

- Greenbaum, C., 2013, 'The book *Tozai Senpu* and the Kutsuki Masatsuna's Coin Collection', *Numismatique Asiatique*, 8, pp. 51-56.
- Waseda University has made scanned images of the *Tozai Senpu* available for study online at: https://archive.wul.waseda.ac.jp/kosho/ne04/ne04_02183. This article is based on these online images and quoted pagination follows the arrangement of the numbered pdf images, which begins and ends with the covers. The remaining images each cover two pages, verso and recto.
- Page 17 verso is blank and the preceding page of Chinese cash coins ends with just an upper sequence; page 5 recto has a gap in the upper sequence which may have been intended to illustrate a further pair of spade coins; page 15 recto has a gap in the lower sequence of cash coins, perhaps intended for one more pair of rubbings (obverse and reverse); on page 25 verso, one obverse rubbing of a European coin has become detached and has been lost.
- Gen Ho Tsu Ho* (copy of a *Yuan Feng Tong Bao*). See Hartill, D., 2011, *Early Japanese Coins*, p. 36.

- Yong Li Tong Bao* (*Ei Ryaku Tsu Ho* in Japanese) possibly produced at Nagasaki for the Chinese Rebel Koxinga in Taiwan. cf Hartill, D., 2005, *Cast Chinese Coins*, p. 270, #21.81-#21.82. One of these coins seems to be a distinct undescribed variety.
- Greenbaum (2013: 53) counted 247 Chinese coins, 108 Western coins and medals, and 50 amulets. He recognised only 14 Vietnamese coins and did not mention the four Japanese-made coins.
- Abkai fulingga han jiha* (1616-1625). See Hartill (2005), p. 280, #22.1.
- One partly illegible coin rubbing may have the legend *Khai Định ?Thành Bảo* (or in Japanese *Kaize seiho*). A *Shima Sen* with this inscription was noted by Greenbaum (2017) in the catalogue of the Japanese coins in the BM (Sakuraki et al., 2010). He illustrated this in his Chart #1.
- According to Sakuraki, S. and Furuta, N., 'Kutsuki Masatsuna as Collector and Numismatist', p. 49, in Sakuraki et al., 2010. Kutsuki Masatsuna authored or co-authored at least eight books.
- Sakuraki, S. and Furuta, N., 'Kutsuki Masatsuna as Collector and Numismatist', p. 49, in Sakuraki et al., 2010. This work, a revision of Nakatani Kōzan's coin book, *Kaisei kōhō zukan*, was actually authored by Kutsuki Masatsuna's employee, Ozawa Tatsumoto, at Kutsuki's direction (Screech, T., in Sakuraki et al., 2010, p. 37). Screech states that Tatsumoto was also Kutsuki's Keeper of Coins.
- Sakuraki, S. and Furuta, N., 'Kutsuki Masatsuna as Collector and Numismatist', p. 49, in Sakuraki et al., 2010.
- Screech, T., 'Kutsuki Masatsuna – A Life', in: Sakuraki et al., 2010, p. 37.
- Lyce Jankowski (personal communication) has pointed out that in 19th century China, rubbings were sometimes commissioned from skilled rubbing makers and might also be gifted by collectors to their friends. See Jankowski, L., 'Le faussaire et le numismate: Li Baotai et Bao Kang', in Bianchi, Alice, Durand-Dastès, Vincent & Jankowski, Lyce (eds.), 'La vie des objets en Chine', *Etudes Chinoises*, Vol. XXXVII-2 (2018), December 2019, pp. 139-166. On this basis, an album such as the *Tozai Senpu* might have been assembled much later from multiple sources. Such an origin seems less likely in the present case owing both to the consistently amateurish style of the rubbings, combined with the precision with which they have been collated, and their specific subject matter which relates closely to Kutsuki's published books. This looks more like a private aide-mémoire, made either made by Kutsuki or by his Keeper of Coins, Ozawa Tatsumoto, for their own use.
- Screech, T., in Sakuraki et al., 2010, p. 40. The more correct rendering of this feudal possession is *Tamba*.
- Wang, H., in Sakuraki et al., 2010, p. 9.
- Screech, T., 'Kutsuki Masatsuna – A Life', pp. 41-42, in Sakuraki et al., (2010). Screech suggests that *Saiun-dō* ('Hall of Coloured Clouds') was Masatsuna's name for his numismatic strong-room.
- Sakuraki, S. and Furuta, N., 'Kutsuki Masatsuna as Collector and Numismatist', p. 49, in: Sakuraki et al., 2010.
- Greenbaum, C., 2017, 'Tennojiya, Chobei: Japan's Overlooked Early Edo Era Numismatist', *Numismatique Asiatique*, 22, pp. 15-46.
- Lyce Jankowski, personal communication.
- This three-volume work is not available on the internet. Volume 2, p. 9 includes an image of a *Thiệu Phong Nguyên Bảo* 紹豐元寶 with the 元 shown in normal script. This rare coin is in the Masatsuna collection (HCR 58268) and was included in *Tozai Senpu*.
- Wang, H., 'How did Kutsuki Masatsuna's Coins Come to the British Museum?' pp. 13-16, in Sakuraki et al., 2010.
- Wang, H., 'Archives relating to the collection of Japanese coins at the British Museum, the acquisition of important collections in the 1880s, the employment of Terrien de Lacouperie, and the plans for a catalogue of Japanese coins', p. 7, in Sakuraki et al., 2010.
- Wang, H., 'A History of the Japanese Coin Collection at the British Museum', pp. 10-12, in Sakuraki et al., 2010.
- Wang, H., 'How did Kutsuki Masatsuna's Coins Come to the British Museum?' pp. 13-16, in Sakuraki et al., 2010.

Contd. on Page 23

Table A. Vietnamese coins in the Tozai Senpu rubbings album located in the HCR collection

Coin Legend	Position in Tozai Senpu	Dynasty	Dynastic Title	Reign Title	Years of issue (CE)	Reference	This coin in HCR?	Any other example in HCR?
<i>Thái Bình Hưng Bảo</i> 太平興寶 (written as <i>Đại Bình Hưng Bảo</i> 太平興寶)	Page 5, verso, row 2, column 3	<i>Đinh</i> (丁)	<i>Đinh Tiên Hoàng</i>	<i>Thái Bình</i> (太平)	968 - 979	Barker, p. 52, cf Fig. 1.12	Not found	Yes
<i>Thiệu Phong Thông Bảo</i> 紹豐通寶 Reverse: moon above	Page 8, verso, row 2, column 4	<i>Trần</i> (陳)	<i>Trần Dụ Tông</i>	<i>Thiệu Phong</i> (紹豐)	1341 - 1357	Barker, Page 73, cf Fig. 19.2	Yes, 58269	HCR Unique
<i>Thiệu Phong Nguyên Bảo</i> 紹豐元寶 (seal script)	Page 8, verso, row 2, column 5	<i>Trần</i> (陳)	<i>Trần Dụ Tông</i>	<i>Thiệu Phong</i> (紹豐)	1341 - 1357	Barker, p. 71, Fig. 18.1	Yes, 58266	HCR Yes, one other
<i>Thiệu Phong Nguyên Bảo</i> 紹豐元寶 (normal script 元)	Page 8, verso, row 2, column 6	<i>Trần</i> (陳)	<i>Trần Dụ Tông</i>	<i>Thiệu Phong</i> (紹豐)	1341 - 1357	Barker, p. 71, cf Fig. 18.3	Yes, 58268	HCR Unique
<i>Đại Trị Nguyên Bảo</i> 大治元寶	Page 8, verso, row 2, column 3	<i>Trần</i> (陳)	<i>Trần Dụ Tông</i>	<i>Đại Trị</i> (大治)	1358 - 1369	Barker, p. 76, cf Fig. 20.5	Not found	Yes
<i>Thiên Khánh Thông Bảo</i> 天慶通寶	Page 7, verso, row 2, column 5	Ming Occupation, War of Independence (明占領期之獨立戰爭)	N/A	<i>Thiên Khánh</i> (天慶)	1426 - 1428	Barker, p. 97, Figs. 28.1-2	Not found	No
<i>Thiên Hưng Thông Bảo</i> 天興通寶	Page 8, recto, row 2, column 7	Later <i>Lê</i> (後黎)	N/A	<i>Thiên Hưng</i> (天興)	1459-1460	Barker, p. 118, Fig. 34.1	Not found	No
<i>Doan Khanh Thông Bảo</i> 端慶通寶	Page 8, recto, row 2, column 6	Later <i>Lê</i> (後黎)	<i>Lê Uy Mục</i>	<i>Doan Khanh</i> (端慶)	1505-1509	Barker, p. 130, cf Fig. 38.3	Not found	No
<i>Quang Thiệu Thông Bảo</i> 光紹通寶	Page 5, recto, row 2, column 3	Later <i>Lê</i> (黎朝)	<i>Lê Chiêu Tông</i>	<i>Quang Thiệu</i> (光紹)	1516 - 1522	Barker p. 137, cf Fig. 40.4	Not found	Yes
<i>Minh Đức Thông Bảo</i> 明德通寶	Page 7, verso, row 2, column 2	<i>Mạc</i> (莫朝)	<i>Mạc Thái Tổ</i>	<i>Minh Đức</i> (明德)	1527 - 1529	Barker, p. 142, Fig. 45.2	Not found	Yes
<i>Đại Chính Thông Bảo</i> 大正通寶	Page 8, right leaf, row 2, column 5	<i>Mạc</i> (莫朝)	<i>Mạc Thái Tông</i>	<i>Đại Chính</i> (大正)	1530 -1540	Barker, p. 144, Figs. 47.1-2	Not found	Yes
<i>Quảng Hòa Thông Bảo</i> 廣和通寶	Page 7, verso, row 2, column 1	<i>Mạc</i> (莫朝)	<i>Mạc Hiến Tông</i>	<i>Quảng Hòa</i> (廣和)	1541 - 1546	Barker, p. 145, Fig. 48.1	Not found	Yes
<i>Vĩnh Thịnh Thông Bảo</i> 永盛通寶	Page 8, recto, row 2, column 4	Later <i>Lê</i> Restored (後黎)	<i>Lê Dụ Tông</i>	<i>Vĩnh Thịnh</i> (永盛)	1709	Barker, pp. 165-166, cf Fig. 66.2; Thierry, CMVS, p. 51, Fig. 162	Not found	Yes
<i>Hi Nguyên Thông Bảo</i> 熙元通寶	Page 8, verso, row 2, column 2	unattributed	N/A	N/A	?	Hartill GCC, p. 102, Fig. 2.21 "Large Copper – Distinct Calligraphy, Group 2 (Hi Nguyen Type)"	Not found	No
<i>Cảnh Nguyên Thông Bảo</i> 景元通寶	Page 8, verso, row 2, column 1	unattributed	N/A	N/A	?	Hartill, GCC, p. 102, Fig. 2.23 "Large Copper – Distinct Calligraphy, Group 2 (Hi Nguyen Type)"	Not found	No
<i>Khai Định Thông Bảo</i> 開定通寶	Page 8, verso, row 2, column 7	unattributed	N/A	N/A	?	Omura Shigetomi, 1817 (reprinted 1900). <i>Chinsen kihin zuroku</i> 珍錢奇品図録, p. 28	Not found	No

25. Poole informed his superiors in 1881 that “the Tamba Collection was completed before 1783 at which date the Catalogue was printed in Japan”, and that “it is necessary to examine the Japanese Catalogue in sixteen volumes” [BM Central Archives, Special Papers 4317, 5 October 1881], reproduced in Wang, H., ‘A History of the Japanese Coin Collection at the British Museum’, p. 9, in Sakuraki et al, 2010.
26. The Indian Institute could not subsequently explain how or when they received the collection and had no record of a donation by Howel Wills. See the text of a letter from E.H. Johnston [Edward Hamilton Johnston, Keeper of the Indian Institute] to E.T. Leeds, 17 March 1941, reproduced in Wang, H., ‘How did Kutsuki Masatsuna’s Coins Come to the British Museum?’, p. 14, in Sakuraki et al., 2010.
27. Many of these bear numbers pencilled on the reverse by E.T. Leeds, corresponding to his manuscript catalogues.
28. Red thread for pre-Tang coins and yellow for Tang and after, plus Vietnam and Japan (Lyce Jankowski, personal communication).
29. The four manuscript notebooks by E.T. Leeds in the archives of the Ashmolean Museum are: Arch. Ash. 12: ‘The G. Uvedale Price Collection of Chinese Coins collated with those in the Howel Wills Collection’; Arch. Ash. 16: ‘Notes on the Coinage of Annam with a summary catalogue of the Howel Wills Collection’; Arch. Ash. 17: ‘Catalogue of the Howel Wills Collection of Chinese Coins.’ and Arch. Ash. 18: ‘A Catalogue of Coins of Korea in the Howel Wills and C.T. Gardner Collections’. See Wang, H., ‘How did Kutsuki Masatsuna’s Coins Come to the British Museum?’, p. 14, in Sakuraki et al., 2010. A loose sheet in Arch. Ash. 17 indicates that the Chinese coins were catalogued in 1940-41.
30. The position of rubbings on the numbered double page scans is given as left (verso) or right (recto) page, then by row and column, counting from top left.
31. Craig Greenbaum (personal communication) believes that this was recognised as a Vietnamese coin by Miura Gosen in his book *Annam senpu*, Volume 3, *Teruisen-nobu* (‘Unofficial coins’), 1965, p. 110.
32. For the East Asian coins in the database, see: <http://hcr.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/collection/8?page=5>.
33. Barker, R.A., 2004, *The Historical Cash Coins of Viet Nam*, p. 73, Fig. 19.2 (“rare +”).
34. *Ibid.*, p. 71, Figs. 18.1 (“extremely scarce”) and 18.3 (“rare”).
35. Page 22 of Volume 3 of the pdf version of *Kecho Ruiju*, a facsimile of the lost manuscript *Kecho Ruishu*, by Tennoji-ya from the National Diet Library, Japan, shows a crude drawing of the *Khai Định Thông Bảo* coin, with the *bao* rendered in a seal script style that is very different from that of the rubbing (Fig. 5). This is puzzling since Tennoji-ya was well able to illustrate different styles of *bao* accurately. However, it seems unlikely that he owned another coin with this inscription. The difference may be the result of errors introduced by a copyist.

A 1938 ARAB REVOLT DONATION CERTIFICATE ISSUED IN MANDATORY PALESTINE

Tareq A. Ramadan

The ‘Great Revolt’ in Mandatory Palestine – an outgrowth of the Arab General Strike against British designs for the territory – lasted over three years, beginning in April 1936 and ending in late 1939. In the midst of it, a Palestinian Arab political organisation known as the Central Committee for the National Struggle in Palestine (*al-lijna al-markaziya lil’jihad al-watani bi-Filastin*) emerged in 1937, managed by the contentious and highly controversial Hajj Amin al-Husseini while exiled in Lebanon, and operated by men like Izzat Darwaza and other Palestinian exiles in Damascus (Hughes 2019: 355). During the early stages of the revolt, Arabs across Palestine were encouraged to refuse to pay taxes to their British colonisers, to close their shops, and to launch a campaign of defiance and violence. While initially intended to be the primary, governing body that controlled Arab military activities in Palestine during the revolt against the British occupation there, the committee’s sway was limited since its top leadership operated from outside its borders and internal dissent and rivalries hampered the committee’s ability to be effective in challenging British and Zionist ambitions.



Fig. 1. 1938 donation certificate issued by the Central Committee for the National Struggle in Palestine

As a way to raise funds, the Central Committee, which was composed of both secular nationalists and Islamists, accepted monetary donations payable in Palestinian Pounds to help sustain its efforts against British forces with the hope that the colonial administrators would re-think their strategy in Palestine. Arab-Jewish violence was on the upswing in the mid-1930s and the Arab leadership demanded a stop to Jewish immigration as well as land sales to Palestine’s Jews, both of which were enabled and facilitated by the British. While their imperial policies tended to ebb and flow with shifting strategic goals, London spent considerable manpower, money, arms and other resources in brutally suppressing the Arab uprising and its political leadership which already suffered from a lack of organisation and ideological cohesiveness. A major escalation of military operations by British forces which sent or utilised nearly 20,000 troops in Palestine, with the intent of crushing the revolt (Kelly 2017: 142), further prompted the mandate’s Arab leaders to respond. The new committee, born out of this rebellion, was to serve as the political organ for directing and overseeing an organised resistance, but the reality is that it was a divided coalition of leaders that lacked coordination. As the situation become increasingly dire for Palestine’s Arabs, the committee turned to fundraising in hopes to raise money for their cause, as the paper certificate published here implies.

After an official donation to the committee was collected, the donor would receive proof of his/ her financial contribution in

the form of a certificate that bore the organisation’s symbols and stampings. As the receipt illustrates, financial contributions to the committee and the Palestinian Arab cause were painted as a religious act, encouraged by the Quran (see Line 2 which references the Quran 61:11, Line 7 cites 2:261, and the wording on the bottom left of the document is a reference to 110:1). Inclusion of the Arabo-Islamic term *jihad* (meaning ‘struggle’, though often translated as ‘holy war’ as well) in the committee’s full, official name, highlighted its leadership’s framing of their political objective as both a nationalist cause and a religious obligation. Funds could be used to buy weapons, pay fighters, and disseminate propaganda. Ultimately, the Arab Revolt ended in disaster for Palestine’s Arab population economically and politically, and the human toll was staggering, with more than 10,000 Arabs wounded and 5,000 killed (some in combat, others executed by the British) (Khalidi 1997: 190). In the end, the British reasserted itself as the principle hegemon in the mandate by the end of 1939, until it quit its imperial project entirely less than a decade later.

The following is an English translation of the Arabic-language donation certificate issued in 1938 by the Central Committee (اللجنة المركزية للجهاد الوطني في فلسطين):

Line 1 (top): *In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful.*

Line 2: *Struggle in the cause of God with your wealth and yourselves.* To the right of this phrase is the number ‘007514’ with three unclear Arabic letters to its right.

Line 3: *Whoever prepared a warrior is regarded as a warrior (of) nobility.*

Line 4: *The Central Committee for the National Struggle in Palestine.*

Line 5: *The donated amount should not exceed 5 Palestinian Pounds.*

Line 6: *The above-mentioned amount valued at 5 Palestinian Pounds will arrive at the (collection) box at the Central Committee for the Struggle in Palestine.*

Line 7: *God will reward the donor with goodness like the dutiful/faithful such as those who spend their wealth in the way of God, like a seed that sprouts seven ears and each ear has one hundred seeds, and God multiplies for whom he wills. And God is fair/ balanced, and knowledgeable.*

Line 8: *Every order/ application delivered or submitted of any amount must be in accordance with this certificate that bears the stamp of the seal of the committee. Any other form is unacceptable.*

Line 9: *Name of donor _____.*

In the background, in larger letters within a white, arching banner with green lettering, reads ‘Central Committee for the National Struggle’, and immediately to its left is an image of a man wearing a *kufiyyeh*, pants, a short overcoat, and holding a rifle in his right hand, the butt of which is resting on the ground. He appears to be outdoors as the background scenery implies. Below the arched banner is an image of the Dome of the Rock and Dome of the Chain to its left (with clouds and the sky in the backdrop), with the remaining part of the banner reading ‘in Palestine’ (*bi-Filastin*). On the bottom left of the certificate is a square stamp and in its far left corner is a solid, five-pointed star with the date ‘1938’ (in traditional Arabic numerals) below it. Beneath the date is the phrase ‘The Great Arab Revolt in Palestine’ and to the centre-right of the square stamp is a crescent with text that reads ‘Victory is from God and conquest is imminent’ while the phrase above the crescent reads ‘God is Great’ (*Allahu akbar*).

At the perforated left edge are various words in Arabic, most of which are illegible, in part because of their peculiar orthographic style, but also because the bases are cut off at the perforation and therefore not entirely visible. On the opposite

side of the note, on the far right, outside of the framed body of the certificate, is a curly brace that highlights the three lines of text in Line 7. There is another circular stamp towards the upper-centre right of the certificate, with Arabic text inside that reads 'Central Committee for the National Struggle in Palestine'. This constitutes the official seal of the committee that is referred to in Line 8.

There is also some graffiti on the note, most notably what appears to be the number '1' with a small dot next to it at the top left corner, in what was likely red ink (although it is faded and appears pink). Towards the top centre-left of the document is another similar marking of '1' with a small dot to its right. At the bottom left corner, immediately outside of the boundaries of the square stamp, written sideways, albeit vertically, and going upwards, is the number '35', also in red/pink. Moreover, there are four punch holes on the certificate: one to the left of Line 2, and two additional punch holes at the top right, above the first two words of Line 2.

This donation certificate was produced during a pivotal period in the history of the Palestine Mandate, issued amid a mass Arab uprising against the British that led to the Peel Commission's recommendation for partitioning Palestine into two states: one Arab and one Jewish. However, its large, indigenous Arab population refused. A decade later, the United Nations Committee on Palestine (UNSCOP) also urged partition (in 1947). The British, who saw Mandatory Palestine as an exercise in colonial futility, decided to terminate the mandate and set a date of departure for May 15, 1948. The British departure marked the end of the Palestine Mandate, followed by the declaration and inception of the new state of Israel.

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Obituary: Prof. Dr. Michael N. Fedorov (1937-2020)

Professor Michael Nikolaevich Fedorov, Doctor of Archaeology, died, full of years, on 3 January 2020, after a mercifully short illness. He was one of the world's leading scholars of Central Asian ancient and medieval numismatics. He had devoted almost all of his long working life to this subject whose boundaries he was continually expanding as the decades passed. His natural centre of gravity was the Turkic and Iranian world, and within that, the period of Qarakhanid and Seljuqid domination, a topic he first explored in his doctoral thesis.



Prof. Michael Fedorov

He was born on 28 June 1937 in Tashkent, Uzbekistan, into a family of 'Old Turkestanians'. His great-grandfather, an officer in the Russian army, had after his retirement, settled in Vernyi (modern Almaty, Kazakhstan) at the end of the 1860s, but the family later moved to Tashkent. His grandfather and parents were born in the general-governorship of Turkestan. Michael Fedorov lost his father at the beginning of 1942 when he fell in battle during the last days of the Moscow counter-offensive.

In 1959, Michael graduated from the Tashkent State University, specialising in archaeology. He counted Prof. Michael Evgeniyevich Masson (1897-1986) and Prof. Galina Anatolievna Pugachenkova (1915-2007) as his teachers, under whose guidance he underwent archaeological training in Old Merv (Turkmenistan). He often liked to tell his students about that experience. Immediately after graduation, he began working at the Institute of History and Archaeology of the Academy of Sciences of the Uzbek SSR in Tashkent, where in 1968 he obtained his PhD. with his thesis titled *Political History of Central Asia at the end of the 10th-11th centuries according to the Qarakhanid numismatics*. From 1970 to 1971, he held a similar position at the Uzbek SSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Archaeology at Samarkand. From 1971 to 1996, Michael lectured in numismatics, archaeology, and the medieval history of Central Asia at the Kyrgyz State University. During that time, he published the first textbook on numismatics in Central Asia (Frunze, 1978). In 1990, in Novosibirsk, he gained the degree of Doctor of Archaeology on the coinage of the Qarakhanid era. He became a Professor in 1992 and in 1993 became Head of the Department of Archaeology and Ethnography.

He participated in more than 40 archaeological expeditions in Turkmenistan (1956-58), Uzbekistan (1959-71), and Kyrgyzstan (1972-90), excavating such outstanding archaeological sites as ancient Merv (Turkmenistan) and Afrasiab (pre-Mongol Samarkand, Uzbekistan), where he discovered and took part in the excavation of the 7th century CE palace of the Samarkand Ikhshids (kings) with the world-famous Afrasiab wall-paintings. In 1980-90, he headed the excavation of the medieval fortress of Atbash (8th-15th century) in the Tien-Shan mountains in Kyrgyzstan, near the border with China. As a result, the topography and fortification of the town were clarified, and a palace-type building and residential and handicraft buildings were excavated. Along with these excavations, archaeological surveys were conducted to identify new sites and to take into account the previously known historical and cultural monuments of the inner Tian Shan range for the preparation of the corresponding volume on the *Code of Historical and Cultural Monuments of Kyrgyzstan*.

In January 1997, Michael emigrated with his family from Kyrgyzstan to Germany. He lived in Mannheim and worked at the University of Tübingen. The 23 years of his life spent in Europe were fruitful for his scientific work. Since 1961, he

published about 150 scientific works on the numismatics, medieval history, and archaeology of Central Asia. And more than half of these were published after emigration, in English and German. He also published in Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan, Kazakhstan, Russia, U.S.A., U.K., Belgium, France, and Germany. His last lifetime publication, devoted to the circulation of money under the Shaybanids, was published in the 48th volume of the *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran und Turan* (Berlin, 2019). The fact that Michael's articles were published in different countries and in different languages prompted him to summarise the long-term results of his research; in 2018 the first volume of his collection of articles, *Essays on Ancient and Early Medieval Numismatics of Central Asia*, was published in Moscow. He did not manage to compile another collection of his articles on the numismatics of Kyrgyzstan.

Steeped as he was in the world of medieval Central Asia, Michael used this knowledge and experience to write four historical novels during the latter 1960s and early 1970s: the novel *Abu Raihan* about the famous 11th century Central Asian scholar Abu Raihan al-Biruni, and the trilogy *Ghulams* (*ghulams* were slaves trained as professional warriors and used as palace guards and military detachments). These novels were published in Russian in Tashkent, and since then, two of them have also been published in Polish in Warsaw. Michael considered the Tashkent writer Michael Sheverdin (1899-1984) – the author of a series of historical adventure novels, out of print but available online – as his mentor along the literary path.

Not all colleagues shared Michael's methods and he was sometimes criticised, but everyone who knew him, of course, understood his commitment and knowledge. Today, it is impossible to study the numismatics of Central Asia without looking back at Michael's works, and without references to them the medieval history of this region will hardly be complete. I thank fate that I was lucky to know this outstanding scientist and to communicate with him. He was a kind and sympathetic person who helped me learn and understand a lot of the world where he was an unsurpassed Master.

Ruslan G. Muradov
Editor-in-Chief,
Bulletin of the International
Institute for Central Asian Studies,
Samarkand

Corrigendum

For the article 'Fifth Century Sasanian Coins Found in Guangdong Province, Southern China' published in JONS 236 (Summer 2019), we wish to make a few corrections in the mint attributions and details of the following coins:

- SX3 Mint mark: LD; Mint Location: Ray, Media
- SX7 Mint mark ST; Mint location: Istakhr, Fars
- SX8 Mint mark: NY; Mint Location: Nihavand, Media; Diameter, weight: 27mm, 3.9g; Museum no: 195; Publications: -; Notes: 1 hole
- SX9 Mint mark: WH; Mint Location: Gunde Shapur, Khuzistan; Diameter, weight: -; Museum no: -; Publications: Chen 1986, fig. 3.7-8; Notes: 1 hole
- SX10 Mint mark: reverse not seen; Mint location: -; Diameter, weight: -; Museum no: -; Publications: Ding 1996, p. 72, fig. 2.27b; Kin 2018, fig. 27b; Notes: 2 holes?
- YD1 Mint mark: AS; Mint Location: Ctesiphon, Asuristan
- YD2 Mint mark: KL; Mint Location: Shirajan, Kirman

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