

# ORIENTAL NUMISMATIC SOCIETY

## ONS NEWSLETTER No. 144 Spring 1995

### UK Telephone Numbers

All telephone area dialling codes in the UK changed on 16 April. For calls made from outside the UK the area dialling code now begins with a 1. Hence the London codes formerly 71- and 81- are now 171- and 181-.

734- becomes 1734-, 908- becomes 1908- etc. Five cities have completely new codes:

Leeds 532 XXXXXX becomes 113 2XXXXX  
Sheffield 742 XXXXXX becomes 114 2XXXXX  
Nottingham 602 XXXXXX becomes 115 9XXXXX  
Leicester 533 XXXXXX becomes 116 2XXXXX  
Bristol 272 XXXXXX becomes 117 9XXXXX

For calls made *in the UK*, a zero continues to begin the area codes, ie 0171, 0181, 0113, 01734 etc. International country dialling codes now begin with 00 instead of 010.

### ONS News

#### ONS Meeting New York

The speaker for the 6 May meeting at the New York International Convention will be Steve Album who will talk on *Ghazan II the rediscovery of a lost sultan*. The meeting will take place at 5 pm at the Sheraton Towers & Hotel.

#### ONS Meeting London

Please note that there is a change of *venue* and *time* for the meeting due to take place on 3 June 1995. At the invitation of Simmons and Simmons, the organisers of the London Coin Fair, the ONS will be holding its meeting in a room at the next fair at the Cumberland Hotel, Marble Arch on that date. The meeting will run from 11.00 and be followed in the afternoon by the ONS *Indian Coin Study Day* from 14.30 to 17.00. There is a charge for entry to the coin fair, but ONS members will have free entry.

The topic of the *Indian Coin Study Day* is current research on Indian coins. Speakers will include Bob Senior (new discoveries in the ancient North-West), Michael Robinson and Nicholas Rhodes (new discoveries of Chittagong coins of the early 17th century) and Sergei Kovalenko of the Pushkin Museum, Moscow (Diodotus and the beginnings of the Bactrian Kingdom).

Anyone wanting information on the ONS meeting or the Study day or wanting to make a short presentation on an Indian coin topic at the Study Day please contact Joe Cribb at the British Museum on 0171 323 8585.

### MEMBERS' NEWS AND REQUESTS

... is currently researching the mashaka coins. These are the very small, single-mark, punchmarked Indian coins of the Mauryan period, often no larger than the head of a nail. He would like to devise as complete a listing of the types as possible. He would be grateful if any member possessing such coins and willing to help would contact him.

Ömer Diler (...) collects Ilkhanid and Anatolian coins. He has been working on a book similar to Zambaur's study for the last ten years and doing a study on Ilkhanid coins. The latter is slowly nearing completion. Although he owns a good library, he has difficulty finding out about and acquiring books and articles published in Russia. He would be pleased to hear from any member who could help. He would be pleased to assist members with their enquiries.

## NEW AND RECENT PUBLICATIONS

1. The following books are available from the Indian Books Centre, 40/5, Shakti Nagar, Delhi-110007, India (list 4211/94):
  - Sinnappah Arasartnam *Masulipatnam and Cambay: a history of two port-towns 1500-1800*, New Dehli, 1994, 314 p, maps. US\$26.67.
  - SR Goyal *An introduction to Gupta numismatics*, Jodhpur, 1994, 135 p. US\$30
  - Kumkum Roy *The emergence of monarchy in North India: eighth to fourth centuries BC*, Dehli, 1994, 344 p. US\$30
2. Kenneth M MacKenzie has published an article in *Numismatics International* Volume 30, Number 2 (February 1995) entitled *Sudan: a countermarked coin of Khalifa*. The coin in question is a 20 quirsh piece countermarked twice on the reverse with a rosette mark.
3. Spink Numismatic Circular, Volume CIII, No. 2, March 1995, contains the following two articles:
  - MCS Rasmussen *Four Hong Kong pattern dollars*
  - F Rebello *An unpublished gold xerafim of 1763*The April 1995 issue contains the following article:
  - Kenneth M MacKenzie *A rare coin from Kaffa not recorded by Bernouilli*
4. The Israel Numismatic Journal is published by the Israel Numismatic Society and distributed by Shraga Qedar, POB 520, Jerusalem 91004, Israel. Twelve volumes have so far been published. The price is \$30/35 per volume plus postage. Further details are available from Mr Qedar.

## Lists Received

1. Stephen Album (PO Box 7386, Santa Rosa, Calif. 95407, USA) lists 114 (February 1995) and 115 (March 1995).
2. Scott Semans (PO Box 22849, Seattle, WA 98122, USA) list 59x African Bracelet Money. This is an illustrated, descriptive list that may be of interest to some members. There is a charge of \$1 (North America) \$2, £1.25, DM2.80 (elsewhere) to cover postage.
3. William B. Warden, Jr. (PO Box 356, New Hope, PA 18938) Ancient and Islamic Coins Fixed Price List No. 30
4. Jean Elsen (Tervurenlaan 65, B-1040 Brussel, Belgium) list 169 (January/February 1995) contains some oriental coins.
5. Persic Gallery (PO Box 10317, Torrance, CA 90505, USA) list 36 of Islamic, Indian and Central Asian coinages.
6. Monica Tye () list 11.

## OTHER NEWS

### Nasik Colloquium

From 8-10 January 1995 the 4th International Colloquium was held at the Indian Institute of Research in Numismatic Studies, Nasik. The theme of this colloquium was *Foreign coins found in the Indian sub-continent*. The term *Foreign coins* comprises Greek, Roman, Byzantine, Chinese, Arab and Venetian coins. The Indian sub-continent was taken to include the present day countries of India, Pakistan, Afghanistan, Sri Lanka, Nepal and Bangladesh. The colloquium was set up on collaboration with Dr David MacDowall of the Society for South Asian Studies and in close co-operation with Prof Dr Peter Berghaus of Germany.

The following papers were read:

8 January 1995

Dr David W MacDowall

Prof BN Mukherjee

R Krishnamurthy

Prof BN Mukherjee

Dr Ajay Mitra Shastri

Dr David W MacDowall

Prof Dr Peter Berghaus

Foreign coins found in India, in view of the monetary systems operating in the countries of origin

Some aspects of "foreign" coins in the Indian sub-continent

Ancient Greek coins from Karur

The impact of early "foreign" coins on Indian minting technique and metrology

Roman coins in India, some aspects

The Indo-Roman metal trade

Imitations and lie-links of Roman coins found in India

9 January 1995

Dr VV Krishna Sastry

Prof P Bhatia

Dr Michael Mitchiner

Dr Chandrashekar Gupta

T Styamurthy

Dr Shobhana Gokhale

PV Radhakrishnan

Lance Dane

Dilip Rajgor

Significance of Roman coin finds in the Karimnagar region of Andhra

Roman silver coins in the National Museum, New Delhi: a survey

The interpretation of foreign coins found in southernmost India through the ancient to mediaeval period

Foreign coins and their imitations used for ornamentation

Circulation of foreign coins in India

Echoes of foreign trade from Western India

Tirkoilur hoard - a study

Rome beyond the imperial frontiers

A survey of Roman currency in Gujarat

10 January 1995

Dr MC Ganorkar, V Pandit Rao & P Gayathri

Yao Shuomin & Anchor Wang

Dr Parmeshwari Lal Gupta

Sanjay Garg

Shailendra U Bhandare

Dr R Gopal

Dr Ruby Maloni and Nurussaba Amin

Amiteshwar Jha

Biswajeet Rath

Scientific study of Roman coins found in India, Western Kshatrapa, Indo-Greek and Satavahana

Ancient Chinese coins found in India and foreign trade of ancient China

Chinese coins in India

Venetian gold flow to India

Foreign coins encountered in traditional jewellery of the Deccan - an overview

39 Venetian ducats from Gulbarga

Foreign coins at Surat during the 17th century: a study of contemporary travellers' accounts

Silver coins of the Western Kshatrapas and Satavahanas in relation to Roman coins: a study

Survival of foreign coin nomenclature: a survey of ancient and early mediaeval epigraphs and literature

The proceedings of the colloquium will be published and are expected to be ready during 1995. Those interested in obtaining a copy should contact the institute at PO Anjaneri, District Nasik - 422 213, Maharashtra, India.

### Chicago Coin Club Replicas

The Chicago Coin Club has an annual tradition of producing primitive money replicas. So far, seven such replicas have been produced. This year's issue is ancient Chinese knife money. Each piece is accompanied by its history written by club member Robert Leonard. The knife money was manufactured under the direction of another club member, Robert Feiler, at Mech-Tronics of Melrose Park, Illinois. The replicas have a deep green patina and an inscription on the reverse which reads *Good for \$5.00 in trade with the Chicago Coin Club*. The obverse reads *Chicago Coin Club* in Chinese. All 250 pieces are serially numbered. Anyone interested in purchasing this replica or any of the past issues still in stock should send \$6 per item to Chicago Coin Club, PO Box 2301, Chicago IL 60690, USA. Previous issues include California clam shell money, native American axe-head money and bark-cloth money from the Pacific islands.

### ICOMON Congress

The first ICOMON congress will take place 2-7 July in Stavanger, Norway as part of the triennial ICOM congress. The congress focuses on two themes: conservation of different sorts of means of payment and the relationship between numismatic museums or collections and their community or public.

The subjects of the various sessions will be as follows:

Conservation of coins and medals.

Conservation of paper money and archival documents.

Conservation of ethnological currencies.

Storage and display conditions.

Guidelines on how to open numismatic museum collections to their community.

Rôle of the different types of museums and their experience with the public.

Communication tools.

The museum in relationship with its supervisory authority and its public.

For further information, please contact Christiane Logie, Banque Nationale de Belgique, Musée, Boulevard de Berlaimont 14, B-1000 Bruxelles, Belgium.

### **First International Numismatic Congress in Croatia INCC-95**

This congress will take place in Opatija from 12-15 October 1995. It is being organised by Numismatic Studio Dobronic & Dobronic Ltd and the Croatian Numismatical Society. The theme of the congress will deal with the numismatical problems of south central Europe, with special emphasis on the rôle and place of Croatian numismatics. The topics to be covered include:

- Ancient numismatics (Celts, Gepids, Goths, Illyrians and Greeks)
- Roman numismatics
- Byzantine numismatics
- Mediaeval numismatics of moneyers, towns, states and countries
- Modern numismatics
- Paper money
- Medals

For more details please contact Dr Julijan Dobronic, President of the Organising Committee INCC-95, Cvjetni put 4, 51415 Lovran, Croatia. Fax: ++(385) 51 272 274.

### **Addendum**

1. Ken Wiggins has pointed out that the rupee of 'Alamgir II with the 'ain and sword mint-mark published in Newsletter 143 is a coin of the Nawabs of Surat. A double rupee of this type was published in Numismatic Supplement V of the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (April 1905), and illustrated on plate V. That coin also bears regnal year 5.
2. Nick Rhodes has written to say that the coins of the "Tulip Hoard" published in Newsletter 143 have diameters varying from 20 to 32 mm. The illustrations are reduced size.

### **Erratum**

In Indian Miscellany, Newsletter 141, Richard Wells's Ujjain coin number 5 is described as rectangular; it is in fact round, 18 mm in diameter, weight 10.5 g, thick fabric.

### **Anonymous Barakzai Coinage**

**by Hakim Hamidi**

In Krause and Mishler, which is now the standard reference for the Durrani and Barakzai coinage, several anonymous Barakzai coins are erroneously attributed to the reign of Dost Muhammad - in particular KM 165 and 168 for Qandahar and KM 738 for Peshawar. In Qandahar these were struck by the Qandahar Sardars and in Peshawar by Sultan Muhammad.

My concern at this stage is mainly with Qandahar and Peshawar anonymous coins. Kabul mint will be a topic that I shall review in a later paper.

It is appropriate here, before attributing the coins, to provide a brief account of the period

Ahmad Shah founder of the Durrani dynasty, named Afghanistan what was previously known as Khorasan and Aryana. Through his military genius, he extended the empire well into India and parts of Iran. His grandson, Zaman Shah, also an able ruler, reinforced the rule of Central Government and reduced the excessive power of tribal leaders. The idea of a strong government was not to the benefit of Russia and Great Britain at the time. Therefore, his step-brother, Mahmud Shah was encouraged to confront Zaman's rule. Eventually, Mahmud succeeded and Zaman was blinded. Mahmud was soon dethroned by Shah Shuja, but ultimately Mahmud succeeded and came to power for the second time in 1224 AH/1808 AD.

Mahmud was a philandering king. He left the administration of the country altogether in the hands of his Grand Wazir, Fateh Khan, the eldest son of Payinda Khan. Payinda was a very influential Barakzai leader whose descendants ruled Afghanistan over 137 years until the recent Communist coup d'état of 1977.

Fateh Khan, having 21 brothers, 16 of whom were involved politically, allotted principal Provinces to his brothers. He appointed<sup>1</sup> Sherdil Khan as the governor of Ghazni; Purdil of Qandahar; Khohandil of Bamiyan; Rahmdil of Sind; Azim of Kashmir and Sultan Muhammad of Peshawar.<sup>2</sup>

Eventually the relationship between Mahmud Shah and Fateh Khan was inflamed when Fateh Khan was dispatched to Herat to prepare for imminent Iranian aggression. Among other issues, Fateh Khan was faced with the incompetence of Herat's Governor Fakhr al-Din, a son of Mahmud Shah, and decided to remove him from the post. In the meantime, he assigned Dost Muhammad to remove the treasury from the Palace. Once in the palace, somewhere along the way, Dost Muhammad turned irresponsibly playful. He literally pulled jewellery from Princess Ruqia, a daughter of Shah Mahmud. People talked and the word got around. Dost, sensing his guilt, dashed to Kashmir. Fateh Khan was presumably angered. Kamran, son of Mahmud, already being envious of Fateh Khan's power, conspired to make this episode an issue of honour and reported the incident to the king. Mahmud Shah was also enraged and let Kamran take the matter in hand.<sup>3</sup> Kamran straightaway blinded Fateh Khan. Barakzai brothers including Sherdil, who was in Herat at the time, rose against Shah Mahmud. Confusion and uproar followed. Shah Mahmud failing to confront the Barakzais, departed for Delhi and in 1239/1823 Dost Muhammad took Kabul where he immediately struck a rupee. Sherdil, as well as the other brothers of Fateh Khan followed at once and reached Kabul.

A congress (Jirga) of Barakzai Sardars convened in Kabul on 1239/1823 AD<sup>4</sup> Sherdil was recognised as the leader of Barakzai as well as the ruler of Qandahar. Dost Muhammad reluctantly went to his previous post as the governor of Kohistan, and Sultan Muhammad was assigned to Kabul.<sup>5</sup>

Sherdil ruled in Qandahar from 1240-42/1824-26. When he died in 1242, Dost Muhammad once again mobilised, pushed Sultan Muhammad to Peshawar, and snatched Kabul. Purdil who was now reigning in Qandahar, challenged Dost Muhammad for breaching the terms of the treaty. Preparing for war, Purdil left Qandahar and Dost Muhammad departed from Kabul. Both forces met near Moqor. In the meantime, a cholera epidemic hit the area, killing thousands.<sup>6</sup> At once Barakzai elders intervened and decided to settle the matter by allowing Dost Muhammad to rule in Kabul and Purdil in Qandahar and its surroundings.

Thus Purdil reigned in Qandahar from 1242-45/1826-29, followed by his brother Kohandil, whose first reign was from 1245-54/ 1820-38.

The rule of the Qandahar Sardars was interrupted when Shah Shuja, with British forces (First Anglo-Afghan War) entered Qandahar on April 20, 1839. Shah Shuja struck coins in Qandahar between 1255 and 1258 and his son, Fath Jang in 1258. The British occupation under the reign of Shuja and his son ended disastrously in 1258/1842.

Finally, Dost Muhammad inaugurated his second reign in late 1258/1842 in Kabul, but Kohandil ruled again in Qandahar, and was followed by Rahmdil until 1272/1855.

Thus, Qandahar Sardars ruled over Qandahar for 26 years, and struck anonymous coins in that city. Step by step, however, Dost Muhammad overcame the hurdles, took Qandahar in 1272/1854 and ultimately consolidated the country and ruled Afghanistan as sole sovereign.

ATTRIBUTION OF THE COINS :

QANDAHAR (Ahmadshah)

1 Sherdil Khan, 1240-42/1824-26. Æ falus, Ahmadshahi, 1240, as KM 165.

Obv. Kalima, 1240.

Rev. Ya Shah i Ghaus al-Azam,  
Zerb i Ahmadshahi.

یا شاه غوث الاعظم



2 Sherdil Khan, Æ rupee, 10.2 gm. Ahmadshahi, 1240.

Obv. Kalima, 1240 in a dotted circle.

Rev.

یا شاه غوث الاعظم



3 Purdil Khan, 1242-45/1826-29. Æ rupee, Ahmadshahi, dates 1243-1245, as KM 168.

Obv. Kalima, 1240.

Rev. Zerb i Ahmadshahi.

زرب احمد شاهي

4 Kohandil Khan, 1st reign, 1245-54/1829-38. Æ rupee, Ahmadshahi, dates 1245-1254. When Purdil died, Kohandil Khan continued issuing similar rupees. Dates were changed, but the style of the coins remained unchanged, as No. 3.

5 Kohandil Khan, 2nd reign, 1259-72/1843-55. Æ ½ rupee, Ahmadshahi, dates 1260-1272.

Obv. Sultan i Haqiqi Jahan.

سultan حقيقي جهان اوت

Rev.

زرب احمد شاهي



6 Kohandil Khan, 2nd reign, 1259-72/1843-55. Æ rupee, 9.1 gm. Ahmadshahi, 1259.

Obv. In a square frame: al Wahid al Qahar  
al Mulk Allah

الواحد القهار الملك الله

Rev.

زرب احمد شاهي



This is a unique inauguration issue for his 2nd reign, not listed in KM.

7 Kohandil Khan, 2nd reign. Æ rupee, 8.9 gm. Ahmadshahi, 1259. KM 183

Obv.

In reality, the Lord is  
Sovereign of the Land

در حقيقت صاحب ملك اوت

Rev. زرب احمد شاهي



8 Rahmdil Khan, 1272/1856. Æ ½ rupee; KM 184.

Obv. Sultan i Haqiqi Jahan.

سultan حقيقي جهان اوت

Rev. زرب احمد شاهي



PESHAWAR:

9 Sultan Muhammad, 1245-50/1826-34. Æ rupee, 10.4 gm, Peshawar. Known dates 1246 and 1249.

Obv.

کنده چهره بر خود مهر و نشان  
شکه دولت سلطان زمان

Rev.

زرب پشاور  
سنه ۱۲۴۹

KM 738 is attributed to Dost Muhammad. Dawlat دولت was misread for Dost دوست

In this issue the word 'Sultan' hints the King's name 'Sultan' Muhammad.

AN AMENDED LIST OF SUCCESSORS AT QANDAHAR STARTING FROM MAHMUD SHAH'S 2nd REIGN:

Mahmud Shah, 2nd reign	1224-33/1808-17
Ayyub Shah	1233-39/1817-23
Sherdil Khan	1240-42/1824-26
Purdil Khan	1242-45/1826-29
Kohandil Khan, 1st reign	1245-54/1829-38
Shah Shuja, 3rd reign	1255-58/1839-42
Fath Jang	1258/1842
Kohandil Khan, 2nd reign	1259-72/1843-55
Rahmdil Khan	1272/1855
Dost Muhammad, 1st reign in Qandahar	1272-80/1855-63

NOTES:

1. M. G. M. Ghubar, *Afghanistan dar Masir Tarekh*, (Afghanistan in the Course of History), Kabul 1967, p 401
2. First four appointees are the Qandahar Sardars (Qandahari Brothers) who ruled Afghanistan for a period of 26 years.
3. Farhang, M. M. S., *Afghanistan in the Last Five Centuries*, USA, 1988, p. 149
4. Rishtia, S. Qasim, *Afghanistan in 19th Century*, Kabul, 1968, p. 46
5. When Ata Muhammad died, Yar Muhammad left for Peshawar and sent Sultan Muhammad to Kabul.
6. Faiz Muhammad, *Seraj al Tawarekh*, Kabul, 1912, p. 110
7. King, L. W., *History and Coinage of the Barakzai Dynasty of Afghanistan*, *Num. Chron.*, 1896.

More on Ujjain coins

by Richard Wells

Of the coin depicting two figures, commonly called the two Kartikeyas (Allen 101-3), I have a clear example and, on looking at it, I have come to the conclusion that what is depicted is not two Kartikeyas but the God and Goddess of Desire, Kama and Reva.



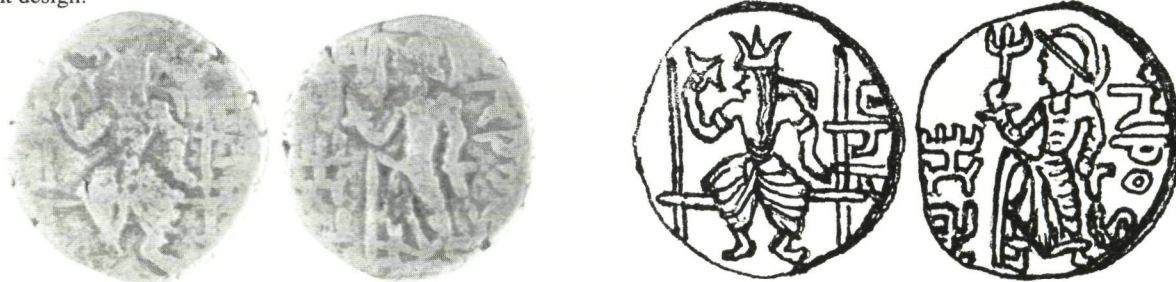
The figure on the left seems to me to be female and the one on the right, male. The female figure appears to be seated on the ground, with her arm on the man's shoulder, pulling him to her and he is reaching out to open the tie of her robe with one hand and pulling his tunic aside with the other.

My thanks to Robert Tye who both supplied the coin and provided useful comments.

A Unique Copper Coin of Kanishka

by LC Gupta (Chandigarh, India)

The ordinary type of Kanishka's copper currency is usually found in three sizes, the large, half and quarter. The half and quarter sizes are rare. 83 examples of the quarter size (small) have come into my collection from the Punjab, India. Here I am presenting a previously unpublished example, known from only one or two specimens. Generally on the obverse we find a standing king, facing left, wearing a peaked helmet, a long heavy coat and trousers; he is sacrificing at a small altar and holds a long spear in his left hand. This coin, however, has a different design:



Metal: Copper (billon), weight 70 grains (4.54 grams), diameter 17mm.

Obverse: King seated on wide throne, with head turned to left, wearing a peculiar wide-brimmed crown and *dhoti* (i.e. Indian traditional dress), holding a flower in his right hand. Legend in Greek, probably reading: *Shao Ka* on left side and *neshki* on right.

Reverse: Two armed Shiva, facing left, wearing a hat, a small trident in right hand and holding a gourd, or possibly a human head, in the left hand. There is a swastika (anti-clockwise) below the monogram (i.e. dynastic symbol). On the right there is a legend in Greek *Oesho*.

An example of this type is illustrated by R.B. Whitehead *Catalogue of Coins in the Panjab Museum, Lahore*, vol 1 (Indo-Greek Coins), Oxford 1914, plate XVIII, no. 115, with a Mao reverse [Editor: Whitehead also lists but does not illustrate three examples (page 193, no. 114) of the seated king/Shiva type of Kanishka I].

Kanishka's father Vima Kadphises (Kadphises II) also issued heavy-weight gold coins of the same type. It is possible that coins of this type were issued at the time of Kanishka's coronation in AD120 and were limited in number.

**Multan - a new copper mint for the Mughal emperor Shah Jehan I**  
 By Dr Bernd Becker

Multan was a relatively prolific mint in gold and silver during the Mughal period, with rupees and / or mohurs known for most rulers from Akbar to 'Alamgir II except Jahangir and some of the ephemeral claimants to the throne. Copper coinage is, however, very much scarcer. Only Akbar, Aurangzeb and Muhammad Shah have hitherto been represented. To these can now be added Shah Jehan I, a copper dam of whom is depicted below. It bears regnal year 4 and weighs 18.90 g.

Zarb  
 Multan  
 Sanah 4



Fulus  
 Jehan(i?)

**The First Coins of the Sikhs - Year 2 (1711) and Year 3 (1712) issued by Baba Banda Singh Bahadur (1708 - 1716)**  
 by Saran Singh AMN, PNM, FRNS

At the battle on the plains of Chapper-Chiri on 12th May 1710, the army of Nawab Wazir Khan the Subedar of Sirhind, who died in this battle, was defeated by the Sikh forces of Baba Banda Singh Bahadur. The city of Sirhind was captured and occupied by the Sikhs on 14th May 1710. To commemorate this event, a new era was declared by the Sikhs starting with Samvat era 1. (a)

- Samvat era 1 14 May 1710 - 13 May 1711
- Samvat era 2 14 May 1711 - 13 May 1712
- Samvat era 3 14 May 1712 - 13 May 1713



Baba Banda Singh Bahadur 1708 - 1716

On 12th December 1710, Baba Banda Singh Bahadur issued a *Hukamnama* (edict or order) to the Sikhs at Jaunpur. The interesting thing about this letter is that it has the date in Gurmukhi *Poh 12 Samvat Pahela 1* (= 12 December Samvat Year 1 i.e. 1710) on the last line. The new Samvat era date on this letter, which is reproduced below, further confirms that a new era (Samvat Year 1) was declared by Baba Banda Singh Bahadur after his capture of the city of Sirhind on 14th May 1710.

The afore-mentioned letter bears the seal of Baba Banda Singh Bahadur above in Persian *Deg-o-tegh-o-fateh-o-nusrat-bedrang yaft az Nanak Guru Gobind Singh* (Abundance, power, victory and assistance without delay are the gifts of Nanak and Guru Gobind Singh). (b) The text which is in Gurmukhi reads:



Ek Ongkar Fateh Darshan Sri sache saheb ji ka hukam hai sarbat Khalsa Jaunpur ka Guru rekhega, guru japna janam savraega, tusi sri akal purakh ji ka khalsa ho, panj hathear banh ke hukam dekhdhiya darshan awna. Khalsae di rahet rahena, bhang, tumakoo, hafeem, posthe, dharoo, amal koyee na hi khana, mas masheli paeaj na hi khana, chori jari nahi karni, asa satjug vertaeya hae aap vech pyar karna, mera hukam hae jo khalsae di rahet rahega tesdi Guru bahori karaega. Methi Poh 12 samvat pahela satrathes.

Translation:

Ek Ongkar Fateh Darshan

Bv the order of the true king, all the Khalsa of Jaunpur will be protected by Guru ji. Pray to the Guru for he will improve your life. You are God's Khalsa, wear the five weapons and on being ordered, present yourself. You must obey the principles of the Khalsa. You are not to consume hemp, tobacco, opium, poppy seeds or alcoholic drinks. You are not to eat meat, fish and onions. You must not steal. We usher in a new era, Satjug - the Age of Truth. Love one another. This is my order, those who should live according to the principles of the Khalsa will be protected by God. Dated 12 Poh samvat pahela 1 (= 12 December 1710).

ੴ ਸਤਿਨਾਮੁ ॥  
 ਸਿਰੀਸਰੋਸਾਹਿਬਜੀਕਾ ਹੁਕਮੁ ਹੈ ਸਭਖਾਲਸਾ  
 ਜਥੇਨਾਪੁਰਕਾ ਗੁਰੂਖੇਗਾ ਗੁਰੂਜਪਨਾ ਜਾਨਾ ਸਵੈ  
 ਰੋਗਤੁਲੀ ਸਿਰੀਅਕਾਲਪੁਰਖਜੀਕਾ ਖਾਲਸਾਹੈ ਮੇਰਾ  
 ਹਥੀਆਬਸੀਕੈ ਤੁਕਮੁਦੇਖਦਿਆਰ ਸਨਿਆਵ  
 ਟਾਖਾਲਸੇਈਗਤਰਗਣਾਭਗਤਾਕੁਠੀਖਿ  
 ਸਤੁਟਾਕੁਮਲੁਕੈਬੀਨਾਹੀਖਾਣਾਸੁਮਛਾਯਿ  
 ਆਦੁਸਾਹੀਖਾਣਾਕੇਜੀਨਾਹੀਕਛੀਆਸਾਸਤੁ  
 ਗੁਵਰਤਾਇਆਹੈਆਪਦਿਹਿਪਿਆਕੁਰਣਾਹੈ  
 ਤੁਮਹੈਜੋਖਾਲਸੇਰਗਤਰਗਣਾਹੈਸਦੀਗੁਰੂਆਹੈ  
 ਜੀਕੇਗਾਮੁਖਿਪੈਮੇਰਾਸੁਪਦਿਹਾ ਸਤੁਦਸਾਹਿ

1 Rupee Samvat Year 2 (1711)  
Silver. Diameter: 28 mm. Weight: 12.03 grammes



Obverse: In Persian *Sikka Zad Bar Nar Do Alam, Fazl Sachcha Sahib Ast, Fath i Gobind Shahan, Tegh i Nanak Wahib Ast* (Coin struck in both worlds by the grace of the true Lord, of the victory of Gobind, King of Kings. Nanak's sword is the provider).

Reverse: In Persian *Zarb Khalsa mubarak Bakht, Ba Aman ud Dahr, Zinat At Takht, mashwarat Shahr, Sanah 2* (Struck by the Khalsa of auspicious fortune at the refuge of peace, the magnificence of the blessed throne, the city of the council Year 2)

1 Rupee Samvat Year 3 (1712)  
Silver. Diameter: 23 mm. Weight: 11.84 grammes



Obverse: In Persian *Sikka Zad Bar Har Do Alam, Fazl sachcha Sahib Ast, Fath i Gur Gobind Singh, Shah i Shahan Tegh i Nanak Wahib Ast*. (Coin struck in both worlds by the grace of the true Lord, of the victory of Gur(u) Gobind Singh, King of Kings, Nanak's sword is the provider).

Reverse: In Persian *Zarb ....? Mubarak ...?, Manuddin, Zinat At Takht, Mashwarat Shahr, Sanah 3* (This inscription has not yet been properly read and translated. Year 3).

Baba Banda Singh Bahadur issued the first Sikh Rupee coins in Samvat Year 2 (1711). This was followed by a second issue in Samvat Year 3 (1712). These Rupee coins are believed to have been issued from his capital at Mukhlispore (which was renamed Lohgarh) near Sadhaura. (c) This may be true for the first Rupee issue of 1711. However, the second Rupee issue of 1712 may well have been issued from whatever place the Sikhs were at that time, as this coin is rather crude as if struck in a hurry.

Before concluding, I would like to mention the existence of a very interesting Sikh symbol, the Khanda, on the 1 Rupee coin dated AH 1122 Year 4 (1710) struck at the Lahore Mint under the rule of the Mughal Emperor, Shah Alam Bahadur (1707-1712). It is difficult to comprehend how this Sikh symbol of the Khanda appeared on this Mughal Empire 1 Rupee coin struck at the Lahore Mint. By late October 1710, the Sikh forces had captured most of Punjab east of Lahore. However, the city of Lahore was not captured at this time. Thus, the circumstances under which this Khanda symbol appeared on the above mentioned coin are something of a mystery.

The Khanda is the emblem of the Khalsa. It consists of a two-edged sword (the Khanda) circled by a Chakar (quoit) and the two items flanked by two swords. During baptism, the *amrit*, a mixture of water and sugar, over which is recited holy verses from the *Guru Granth Sahib*, is stirred with the Khanda (two-edged sword). The *Nishan Sahib* (flag), which is the standard of the *Khalsa*, has a *Khanda* design in black on a triangular piece of ochre coloured cloth. The flag post of the Sikhs also has a *Khanda* at the top.

1 Rupee AH 1122/4 = 1710 Lahore Mint  
Silver. Diameter: 22mm. Weight: 12.00 grammes  
Shah Alam Bahadur 1707 - 1712

Obverse: In Persian *Sikka i shah Alam Badshah Ghazi Year 4*

Reverse: In Persian: *Lahore Dar us Sultanat AH 1122 (=1710)*  
With the symbol of the Khanda above the date.



#### Notes

(a) "He (Baba Banda Singh Bahadur) also started a new era beginning with the date of his conquest of Sirhind. He assumed royal authority and struck coins not in his own name but in the name of the True Guru. .... His official seal similarly contained no reference to his person, but was dedicated to the eternal glory of the Gurus". *A History of the Sikh people 1469 - 1978*, Dr Gopal Singh pp 343 - 344.

(b) Dr Gopal Singh in *A History of the Sikh People 1469 - 1978* page 344 translates this Persian couplet *Deg-o-tegh-o-fateh-o-nusrat-bedrang yart az Nanak Guru Gobind Singh* as (The sword, the worldly treasures, victory and unalloyed power I've found from Gurus Nanak and Gobind Singh).

(c) Mukhlispore renamed Lohgarh after its old fortress called Lohgarh (Fortress of Steel). H.R. Gupta, *Evolution of Sikh Confederacies*, 10"; Ghandia Singh, *Banda Singh Bahadur*, Sikh History Research Department, Khalsa College, Amritsar 1935, p. 81; Surinder Singh 'The legends on Sikh Coins', *Numismatic Studies* p. 144.

#### References:

- (1) Letter by Baba Banda Singh Bahadur dated 12th December 1710 Samvat Year 1, published in *Des Pardes*, London, U.K., Special Vesakhi edition April 1991, Page 49.
- (2) *A History of the Sikh People 1469 - 1978* pages 343, 344 by Dr Gopal Singh (World Sikh University Press, 12/3 Asaf Ali Road, New Delhi, India 1979).
- (3) 'Banda Singh Bahadur and the first Sikh Coinage' by John S. Deyell (Numismatic Digest, Vol.IV June 1980 Part I (Numismatic Society of Bombay).
- (4) *The Coins of the Sikhs* by Hans Herli. Indian Coin Society, Pethkar Road, Mahal, Nagpur - 440 002, India 1993.



## The symbol of the leaf on Sikh coinage by Saran Singh

The symbol of the leaf on Sikh coinage was introduced by the Sikh League 'Khalsa' Government for the first time on the Amritsar Mint Rupees struck in the year VS1845 (1788). This symbol of the leaf continued to be used on Sikh coinage struck at the various Sikh Mints up to VS1906 (1849). The once mighty Sikh Empire came to an end on 29th March 1849 when it was annexed by the British.

However, the end of the Sikh Empire was not the end of the usage of the leaf symbol. The Dogra Rajas, who had become the independent rulers of Kashmir on 15th March 1846 vide the Treaty of Amritsar, continued to depict the leaf symbol on the coins struck at their mints in Jammu, Ladakh and Srinagar up to VS1952 (1895).

C.J.Rodgers in his article 'On the Coins of the Sikhs' (Journal Asiatic Society Bengal Vol.L Pt. 1, 1881) on page 86 mentioned that he had not been able to trace the origin of the sign of the leaf. Neither did Rodgers indicate which type of leaf was represented on the Sikh coins.

W.H.Valentine in *Copper Coins of India Part II - The Punjab* in 1914 refers to the leaf symbol as being that of a pipal leaf, without giving any basis for his conclusions or any authoritative reference. Subsequent authors have continued to refer to the leaf symbol as being that of a pipal leaf based on Valentine's book.

For many years the significance of the leaf symbol purported to be that of a pipal leaf has intrigued many numismatists. Though the pipal leaf is highly venerated by the Hindus, it does not hold any special significance for the Sikhs. As such, the leaf symbol that appears on the Sikh coinage could not be a pipal leaf. Whatever leaf was chosen by the Sikh League "Khalsa" had to have some connection with the Sikhs or their religion, Sikhism.

R. T. Somaiya in his article 'Sikh Coins' in the *India Coin Society Newsletter No.25*, March 1994 has referred to the leaf symbol as being that of a ber tree. Part of his reasoning is that there is a ber tree in the precincts of the *Harmandir Saheb* (Golden Temple) in Amritsar which is highly venerated by the Sikhs.

In fact, there are two ber trees in the precincts of the *Harmandir Saheb*. The first is known as *Dukh Panjni Ber* (removal of sorrow ber), next to which exists the *Gurdwara Sri Dukh Panjni Ber Saheb*. True believers of the Sikh faith will normally have a dip in the pool of water next to this ber tree.

The second ber tree, which also still exists, is called *Ber Baba Buddha Saheb*. Baba Buddha Saheb Ji used to sit under this ber tree whilst supervising the construction of the *Harmandir Saheb*. In Samvat 1661 (1604) the *Guru Granth Saheb* (the holy book of the Sikhs) was placed in the newly completed Harmandir Saheb and Baba Buddha Sahib Ji was appointed the first *granthi* (priest) of the Harmandir Saheb.

However, in the absence of any written records to indicate why and which type of leaf is depicted on the Sikh coins, it is premature to except the leaf symbol to be that of a ber tree.

More than 50 major die varieties of leaf symbols have been observed on Sikh coinage. With the wide variety of leaf symbols depicted, it is really very difficult to imagine that any of them looks like or represents any particular variety of leaf.

Parmeshwari Lal Gupta in his article 'Symbol on Sikh Coins' in *India Coin Society Newsletter No. 26*, May 1994 has suggested that the leaf symbol represents a *kalangi* (a decorative ornament that is worn over a turban). The *kalangi* was usually worn by maharajas or independent rulers of various States. Nowadays, the *kalangi* is sometimes worn by the groom during wedding ceremonies. Lal Gupta's in his article does not provide any evidence for interpreting the leaf symbol as a *kalangi*. Indeed, depictions of Sikh rulers usually show them with a *kalangi* consisting of up to three plumes, or feather-like decorations, but not anything resembling the leaf-symbol. Therefore, in my view, Dr Gupta's interpretation is incorrect.

There must have been a very good reason for the Sikhs to have introduced the leaf symbol. Until such time that someone can come up with a contemporary written proof on the introduction of the leaf symbol in Vikram Samvat 1845 (1788), all other opinions should be treated as conjecture. In the meantime, I would like to suggest that from henceforth the symbol of the leaf on the Sikh coins should just be referred to as a 'leaf' symbol unidentified as to type.

## The Cuttack mint of the Bhonsla Rajas of Nagpur by Ken Wiggins

Mr P P Kulkarni wrote, inter alia, of the Cuttack mint in his recent book<sup>1</sup>: *Of Raghuji II's reign only two coins were known till now – both rupees of regnal year 22 of Shah 'Alam II, one square and the other round. An octagonal coin has been found recently. This striking piece is described under Type 19.2. A coin of regnal year 15 is also described for the first time. No coin of Shah 'Alam after regnal year 22 is known from Cuttack mint. The mint must have been closed soon after that date.* The coins mentioned in this paragraph are illustrated on pages 135 and 136 and are described as unique or extremely rare.

Had Mr Kulkarni consulted page 112 of the *Catalogue of the coins in the Indian Museum, part II* by Chas. J Rodgers, MRAS, MNS (Calcutta 1894), he would have found a number of coins of the Bhonsla Rajas listed and described. Two of them are illustrated on Plate VII. Both bear the *hami din* legend of Shah 'Alam II and both are dated by regnal year 25 of his reign and have the mint name Katak. One weighs 177 grains (11.46 grams) and the other 177.5 grains (11.50 grams) both are round. Of the other Cuttack rupees that Rodgers listed, an additional two are also dated regnal year 25 but not illustrated. One appears to be dated regnal year 24 and the others earlier but in view of the lack of photographs, it is probably better not to speculate on what they may be as the descriptions given are sparse.

One other coin ought to be mentioned here. It is an octagonal rupee identical with the round ones illustrated by Rodgers but the dies are not comparable. The weight is 11.45 grams.



Kulkarni does not advance any reason as to why some of these rupees were octagonal or square in shape. It is possible that they were used as presentation pieces on special occasions.

1. PP Kulkarni: *Coinage of the Bhonsla Rajas of Nagpur*, Indian Coin Society, Nagpur, 1990.

## On the name of the queen of Mukutamanikya of Tripura by Jai Prakash Singh

King Mukutamanikya (1489-90) of Tripura was the successor of King Ratnamanikya (1464-89). During his brief rule he issued at least three coin types in silver<sup>1</sup>. One of these bears the figure of Garuda or Nowi, and the circular legend *Naranarayana Sri Sri Mukutamanikyadeva Saka 1411*. Its reverse bears the legend *Naranarayana Sri Sri Mukutamanikyadeva*. The compound *Naranarayana* is an adjective of the king. He is called a mortal (or human) Narayana, as such this part of the legend has nothing to do with the god Narayana. The legends expressing a king's faith follow a different pattern on coins of Tripura. For instance: *Sri Hari para (yana)*, *Sri chaturdasa deva charana para (yana)*, or *Sri Narayana charan para....etc* as found on coins of Ratnamanikya. The legend on Mukutamanikya's coins does not follow this pattern. On his other coins the legend expressive of his faith follows the same pattern. Moreover, the honorific *Sri* is not prefixed to *Naranarayana*, indicating it to be an adjective of the king Mukutamanikya.

Coins of the second type bear the same date and the same circular legend on their obverse. Their reverse bears a different legend read by scholars as *Sri Machatri* (or *Machtri*) *mahadevi sri Srimukutamanikya*.



The third type bears on the obverse a four line legend *Srimachyandi charana charana chakravartinyau*. Its reverse bears the names of the queen and the king as on the second type<sup>2</sup>.

The name of the queen on these coins of Mukutamanikya, *Machatri* or *Machtri*, has not been properly explained and read correctly<sup>3</sup>. It has been taken as a tribal name<sup>4</sup>. If this view is accepted, then it has to be taken as the only tribal name of a queen out of more than fifty names of Tripura queens. None of the other kings and queens are known by their tribal names. This leads to some doubt about the name of this queen.

The royal house of Tripura seems to have come under Brahmanical influence from a time earlier than the reign of Ratnamanikya as is indicated by the large number of his coins. All these coin legends are found in Sanskrit language and Bengali script, including those on coins of Mukutamanikya. The tribal element is present on coins of both Ratna and Mukutamanikya. It is not impossible that some queens and kings also bore tribal names. None of these are known to us now<sup>5</sup>.

As all the legends are in Sanskrit, they have to be interpreted in accordance with the rules of that language. The name of the goddess Chandi is written in a compound form *Srimachyandi*. Likewise, the name of the queen is also written in a compound form. Other examples of names written on coins of Tripura in this style are *Sriyutanant*, *Sriyutodaya* and *Sriyutamara*. The *sandhi* cannot be broken arbitrarily. Thus, *Srimachyandi* cannot be broken to *sri-Machandi* or *Sri Machyandi*. The correct *sandhi-vigraha* will be *srimat-chandi* (ie *Srimachchandi*). Similarly, the name of the queen is not *Sri Machatri* or *Sri Machtri*. It is a compound of *Srimat-Sri*. And its correct compound will be *Srimachchhri*. This gives the correct name of the queen as *Sri*, a name of goddess *Lakshmi*<sup>6</sup>.

We do not know the original names of the kings and queens of Tripura. Their names known from their coins are their coronation names. In all probability, they were given a new name at the time of their installation, suffixed with *manikya*<sup>7</sup>. Their queens were also given a new name either after their marriage to the king or when they were raised to the status of *devis* or *mahadevis*.

Thus, the name of Mukutamanikya's queen was *Sri* and has to be read on the coins as *Srimachchhri*.

### NOTES

1. V Choudhury and P Ray, *JAIH*, vol VII, p171-4
2. V Choudhry and P Ray, *Coinage of Bengal and its neighbourhood* (Ed. JP Singh, NSI, 1980) pp. 21ff.
3. The photograph of the coin (*Coinage of Bengal and its neighbourhood*, pl. 1, no. 1 a,b) had four letters in the first line. These are *Sri*, *ma*, *cha*, and *cha*. The last letter cannot be read as conjunct *tri*. It is shaped exactly like the third letter and has the sign for *i* (*long*). The reading *Srimachtri* is wrong.
4. V Choudhry and P Ray *Coinage of Bengal and its neighbourhood* (Ed. JP Singh, NSI, 1980), p 22, fn 2.
5. *Rajamala* gives some tribal names of kings as Achong and Hamithar pha, and those of their queens as Achong-ma and Hamthar-ma.
6. In footnote 3 above we have said that in the first line of the legend on the coin the third and fourth letters are similar. They are *cha*. The fourth letter, however, has to be *chha* and not *cha*. Both in Assamese and Bengali the letter *chha* is similar in shape. If a loop shaped like numeral 2 is added to the roundish part of the letter *cha* it becomes *chha*. This loop is not discernible on the photographs. Not only this, the sign for *r* is also not visible. As the reading *Srimachchi* does not make any sense, we have to suppose that the last letter in the first line is *Chhri*.
7. Gopiprasad after his installation came to be known as Udayamanikya (1489 saka), Loktar Fa as Jayamanikya (1495 saka) and Ramadasa as Amaramanikya (1499 saka), cf J Acharjee, *CENESI*, p 119.

### New ONS Regional Secretary for South Asia

Mr A K Jha has been appointed Regional Secretary for South Asia following the resignation of Mr P P Kulkarni. Mr Jha is at the Indian Institute of Research in Numismatic Studies, PO Anjaneri, Nasik 422 213 India.

Our thanks are due to Mr Kulkarni for his services to the ONS as Regional Secretary and for his efforts in building up the South Asian membership.

### An Arab-Byzantine Forum co-sponsored by the ANS and the ONS

On Saturday 18 November 1995, there will be a meeting at the American Numismatic Society on Arab-Byzantine coinage and all related series, including seventh-century Byzantine and Byzantine-derived coinages. The meeting is organised by members of the ANS and of the North American branch of the ONS, led by Laurence Silbert.

The copper coinage of the Eastern Mediterranean countries in the seventh and early eighth centuries is one of the hottest new areas of numismatic research. Some years ago, there was Byzantine coinage, and there was Arab-Byzantine coinage, two separate fields of study. Now it is thought that Bilad al-Sham, the land between the east coast of the Mediterranean and the Euphrates river, used a mixed currency in the seventh and eighth centuries including official Roman coins from Constantinople, unofficial imitations of Roman coins, official Arab issues from mints controlled by the caliphs, and unofficial imitations of Arab coins. Sorting out which is which requires the interest and expertise of a variety of specialist collectors and scholars, all of whom will be welcome at the meeting.

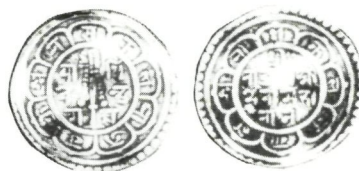
The format and length of the meeting depend on the interest of those who wish to participate. We have not decided whether to have formal scheduled papers or informal presentations, or simply provide an opportunity to show material for unstructured discussion. We will probably have all of these. To help plan the meeting, we need to know how many are likely to attend and what sort of contribution they will make. Those who are interested should write or call as soon as possible, indicating what sort of presentation is proposed.

The organisers plan to keep the meeting small, hoping that all participants can gather around a large table. The participants are expected to be specialists in the field. Those who want to attend should sign up early. There will be a fee of \$15.00 to cover refreshments and other expenses.

Inquiries and responses should be sent to: Michael L. Bates, American Numismatic Society, 155th Street and Broadway, New York, NY 10032 (tel. 1 212 234-3130, fax. 1 212 234-3381).

**A Previously unknown coin of Parthivendra Malla of Kathmandu (1680-1687).**  
by Amogh R. Shakya and Karl Gabrisch

Recently there appeared in the market of Kathmandu an unknown type of Parthivendra Malla coin. It is a half Mohar (*Suka*) with round flan. So far, only a square half Mohar is recorded for this king.



Obv. Centre *Sri Parthivendra Malla* and in 8 petals *Sakala Raja Chakraswara* (Royal God of all, literally supreme of all the kings).<sup>1</sup>  
Rev.: Centre *Sri Rajya Laxmi Devi Maharani* and in 8 petals *Sakala Nepalesvari*. (*Sakala Nepalesvari* means Goddess of all the Nepalese).  
Weight 2.68 gm, Diameter 21 mm.

The script is Newari, the language is Sanskrit.

Parthivendra Malla was the king of Kathmandu. The contemporary kings in Bhaktapur and in Patan were Jitmitra Malla and Srinivasa Malla/Yoga Narendra Malla respectively.

Parthivendra Malla was associated with his two queens, Riddhilakshmi, the mother of his successor Bhupalendra Malla, and queen Rajyalakshmi. The latter seemed to be the favourite queen. Though she did not enjoy the status of a queen consort her name is inscribed on the mohars as well as the square half-mohar.<sup>2</sup>

The name of Riddhilakshmi is ignored on the coins of her husband Parthivendra Malla. She started to play an important role during the regency for her young son, successor to the throne of Kathmandu, which is evident from a quarter Mohar (*suki*) struck in her name. At that time Rajyalakshmi disappeared from view. Whether she performed *Sati* is not known.

Parthivendra Malla ascended the throne at the age of 18 and died at about the age of 25. He was probably poisoned, though whether this was deliberate or accidental is not known. From an inscription it is known that 24 women performed *sati*<sup>4</sup> after his death, except his queen Riddhilakshmi Devi. It is not improbable that many of the numerous concubines of the king might have been forced to perform Sati, while leaving the powerful queens alive, just to create the impression that so many women could show the courage to immolate themselves on the funeral pyre of their husband.<sup>5</sup>

NOTES

1 *Chakra* refers to the wheel or discus of Lord Vishnu and *iswara* means God. But the combination of these two words *chakraswara* commonly referred to as 'among the group'. So *Raja chakraswara* is meant to represent a king among the other kings ruling in several small kingdoms.

2 Rhodes, N. G., Gabrisch, K and Vadettaro, C., *The Coinage of Nepal*. London 1989, p. 88.

3 *ibid*, coin no. 286.

4 Self-immolation on the funeral pyre.

5 Gnyawali, Bikram Surya, *Nepal Upatyakako Madhyakalin Itihas* (Mediaeval History of Kathmandu Valley). Kathmandu 2019 (1962 A.D.) Chapter XIV: *Pratap Malla Pachhi* (After Pratap Malla), pp. 160-172. Translated in *Regmi Res.* Ser. 5, 7, 1973, pp. 121-129.

**A newly discovered pattern of George V King Emperor and the development of cupro-nickel coinage in India**  
by Joe Cribb

In his *The Coins of the British Commonwealth of Nations, Part 4 India, Volume 2 Uniform Coinage*, Spink & Son Ltd, London, 1980, (page 185) Fred Pridmore described a series of pattern coins for George V which he had not seen. His informant, Mr V. K. Thacker, reported sighting four patterns during a visit to the Alipore Mint in 1974. He described them in detail to Pridmore, who duly added them to his catalogue. Late last year I was shown a pattern which matched one of the descriptions provided by Mr Thacker; the owner allowed me to photograph it and I illustrate it here. Thacker's description, recorded as Pridmore 1078, is as follows:

Two Annas, 1917

Obverse: Crowned and robed bust to left GEORGE V KING EMPEROR 1917; Reverse: 2 with INDIA above and ANNAS below within a decorative square. The value on each side expressed in four native languages, arranged top Urdu, bottom Bengali, left Telugu, right Nagari. Edge plain; Diameter 23mm (approx.); Shape: round.

The 'decorative square' would be better described as a frame of lotus stems with flowers and buds, but otherwise the description is accurate enough. Pridmore's heading states that the patterns are all nickel, but the piece illustrated here was clearly brass, weighing 7.74 grams, diameter 23mm; perhaps Mr Thacker was mistaken?

This pattern and the other pieces described by Mr Thacker (Pridmore 1076, a pierced round 4 anna dated 1918; Pridmore 1077, a triangular 4 anna dated 1919; Pridmore 1079, a square 2 anna dated 1917) were part of the mint experimentation which preceded the 1918-19 issue of base metal coins in place of previous silver issues. During 1918-19 cupro-nickel 8 anna (Pridmore 870), 4 anna (Pridmore 874) and 2 anna (Pridmore 880) coins replaced the silver half rupee, quarter rupee and 2 anna issues, production of which ceased during 1916-19. The cause for this change was the fluctuations in the international price of silver during the First World War. It had become too expensive to use silver for these coins so cupro-nickel was used as a cheaper substitute.

The move towards this change can be traced back to the late Victorian period, when pattern 2 anna (Pridmore 1041) and 1 anna (Pridmore 1042) coins in cupro-nickel were made at the Bombay Mint (Pridmore 1041-2, see also p. 72; these are not magnetic and therefore not pure nickel as Pridmore suggests). The move towards a cupro-nickel coinage remained experimental until 1906 when a small issue of cupro-nickel 1 anna coins (Pridmore 925) in the name of Edward VII were tried out in circulation. The 1 anna was a new denomination, in between the silver 2 anna and the bronze quarter anna, but the trial was successful and in the following year a full scale cupro-nickel 1 anna issue (Pridmore 926) was made. The introduction of cupro-nickel coins was the culmination of four years of discussion and experimentation (Pridmore nos. 1053-1072, and pp. 72-4). The decision to make a base metal 1 anna coinage was taken during 1905 and enacted in a new Indian Coinage Act which received the royal assent on 3rd March 1906. According to this new legislation the Governor-General of India was given the authority to coin and issue nickel 1 anna pieces weighing 60 grains (3.89 grams) as legal tender in payments up to one rupee. The Act gave the Governor-General the right, by making notification in the Gazette of India, to "direct the coining and issuing" of the new 1 anna coins, and to "determine the dimensions of and designs for such coins". Using this licence the issued 1 anna coins

departed in a significant way from the schedule laid down in the act: instead of nickel the coins were made from cupro-nickel, an alloy of copper (75%) with nickel (25%).

The experimentation prior to the introduction of the new 1 anna denomination led to further experimentation, with half anna dated 1908 (Pridmore 1073) and undated (c. 1904) 2 anna (Pridmore 1052) denominations in nickel (or cupro-nickel) also being considered. As a consequence of the new cupro-nickel 1 anna coins in India, it was also decided to issue a cupro-nickel coin of the same weight and similar value, denominated as 5 cents, for Ceylon, from 1909. Like the Indian 1 anna, which had a twelve-sided scalloped edge, the Ceylon 5 cents were also struck on shaped flans, in this case square with rounded corners.

The designs of this newly discovered pattern and of the other pieces described by Thacker fit well with the designs adopted for the 1918-19 issues. The same royal effigy, a crowned and robed bust of George V, designed by E. Bertram MacKenna, is used on the patterns and the issued coins. The content of the inscriptions for both is identical, but slightly differently arranged. The issued 2 anna is, however, a square shaped (with rounded corners) coin, with the word INDIA and a lotus motif moved to the obverse. The use of non-circular flans was first tried out on a 1 anna pattern coin of 1905 (Pridmore 1070A), which had a scalloped edge with sixteen points; this shape, but with twelve points, was then adopted for the issued coins of 1907. (This was a novel invention of the Calcutta Mint, later adopted in many other countries (see the reference to Ceylon above), designed to emphasise the distinction between the new base-metal coins and the silver coins of similar size still in circulation.) The issued 8 anna of 1919 was round, but decorated with an eight pointed scalloped frame on the reverse. The eight pointed scalloped edge shape was used for the 4 anna of the same year and, as stated above, the 2 anna was square. Two of the patterns described by Thacker were also struck on shaped flans (Pridmore 1079 an enlarged version of the 1918 issued square 2 anna, and Pridmore 1077 a triangular 4 anna). It is clear from the shared designs and shared move towards shaped flans that the patterns described by Thacker, including the piece shown here, were part of the official experimentation taking place in preparation for the adoption of cupro-nickel 2, 4 and 8 anna coins during 1918-19.

The fact that these pieces were struck up at the Alipore Mint (a suburban branch of the Calcutta Mint) seems to confirm the documentary sources that the experimentation was taking place at Calcutta (pp. 79-80). The report Thacker made to Pridmore seemed until now to be the only evidence for this experimentation, but the discovery of this brass pattern, in spite of its damaged condition, has added confirmation to the account given by Pridmore on the basis of documentary evidence.

It should also be noted that as well as the introduction of non-circular flans the introduction of these base-metal issues from 1907 represented a change in the use of inscriptions on Imperial Indian coins. The issues of Queen Empress Victoria had all been inscribed in English, but with the new issues of Edward VII, the practice of including the denomination in Urdu found on the regal issues of the East India Company was re-introduced. The base metal coins carried this practice a step further and used five different versions of the denomination: English, Urdu, Hindi (Nagari), Telegu and Bengali, a clear, if belated, recognition that the languages of the Mughals and their British successors were not the only ones in use in India.



Fig.	Pridmore no.	Description and collection details
New George V pattern		
1	1078	Brass pattern, 2 anna 1917, 23mm, 7.74g (private collection)
Victoria		
2	1041	Cupro-nickel pattern, 2 anna, 1890s, 21mm, 4.52g (BM 1926-10-3-3 from Garside Collection)
3	1042	Cupro-nickel pattern, 1 anna, 1890s, 19mm, 3.74g (BM 1926-10-3-4 from Garside Collection)
Edward VII		
4	1052	Pewter pattern, 2 anna, c 1904, 23mm, 4.02g (BM 1926-10-3-5 from Garside Collection)
5	1053	Cupro-nickel pattern, 1 anna, 1903, 23mm, 3.87g (BM 1926-10-3-6)
6	1056	Cupro-nickel pattern, 1 anna, 1904, 21mm, 3.21g (BM 1926-10-3-10 from Garside Collection)
7	1063	Cupro-nickel pattern, 1 anna, 1904, 22mm, 3.87g (BM 1926-10-3-9 from Garside Collection)
8	1070A	Bronze pattern, 1 anna, 1905, 22mm, 3.44g (BM 1926-10-3-12 from Garside Collection)
9	926	Cupro-nickel issue, 1 anna, 1907, 21mm, 3.86g (BM 1908-1-6-1)
10	1073	Nickel pattern, half anna, 1908, 20mm, 2.27g (BM 1926-10-3-13 from Garside Collection)
George V		
11	870	Cupro-nickel issue, 8 anna, 1919, 26mm, 7.79g (1920-7-5-3 gift from Calcutta Mint)
12	874	Cupro-nickel issue, 4 anna, 1919, 25mm, 6.82g (1920-7-5-4 gift from Calcutta Mint)
13	880	Cupro-nickel issue, 2 anna, 1918, 25mm, 5.85g (1919-7-13-4 gift from Calcutta Mint)
14	942	Cupro-nickel issue, 1 anna, 1912, 21mm, 3.93g (1919-12-7-21 gift from Bombay Mint)

### A numismatic bibliography of the Maldives

by Wolfgang Bertsch

In this bibliography I list only publications on the metallic money of the Maldivian Islands. As far as the cowries and their export from the Maldives are concerned, the reader may refer to the abundant historic, economic and anthropological literature which exists on this subject. A good selection of publications on the cowrie trade is given in the bibliography of: Hogendorn, Jan and Johnson, Marion: *The Shell money of the Slave Trade*. African Studies Series 49, Cambridge 1986, pp. 202-218.

Auction and Sales Catalogues have not been considered. The most important entries are accompanied by critical summaries.

For the compilation of this bibliography I received valuable assistance from: Raf van Laere, Tomas Malten and Lars Vilgon. While Mr. van Laere contributed many numismatic articles re. the Maldives, Mr. Malten and Mr. Vilgon each authored a bibliography on the Maldivian and Laccadive Islands.

I hope that this small numismatic bibliography can form the base for further research in the numismatic history of the more than one thousand coral islands which today form the Republic of the Maldives.

Abbreviations: ONS = Oriental Numismatic Society  
NIB = Numismatics International Bulletin

1. Allan, John: 'The Coinage of the Maldivian Islands with some Notes on the Cowrie and Larin'. in: *Numismatic Chronicle*, Fourth Series, Vol. XII, London 1912, pp.313-332.

The pioneering work on the coinage of the Maldives which lists about forty coins, giving the full arabic legend of each coin. On plate XX 23 Maldivian coins are illustrated, the most spectacular piece being the gold mohur, A.H. 1207, of Hasan Nur al-Din.

2. Bates, Michael L. Chapter 'South Asia' in: *Annual Report of the American Numismatic Society 1974*, p. 20

A quarter Larin struck in silver, dated A.H. 1184, of Mohammad Ghiyas ud-din Iskander is illustrated.

3. Bell, Harry, Charles, Purvis: 'The Maldivian Islands. An Account of the Physical Features, Climate, History, Inhabitants, Productions and Trade' in: *Ceylon, Sessional Paper, Nr. 43* (1881), Colombo 1883.

4. Bell, Harry, Charles, Purvis: 'Excerpta Maliviana, No. 4' A description of the Maldivian Islands circa A.D. 1683 in: *Journal of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society 1925-1927 (Vol. XXX, Nr. 78)*, Colombo 1929, pp. 132-141 and Plates I-III.

The description which Bell publishes with notes was probably written by the captain of the Britannia which reached Calcutta on July 1st, 1683. p. 134: 'They have no Coyne of their own, save Larrees of Silver, being very coarse and passe for ye value of a Shilling: 5 is 2 Rups. and sometimes 6, by reason good Silver is very scarce. The Gold that comes from Acheen in uncoyn'd. Gold Ingott is better then Coyn'd. Silver in Span: plate ye Mexico is best.' Bell adds a footnote on the coinage of the Maldives and illustrates three Digu Laris, two round Laris, one Kuda Lari and one Cowrie on plate II.

5. Bell, Harry, Charles, Purvis: *The Maldive Islands: Monograph on the History, Archeology and Epigraphy*. Colombo 1940. Appendix C: *Maldive Coinage and Currency* (pp. 75-86 and plates Q-T).

This is Bell's most extensive publication on the coinage of the Maldives. Summing up his earlier notes on this subject and the publications by J. Allan and H. W. Codrington, Bell lists all coins known to him up to Sultan Muhammad Shams-ud-din Iskander and illustrates 64 specimens on the plates.

6. Browder, Tim J : *Maldive Islands Money*. The Society for International Numismatics, Santa Monica 1969

Based on the author's excellent collection of Maldivian coins, this catalogue, which includes a well-written historical introduction, lists 100 Maldivian coins and the first issue of Maldivian paper money. While listing some of the coins published by J Allan, Browder does not consider Bell's 'Appendix' (Nr.5 of this bibliography). The gold coinage is not included, neither are any of the major or minor variants mentioned. Despite these shortcomings, Browder's booklet can be considered as the standard work on the coinage of the Maldives.

7. Bruce II, Colin R., Deyell, John S., Rhodes, Nicholas and Spengler, William F.: *The Standard Guide to South Asian Coins and Paper Money since 1556 A.D.*, Iola, USA n.d. (1981). Coinage: pp. 357-360. Paper Money: pp.486-487.

8. Codrington, Humphrey, Wiliiam: *Catalogue of Coins in the Colombo Museum*. Part I, Colombo 1914, pp. 3-4, 15-18.

9. Craig, William D.: *Coins of the World 1750-1850*, 1st edition, Racine (Wisconsin) 1966.  
Maldivian coins: pp. 676-677 (no illustrations).

10. DeMarais, John: 'Maldives, Aluminium Coins' in: *NIB*, Vol. 18, Nr.7 (July 1984), p. 218.  
The 1,2,5 and 10 Lari coins in aluminium of AD 1979/AH 1349 are reported.

11. DeMarais, John: 'Maldives, Cupro-Nickel Rupee', 1982, in: *NIB*, Vol 18, Nr. 9 (Sept. 1984), p. 264.

12. DeMarais, John: 'Maldives, New Coinage, 1984' in: *NIB*, Vol. 19, Nr. 6 (June 1985), p. 177.

13. Dietzel, Heinz: *Die Münzen der britischen Gebiete in Asien ab 1830 und ihre Nachfolgestaaten: Bangla Desh, Birma, Britisch-Nordborneo, Brunei, Ceylon, Hong Kong, Indien, Malaya und Britisch-Borneo, Malaysia, Malediven, Pakistan, Sarawak, Singapur, Straits-Settlements*. Nettokatalog, Berlin 1974

14. Elliot, Walter: 'Coins of Southern India', in : *Numismata Orientalia*, London 1886

15. Forbes, Andrew, D. W. : 'A Roman Republican Denarius of c. 90 B.C. from the Maldive Islands' in: *Indian Ocean, Archipel*; Nr. 28 (Etudes interdisciplinaires sur le monde insulindien. Publiées avec le concours du Centre de la Recherche Scientifique et de l'Institut National des Langues et Civilisations Orientales), Paris 1984, pp. 53-60.

A denarius of Caius Vibius Pansa was found during excavations in 1958 in a relic casket of a stupa on Toddu Island (north-central Maldives).

16. Husain, M.: 'Coins of the Maldive Islands' in: *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, Vol 32 (1970), pp. 193-198.

17. Krause, Chester, L. and Mishler, Clifford and Bruce II, Colin (editor): *Standard Catalog of World Coins*, Vol. 2, De luxe ANA Centennial Edition. Iola (Wisconsin) 1991, pp. 2008-2012  
Lists Maldivian coins from AH 1129 to AH 1410

18. – *1995 Standard Catalog of World Coins*. 22nd edition. Iola (Wisconsin) 1994, pp. 1419-1422  
Lists Maldivian coins from AH 1216 to AH 1413.

19. Laere, Raf van: 'The last Native Coinage of the Maldive Islands' in: *ONS Newsletter* Nr. 52 (Dec. 1977).  
Some comments on the last Maldivian mint-master Sikka Husain Takha and on the minting technique between AH 1294 and AH 1318.

20. – 'Le Monnayage circulaire des îles Maldives', in: *Revue Belge de Numismatique*, Tome CXXIII (1977), pp. 159-170  
See entry nr. 23 of this bibliography.

21. – 'Le Monnayage des îles Maldives', in: *Revue Belge de Numismatique*, Tome CXXIV (1978), pp. 181-184.  
Two *digu lari* (long or 'hairpin' laris), one from a private collection in Male, and the other from a collection in Brussels, are published. The author is not sure if the piece from Belgium was really minted in the Maldives. The Male piece can be attributed to Iskander al-Fakhr whose full name is Ibrahim Iskander bin Mohammed Amin.

22. – 'Une monnaie maldivienne inconnue', in: *Cercle d'Etudes Numismatiques*. Bulletin Trimestriel, Vol 15, Nr. 4 (oct-dec. 1978), pp. 73-77.  
A silver Rupee, weighing 13,72 g, of the sultan Muhammad Imad ad-Din (III) at-Mukarram ibn Muhammad in the collection of the Miinzkabinett der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin (GDR), is illustrated and described.

23. – 'Circular Coinage of the Maldive Islands', in *Numismatic Digest* (Numismatic Society of Bombay), Vol. III, Part I (June 1979), pp. 48-57.  
English translation of an earlier French article ( entry nr. 20). An historic survey of Maldivian coins is given, their legends are discussed and the need for a more detailed catalogue (considering variants) than Browder's (entry Nr. 6) is stressed. Some additions to Browder's catalogue are given in a footnote.

24. Laere, Raf van: 'The Larin: trade money of the Arabian Gulf'. *ONS Occasional Paper* Nr. 15 (Nov. 1980)  
See following entry Nr. 25

25. – 'Ein internationales Handelsgeld: der Larin', in: *Der Primitivgeldsammler*. Mitteilungsblatt der Europäischen Vereinigung zum Sammeln, Bewahren und Erforschen von ursprünglichen Geldformen (Europrimo), Vol. S/21 (1984), pp. 35-56.  
On pp. 50-51 a short note on the *digu lari* of the Maldives.

26. Malten, Thomas: 'Malediven und Lakkadiven. Materialien zur Bibliographie der Atolle im Indischen Ozean'. *Beiträge zur Südasiens-Forschung Nr. 87*. Südasiens Institut. Universität Heidelberg, Wiesbaden 1983.

This bibliography includes 11 entries regarding numismatics (including cowries).

27. Maniku, Hassan, Ahmed: *The Maldive Islands... a profile*. Male 1977, pp. 31-33 and plate.

Gives a brief introduction to the use of cowries and coins in the Maldives. One *dhigu laari* and a rare octagonal silver larin are illustrated.

28. Mitchiner, Michael: *Oriental Coins and their Values*. The World of Islam. London 1977, pp. 316 and 453-454

29. Munch-Petersen, Nils, Finn: 'Nogle ikke tidligere beskrevne mønter fra Maldiverne' (Some previously undescribed coins from the Maldives). In: *Nordisk Numismatisk Medlemsblad, IV* (1979), pp. 110-111.

Eight coins are described and illustrated.

30. Pick, Albert (Shafer, Neil and Bruce II, Colin R. - editors): *Standard Catalog of World Paper Money*, Vol. 2, General Issues, pp. 828-829.

31. Pridmore, F.: *The Coins of the British Commonwealth of Nations to the end of the reign of George VI 1952*. Part 2. *Asian Territories*, London 1965, p. 37.

A short note on the use of cowries and coins (including Indian and Ceylonese coins) in the Maldives.

32. Pyrard de Laval, Francois: 'The Voyage of Francois Pyrard de Laval to the East Indies, the Maldives, The Moluccas and Brazil', translated by Gray, Albert and Bell, Harry, C. P., in *Hakluyt Society*, Ser. 1, Nr. 76, Vol. 1, London 1887. Nr. 77, Vol. 2, London 1888. Nr. 80, Vol. 3; London 1890

The classical reference for the early coinage of the Maldives. (Cf. entry Nr. 34)

33. Quiggin, Hingston A.: *A Survey of Primitive Money. The Beginning of Currency*, London 1949 (reprinted 1963 and 1978), p. 194.

A short reference to the use of long larins in the Maldives.

34. Scholten, C.: *The Coins of the Dutch Overseas Territories 1601-1948*, Amsterdam 1953.

Records the countermark *Djawa* (Java) which occurs on some Maldivian silver coins.

35. Schön, Günter and Cartier, Jean-Francois: *Weltmünzkatalog. 19. Jahrhundert*, 11th edition, Augsburg 1992, pp. 816-817.

36. Schön, Günter: *Welt Münzkatalog 20. Jahrhundert*. 25th edition 1993/94, Augsburg 1993, pp. 683-686.

37. Vilgon, Lars: *Maldive and Minicoy Islands Bibliography with the Laccadive Islands*, Stockholm 1994.

Most of the titles included in the present numismatic bibliography are listed by Vilgon whose bibliography of the Maldives and Laccadives is certainly the best existing.

38. Wayte, Raimond: *Coins of the World (1901-1950)*, New York.

39. Weyl, Adolph: *Verzeichnis von Münzen und Denkmünzen der Erdtheile Australien, Asien, Afrika und verschiedener mohammedanischer Dynastien der Jules Fonrobert'schen Sammlung*. Berlin 1878, p. 244.

40. Yeoman, R.S.: *A Catalog of Modern World Coins*, 9th revised edition, Racine (Wisconsin) 1970, p. 309.

41. Yeoman, R.S.: *Current Coins of the World*, 3rd edition, Racine (Wisconsin) 1969, p. 146.

### **An overlooked Thai numismatic category**

by R Domrow

I think the following two pieces have a place in Oriental numismatics. The first was obtained in Chachoengsao (east of Bangkok) by a Thai collector who says he has seen no other type except the second piece below, which I bought in Bangkok in the 1970's. From what follows they can be termed medallic charms.

1. Obv.: Nang Kuak in traditional Thai dress seated left with left arm bent back at elbow (as often seen in Thai dancers), and right hand beckoning in Thai style (fingers down); three money-bags with lucky numbers 60, 300000 and 200. Below, RIANPHOKKHASAP in blind Thai letters (the KH in mirror-image); above, legend in what I take to be Pali in Cambodian letters and arc of blind beads. Countermarked in left field with small incuse star of eight double rays.

Rev. (Fig. 1): *Bo*-leaf with one line of Cambodian above it in field and two lines on it. Around, in Thai, starting at six o'clock, RIANPHOKKHASAP NAI PHITHI PLUK PO TRATSARU PAN PHUTTHAKHAYA WAT SRI PRACHANTAKHAM A. PRACHANTAKHAM CH. PRACHINBURI PH.S. 2499

Silver, 32 mm, weight unknown (the piece being sealed between two lunettes), reeded edge, medal alignment.

Images of Nang Kuak (the Lady who Beckons) are ubiquitous in Thai businesses, serving to entice customers in, e.g. a lavish advertisement for Oriental Place (Bangkok Post, 17 June 1993); the punning Bangkok Milton restaurant in the Brisbane suburb so-named; and even massage-parlours (Barrett, 1980). Nevertheless, she seems to have no firm place in Buddhist orthodoxy. Thus Lefèvre-Pontalis (1926) wonders if Nang Kuak is the Hindu goddess of wealth, Lakshmi, (one of Vishnu's two wives), or simply a local Thai *déesse*. Phya Anuman (1988) gives four or five pages on Nang Kuak for those who want further detail; her father is said to be Pu Chao Khao Khieo, Lord Grandfather of the Blue Mountain.

The *bo* is the pipal (*Ficus religiosa*), under which the Lord Buddha attained enlightenment. I cannot read Cambodian, but in Thai *rian* (although it ends in Y, pronounced N) is believed by another rule that pronounces final L also as N to derive from the Spanish *real*; it is the word for coin (cf. *rianlaestaem* on the business-cards of coin- and stamp-dealers). *Phokkhasap* is any valuable property, e.g. a car, house or money. The balance of the legend reads: for the ceremony of planting the enlightenment *bo* (-tree) of the Buddhagaya species (plus the *wat's*

name, location and date of the event, = A.D. 1956). Prachantakham is a small town between Prachinburi and Kabinburi. *Amphoe* and *changwat* are Thai administrative terms for district and province, Prachinburi province being east of Bangkok bordering on Cambodia (U.S. Army Gazetteer, undated extract; National Geographic Magazine map of Viet Nam, Cambodia, Laos, and Thailand, 1967).

2. Obv. (Fig. 2): Nang Kuak in similar pose but in finer detail; money-bags marked 9, 99999 and 9. Below, PHOKKHASAP in blind Thai letters; above, same legend in Cambodian as on 1, and arc of blind beads. (Unless the lettering styles are conventionalised the two obverses at least may well be from the same hand, despite the distance between the two sites.) Countermarked in right field with small incuse S in circle - since Thai has four Ss I should specify that this is *so su'a* (two of the others are mentioned below; the fourth is *so ru'si*).

Rev. (Fig. 3): Same Cambodian legend in five petals of 'flower' as in bottom line of 1; centre with additional letter (or symbol) commonly seen stamped into bases of Buddha-pendants. Above, in Thai, PHITHI PHUTTHA PHISEK with star of four rays to each side; below, WAT DOI MAEPANG A. PHRAO CH. CHIANGMAI  
Silver, 31 mm, 12 g, plain edge, medal alignment.



Fig. 1: type 1, rev., enlarged.  
(Photos by Messrs Phairot B. and G. D. Dean)

Fig. 2: type 2, obv., actual size

Fig. 3: type 2, rev., actual size

*Phithi Phuttha Phisek* is a ceremony held after the completion of a Buddha-image (whether clay, bronze or gold), and the production of any associated *phokkhasap* charms. It is conducted by the highest-ranking monk at the *wat*, who declares the image and charms are now sacred material. The charms (or sometimes miniature images) are then given out in numbers or metals proportionate to the amount of actual money given by each contributor to the project, and are believed to bring good luck, and valuable property in particular.

Doi Maepang is the hill-site of the *wat* in the district of Phrao, province of Chiangmai, in the far north of Thailand bordering on Burma. Ban Maepang is a village about 18 km south of Phrao.

In the transliteration from the Thai above I have followed as closely as my typewriter allows the system devised by the Royal Institute, Bangkok, 1954 (Phya Anuman, 1988), but the English alphabet is so short that - as someone has justly said - 'there can be no correct transliteration, only incorrect ones' Two Thai friends (Mr Phairot Bencharit in Bangkok and Dr Pipi Mottram in Brisbane) have answered even the more naive of my questions so patiently that any remaining errors can only be mine.

Phya Anuman Rajadhon (1988). *Essays on Thai folklore*. Thai Inter-Religious Commission for Development Sathirakoses Nagapradipa Foundation: Bangkok. Dean Barrett (1980). *The girls of Thailand*. Hong Kong Publishing Co. Ltd: H.K. Pierre Lefèvre-Pontalis (1926). 'Notes sur des amulettes siamoises' - *Annales du Musée Guimet*, Bibliothèque GC., de Vulgarisation 45: 1-49, plates A-B, I-XXVII. Richard J. Plant (1979). *Greek, Semitic, Asiatic coins and how to read them*. Scorpion Publishers: Amherst, N.Y.

Robert Woodrow (1977). 'Pronouncing Thai names...without rupturing your uvula. A look at Romanisation, the perennial headache'. *Bangkok Post Sunday Magazine*, 13 February.

I leave the above as written but Mr Phairot has since kindly sent me a Thai transliteration of the Khom (Cambodian) legends by Prof. Kongkael Viraprajak of the Fine Arts Department, with his own version of the Thai in 'English' - a term the Thai habitually use for 'Roman' (Woodrow, 1977).

In discussing *mantra* (*mon* in Thai), Phya Anuman (1988) writes: 'Sometimes the set form of words to be recited...is a long one, a selection of initial letters of certain words of the spell being used as a sort of cabalistic word in place of the full-length text. It is deemed that such an abbreviated form will have the same magical effect not unlike that of the magic "abracadabra".'

Obv.: SITTHI PHO KHAN MA/SA YO SAP PHA THA NANG, meant to convey *rianphokkhasap*.

Rev.: U A KA SA/NA CHA LI TI/PO RA SITTHI LA PHA, being a stanza wishing for oneself the luck and good fortune of Phra Siwali [a disciple of the Lord Buddha]. (The letter at the centre of 2 is seemingly the NA of the *Pali Namō Buddha*, I adore the Lord Buddha.)

One or two peculiarities: In *Sitthi* the TH on the obverse is Thai (tho thong), but Khom on the reverse. The last letter in the second line was transliterated T (*to tao*), but is D (*do dek*).

Two of the more serious lapses in Plant (1979) require notice: He correctly says the L of *solot* may be *lo ling* or *lo chula*, but omits to say the final T may be *do dek* (miswritten: either Plant did not intend the 'tail' or he has invented a non-existent 'so do' - the little circle is clockwise in *do dek* but anticlockwise in *so sala*, also called *so kho*, the S that looks like KH), or *so sala*. Likewise, while the denomination that is correctly *sieo* may commence with *so su'a* or *so so*, Plant confuses the issue by using the similarly-formed *cho chang* in the second case (and compounds the error in both by mistaking the final element of the compound vowel for the consonant ngo ngu). The key to the matter is that the former spellings are confined to the 'monogram', and the latter to the 'portrait' types.