



ONS NEWSLETTER No. 147 Winter 1996

ONS News

ONS Meeting, Cologne

An ONS meeting took place in Cologne on 4 November 1995, attended by some 25 members. After some discussion and comments on recently published numismatic works, Mr Popp gave a lecture on the coinage of the Yemen. Dr Rothkopf spoke about a Papal medal of Innocent XI which features a captured Turkish flag. Following a break for lunch, Jan Lingen gave a talk on Jahangir's Ilahi rupees.

The next meeting will take place on 9 November 1996 in the Heidelberg room of the Pullman-Hotel Mondian.

Mongol Study Day, London

Mongol Imperial Money - the Turkish aspect is the title of the Mongol study day which took place at the British Museum on 10 February 1996. Organised jointly by the ONS and British Museum, the day comprised a series of lectures together with the opportunity for discussions and comments. Lectures were as follows:

- Colin Heywood - *Turkish groups in Anatolia and western Iran during the 11th to 14th centuries*
- B Thomas Curtis - *Interpreting the figured bronze coinage: imitation or innovation?*
- Johann-Christoph Hinrichs - *The Hamid Oghullari Beys: Ghazan Khan's reform to Timur*
- Judith Kolbas - *Reappearance of the Ildigizids in the early Mongol period: the numismatic evidence*
- Michael Broom - *Mongol influence on Rum Saljuq coinage: 642-702 H*
- Tom Sinclair - *The Bitlis dynasty and its coinage in the Turkoman period*

It is hoped to provide summaries of the day's talks in a future newsletter.

Obituaries

We regret to report the death of Bent Nielsen (member no. 1259). Bent was a keen collector of Islamic coins of Central Asia and had a special interest in the bull and horseman issues recently covered in the book *Jitals* by Robert and Monica Tye and for which he provided useful information. His collection has been bequeathed to the National Museum in Copenhagen. Our sympathies go out to his family.

We also regret to report the death of former member Col. Robert Kriz at the age 80. Col. Kriz resigned from the ONS a few years ago because of ill health.

CD-Rom Proposal for Indian Punch-marked Coins

Paul Murphy (Dr. Wortmanstraat 23, 4317 AA Noordgouwe, The Netherlands) has come up with an idea to record, classify and number all punch-marked coins of ancient India together with their symbols on CD-Rom. The CD-Rom would allow black and white photographs of all coin types. The basic intention would be to create a symbol table that contained not only Mauryan but also Kosala, Avanti, Vatsa coinage etc. This imaged database could then be used for reference purposes to identify any coin type or variety in the series and would also enable new types or varieties to be accommodated. Paul would like to see such a project undertaken under the aegis of the ONS and would be interested to hear the views of members.

Other News

1. ICOMON

Third ICOMON meeting will take place on 17-18 October 1996 at the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna. The theme of the meeting will be *Coins and exhibitions*. The re-organisation of the Vienna Coin Cabinet is due to be completed this year and the official re-opening will be part of the ICOMON activities. There will also be a full-day excursion on Saturday 19 October. For further information please contact Mrs. C Logie, National Bank of Belgium, Boulevard de Berlaimont 14, B-1000 Brussels, Belgium.

2. Iran Symposium

An international symposium *Documents for the economic history of Iran* will take place in Strasbourg in September 1997 under the aegis of the Societas Iranologica Europaea. The symposium proposes to assemble contributions on economic problems of Iran and the Iranian world, including at different historical periods such regions as the Near East and Central Asia. The papers are expected to present unpublished source material or new interpretations. The symposium will be organised in two sections, each devoted to a specific historical period having its own particular problematics. For each section some general themes are proposed whereas other economic subjects can be considered. The deadline for indicating interest in participating in the symposium was 30 November 1995 but it may still be possible to propose papers or attend. Papers may be delivered in English, French, German or Italian and should be no more than 20 minutes long. The two sections are mentioned above are 700 BC to AD 700 and 13th to 19th century. The relevant co-ordinators are Rika Gyselen, UMR 155 <Monde Iranien>, CNRS- Université de Paris III, c/o Institut d'Etudes iraniennes, 13 rue de Santeuil, 75005 Paris, France (for the period 700 BC to AD 700) and Maria Szuppe, URA D 1540 <Mondes turcs et iraniens>, CNRS - Université des Sciences Humaines de Strasbourg, 22 rue René Descartes, 67084 Strasbourg CEDEX, France.

3. New Money Gallery for the British Museum

HSBC Holdings plc, one of the world's largest banking and financial organisations, announced in September 1995 a donation to the British Museum to create a permanent gallery on the history of money. The gift is in excess of £1 million with continuing financial support into the next century and will allow the Museum to show for the first time the treasures of its unrivalled collection of coins and paper money. The generous gift will not only finance the construction of the gallery but also the associated curatorial and education work, as well as the development of two accompanying publications and a CD-ROM. The HSBC Money Gallery will be completed in January 1997, as part of the British Museum's 250th Anniversary Programme of Development.

The HSBC Money Gallery will be the first of its kind in any to the world's great museums. It will present the history of money, from the earliest records of payments found in the cuneiform tablets of Ancient Mesopotamia and the origins of coinage in Turkey and China during the 7th century BC, down to contemporary methods of electronic transfer. The displays will examine the role of money over the past four thousand years and will chart its development through political and economic change and from precious metal to plastic. They also demonstrate the everyday use of money, the technology of production and the artistry of design. The coinage of major historical figures, such as Alexander the Great, Julius Caesar and Napoleon, will be shown alongside piggy banks, shopkeepers' tokens and credit cards. The story of treasure, markets, banking and taxation will be presented, as will that of inflation, forgery and piracy. The movement of money around the world will be traced, beginning with the owl coins of 5th century BC Athens transported by merchants to Italy, Egypt, Arabia and India, and the first trade routes, such as the ancient Chinese Silk road and the Spanish Treasure Fleets bringing the gold and silver of the New World to Europe, and ending with today's global economy.

Joe Cribb will be in charge of the overall organisation of the new gallery, assisted by Alison Harry.

4. British Museum Iranian Gallery

The British Museum's Iranian Gallery is once again open to the general public with a splendid display of objects and coins from ancient Iran. After several years of structural work, a larger and more elaborate arrangement, including a number of new objects, gives Iranian art and archaeology the recognition it deserves. The numismatic section includes a magnificent collection of Achaemenid, Seleucid, Parthian and Sasanian coins, as well as those from the Oxus Treasure. A few coins from neighbouring areas demonstrate political and artistic influence during the different periods.

5. RNS Lecture

Elizabeth Errington will be giving a talk at the Royal Numismatic Society, London on 21 May 1996 entitled *The discoveries of Charles Masson in Afghanistan 1833-38: a reassessment*. The meeting will start at 17.30 at the Society of Antiquaries, Burlington House, Piccadilly, London, W1.

6. Islamische Numismatik in Deutschland - Eine Bestandaufnahme

A meeting of all curators of oriental coin collections in German universities and of some public collections, together with scholars working on those holdings was held on 22-23 February at the Friedrich Schiller University, Jena.

The founding of the Forschungstelle für Islamische Numismatik in Tübingen in 1988 meant a rebirth of Islamic numismatics in Germany. Subsequently there has arisen keen interest at the universities in Göttingen, Jena and Rostock in their old oriental coin collections over the past five years. The public collections in Dresden and Berlin have plans for their oriental coins as well. The roots of all these collections go back to the 18th and 19th centuries but remained practically forgotten since the first world war.

Coinage in Norman Italy

A seminar on the above subject took place in Cambridge on 1 March 1996. For further information, please contact Dr Lucia Travaini, Department of coins and Medals, Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge CB2 1RB, UK.

Auction News

A Taisei-Baldwin-Gillio auction is due to take place in Singapore on 7 March 1996 at the Raffles City Convention Centre. The catalogue contains a wide range of oriental material, especially Chinese. Of particular interest to students of Indo-Muslim coinage is a silver tanka of an unknown sultan of Bengal identified in the catalogue as Mughis al din Amjad Shah (lot 832). This name is by no means certain, for from the illustration a more probable reading is Mu'izz-ud-din Ishaq Shah. The suggested date of around AH 700 is reasonable on stylistic grounds but the side of the coin bearing the name of the Caliph does not bear any of the mint marks found on coins of this period. Part of the margin is visible but cannot be easily read from the photograph.

New and Recent Publications

Firstly some additional information concerning a couple items mentioned in the last newsletter.

1. *Copper cash and silver taels*. The author, John E Sandrock has provided the following details.

"This book is about the monetary aspects of life in China during the Ch'ing dynasty. It has something for everyone - bank-note collectors, coin collectors and just plain history buffs. The author, a retired US Navy Captain, is an "Old China Hand" whose interest in the orient dates from duty in North China in 1946. He has travelled extensively throughout Asia acquiring a profound interest in oriental numismatics along the way. Other collecting areas include old newspapers and related historical documents.

Much previously unreported information and original research is presented, including many bank-notes which are illustrated here for the first time. The book features nine maps, twelve tables and over two hundred and forty photographs - many previously unpublished. A glossary of terms, as well as an extensive bibliography are included.

This 432 page book is divided into five parts.

Part I - *Historical Background*: discusses the rise and fall of the Ch'ing dynasty, foreign intervention and the Taiping rebellion.

Part II - *A Dual Monetary System - Copper Cash and Silver Taels*: discusses the evolution of cash coinage, the silver tael, the impact of foreign silver coins and the introduction of machine-struck coinage.

Part III - *Ch'ing Dynasty Government Paper Money Issues*: discusses Ch'ing sources of revenue, the copper cash and silver tael notes of Hsiang Feng, currency of the Taiping rebels, and the issues of government sanctioned banks.

Part IV - *Some Numismatic Observations*: discusses paper and printing, seals on notes, numbering systems employed and overprints.

Part V - *Ch'ing Dynasty Subsidiary Paper Money Issues*: discusses the role of China's native banks; and the issues of provincial, commercial, foreign and revolutionary authorities.

Eight appendices setting forth detailed tables and illustrations relating to the myriad paper money issues of this period are included. The final appendix contains a collection of never-before published photographs taken by a United States naval officer who was on the scene before, during and after the Boxer uprising in the summer of 1900.

Ordering details were stated in the previous newsletter. Quantity discounts are available.

2. The Northcountry Publishing Company's book *A world of money from the earliest times: a concise non-Eurocentric history of the world's native currencies* is available to members in the UK for \$30 (if ANA or IBNS members), otherwise \$35 plus \$4 surface mail or \$9.60 first class airmail.

3. I B Tauris, publishers, 45 Bloomsbury Square, London WC1A 2HY have sent their latest catalogue. This contains a number of new books on modern Middle East affairs and politics as well as works on areas further afield. The catalogue is well worth obtaining. Some new publications of possible interest to ONS members are the following. All descriptions are from the catalogue.

- *Jaipur - The last destination* by Aman Nath with photography by Samar Singh Jodha.

In this visually captivating survey of a great city, Aman Nath traces the origins of Jaipur and its development under the Rajputs of Rajasthan. He describes its rulers' skilful handling of relations with the Sultans of Delhi and subsequently with the Mughals and the British. He details the extraordinary flowering of the arts under a succession of rulers, and using original photographs from the maharajas' private collections he reveals the fantastic opulence of life at court.

224 pages, hardback, 365 x 310 mm, illustrated in colour throughout, January 1996, £45. ISBN 1 86064 042 7.

- *The Forbidden City - The Great Within* by May Holdsworth and Caroline Courtauld with photographs by Hu Chui.

Thousands lived within the Forbidden City when it was Imperial China's centre of power and the world's most extravagant palace. But with the exception of eunuchs, there was but one adult male - the emperor himself. From 1420 to 1912 the occupant of the dragon throne determined the fate of China and indeed of Asia. This chronicle of the palace - a rich blend of history, anecdotal narrative, biographical portraits and illustrations - carries readers through 500 years of Imperial China. The Forbidden City's supreme political significance is described through the main events of the emperor's ceremonial life. Drawing on rare reminiscences left by palace eunuchs and maid servants, the book evokes the secret, stultifying world of the Inner Court where the emperor and his concubines lived their private lives.

160 pages, hardback, £25. ISBN 1 86064 021 4.

- Kashmir in the Crossfire* by Victoria Schofield.
 Why has the valley of Kashmir, famed for its beauty and tranquillity, become a major flashpoint, threatening the stability of a region of great strategic importance and challenging the integrity of the Indian state? Victoria Schofield's book examines the Kashmir conflict in its historical context, from the period when the valley was an independent kingdom, right up to the struggles of the present day. Drawing upon research in India and Pakistan, as well as historical sources, the author traces the origins of the state in the nineteenth century and the controversial "sale" by the British of the predominantly Muslim valley to a Hindu Maharaja in 1846. Through an exploration of the implications for Kashmir of independence in 1947, she gives a critical account of why for Kashmir self-determination may seem a more attractive option than affiliation to a larger multi-ethnic whole.
 256 pages, hardback, March 1996, £19.95. ISBN 1 86064 036 2.
- A Journey to Persia - Jean Chardin's portrait of a seventeenth-century empire* by Ronald Ferrier
 "Isfahan is half the world" was the proud boast of the 17th century capital of Persia. One of the many travellers attracted to Persia by these claims was Jean Chardin, a young French jeweller who spent a total of ten years in Isfahan. During this time, he became intimate with the city; he was invited into people's houses and entertained; he visited gardens and participated in hunts; his knowledge of court affairs was extensive and he travelled hundreds of miles, visiting other towns and villages. Chardin's journals and sketches are invaluable sources of information for all those interested in Middle East history, and they provide a vivid portrait of life in 17th century Persia. In this book, illustrated with Chardin's drawings, Ronald Ferrier has distilled the writings and observations to produce a wonderful insight into Safavid Iran.
 256 pages, hardback, £25. ISBN 1 85043 564 2.
- Muslim Kingship - Power and the sacred in Muslim, Christian and pagan polities* by Aziz Al-Azmeh.
 In this innovative study the author outlines the main features of the theory and practice of political power in Muslim polities in the Middle Ages against the background of Near Eastern traditions of kingship, particularly Hellenistic, Persian and Byzantine. The early Arab-Muslim polity is treated as an integral part of late antiquity and the book explores the way in which older traditions were transposed into Islamic form and given specifically Islamic textual sanction. Succeeding chapters deal with the assumptions about power shared by the different Muslim traditions, the central imperial theories, practices and ceremonial of power which took their classical form in Baghdad; the diffusion of these traditions to the provinces and successor states; the caliphate and its legal and ceremonial institutions, the relationship of the caliphate to the sultanate and, finally, the eschatological and utopian notions of power and the sacred found in philosophy, activist pantheistic mysticism and the two main branches of Shi'ism.
 288 pages, hardback, March 1996, £39.50. ISBN 1 86064 053 2.
- Russia and the Mongol Yoke 1221-1502* by Leo de Hartog.
 The Mongol empire was fully established in 1237 and dominated a vast area of Asia for the next two and a half centuries. The Russian principalities were deeply divided and therefore fell easy prey to the formidable and experienced Mongol armies. Exploring a fascinating and little-known period of history, this book will be of interest to specialists on Russian history and the Mongol empire, as well as to readers with a more general interest in the subject.
 256 pages, hardback, £39.50. ISBN 1 85043 961 3.

Work in Progress

Bob Senior writes :

Over the last two years I have been working on a catalogue of Indo-Scythic and Indo-Parthian coins. So far I have completed the main catalogue with over 220 pages including thousands of illustrated coins, every variety known to me. A further catalogue of line drawings and tables I have called an 'easy-finder' because it is a summary of the types and varieties listed in the main catalogue. This enables a collector to identify a coin quickly and it is handy enough to be taken to fairs and shows where the collector can mark the symbols in the tables that represent coins that are known and which he now possesses or has seen. At the moment I do not know when the complete catalogue, including history and other coin data will be finished, nor when it might be published. As a help to ONS members I thought that a part of this 'easy finder' catalogue, which covers the coinage of the Western Satraps, might prove useful and act as an appetiser for the eventual catalogue. It will be included in forthcoming newsletters at a page or so per issue.

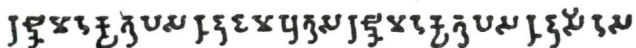
The coins are catalogued with a number for each type/ruler and the decimal fractions represent varieties/dates. The tables show these numbers and fractions and also the individual dates/numerals when not too numerous (the main catalogue details all the dates known to me and also includes some varieties not in the easy identifier -e.g. reversed symbols) -otherwise the range of dates is shown and a table of numerals covering them. Important legend varieties are also shown. Symbols represent the denominations.

The symbols used are:

- Δ = Drachm (silver)
- = Base metal coins

All line drawings are actual size unless otherwise indicated. The page in the main catalogue where a full description and scanned image of each variety can be found is given above the tables.

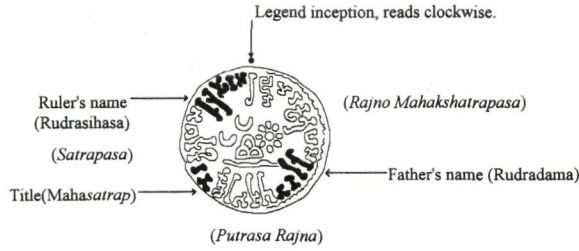
Except for the coins of the Kshaharata Satraps and the drachms of Chastana and Jayadaman, most Western satrap drachms look very similar, though there are slight distinctions in portrait, especially eye depiction. Dates tend to be mostly off the flan, but when they are visible they can be found behind the Satrap's head. On the reverse the name of the ruler's father and his title is given first then the title and name of the ruler. On the line drawings I have indicated by a dot where the legend begins and reading clockwise one next finds the father's name highlighted. If the ruler is a Mahasatrap then the two letters **Maha** are highlighted, otherwise he is a satrap. Then finally comes the ruler's name highlighted. e.g.



Type 333B - *Rajna Mahakshatrapasa Rudradamaputrasa Rajna Mahakshatrapasa Rudrasimha* = The Raja, Mahasatrap Rudradaman, 'father of' Raja, Mahasatrap Rudrasimha

The word *Rajna/Rajno* 𑀭𑀸𑀢𑀺 appears twice and is easily recognisable with the two tails bending left. One of them marks the beginning of the legend (shown as a DOT on the diagram below) and the other occurs in the middle of the legend with *Putrasa* 𑀧𑀸𑀢𑀺𑀸𑀢𑀺 before it. Learn to find the word *putrasa* and you can then easily tell which of the *Rajnas* marks the beginning of the legend. The rest is easy - the drawings identify the Satrap's name, his title and his father's name. Where two satraps have the same name, they can be recognised in the ruling sequence by their father's name e.g. Rudrasena I is son of Rudrasimha, Rudrasena II is son of Viradaman and Rudrasena III is the son of Swami Rudradama.

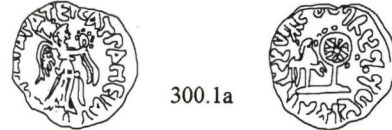
Please note that all illustrations in the 'easy finder' catalogue are the copyright of R C Senior and may not be further reproduced without the permission of the author.



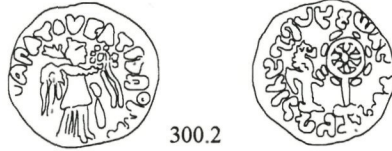
KSHAHARATA SATRAPS
ABHIRAKA

Type 300 Nike right....Elephant/lion - wheel on pillars. P.188

САГАРАТΟΥ САΤΡΑΠΟΥ ΑΥΒΙΡΑΚΟΥ ΖΗΓΙΛΕ ΖΤΟΕ ΑΗΙ+Ε ΙΩΑΗ	unit	300.1	<input type="checkbox"/>
..APATEI SATRAPEI A...	1/2 unit	300.1a	<input type="checkbox"/>
ΖΗΓΙΛΕ ΖΤΟΕ ΙΩΑΗ ΑΗΙ+Ε	unit	300.2	<input type="checkbox"/>



300.1a

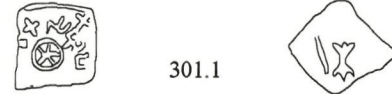


300.2

BHUMAKA

Type 301 Wheel....Arrow and thunderbolt. Page 189.

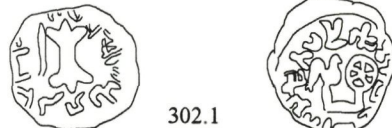
ΞΥΓΑΜ ΑΣΤΑΜ	unit	301.1	<input type="checkbox"/>
	1/2 unit	301.1a	<input type="checkbox"/>



301.1

Type 301 Elephant/lion - wheel on pillars..arrow - thunderbolt.

wheel right	ΞΥΓΑΜ ΑΣΤΑΜ ΞΥΓΑΜ ΑΣΤΑΜ	302.1 ¹	<input type="checkbox"/>
wheel right	anepigraphic	302.2	<input type="checkbox"/>
wheel left	legend as above	302.3	<input type="checkbox"/>
wheel left	anepigraphic	302.4	<input type="checkbox"/>



302.1



302.4

¹ Coins can be round/square, copper/lead and weigh from 1.5 to 8 gm.

NAHAPANA

Type 303 Bust right....Arrow and thunderbolt. Page 190.

ΚΣΣΥΑΡΑΤΟΥ ΠΙΡΑΙΟΝΟΥ	303.1D ¹	Δ
dotted collar/feathered arrow	303.2D	Δ
base metal and neat dies	303.3D	Δ
thunderbolt left, arrow right	303.4D	Δ



303.1

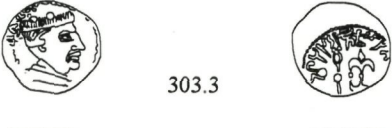


303.2

¹ Great variety in portraits and legend debasements/arrangements.

Type 304 Square copper, types as last. Page 191.

ΞΥΓΑΜ ΑΣΤΑΜ	304.1	<input type="checkbox"/>
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303.3

Type 305 Elephant/thunderbolt/arrow right....tree. Page 191.

ΤΗΕΙΛ ΑΣΤΑΜ	305.1	<input type="checkbox"/>
vertical arrow	305.2	<input type="checkbox"/>
square coin - symbols?	305.3	<input type="checkbox"/>



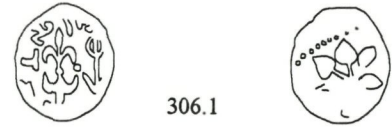
304.1

Type 306 Arrow and thunderbolt/legend....tree. Page 191.

ΤΗΕΙΛ ΑΣΤΑΜ	306.1	<input type="checkbox"/>
hollow thunderbolt	306.2	<input type="checkbox"/>
cruder/larger thunderbolt	306.3	<input type="checkbox"/>



305.1



306.1

Type 307 Arrow and thunderbolt (anepigraphic)....tree. P.191.

as 306.3	307.1	<input type="checkbox"/>
as 306.1	307.2	<input type="checkbox"/>
different style	307.3	<input type="checkbox"/>



307.3



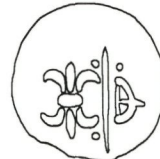
- Nahapana as MAHASATRAP.

Type 308 Lion left....Thunderbolt, bow and arrow. P.191.

𑀘𑀓𑀧𑀲𑀭𑀮𑀭𑀮𑀮𑀮𑀮𑀮𑀮	𑀮	lead	308.1	<input type="checkbox"/>
𑀘𑀓𑀧𑀲𑀭𑀮𑀭𑀮𑀮𑀮𑀮𑀮𑀮𑀮	𑀮	potin	308.2	<input type="checkbox"/>



308.1



Type 309 Lion right....Thunderbolt. Anepigraphic? P.191.

-	309.1	<input type="checkbox"/>
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308.2



Type 310 Thunderbolt and arrow....Tree.

𑀘𑀓𑀧𑀲𑀭𑀮	310.1	<input type="checkbox"/>
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309.1



Type 311 Elephant and swastika....Thunderbolt and arrow.

legend?	311.1	<input type="checkbox"/>
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GAUTAMIPUTRA SATAKARNI o/s

Type 312 Countermark on Nahapana. Page 192.

		•											A
	•	•	•										B
	•		•	•									C
	•	•		•		○	•	•	•	•			D
		•											E
		•											F
		•											G
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	



310.1



311.1



312.1/C



313.1



CHASTANA

Type 313 Bust right.... Sun and crescent, leg. around. P. 193.

313.1D	Δ
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314.1



Type 314 Bust right....3-arched mountain symbol. SATRAP.

𑀘𑀓𑀧𑀲𑀭𑀮𑀭𑀮𑀮𑀮𑀮𑀮𑀮	314.1D	Δ
𑀘𑀓𑀧𑀲𑀭𑀮𑀭𑀮𑀮𑀮𑀮𑀮𑀮𑀮	314.2D	Δ
as last without Chastanasa	314.3D	Δ
Brahmi legend?	314.4D	Δ



314.6



- as MAHASATRAP. Page 193/4.

𑀘𑀓𑀧𑀲𑀭𑀮𑀭𑀮𑀮𑀮𑀮𑀮𑀮	314.5D	Δ
𑀘𑀓𑀧𑀲𑀭𑀮𑀭𑀮𑀮𑀮𑀮𑀮𑀮𑀮	314.6D	Δ
cruder, Kh. Rano(Catha) only	314.7D	Δ
brahmi only	314.8D	Δ
as 314.5 but crescent right/sun left	314.9D	Δ
as last but	314.10D	Δ
as last but no kharosthi legend	314.11D	Δ



314.8



314.10



Lists Received

1. Stephen Album (PO Box 7386, Santa Rosa, Calif. 95407, USA) lists 121 (Nov. 1995), 122 (December 1995) and 123 (January 1996).
2. Scott Semans (PO Box 22849, Seattle, WA 98122, USA) list 59 - coins of the world and list B59a of books on oriental numismatics. This list contains information on a number of forthcoming or recently published works which are worth noting here.
 - * *Indo-Greek, Indo-Scythian, and Indo-Parthian coins in the Smithsonian Institution* by Osmund Bopearachchi. 143 pages + 41 plates.
 - * *Encyclopaedia of the coins of Malaysia, Singapore and Brunei 1400-1986* by Saran Singh. A soft cover reprint of the indispensable 1986 edition with addendum of new discoveries.
 - * *A Survey of Native Southeast Asian coinage circa 450-1850* by Robert Wicks. This 1983 PhD thesis provides a unified numismatic history and catalogue of Burma, Thailand, SE Asia, Malaya and Indonesia, drawing on Millies and many ephemeral sources. A wealth of information difficult to find elsewhere. "There has been such demand for this unpublished work" that Scott will print, with permission, a bound photocopy reprint from the original text. 532 pages plus 67 plates, card cover.
3. Poinsignon Numismatique (4, rue des Francs Bourgeois, F-67000 Strasbourg, France) fixed-price list 40 (December 1995). This includes a number of oriental coins.
4. Senior Consultants (Butleigh Court Tower, Butleigh, Glastonbury, Somerset, BA6 8SA, UK) a list of primarily Indo-Greek coins, February 1996. A list of "less expensive coins including mediaeval and later coins" is being prepared and will be available on request.

Book Reviews

Das Aleppiner Kalifat (AD1261). Vom Ende des Kalifates in Bagdad über Aleppo zu den Restaurationen in Kairo by Stefan Heidemann 425pp 20 plates, 9 charts, 1 map. E.J.Brill, Leiden. 1994 Price not stated

Six of the first seven publications of the series entitled *Islamic History and Civilisation. Studies and Texts* are in English. This present book, number 6 in the series, is in German and it can be seen as a measure of its importance that it is so included, particularly as it deals essentially with a period of less than a decade. This period begins just before the Mongol sack of Baghdad in 656/1254 and the death of the last 'Abbasid Caliph, al-Musta'sim, and ends in 661/1262 when the re-establishment of the Caliphate in Cairo as the religious centre of Islam was firmly in place. The first 200 pages of the book describe in considerable detail the interlocking political and religious relationships between the different powers controlling events in Iraq, Syria, and Egypt. In particular it covers the fortunes of the three Caliphs ruling during the transition from the Abbasid Caliphate to that set up in Cairo. Especial attention is given to the role of an amir, Aqqus al-Burli one of al-Nasir Yusuf's military commanders, in the attempt to prevent the Mamluks in Egypt from achieving independence from the Ayyubids. The basis for this study is a combination of the traditional Arabic sources with information derived from a painstakingly constructed corpus of coins that makes up the second part of the book. This is seen as the source of a unique and unbiased record of contemporary titles, dates, and places unsullied by the need of historical scribes to report from a particular viewpoint. However, it is difficult to gauge the influence of the numismatic evidence on the conclusions without a detailed study of the whole of the text. Any review of the conclusions derived from these combined sources demands a level of historical scholarship beyond that of the present reviewer and has therefore been left for others to provide.

The second part of the book sets out a corpus of the coins of the period from that region, mostly taken from the collections of the American Numismatic Society, the British Museum, the National Museum in Berlin, and the University of Tübingen, together with several major hoards. In general, the series covered are the gold and silver coins of the Mamluks, the Ayyubids, the Lu'lu'ids, and the late 'Abbasids. It is explained that the undated coppers are excluded as they provide little new information on the rulers and their allegiances, the main theme of the book. Fractional dirhams of the 'Abbasids and some crude Ilkhanid dinars are also omitted as are the coins of the Artuqids of Mardin and the Ayyubids of Mayyafarqin and Hisn Keyfa, whose areas of influence are taken to be peripheral to the subject of the book.

The published numismatic sources drawn upon include Balog's two major studies of the Mamluks and the Ayyubids, papers by Bates, Berman, and Broome on Mamluk coins and by Amitai-Preiss on Hulagu's protocols, together with unpublished papers by Ilisch on early Mamluk Coins from Syria. Unfortunately, the dissertation on coins of the Great Mongols by Kolbas was not available in time to be taken into account.

The corpus is arranged by mints which are grouped according to the dynasty controlling them in AH655. So that Cairo and Alexandria are assigned to the Mamluks, Aleppo Damascus Hamah and Harran to the Ayyubids, Mosul Sinjar and the rare mint of al-Bawazij to the Lu'lu'ids, and Madinat al-Salam and Irbil to the 'Abbasids. Each dynastic section begins with a general discussion of the monetary events that affected the period 655 to 661. The coins from each mint are described in detail, apart from the die axis and any minor symbols they may bear, and legends are reproduced in standard pointed Arabic script. All specimens known to the author are listed with diameters and dates where this information was available. A number of rare coins are here published in their context including the earliest Cairo dinar of Baibars (with the nisba al-Zahir), the only dated Damascus dirham naming the Caliph al-Mustansir, the Hamah dirham of 658 in the names of al-Mansur Mohammad and Qutuz, and Hulagu's dirham from al-Bawazij.

Great care has been taken to bring together the names of the people named on the coins and the relevant military and civil governors. In many cases exact dates are given for the periods during which they exercised influence and where possible the coins have been assigned to the appropriate period of power. The changes in titles and protocols found on the coins are emphasised with the most important being translated into German. Unusually, the coins are numbered separately for each mint so that, for example, there are 13 coins given the number 1! In all, 126 types have been identified with sub-types bringing the total to 160 separate descriptions. Although it is a pity that the solitary quarter dirham from Damascus, struck from special dies could not be included on the plate, it is a measure of the author's thoroughness that all except six of the types have been illustrated (in a rather fuzzy grey) on the plates. It is pleasant to see that the large number of coins shown has allowed for several specimens of the same type to be included. This is particularly useful where there are variations in style or where the descriptions rely on incompletely struck-up specimens. A valuable feature of this section of the book is the insertion of explanatory text between the coin descriptions where external events have produced major changes in the legends. These are fully supported by elaborate footnotes (as is the whole book) sometimes reproducing the original Arabic text referred to. The book concludes with an account of Caliph al-Hakim's genealogy supported by extensive quotations from Arabic sources. All the sources both primary and secondary, relied upon by the author are listed and indices are provided of geographical and personal names and of Arabic terms used in the book. Overall, this is an excellent work, well made and well presented and written in a manner that avoids the complexities of phraseology and archaic vocabulary sometimes associated with German academic texts. It contains a mass of information and, for the numismatist, is probably the only accessible guide to the contemporary references for the historical events of this short but important period. The picture it provides of the interaction between adjoining dynasties as shown by their coins is one that is difficult to find in purely numismatic works but is an essential aid to an understanding of coins as historical evidence.

MRB

Pre-Kushana Coins in Pakistan by Osmund Bopearachchi and Aman ur Rahman. (Karachi, 1995), 237 pp., 76 colour plates.

This latest offering by Osmund Bopearachchi, in collaboration with Aman ur Rahman, maintains the high standard of scholarship we have come to expect from this author. The volume is a catalogue of 1071 coins in the private collection of Aman ur Rahman, supplemented by selected rare specimens in the collections of the Peshawar Museum and Khurshid Ahmad Khan. Six centuries of the numismatic history of

ancient Pakistan and adjoining regions are covered - beginning with fifth-century Greek coins found in Bactria, silver bent-bars and local coins of the Kabul region issued under the Achaemenids, and a selection of Indian punch-marked coins. The catalogue however concentrates on Aman ur Rahman's collection of coins of Alexander's successors in the east. These include examples of Bactrian imitations of the Athenian owl coinage and Seleucid issues, and above all, a large quantity of Greco-Bactrian, Indo-Greek, Indo- Scythian and Indo-Parthian coins.

The four chapters preceding the catalogue cover the principles of classification, the role of monograms, the relevant history of these regions, a technical commentary on a number of unique coins and problems of cleaning and preservation. Apart from a comprehensive bibliography, a provenance index and a useful chart of all the Kharoshthi variants found on the coins are also included.

The collection comprises an unusually high proportion of provenanced coins from a number of hoards: primarily from the second Mir Zakah deposit and Ai Khanum IV in Afghanistan and from Sarai Saleh near Haripur in Pakistan. The analysis of the relationship of individual issues within the composition of these hoards is revealing and there are large number of new types, monograms and overstrikes - 25% of the coins from Mir Zakah II exhibit new characteristics. Since the 418 Mir Zakah coins were bought uncleaned in bulk, they represent a characteristic sample of the hoard, which seems to contain a high proportion of coins of 1st century BC - 2nd century AD, especially posthumous Hermaeus imitations and issues of Azes II. The study of the 53 coins from Sarai Saleh similarly provides important information regarding the chronological sequence of the Indo-Greek and Indo-Scythian kings in the Haripur region.

One of the most useful aspects of the book is the work done by Osmund Bopearachchi towards establishing a clearer pattern of monograms. He provides convincing arguments to support the view that monograms comprising similar design elements should be grouped together and considered as variants of a limited number of mints, not as marks of an infinite number of individual mints, while isolated examples which do not fit the general pattern should be seen as imitations or posthumous issues.

An art historian recently complained to me that current numismatic research is producing too many kings, the contention being that the early history of the Pakistan and Afghanistan regions is incomprehensible enough without a proliferation of more rulers with the same name. But this very coherent introduction to the subject, with its wealth of detailed and useful specialist information, provides a clear outline of the numismatic evidence for the existence of all these "new" kings. As such, it fully justifies Osmund Bopearachchi's "modest ambition ... to determine for each of the known kings the date of their reigns and the boundaries of their kingdom" (p. 23). An Urdu translation by Abdur Rahman makes the subject accessible to Pakistani readers for the first time and should greatly advance the interest and study of these coins in the country of their origin.

E. Errington

Sammlung Kohler Osbahr. Band II/3: Vormünzliche Zahlungsmittel und aussergewöhnliche Geldformen: Siamesische Porzellantoken by Ralf Althoff. 331 pp, 54 colour plates. Duisburg 1995, DM 118. ISBN 3 89279 513-4. Text in German and English. Published by Stadt und Kulturhistorisches Museum, Duisburg.

The collection of Siamese porcelain tokens described here is part of a larger donation to this German museum. The donation includes the proviso that the collection be published within a certain period of time. Ralf Althoff of the museum has undertaken the task of publishing the 1293 porcelain pieces which make up this part of the collection. Also mentioned are cowrie imitations, metal tokens, glass tokens, mother of pearl tokens and modern imitations.

The amount of time available for this project does not seem to have been enough to allow the author to develop a detailed overview and evaluation of the collection. There is a decent summary of what has previously been written on the subject, but the general collector will have considerable difficulty following the classification used in the catalogue. This is arranged according the number of strokes in the first Chinese character rather than using a more visual method according the shape of the pieces. In using the first Chinese character to classify the tokens, a certain amount of confusion has arisen. Various forms and motifs have been mixed and some pieces that ought to be listed together are separated. The author makes some exceptions to this procedure (e.g. nos. 179 and 180). The same problem occurs with those pieces that bear a Chinese verse or poem (nos. 1247 1270a). For collectors of this series who are unacquainted with Chinese, it is often difficult to read the hand-painted characters, which may be unclear, or blurred by the firing process. It would be much easier to locate a specific item if the classification were by shape and/or motif.

The colour plates are the greatest asset of this book. But if you have found a wanted type, e.g. no. 970 on colour plate XXXVIII, you then have to open the book at page 189 to find a description. Here there are no Chinese characters, only a transcription in the Wade system, which is not used by researchers today (they use the Pinyin system). Then you have to go to page 280 to see the Chinese characters and a German translation. If you want an English translation, you have to refer to page 315. It would have been better to have divided the book into two main parts: the colour plates and a separate catalogue part, where all the relevant information could be found in one place rather than at four different places.

Not enough attention has been paid to the important matter of denominations. In the section that deals with this, there are several mistakes and misunderstandings. A 200 wen is indicated in the catalogue key, and piece no. 47 is specified as such on page 250; the illustration, however, clearly shows that the piece in question is 100 wen. The would-be *att* pieces with the denomination *pai ba* (*p'ai pa*), e.g. nos. 690, 946, 1282, and 1307, are in fact *pei* tokens (see ONS Newsletter 140, Spring 1994). The lowest denomination in the catalogue key is 1/2 solot (1/16 song *pei* or 25 cowries), but no such piece is known.

When describing the various motifs which occur on the tokens, the author merely repeats the previous views expressed in Ramsden, Kainz and Schlosser, despite the errors these have been shown to contain. Thai inscriptions are not translated, but the author claims that they are probably the same as the Chinese characters on the pieces. As mentioned above, this catalogue describes 1293 porcelain types; which represents about 15% of the total estimated number of types. It is therefore far from being an exhaustive catalogue of the series. It is printed on fine art paper, but glued at the spine like a paperback. This, unfortunately, causes the pages to come unstuck after some use, a state of affairs that one would not expect from a publication at this price.

Despite these reservations, because the 54 colour plates are excellent, and because this book does present the largest published modern collection of its type, I can commend it to all collectors and students of Siamese porcelain tokens.

Peter Flensburg

Responses to Earlier Queries

1. In Newsletter 145 we published a query from Bob Forrest about some Indian tokens that were imitations of Akbar coins. Dr PL Gupta has provided the following information.

These pieces are charms, known in Indian Muslim families as *char-yaris* because the original coins bore the names of the four Khalifas around the Kalima. On one of the pieces (number 2) the names of the prophets are in fact missing. On the third piece, the names are there but truncated. Dr Gupta further states that all the coins of Akbar bearing the Kalima and the names of the Khalifas in any metal are considered to be charms by Muslim families in India. The belief used to be that such pieces had medicinal or magical properties. For instance, it was believed that if one were placed in water for some time and then given to a woman in labour, the labour pains would be reduced and the delivery made easier. The water could be also be taken as a form of medicine for fever. Such beliefs are not so common nowadays, but may still be found in villages and among town people.

2. Also in Newsletter 145 I raised a query about an Iraqi medal. This resulted in two responses, from Kevin Akin of Riverside, California and Mike Robinson and his wife, Zakia, of Sale, Cheshire, UK.

The medal was in fact issued in 1978 to mark the 10th anniversary of the Ba'ath revolution, when the Ba'ath party regained power after a coup. The legend reads as follows:

centre circle: *in commemorating the 10th anniversary of the revolution / 17-30 July 1968*

second circle: *the Iraqi Republic / 1398 Hijra 17-30 July (Tammuz) 1978*

outermost circle: *One Arab nation with an eternal message / Unity Freedom Socialism*. This is the creed of the Ba'ath Party.

The man in typical Arab headdress grasping the oil-rig is a symbol of the nationalisation of the oil industry, completed under the Ba'ath government. The broken circle at right contains an arm holding one segment of the circle, a segment having the appearance of part of a machine-gun, to symbolise the military nature of the change of government. To the right of the arm are a gear-wheel and ear of grain, symbols of industrial and agricultural labour. The hand writing in a book is a general symbol of literacy and education. During the 1970s and 1980s, literacy in Iraq rose from roughly 30% to roughly 60%. At upper right there is a map of the Arab world in a sunburst. This is a Ba'ath Party emblem.

Many thanks to our respondents for providing this information.

Hidden Treasure - The Oriental coin Collection in Jena

by S. Heidemann

Jena's manifold treasures remained long hidden, often not only to the public but also to specialists. One of them is the oriental coin collection.

The University of Jena possesses the third largest public collection in Germany of oriental coins - 8600 items. In the 19th century the *Münzkabinett* represented a unique centre for Islamic numismatics in Germany. Until shortly after the first world war the *Münzkabinett* worked closely with the *Orientalischen Seminar*. Only with the renewal of Semitic and Islamic studies at the Friedrich Schiller University, Jena, two years ago has the collection once again been professionally curated.

The Beginnings

The history of oriental numismatics in Jena is older than the oriental collection itself. The beginnings go back 220 years. In 1775, the same year that Goethe came to Weimar, the newly appointed professor for oriental languages, Johann Gottlieb Eichhorn, made his scientific debut in Jena (1775-1788) with a lecture on the beginnings of the Arabic coinage: *De rei numariae apud Arabas initiis*. He thereby introduced Islamic numismatics as one of the first as a component of the subject at a German university.

Building up the collection

Johann Gustav Stickel is the actual founder of the grand-ducal oriental coin collection. For 69 years in Jena he was a lecturer in theology, then, from 1827 until his death, professor of oriental languages and literature. Stickel was both a theologian and well versed in Semitic studies, as was not uncommon in the 18th century. His understanding of science was still completely rooted in the previous century. He did not follow in the footsteps of his own generation in the first half of the 19th century, when they separated oriental studies from theology and established it as philology, in a similar way to classical philology. The most important patron of oriental numismatics was the versatile daughter of the tsar, the Grand Duchess Maria Pawlowna in Weimar. At the same time, there lived at the court as an educator for the princes, a further person who was to make a decisive impression on Islamic numismatics in the 19th century. That was the Swiss Frédéric Soret.

The opportunity to acquire an important collection of oriental coins for Jena arose in March 1839. It belonged to the Thuringian pastor and former Herrnhut missionary, Heinrich August Zwick, who had lived for 18 years at a missionary station on the Volga. It contained around 1500 pieces. These were above all coins of the Golden Hoard, the Mongol dynasty in Russia during the 13-15th centuries, and coins of the Samanids, an East Iranian dynasty of the 10th century.

Stickel managed to persuade his patron, Maria Pawlowna, to acquire the Zwick collection for Jena. She was also instrumental in the further development of the collection. She provided the *Münzkabinett* with an annual budget. Through her Russian relatives many Islamic coins came to Jena. In 1846, on behalf of Maria Pawlowna, Soret bought the oriental part of the famous Moscow Spewitz collection for Jena. Even after her death in 1859, the family relations between the House of Weimar and Russia remained fruitful for the collection.

Islamic coins from eastern European hoards of the 9th and 11th centuries are richly represented in the Jena collection and form a focal point for the research into the history of Armenia, Georgia, the Caucasus, East Europe and Eastern Iran. Large quantities of these coins reached Russia via the Viking trade between the Caspian Sea and the Baltic.



Illustration 1 shows a silver dirham of year AH 119/AD 737. It came as a present to Soret from the Russian General Bartholomaei and later with his collection to Jena. The mint is *al-Bab*, "The Gate". This name refers to Darband in the Caucasus. According to legend, near this town lay the gate that Alexander the Great had closed to protect the world from the giants, Gog and Magog.

Islamic coins came not only to eastern Europe but were also imitated there. The Arabic script was not understood so far north and, on many coins, degenerated into a succession of strokes and crosses (see illustration 2)



The most important accession was the purchase of the Soret collection by the grand-ducal family. On 17 October 1865 Frédéric Soret died in Geneva. He had maintained a life-long friendship with the House of Weimar and with J G Stickel. He left behind a collection of over 5500 coins, one of the largest and best known private collections of his time. The grand-ducal family shared the for that time enormous purchase price of 25000 gold francs. Many of the important pieces had been published by Soret, himself.

The most important piece from an art-historic point of view and the item that hitherto has been most quoted is the gold dinar from the early part of the year 77 Hegira (AD 696). This is illustrated alongside.



It stands at the interface of Arabisation of the coinage and administration, which, out of the Byzantine area under the control of Bedouins first formed an Arabic-Islamic state. The form of the coins still adheres to that of the Byzantines, although the legends are in Arabic and instead of a Byzantine ruler, the caliph, himself, is depicted.



In 1873, the acquisition policy of the Münzkabinett was broadened to embrace far-eastern coinage. From the famous German explorer of Japan, Heinrich von Siebold, Grand Duke Carl Alexander, stimulated by what he had seen at the World Exhibition in Vienna, acquired a specialist collection of 343 rare Japanese amulets and coins and passed them on to the grand-ducal oriental collection. An example is illustrated here.

Many famous names contributed to the development of the collection through donations and purchases, amongst them the orientalist, father and son, Mordtmann, Martin Hartmann, Henri Sauvaire, Josef von Karabacek, the Africa explorer G Rohlf, the oriental traveller Hermann Burchardt, the numismatists Grotefend, H Lavoix, Imhoof-Blumer and H Nützel.

At the age of 91, after a short illness, JG Stickel died on 21 January 1896. Aware of the far-reaching importance of his life's work he had already in 1885 written: *Here, in the middle of Germany, in the little town of Jena, where some 40 years ago there was not a single oriental coin to be seen, I have succeeded in creating a collection which, for a long time, will provide an unexhausted source for oriental research*" [ZDMG 39 (1885) 39].

The Keeper, Karl Vollers

After the death of Stickels arose the question of a successor. The choice of the university fell upon the prominent Arabist and dialectologist Karl Vollers (1896-1909). The 13 years of his work on the collection was characterised less by publications than by the ordering of the collection and a skilful widening of the content, which comprised 13500 pieces in 1906. Karl Vollers died in 1909. His successor was Arthur Ungnad, an expert in Semitic studies and the ancient orient.

The collection is scattered

After the departure of Ungnad in 1919, the Großherzogliche orientalische Münzkabinett was orphaned for over seven decades. In the following period, the collection was separated, the lead and tin coins degenerated, the inventories were transferred to the main state archive of Thuringia. Inappropriate means of transport mixed all the coins up. On 15 May 1939 four fifths of the Soret collection were given back to the grand-ducal house and have not been seen since 1945.

Starting afresh

In 1993 the chair of Semitic Philology and Islamic Studies at the Friedrich Schiller University was filled by Prof. Dr. Norbert Nebes. In 1994 Dr Stefan Heidemann joined him as assistant. Thus did the Orientalische Münzkabinett gain a new lease of life. It provides not only one of the foundations for 19th century knowledge about Islamic numismatics but also conceals within its still unordered contents the potential for a modern, historical research instrument.

As little as a year ago, the collection was a torso of 8600 coins, without aims, without inventory, without documentation. Since then the restoration has begun. All coins now have a catalogue number. The old files, believed to have disappeared, have been discovered in the Thuringian state archive. Information about the whereabouts of the Soret collection are being followed up. The first foreign, scientific visitors have already been able to inspect the collection. The task of the Münzkabinett for the future is to re-create a modern, scientific work facility for historic research in collaboration with other large German collections.

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For further information about this collection members can contact Dr Stefan Heidemann at the Institut für Sprachen und Kulturen der Friedrich-Schiller-Universität Jena, Löbdergraben 24a, D-07743, Jena, Germany.

Legend Variations of the Coins of Ardashir the Great

Craig Reider

The origins and early history of the man who became known as Ardashir I, founder of the Sasanian dynasty in Iran, are controversial. In large part this is because so little is known for certain due to the relative isolation of his home state of Persis in southern Iran from the viewpoint of the West, and the paucity of contemporary writing of this period. Particularly, his relationship to the namesake of the dynasty, Sasan, is greatly debated. Sasan may have been Ardashir's father, grandfather, or some distant and possibly legendary ancestor. What is known is that after a series of local campaigns in the province of Persis in what was then the Parthian empire, the family of Papak emerged victorious. At first Papak's eldest son Shapur became king, an assertion based in no small part on numismatic evidence. After his brief reign and untimely death, Ardashir (Papak's second son, either by birth or adoption) became ruler of this country, known to our histories as Ardashir V of Persis. As Ardashir extended his control over neighbouring kingdoms, a showdown with the Parthians became inevitable, and in 224 the decisive battle of Hormizdagan was fought and the Parthians defeated. After this, Ardashir proclaimed himself 'Shahanshah' (King of Kings), now changing in the texts to Ardashir I of the Sasanian empire, although in fact it was several more years until the remaining provinces, freed by the Parthian defeat, were re-subjugated.

Ardashir came to the throne with the idea of reclaiming the heritage of the old Achaemenid empire, which had likewise been founded in Persis, and from whom he claimed descent. In fact, his name itself dates back to this earlier dynasty..." 'rthštr " in Middle Persian coming from the Old Persian *Rtaxshira, which meant "whose reign is through truth", and whom the Greeks called Artaxerxes. Thus this name at the time dated back at least 700 years. It is possible that this may not have been his given name, but one he took on his accession. In any event, the attempt was to re-establish this earlier Golden Age by virtue of restoration of culture, religion, and extent of empire, although precisely how much was known at this time of the prior civilisation has been debated.

The earliest coins of Ardashir I - the drachm referred to as Göbl 1 (fig. 1) and the half drachm Göbl 2 - fall in a bit of a numismatic "grey zone", coming as they do at the tail end of the series of the kings of Persis from the fall of the Achaemenid through the Parthian empires, and extending into the earliest years of the Sasanian period.

The legend on the drachm is generally as given by Alam:



OBV: **𐎠𐎼𐎡𐎹 𐎹𐎡𐎴𐎠𐎹𐎡𐎹**

bgy 'rthštry MLK' (Lord Ardashir, King)

with the first two words starting at 1 o'clock working clockwise, and the final word starting at about 10 o'clock working counter clockwise.

REV: **בגד נשא סענצרי מלכ**

BRH bgy p'pky MLK' (son of Lord Papak, King)

with the first three words to the right of the bust as above, and the last to the left. Panuck gives several variations of the legends known to him, specifically citing abbreviations, thus:

Paruck 4 (Obv.): bg[y] 'rth[štr] MLK'

Paruck 5 (Obv.): bgy 'rthšt[r] MLK'

Panuck 9 (Rev.): BRH bgy p'p[k] MLK'

Paruck 10 (Obv.): bgy ['rthštr] MLK'

Paruck 12: no obverse or reverse legend.

Lukonin illustrates a coin with the following variation:

Lukonin type I (Obv.): bgy ['r]thšt[r] MLK'

All of these have the same legend orientation as given above.

Göbl in *Sasanian Numismatics* and in his chapter in the *Cambridge History of Iran* does not show any additional legend variations, although he mentions that variants exist. In *An Introduction to Sasanian Coins* by Sellwood, Whitting and Williams, a different legend orientation is shown in the line drawing on page 76; that is, the legends starting at about 5 o'clock and running in a counter-clockwise direction. This is somewhat suspicious, however, as the coin illustrating this in the plates in fact shows the above orientation.

De Morgan, and following him Mitchiner, give what is likely a misinterpretation. At the start of the reverse legend they see an 'M' and take that as shorthand for 'mazdisn' (Mazda-worshipping), a form which does appear on later coins. Mitchiner passes along another de Morgan inaccuracy in transcribing the obverse name 'rthštr' (instead of 'rthštr'), when in looking back, at de Morgan's line drawing it appears the 'h' is in fact there. The photos in Mitchiner are not quite clear enough to be sure of the proper transliteration. De Morgan's drachm #371 is probably misattributed.

There is however a less often seen variant in the obverse legend orientation, and this is demonstrated in the above coin (Fig. 1). In this type, the two positions of the legend are reversed; that is, *bgy 'rthštr* is seen counter-clockwise to the left of the bust, whereas *MLK'* is seen to the right starting at 1 o'clock running clockwise. This variant has not to my knowledge previously been published, except in certain sale catalogues. Whether this has any significance either in the placing or timing of minting of this type variant coin is unclear.

Hemidrachms are in general as the drachms. Paruck #11 shows the full inscription in standard orientation; Göbl #2 appears the same except the reverse is abbreviated: BRH bgy p('pky) MLK'. De Morgan shows a totally different hemidrachm (#372) with fire altar and throne reverse and legends on both sides reading 'rthštr MLK' starting at 4 o'clock and running counter clockwise. In the absence of the actual coin it is uncertain how to interpret this.

In addition to the above, there is an issue of bronzes (Göbl 3) which may be viewed as a transitional type, in that they have the obverse type as above, while the reverse shows the fire altar with Sasanian-style throne superimposed in front which would subsequently become standard for this ruler. The obverse legend in the Göbl example is illegible, but the coin shown in Sellwood (#3) appears to show the word "MLK' " to the left of the bust as would be usual. Miles reports a similar bronze with obverse obliterated but reverse as above.

The next known coins are drachms showing on the obverse Ardashir wearing Parthian-style headdress, with right-facing bust which would become canonical for the entire empire, with the reverse showing the fire altar and throne (Göbl 4). Exactly when the change was made from the type discussed above is the subject of some debate. There are three logical possibilities for this: the battle of Hormazdagan, the accession of Ardashir to the throne or his coronation. Lukonin states that the earlier type coins were made between 220 and 227, the date he gives for the coronation. Since this is subject to dispute, the best that can be said at this time is that the type change took place sometime during a three year period between 224 and 227.

In summary, this coin series, bridging the late Persian and early Sasanian periods, is as fascinating as it is poorly understood. Much further exploratory work remains to be done.

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Note: Special thanks to those who kindly rendered assistance: Mr. Stephen Album, Mr. François Gurnet, Mr. H. Mehdi Malek and Mr. William Warden.

THE GOLD COINS OF THE SULTANS OF BENGAL

Part 1

Stan Goron

Gold coins of the Sultans of Bengal are rare. Perhaps some 50-60 of them have been published over the last 100 years. A few more have appeared in auction catalogues or dealers lists. The predominant coin of the Bengal sultans was the silver tanka. The aim of this series of articles is two-fold: firstly to draw together those types that have previously been published and secondly to bring to members attention hitherto unpublished coins in the superb collection of Dr Suresh Kawale.

The Bengal gold series starts with several notable issues of horseman coins. These were struck in the names of two Sultans of Dehli, Muhammad bin Sam and Iltutmish and in the name of the ephemeral Bengal sultan, 'Ali Mardan (AH 607-9/ AD 1210-12). These coins have been covered quite extensively in recent years¹. The most notable of them is the gold tanka in the name of Muhammad bin Sam, struck by his general Muhammad Bakhtiyar with the date 19 Ramadan 601 to mark the conquest of Gaur. This type, of which three or four are known, bears the legend *Gaur vijaye*, "on the conquest of Gaur". These horseman coins were struck in at least three different weights: the full tanka weighing around 11 grams, coins weighing 4.5 grams (40 rati standard?) and coins weighing 2.2-2.3 grams (20 rati standard?). Rajgor mentions a 1/2 tanka in the name of Muhammad bin Sam (type 105) weighing 5.6 grams but does not provide a reference. PL Gupta

describes a coin in the name of the same ruler weighing 2.8 grams, which would make it a ¼ tanka². It is worth mentioning that some of the 20 rati coins have the horseman riding to the left, while others have the horseman riding to the right. Moreover, some reverses bear their legend in Nagari script while others have an Arabic inscription. The coins in the name of Iltutmish were struck by his governor in Bengal 'Iwaz. 'Iwaz also struck a relatively well-known series of silver horseman tankas in the name of his overlord, but so far no corresponding gold tankas have come to light.

It is possible that subsequent governors of Bengal may have struck some gold tankas in the names of their Sultan of Dehli overlords but, to my knowledge, none have so far been discovered or identified as such. The next gold coin of Bengal is a unique tanka of Shams-ud-din Firuz (AH 700-717 and 720) in the Indian Museum, Calcutta³. This coin is of the same type as the silver tankas, but unfortunately, has neither clear mint nor date. Sunargaon, in East Bengal, is the location for the striking of the next gold issue. This is a tanka struck in the joint names of Muhammad bin Tughluq of Dehli and Ghiyas-ud-din Bahadur of Bengal. The date is AH 728. The last gold tankas to be struck in Bengal in the name of a Sultan of Dehli are those of Muhammad bin Tughluq struck at Lakhnauti and Satgaon in the years 734 and 735⁵.

A decade or so thereafter, Fakhr-ud-din Mubarak declared his independence in East Bengal and struck coins at Sunargaon between AH 739 and 750 (AD 1338-1349). While his silver tankas are by now relatively well known, no gold coin in his name has so far been published. There is a unique ¼ tanka in the Kawale collection. The details are as follows:

فخر الدنيا
و الدين



ابو المظفر ميا
ركشاه
السلطان

Obverse: Fakhr-ud-dunya/wa ud-din

Reverse: Abu-l Muzaffar Muba/rak Shah /as- Sultan

The coin weighs 2.7 grams and has a diameter of 13 mm. On the obverse the components of the *laqab* are inscribed with *wa ud-dunya* below *ud-din*. The reverse legend appears to be set within a square with an annulet at the centre of each side.

In due course, Shams-ud-din Ilyas (AH 743-758 / AD 1342-1356) succeeded in gaining control over the whole of Bengal. His silver coins are quite common. A gold tanka of Firuzabad, year 760 is listed in IMC as coin 23. In the Kawale collection there are four gold tankas and a half tanka. The tankas are of the same type as previously published. The mint, where legible, is Firuzabad. Legible dates are 752 and 755. One of the coins has a date that may be either 750 or 756, depending on whether the word following the mint-name is to be read as *sanah* (year) or *sitt* (six). The word *sanah* is not always included on these coins as can be seen on the coin of 755 illustrated below.

السلطان العادل
شمس الدين و الدين
ابو المظفر الياس
شاه السلطان



سكندر الثاني
بميت الخلافة
امير المؤمنين

Obverse: As-Sultan al-'Adil/ Shams-ud-dunya wa ud-din/Abu'l Muzaffar Ilyas/ Shah as-Sultan

Reverse: Sikandar al-thani/ yamin al-Khilafat/ Amir al-Muminin

Margin: mint and date - Firuzabad 755

Weight 10.9 grams diameter 23 mm

The weights and diameters of the other tankas are as follows: i. Year 752 weight 11 grams, diameter 23 mm; ii. year 750 or 756 weight 11 grams, diameter 23 mm; iii. date not clear weight 11 grams, diameter 23 mm. These gold tankas were probably struck from dies used for silver tankas.

The half gold tanka is unpublished and different from the silver half tankas known so far (Rajgor types 189 and 190).

السلطان
الغازي



شمس الدين
و الدين

Obverse: As-Sultan/ ul-Ghazi

Reverse: Shams-ud-dunya wa ud-din

Margin: ..Sikkah...Al-Bilad Firuzabad 75x

Weight 5.5 grams, diameter 17 mm. The date on this coin is not clear.

The silver coinage of the next sultan, Sikandar bin Ilyas (AH 758-92/ AD 1357-89) is extensive and very varied. Karim⁷ mentions two gold tankas corresponding to his types E and D⁸. Another coin is illustrated in Rajgor as type 220. This coin is said to be of Baldat Firuzabad. Another coin of Karim type D is present in the Kawale collection. Karim does not state the mint of the coin he has listed. The margin on the Kawale coin is not complete but part of the mint-name Mu'azzamabad can be seen. The date is off the flan⁹.

الامام
الاعظم ابو
المجاهد سكندر
شاه ابن الياس
شاه السلطان



بميت خليفة
الله ناصر امير
المؤمنين خلد
الله خلافته

Obverse: Al-Imam/ al-'Azam Abu/ -l Mujahid Sikandar/ Shah ibn Ilyas/ Shah as-Sultan

Reverse: Yamin Khalifat Allah Nasir Amir al-Muminin Khallad Allah Khilafatahu

Weight 11 grams, diameter 25 mm.

The next ruler represented by a gold issue is Ghiyas-ud-din A'zam (AH 792-813/ AD 1389-1410). A tanka formed lot 301 at the auction of the Skanda collection in Singapore in 1991. This coin was reproduced by Rajgor as his type 237. Another specimen of this type is in the Kawale collection.

المؤيد بتأييد الرحمن
غياث الدنيا والدين
ابوالمظفر اعظم شاه
ابن سيكندر شاه
ابن الياس شاه
السلطان



يامين خليفة الله
ناصر امير المؤمنين
غوث الاسلام
و المسلمين
خلد الله ملكه

Obverse: Al-muwayyidu ba-tayyid ul-Rahman/ Ghiyas-ud-dunya wa ud-din/ Abu-l Muzaffar A'zam Shah/ ibn Sikandar shah/ ibn Ilyas Shah/ as-Sultan

Reverse: Yamin Khalifat Allah/ Nasir Amir ul-Muminin/ Ghawth ul-Islam/ wa'l-Muslimin/ Khallada Allah Mulkaahu
Weight 11.6 grams, diameter 23 mm.

Jalal-ud-din Muhammad's issues (AH 818-9, 821-35/ AD1415-16, 1418-31) are notable for a number written in tughra characters, where the stems or tails of the letters are elongated for artistic effect. Three gold tankas appear to have been published or noted so far¹⁰. In the Kawale collection there are three different coins in tughra style. These coins, whether in gold or silver, can be very difficult to read. Some issues are particularly crude.

جلال الدنيا
والدين



ابوالمظفر
محمد شاه السلطان
خلافه خلد الله

Obverse: Jalal-ud-dunya wa ud-din in tughra characters within a circle. Marginal inscription only partly legible. Part of date visible in numerals 8xx.

Reverse: Abu'l Muzaffar Muhammad Shah as-Sultan. Rest of legend not altogether clear but may be Khallada Allah Khilafatahu. Legend mainly in tughra characters.

Weight 10.9 grams, diameter 23 mm.

جلال الدنيا والدين
ابوالمظفر
محمد شاه
(السلطان)



ناصر الاسلام
و المسلمين
خلد ملكه

Obverse: Jalal-ud-dunya wa ud-din Abu'l Muzaffar Muhammad Shah as-Sultan (?) in crude tughra characters all within a decorated border which is partly visible.

Reverse: Nasir-ul-Islam wa'l-Muslimin Khallada Mulkaahu in ordinary, albeit crude, characters within a circle. Margin only partly visible.

Weight 11.1 grams, diameter 24 mm.

جلال الدنيا والدين
ابوالمظفر محمد شاه
السلطان



?

This is a particularly crudely struck coin with tughra characters on both sides. Only part of the legend can be deciphered with confidence. There is another specimen of this type in the British Museum, weight 10.85 grams. Although that coin is somewhat better struck than the Kawale coin, the reading of the reverse is still problematic.

Obverse: probably Jalal-ud-dunya wa ud-din Muhammad Shah as-Sultan

Reverse: unread, but may be Khalifat Allah Nasir-ul-Islam wa'l Muslimin

Weight 11 grams, diameter 29 mm.

NOTES

1. NW Lowick *The horseman type of Bengal and the question of commemorative issues* in JNSI XXXV, 1973, p 197-208. PL Gupta *Nagari legend on horseman tankah of Muhammad bin Sam* in JNSI XXXV, 1973, p 209-12. RC Senior *Muhammad bin Sam's horseman tanka* in ONS Newsletter 129, June-July 1991. PL Gupta *On the date of the horseman type gold coin of Muhammad bin Sam* in JNSI XXXVIII, 1976, p 81-87. J Deyell *Horseman type gold coin of Muhammad bin Sam with Devanagari legend* in JNSI XL, 1978, p 126-7. PL Gupta *Horseman type tankas of Muhammad bin Sam* in Numismatic Digest, vol X, 1986, p 106-12. Edward Thomas *The chronicles of the Pathan kings of Dehli*, 1871, reprinted 1967, p 78 describes a horseman coin of Iltutmish. See also H Nelson Wright *The coinage and metrology of the Sultans of Dehli* coins 3A, 49F and 49G. Various horseman types are depicted or mentioned in Dilip Rajgor's *Standard catalogue of sultanate coins of India*, viz. Sultans of Dehli types 103, 104, 105, 107, 848 and 849; Sultans of Bengal types 103, 104, 105, 107, 115, 116. In this catalogue the coins in the name of Muhammad bin Sam are listed under both the Sultans of Bengal and the Sultans of Dehli.

2. Numismatic Digest, volume X, p 109, op cit

3. IMC 9, listed in Rajgor as type 154.

4. This coin was first published in JASB 1876, and subsequently by J Allen in JASB 1911, p 699-700. It was listed by Nelson Wright as coin 492F in his catalogue, and by Rajgor as type 172. Abdul Karim in his *Corpus of the Muslim coins of Bengal*, Dacca 1960, mentions this coin as being of his type B. Another specimen was reported by Rai Bahadur Prayag Dayal as being in the Jaipur Treasury Collection (JNSI VII, 1945, p49). Yet another specimen was included in the Skanda collection of Indian gold coins and auctioned as lot 300 at the Spink-Taisei auction of 20 February 1991 in Singapore. There is also a specimen in the British Museum, weight 10.69 grams.

5. Nelson Wright op cit coins 497A and 485. Two Satgaon coins are also reported for the Provincial Museum, Lucknow (Karim).

6. Rajgor type 200. There is a specimen in the British Museum of Firuzabad mint dated 750, weight 10.88 grams.

7. Karim op cit pp 51-52. These coins were originally published in Edward Thomas's *Initial coinage of Bengal, part I*, in JASB 1867 and in JASB 1889, pp 32-33.

8. There is a coin of Karim type E in the British Museum, without clear mint or date, weight 10.77 grams.

9. There are two specimens of this type in the British Museum, both without clear mint and date. The weights are 10.85 and 10.69 grams. There is no die duplication.

10. R. Burn *A rare gold coin of Jalaluddin Muhammad shah of Bengal* JASB 1896, p 108. This coin is described by Karim as his type I. A tughra type is listed in the British Museum Catalogue as number 81. Another coin of crude style featured in the Skanda auction as lot 302.

A Unique Five Rupee Coin of Aurangzeb

by Esko Tikkanen

A silver five rupee coin of the Mughal ruler Aurangzeb has puzzled me and others for some time, mainly for two reasons. Firstly, it is by appearance, design and weight clearly a five rupee coin being a part of the official coinage and not a commemorative or Nazarana issue. Secondly the normal monetary system of the Mughals did not include the issue of such coins. This coin was struck in Ajmir in AH 1112, in the 44th year of Aurangzeb's reign (AD 1700). It bears the standard legend of this period and is 41.8-43.3 mm in diameter, 4.5 mm thick and weighs 54.9 grams. It is in mint condition but has gained an even, dark patina after having lain in the soil for perhaps almost 300 years.

Five rupees during the reign of Aurangzeb represented a great deal of money for the average person. A good worker at the harbour of Surat earned two to three rupees a month and even a much valued foot soldier could only make four rupees a month. With a rupee one could buy some 30 kg of best quality rice or 36 kg of wheat.

As he grew older, Aurangzeb started to worry more and more about the fact that silver coins wear out in circulation, causing a considerable loss to the state coffers. In order to save some state silver, it is reported that he ordered a portion of the coinage silver to be minted in coins of such large value that they had absolutely no practical use in the hands of the public. He had two underground vaults constructed in Delhi, one for the state gold and the other for the state silver reserves, including silver coins not in circulation. Five rupee coins were minted on the orders of the emperor in accordance with the official coinage minting procedures. They were to be deposited directly from the mints into the state vaults in Delhi without allowing them to go into circulation despite the fact that they were real money. These coins were already used in Aurangzeb's time as raw material for other coinage and whatever was left at his death was used up by his successors. Fortunately, this particular coin managed to evade the melting pot and is believed to be the only surviving example of its type.



Two Hundred Years of Second-Hand Tranquebar Coins Struck by Second-Hand Dies

by Jørgen Clauson-Kaas (reproduced, edited, from *Nordisk Numismatisk Unions Medlemsblad*, Special edition no. 2, March 1994).

The coins of Tranquebar are one of the most fascinating fields of Danish numismatics. No other official coinage relates a story quite as interesting and vivid as those from Denmark's only far eastern colony with its own mint.

This article illustrates and looks at a number of coins that have not previously been discussed. The photographs, reproduced 2:1, are the work of Uno Barner Jensen. They have been computer enhanced to optimize sharpness and contrast and are supplemented by drawings. The visible portions of the understrike are indicated by the grey areas on the drawings.

Lead cas *Den Forgylde Sol* - The Gilded Sun, ca 1640. Fig 1.



UBJ 26 struck on UBJ 28 NIJ/B. 3.34 grammes. This coin is a particularly well-preserved specimen with a very clear undertype. It must be assumed that this over-strike is relatively rare as it was not included in Olav Sejerøe's article on the subject (*NNUM* 9/1992), but it is mentioned in Uno Barner Jensen's article about the Tranquebar coins of Christian IV (*NNUM* 3/1988, p.56). The inscription D/SOL is a reference to *Den Forgylde Sol*, a 468 ton merchant vessel. The ship arrived in Tranquebar on the 14th October 1640 and left in March 1643, homeward bound with a cargo which included pepper, sugar and cloth. Alas, the voyage did not go as planned and unfavourable weather and currents forced the ship to go too far west and it landed in Brazil on March 18th 1644. On its arrival in Europe it was wrecked and the cargo was seized and sold by the English to settle an account with the Danish king.

The stormy fate of *Den Forgylde Sol* has been told in three spell-binding articles by Olav J Bonefeld.

Lead cas .S./P.P./50 - ca 1650. Fig 2.

UBJ 133a struck on UBJ 135 :D:B/1652 2.98 grammes



This previously unpublished coin is a clear example of the problems and uncertainties of coin dates. A coin dated 1650 is overstruck on a coin dated 1652. We can simply conclude that the 1650 die was in use for several years and that it was of no importance what was struck on top of what and when it was done. A simple explanation is that perhaps a batch of coins needed a little improvement before they were put into circulation.

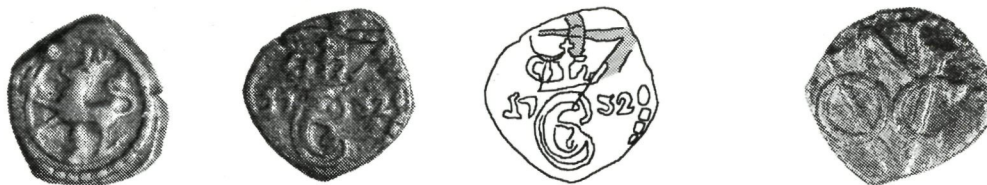
The letters SPP refer to the cutter St Peter and St Paul, which, from 1647-99 was the important lifeline between Tranquebar and other trading posts. Around that time there had been no direct communication between Danmark and Tranquebar for at least 26 years. The ship's importance is shown by its representation on coins during the reigns of both Christian IV and Frederik III.

Lead cas CAS - ca 1650-60. Fig 3.

UBJ 87 struck on UBJ 89 3.17 grammes



This coin, struck over a PAX type of Frederik III, has seen almost no circulation. Lead coins of this quality are very rare and as an overstrike are rarer still. Fewer than 20 examples of either type are known. From an historical viewpoint one can do nothing other than wish pax *vobiscum* for the poor colonists. The CAS type is also known struck over the HAAB type, UBJ 90. See *NNUM* 1/1990 p. 12.



Copper cas 1732. Fig 4.

UBJ 219 struck over a cas from the Dutch colony of Negapatnam (Mitchiner 1614-15)) 1.34 grammes

Negapatnam is only 35 km from Tranquebar. Among duplicates from the Grey collection, found in 1987, was a lead cas (N/VOC), which, according to Grey, was found on the beach below the Dansborg fort in Tranquebar. This discovery indicates that the Danes may have been in contact with the Dutch as early as the first half of the 17th century. This type, along with the 1 and 2 fano coins struck during the reigns of Frederik IV and Christian VI are the most pleasing coins struck in Tranquebar. Although impossible to substantiate, it is likely that the dies for all these were cut by the same engraver.

The year 1832 marks the beginning of a new era in the history of Tranquebar, when the Danish Asiatic Company, which was formed from the remains of the old company (1670-1729), took over the administration.

The Negapatnam undertype is also illustrated.



Copper 4 cas 1777. Fig 5.

UBJ 333. 2.90 grammes

This coin, struck on a neatly clipped flan, illustrates yet another form of re-cycling, with the coin being struck from an altered 1770 die. The bow of the zero of the 1770 can be clearly seen in front of the final 7 of 1777. During the 1780s coins were made from flans prepared from copper sheathing from old ships.

1777 saw the end of private enterprise in the DAC, which was taken over by the crown in return for a royal bond of 170,000 rigsdalers. 1777 marked the beginning of the use of the same type year after year, with only the date changing.



Copper 4 cas 1821. Fig 6.

UBJ 373. 2.00 grammes

With the exception of the 1816 1 cas, which is unique, this is the rarest of the final series of Tranquebar coins, known from only 5 examples, all of which reveal traces of a zero from an altered 1820 die.

There is no doubt that further varieties and overstrikes of Tranquebar coins will turn up.

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A Coin Die from Bhutan

by Nick Rhodes

By courtesy of Dr Wolfgang Schuster of Vienna, I was recently able to acquire a pair of Bhutanese coin dies that had been bought by an Austrian tourist in Thimphu bazaar. The dies are made of iron, the lower die (fig. 1) having a face about 38mm in diameter, and a thickness of 27mm, while the upper die (fig.2) has a slightly over face of, c32 x 30mm, and a length of 58mm .

In my collection I was able to find seven specimens struck with the obverse (lower) die (Fig.3), six of which were struck with the same reverse die (Fig.4). The coins were acquired from several different sources over the last twenty years or so, and are all from the typical crude style and light weight, which I attribute to private productions of the late nineteenth century¹, and, as they have varying degree of wear, I have no reason to believe that the coins might be modern forgeries made using these dies. The weights of the die duplicates are 2.0, 1.9, 1.7(2), 1.3, 1.0g, while the example struck with the different reverse die (Fig.5) is slightly heavier, at 2.1g.

The dies are interesting in they demonstrate very clearly how much larger the surface of the dies were than the coins struck from them, although all my own specimens are struck from the centre of the dies. There are no marks on the dies to help alignment and, as one would therefore expect, the die axes are random.

The dies themselves show no signs of serious wear, and have not been defaced in any way, so it is clear that more coins could have

been struck with them. Accordingly, they probably ceased to be used because their products ceased to be worth more than the costs of production. Several reasons can be postulated; perhaps, when Ugyen Wangchuck consolidated his power about 1886, he was able to exert his authority and outlaw the issue of such light coins made by private entrepreneurs, or by his former rivals for power? Alternatively the dies could have been made in the first half of the twentieth century, and these 'Ma-tams' may have been among the last to be struck before the little copper coins ceased to circulate. In a recent trip to Thimphu I was able to locate the shop from which the dies were purchased by the Austrian tourist, but the owner was not able to shed any further light as to where the dies originated from. She did, however, confirm that she had never before seen any coin dies appear in the market. It is to be hoped that any future finds of Bhutanese coins dies will shed more light on where and when they were used, thus helping in the classification of this obscure coinage.



Query from Bob Forrest

The interest which various people expressed in my paranumismatic queries in ONS Newsletter no.145 prompts me to invite readers' opinions about another curiosity pictured here.

Its diameter varies between 48.7 and 49.8 mm, and its thickness between 6.9 and 7.7 mm. Its specific gravity is 8.70. The piece is gold plated, but analysis has shown that its interior is composed of 85% copper, 15% zinc and a small proportion of iron. Tests have suggested that the signs and the cross design have been etched into the surface of the disk with acid rather than engraved with a tool, though I do not know how firmly established this is. As regards the interpretation of the piece the signs appear to be Arabic numerals, mostly 1, 6 and 9 with 1, predominating. The consensus of opinion thus far is that it is an Islamic talisman of a numerological type, though whether the sequence of numerals represents a religious formula invoking mystical names of God in numerological form, or whether it is simply 'mumbo jumbo' is undecided. The obverse 'cross' is interesting and reminiscent of the cross and crosslets design which features on the coinage of Cyprus from the 13th to early 16th centuries. The fact that it features on a (presumed) Islamic talisman makes one wonder if it has any Christian - or possibly anti-Christian significance, but again this is undecided.

This curious piece belongs to Rob Betlem of Aalten in the Netherlands and was found by him inside a congealed lump of medieval sealing wax and seal-cords bought in an ecclesiastical antiquities shop in the Hague in 1957. It is believed to have come from the fire-damaged archives of a convent in south-east France, but beyond that its origins are quite unknown.

Both Mr Betlem and I would appreciate any observations, opinions or interpretations that ONS members might care to offer. For those with a taste for the curious, further background on the piece (including an extraordinary psychic reading of its history!) will be included in an article in my 'Strange Shores' series to be published in *N1 Bulletin* sometime in 1996. The basic facts though, are as above.



HOARD OF GENGHIS KHAN GOLD DINARS RECALLS CALAMITOUS HISTORY

by William F Spengler

In the spring of 1219 AD. (early 616 AH.) an infuriated Genghis Khan¹, leading his world-conquering army of 600,000 horsemen, irrupted into Central Asia from his Mongolian homeland. The *casus belli* had been the insults he had suffered at the hands of the Khwarazm Shah, Sultan 'Ala al-Din Muhammad bin Takash, who had ordered the execution of one of the Khan's envoys along with the entire caravan of Mongols and Muslim merchants with whom he was travelling to Khwarazm the year before. The Khan had sent a second ambassador to seek reparations but 'Ala al-Din had had him killed as well².

The Mongol army, including at least four of Genghis Khan's ranking sons, first besieged the border stronghold of Utrar (on the Syr Darya north of Samarqand) in the autumn of 1219. From there the Khan sent his eldest son Tushi (Jöchi) on an expedition down the river to the northwest. Leaving his second and third sons, Chaghatai and Ögetei, in command of the siege, the Khan moved on to conquer and destroy the fabled Khwarazmian cities of Bukhara and Samarqand early in 1220, summered in the pastures of Transoxiana, and resumed his conquests in the autumn, capturing Tirmiz on the Amu Darya (Oxus River), slaughtering its inhabitants, and wintering nearby.

In the spring of 1221 (618 AH), Genghis Khan crossed the Amu Darya, capturing and destroying the ancient city of Balkh, then Talaqan to the west. There he was joined by his fourth son Toli (Tolui) who, in the meantime, had conquered Khorasan, while Chaghatai and Ögetei were busy capturing and devastating the capital at Khwarazm. In the face of all this disaster (called "The Calamities" by Muslim historians) the Khwarazm Shah had fled westward to seek refuge on an island in the Caspian Sea where he died, it was said, 'of a broken heart'.³ He was succeeded by his gallant son Jalal al-Din Miangbarni who continued to resist the Mongols wherever he could. Pursued all over eastern Khorasan, Jalal al-Din finally retreated into what is now eastern Afghanistan, seeking safety in the fortified city of Ghazna (modern Ghazni), former capital of the Ghaznavids and Ghorids.⁴

When a Mongol army under Telechük moved against him, Jalal al-Din managed to rout it in a battle near Parwan (modern Farwan north of Kabul), the only significant defeat suffered by the Mongols during their entire Central Asian campaign. Learning of this setback, Genghis Khan hastened to avenge it. Joined by the forces of Chaghatai and Ögetei, the Khan reached Ghazna only to discover that Jalal al-Din had already left, headed east for the Indus River, intending to cross and seek sanctuary in India. But the Khan overtook him on the right (west) bank of the river and engaged him in the bloody, decisive Battle of the Indus on November 25, 1221 (8th of Shawwal, 618 AH).⁵ Outnumbered and outfought, the Kwarazmian army was crushed and, in one of the most dramatic feats in military history, Jalal al-Din himself plunged headlong into the turbulent Indus on his horse and escaped into the Punjab accompanied by several thousand of his troops. The rest, including members of the royal family, were slaughtered by the Mongols.

Following this battle, Genghis Khan sent Ögetei back to Ghazna to take its surrender. According to Juvaini, Ögetei forced all its inhabitants out into the fields, separated the skilled artisans whose lives he spared, and killed the rest, leaving the city in ruins.⁶ As for the Great Khan, he proceeded with his army up the Indus, over the Hindu Kush mountains to Samarqand and eventually back to Mongolia where he died in 1227. Thus, Genghis Khan had direct, though fleeting, contact with the city of Ghazna during his campaign of conquest in Central Asia.

These historical events have now been highlighted by the discovery of a small but important hoard of gold coins, thought to have been unearthed somewhere near modern Ghazni, including at least fifty-eight dinars of Genghis Khan along with an unknown number of similar dinars of 'Ala al-Din Khwarazm Shah. The coins of Genghis Khan are especially noteworthy in that they are all from the same pair of dies and bear not only the name *Chingiz Khan* in Perso-Arabic script, but also the mint name *Ghazna* and the year of striking, 618. This would suggest that they were struck at the very time Genghis Khan and his sons passed through Ghazna.



The fact that these dinars of Genghis Khan are all from the same dies and appear to be uncirculated raises the possibility that they came straight from the mint. There seems to be no doubt of their authenticity. The generally irregular and sometimes cracked planchets measure around 22 millimetres. Most have varying areas of weakness in striking and many are struck somewhat off-centre, characteristic of Central Asian Islamic issues of this period. Also, they do not follow any metrological standard as their weights range between 2.1 and 6.74 grams without any appreciable point of concentration. This suggests that they comprised a bullion issue meant to be weighed in commerce.

Anonymous coins in gold, silver, billon and copper attributed to Genghis Khan only by implication from their titulature (e.g. al-Khaqan al-a'zam, 'The Greatest Khan of Khans') or occasionally by a mint name and date⁷ are scarce if not rare. Coins bearing his name are even more so: they are not found in base metal, seldom in silver and very rarely in gold.⁸ But never before, to the knowledge of this writer or the experts he has consulted, have coins of Genghis Khan been reported bearing not only his name but also the mint city and year of issue. In addition to his personal name, the coins in this hoard identify him by the title *al-Khaqan al-'adil al-a'zam* ('The Just and Greatest Khan of Khans').

This Genghis Khan coin type features, on its obverse, the *Kalima* (Muslim profession of faith) and the name and religious title of the reigning Abbasid Caliph al-Nasir li-Din Allah on four lines in the centre, within a solid circle, surrounded by a circular marginal legend bearing a modified form of Quranic Surah IX-33, as on many gold coins of the period from this region; all within an outer solid circle. Its reverse bears the *laqab* (royal title) cited above and the name of the Khan on four lines in the centre within a solid circle, surrounded by the usual formula for the mint name and year in Arabic, all within an outer circle. The calligraphy as it appears on the coins, and its transliteration, are as follows:

Obverse Central Legend

<p>محمد لا اله الا الله صلى الله عليه وسلم الناصر لدين الله امير المؤمنين</p>	<p><i>La ilaha illa Allah</i> <i>Muhammad Rasul Allah</i> <i>al-Nasir li-Din Allah</i> <i>Amir al-Mu'minin</i></p>
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Obverse Marginal Legend

هو الذي ارسل رسوله بالهدى ودين الحق ليطهره عن الرس كل

*Huwa alladhi arsala rasulahu bi'l-huda wa-din al-haqq li-yuzhirahu 'ala al-din kullihi wa-law kariha al-mushrikun*⁹

Reverse Central Legend

<p>الخاقان الاعلى الاعظم سكزخان</p>	<p><i>al-Khaqan</i> <i>al-'adil</i> <i>al-a'zam</i> <i>Chingiz Khan</i></p>
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طَرَاهِدَالدِّينَارِ سَلْزَعْرَبَةٍ فِي شَهْرِ سَنَةِ ثَمَانِ عَشْرَةِ وَخَمْسِمِائَةٍ

Duriba hadha al-dinar bi-balada Ghazna fi shahur sana thaman 'ashar wa sittami'a [i.e. the year 618]

Stylistically, the calligraphy of these coins is almost identical with that of the gold and silver issues of the preceding Khwarazm Shahs from the mint of Ghazna, as well as that of the rare silver dirhams bearing the name of Genghis Khan and thought also to have been struck in Ghazna although not carrying any mint name or year. This suggests that when the Mongols sacked Ghazna but spared the lives of certain artisans, the die engraver at the Ghazna mint survived at least long enough to sink the pair of dies which produced these dinars for Genghis Khan!

One final observation. I am indebted to Ken Aring of San Diego, California, for sharing with me the extensive data on Mongol coinage in his files (see Bibliographic note), especially for calling my attention to an article by Richard Plant entitled 'Jenghiz Khan' in issue No. 700 of *Seaby's Coin and Medal Bulletin* (1970). In that article Plant reproduced a line drawing made from a British Museum photograph of a dinar bearing the title and name of Genghis Khan which is almost identical with the coins in this hoard. Plant noted that the date was missing from the coin in the B.M. photograph but that the mint name read *ShiHUN* which he identified as 'a mint used by the Golden Horde in the Caucasus Region'. With the help of the reverse marginal legend of the dinars in our hoard, we can now recognize this *ShiHUN* to have been a misreading of the word shahur (months), as on our coins, with a strong possibility that the coin in the B.M. photograph was a harbinger of those in this hoard.

Many of these Genghis Khan dinars have been acquired by the Classical Numismatic Group, Inc., and will be offered for sale through the April 1996 issue of its *Classical Numismatic Review*. Copies of this review may be requested from CNG, P.O. Box 479, Lancaster, Pennsylvania 17608-0479, U.S.A. (Telephone 717-390-9194) or from its U.K. affiliate, Seaby Coins, 14 Old Bond Street, London W1X 3DB (Telephone 0171-495-1888).

NOTES

1. In this article I have elected to use the more commonly recognized spelling of the Great Khan's name, Genghis Khan, rather than the literally more correct form, *Chingiz Khan*. For other Mongol names - subject to many variant transliterations - I have generally followed the forms preferred by Boyle.
2. The historical parts of this article are a distillation of several of the standard primary and secondary accounts of Genghis Khan's invasion of Central Asia, vide Bibliography.
3. *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, New edition, Vol. II (1965), p 43.
4. Ghazna only recently had been annexed to the Khwarazmian Empire by 'Ala al-Din Muhammad, in 1215.
5. This is the date according to Jalal al-Din's contemporary biographer, al-Nasawi. Juvaini places it in August-September 1221.
6. Juvaini, p. 135 (see Bibliography).
7. For example, a recently-discovered hoard of anonymous Mongol copper coins dated in the 4th and 5th months of 618 AH., attributed to Genghis Khan, published in *Coin World*, February 22, 1993.
8. Stephen Album, in his *Checklist of Popular Islamic Coins* (Santa Rosa, California, 1993), rates gold dinars with the name of Genghis Khan as 'extremely rare' and anonymous ones with the title *khaqan* as 'very rare'. No mention is made of dinars with full name and title, mint name and date.
9. Part of Surah IX-33. Translation: "He it is Who sent His Messenger with guidance and the religion of truth that He may make it supreme over every other religion". I am grateful to Dr. Michael L. Bates, Curator of Islamic Coins of the American Numismatic Society, for providing the transliteration of this inscription, for his help with the translation, and for reading this paper in draft.

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LATE NEWS

ONS News

This year's Tübingen meeting of ONS members and others interested in Islamic numismatics will take place on 27 and 28 April in Schloß Hohentübingen (room 134 in the north west corner of the Schloß). The programme has yet been determined. There will doubtless be something on the Ottoman series and there will also be a presentation on the new research project on the subject of mining and metal for coinage in central Asia in the middle ages. Contributions on Sasanian and Arab-Sasanian coinages would also be very welcome. Please contact Lutz Ilisch on tel: (++49 0) 7071 295208 during the day or (++49 0) 7472 5419 after 19.30.

Please note that rooms in Tübingen hotels over this weekend will be in short supply because of various events. Early reservations via the Tübingen tourist bureau are therefore advisable [tel: (++49 0)7071 9240; fax: (++49 0)7071 26385].

Other News

An exhibition entitled *Weihrauch und Seide (Incense and silk)* can be seen at the Palais Harrach, Vienna from 22 January to 14 April, daily except Tuesdays, 10.00 to 18.00. There is a section on coins. There is also a catalogue costing ÖS 490. This has 470 pages and over 300 colour photographs and includes a chapter by Dr Zejmal of St. Petersburg on coins from the Silk Road. Further information can be obtained from the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Abteilung für Öffentlichkeitsarbeit, 1010 Wien, Burggring 5, Austria.

Work in Progress

Dmitry Markov (PO BOX 950, New York, N.Y. 10272, USA) together with V Lebedev and A Koifman, is working on a book to be called *Shaddadid Coinage. Coin production and monetary circulation in the Shaddadid Emirate of Janza (middle of the 10th to the 11th century)*. The book will be in English and Russian and is due to be published in early 1997.

Lists Received

Robert Tye (Loch Eynort, Isle of South Uist, HS8 5SJ, Great Britain) list 29 of various oriental coins. This list also contains an article entitled *Dammas, Daniqs and Abd al Malik* which posits the existence of the damma as a basis for accounting silver in India from ancient times.

Scott Cordry (P O Box 9828, San Diego, CA 92169, USA) list 102 (March 1996) of Islamic coins and banknotes.

Introduction

In the several books and papers on coins from Xinjiang these pieces have been described only very limitedly. The Krause-Mishler catalogue mentions them for the city of Kucha under No. A7.2 (Y-A7.3) with undated subtypes AH1294 and 1295 (yr 4) and a dated subtype AH1295. In earlier editions the obverse legend was even read wrongly as 'Gangsui Beg'. A very incomplete typology based mainly on rim variants has been published by Lin et al.¹

The German explorer Le Coq mentions that during his visits to Eastern Turkestan at the turn of the century the Yakub Beg pieces and the so-called *aq tanga* pieces with the turki legend 'Gangsui' were already scarce². Peculiarly, Le Coq mentions a Chinese legend for the reverse side. According to various sources^{1,3} these pieces were issued in the city of Kucha in the southern part of Xinjiang together with the 'Obdan gumush' series. The Kucha mint received the order for the production of the pieces at the end of 1877, but only in january of 1878 was large sale production started.

General description

The pieces are generally crudely struck on flans that are not quite circular and that differ in size and thickness. Also the thickness is often not constant across the coin. In most cases part of the legend is off the flan, and the rim is only partly present.

The obverse has the legend 'Gangsui ning' (گانگسوی نینگ) which means 'Guangxu's' and refers to the Chinese emperor Guangxu. The word 'ning' is a turki genitive affix. The reverse bears a reference to the reign year of Guangxu. Either *törtönji yili* (تۆرتۈنچى يىلى) or 'öchönji' yili (اۋچۈنچى يىلى) meaning fourth and third year, respectively.

Obverse typology

Based on the position of the word 'ning' (نینگ) two main types can be distinguished. Main types 1 and 2 have this word at the top or bottom of the legend, respectively. In turn, main type 1 can be divided into types 1-1 and 1-2 without or with a date indication, respectively.

Type 1-1 is further differentiated in subtypes based on the presence of some decoration characteristics, especially dots and branches in the 'i' (يى) of Gangsui. This has clearly a practical advantage, since often the type of rim cannot be determined. However, as far as can be concluded from the pieces studied thus far, a certain subtype is often linked with a fixed rim type. Hence in fig. 4, as far as possible, the rim type is also shown. Type 1-1 is differentiated into subtypes in which there are one, two or three dots, a hooked dot or only a branch in the letter 'i' of Gangsui.

For the dated type 1-2 a further division is proposed based on the position of the numerals of the date in the legend. Finally, for subtype 1-2.1 a further division can be made based on the direction the date is written. Specimen no. 4 was the only piece with the complete retrograde date. Although nos 23 and 41 showed only a part of the date they have been attributed to the same variant as no. 4. Very interesting is specimen no. 2, which was reported to have the numeral 4 (۴) at the lower right part of the legend. Unfortunately, this part of the legend is rather weak and for the moment we prefer to regard as a leaf-like decoration rather than as a numeral.

At present, main type 2 has only been observed with a date indication. Thus far only one subtype can be distinguished. A total of 19 different obverse subtypes has been distinguished so far. Until now the subtypes 1-1.2a and 1-2.1 b are the ones seen most frequently.

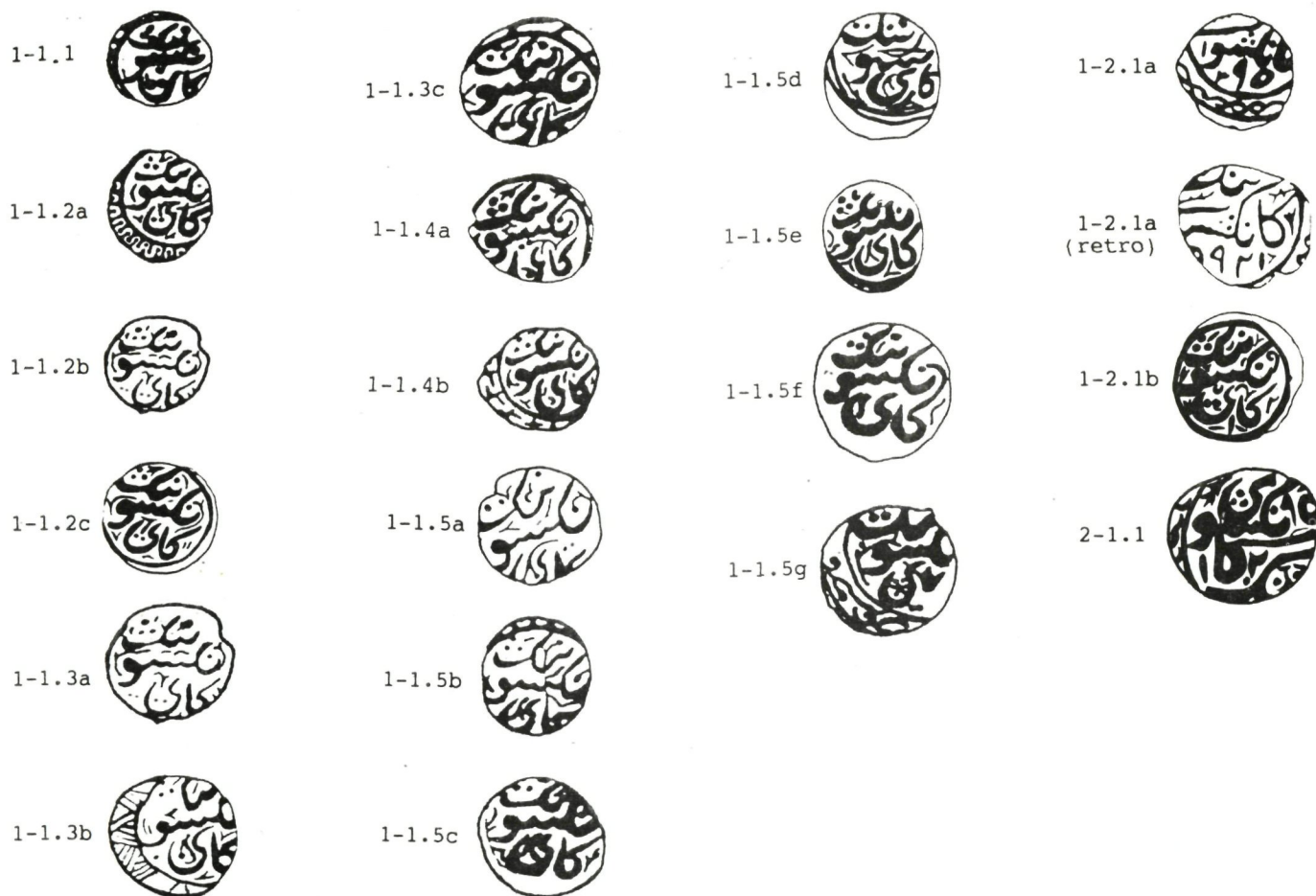


Table 1. Obverse typology

1 NING (نینگ) at top		
1-1 NOT DATED		
1-1.1	3 dots in 'i' of Gangsui	37
1-1.2	2 dots in 'i' of Gangsui below a forked branch (𐤀)	
1-1.2a	- 2 dots also below 'i'	10;11;12;13;25;30;32;43
1-1.2b	- 2 dots also left of 'i'	20;38;51
1-1.2c	- branch hooks on tip of curl of 'i'	52;53
1-1.3	1 dot only in 'i' attached to a branch (𐤁)	
1-1.3a	- 1 dot also left of 'i'	19;35;39;54;14
	- 1 dot with curl (𐤂) above n of ning	
	- 3 dots with straight branch in ng (𐤃)	
1-1.3b	- 1 dot also left of 'i'	14;50;14-1
	- 2 crescents left of 'U'	
1-1.3c	- 1 dot also left of 'i'	46;48
	- small dot above 'i'	
1-1.4	a hooked dot in 'i' (𐤄)	
1-1.4a	- 2 dots also above 'i'	18;44
1-1.4b	- a forked branch (<) left of 'i'	17;26;144?
1-1.5	no dots, but a forked branch in 'i' (𐤅)	
1-1.5a	- 2 dots above 'G' of Gangsui	21
1-1.5b	- 𐤆 above 'G' of Gangsui	16
1-1.5c	- > left of 'i' of Gangsui	2
1-1.5d	- 𐤇 left of 'G' of Gangsui	55
1-1.5e	- < right and left of 'i'	56
1-1.5f	- 1 dot above 'G' of Gangsui linked with branch (𐤈) in 'i' of Gangsui	36?;45
1-1.5g	- star (𐤉) in 'i' and 2 dots below 'i' of Gangsui	24;29
1-2 DATED		
1-2.1	Date at bottom	
1-2.1a	- '1295' (or parts of it) at bottom	3;5;3;40;42
	(variants with retrograde date)	4;23;41
1-2.1b	- '1' at bottom; '2' at lower right '9' at upper right; '5' at left?	1;9;15;27;28;31;34;14-2
2 NING (نینگ) at bottom		
2.1 Dated		
2-1.1	'95' on top; '2' left of ning '1' at lower left	7;8;22;33;47;49

Reverse

In all papers dealing up til now with this coin type the reverse has been read as 'örtönji yili'. Tört (٧) is the ordinal form of the word 'örtönji' meaning four. In this word the 1st t (𐤃) is clearly connected to the following letter ö (𐤄). There were, however, a number of pieces in which the first two letters were not connected, and where the next letter did not fit with 'tört' either. Mr. J. Cribb, of the British Museum Dept. of coins and medals, brought to the author's attention the possible reading 'Öchönji yili' for third year. According to Le Coq² and Shaw⁴ the word 'Öch' for three is written as (𐤃 𐤄) Vambery⁵ shows, however, that also (𐤃) instead of (𐤃) is used for 'ch'.

It is not always easy to determine whether the legend should be read as 3rd or 4th year. Often the first part of the legend is off the flan and the writing is not always accurate in the position and the number of dots. Moreover, at the place of the letter 'r' (𐤃) there may be a decorative curl or branch as has been illustrated by specimen no. 43. Here, below are listed some characteristics that may help in the determination of 3rd and 4th year.

Third year

- 1 or 3 dots at the right side belonging to 'ch' (𐤃)
- first 'ö' (𐤄) is isolated from the next letter
- no clear 'r' is present, only a decorative curl

Fourth year

- 1 or 2 dots at the right side belonging to 't' (𐤃)
- first 'ö' (𐤄) is connected with the previous letter
- a clear 'r' (𐤃) is present

The reverse is classified into two main types, 3rd and 4th year, respectively.

Third year typology

The main type '3rd year' is divided into 4 subtypes based on the position of the dots belonging to the letter 'ch' of 'öchönji'. As mentioned previously, parts of the legends are often off the flan, hence also some other decorative characteristics, especially in the final letter 'i' of 'öchönji' and yili are used as a key for identification.

The first subtype(1-1) has 3 dots to the right of the first 'ö' above the hamza-holding alef (𐤀). A further differentiation is made based on the presence of a dot above a small crescent (𐤁) left of 'ö' and the presence of a dot with a typically hooked branch (𐤂) ending in three leaves in the 'i' of 'öchönji'.

The characterization of the second subtype (1-2) was difficult and had to be done by combination. This subtype has the 3 dots below 'ö' at the left point of the alef. In addition there is a branch with 3 or 5 leaves to the left of 'ö'. On specimen no. 41 there is still visible a branch with 3 or 5 leaves in the final 'i' of 'öchönji'. The remainder of the upper legend is off flan. Specimen no. 23 also shows these characteristics. Moreover, two additional vertically located dots are visible above this branch, also visible in specimen no. 7. Furthermore, a particularly forked branch (𐤃) is present in the final 'i' of 'yili'. The latter is also present in specimens nos 6 and 7. Hence these 2 specimens are also considered as belonging to this subtype. The third subtype (1-3) is only represented by one clear specimen, no. 40. It has

the 3 dots left of the first 'ö' below the 'ch'. Specimen no. 5 most likely also belongs to this subtype taking into account the position of the 3 dots.

The fourth subtype (1-4) is quite different as it has the 3 dots not in a cluster, but often only a single dot right of 'ö' above the alef. In addition there is an arrow-like leaf right of 'ch' and a typically forked branch which ends in 3 leaves (𐰽) in the final 'i' of 'yili'. Based on the combination of these 3 characteristics specimen no. 13 for instance has been attributed to this subtype, although the part of the legend with the dot right of 'ö' is off the flan. Note that some specimens such as no. 22 have the other 2 dots to the right of the alef (𐰽), whereas others, like no. 43 have only a curved line instead of these two dots (𐰽). For the sake of clarity only the basic designs have been included.

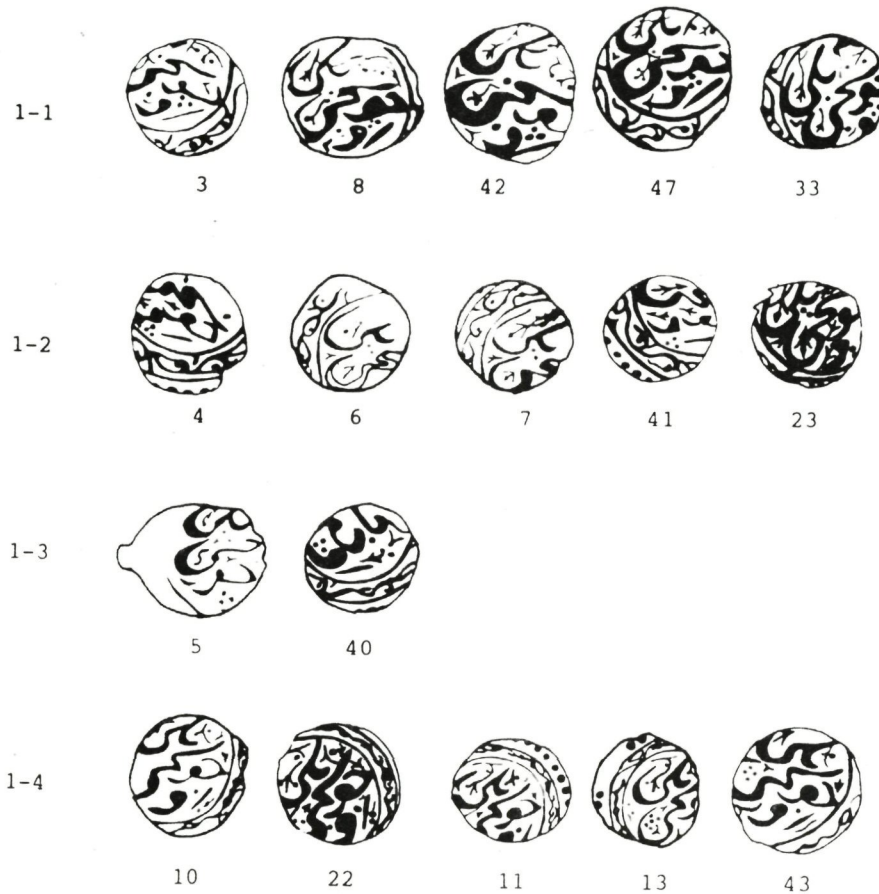


Table 2. Reverse typology

1	THIRD YEAR	
1-1	3 dots (of ch) right of 'ö' above / * dot above curve left of 'ö' * hooked branch (𐰽) with 3 leaves in 'i' of ochonji * branch (𐰽) ending in 3-5 leaves in the final 'i' of yili	3;8;33;42;47
1-2	3 dots (of ch) at left end of / * branch (𐰽) with 5 leaves left of 'ö' and in final 'i' of ochonji * 2 vertical dots belonging to this 'i' * branch (𐰽) in final 'i' of yili	4;6;7;23;41;49
1-3	3 dots (of ch) left of 'ö' * branch (𐰽) right above /	5; 40
1-4	1 dot only right of 'ö' * arrow-like branch (𐰽) right of 'ch' * branch (𐰽) in last 'i' of yili * 5-dotted star (𐰽) in final 'i' of ochonji	10;11;13;22;43

Fourth year typology

As the main decorative characteristic for the classification of the 4th year main type we have chosen the area of the first 't' of *törtönji*. The first type (2-1) has 2 dots only above the first 'T'. A further division can be made based on the presence of a hooked (𐰽) branch in the final 'i' of *yili* and a branch that curves around the initial letter of *yili* (2-1.1); a straight branch in the final 'i' of *yili* (2-1.2) and finally a subtype 2-1.3 that has no dots, but a forked branch in the final 'i' of *törtönji*. Specimen no. 37 of the Hermitage collection has a peculiar, crudely shaped first 'ö' of *törtönji*. The 't' and the curl of the 'ö' are more or less in a straight line (𐰽). The 'r' is also a straight line.

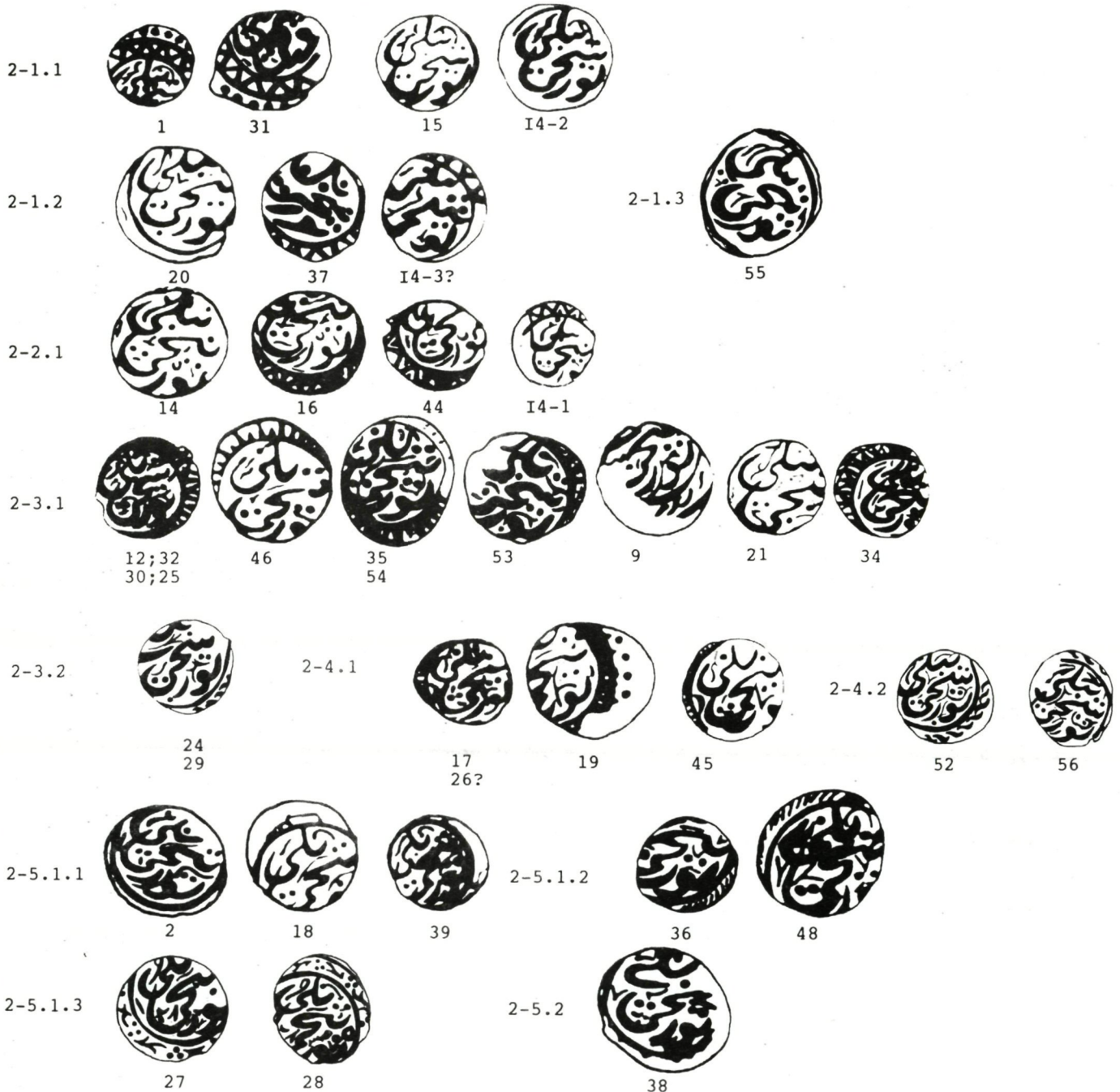
The next type (2-2) is characterized by the presence of 2 dots and a crescent above the first 't' of *törtönji*. There are 2 dots between a forked and straight branch (𐰽) in the final 'i' of *törtönji*. Until now only one subtype could be distinguished, represented by 8 specimens.

The third type (2-3) has the 2 dots above a forked branch. Two subtypes could be distinguished based on the direction of the curl of the final 'i' of *yili*. Of interest is the presence of a numeral 2 (ʹ) in the final 'i' of *törtönji* of variant 2-3.1.4 represented by a single specimen, no. 34. This specimen is illustrated by Tuchtiev⁶. Other numerals may be discovered.

The next type (2-4) has the dots within the fork or curl of a branch, subtypes 2-4.1 and 2-4.2, respectively. Subtype 2-4.1 can be divided into 2 variants. Variant 2-4.1.1 has 2 dots divided by a branch (ʹ) in the final 'i' of *törtönji* and 2 dots and a comma-like dot (ʹ) above the 2nd 't' of *törtönji*; variant 2-4.1.2 has the 2 dots in the final 'i' of *törtönji* above a small line (ʹ) and a branch curved around the initial letter of *yili* (ʹ). It should be noted that in the 2 specimens belonging to the last variant (nos 18 and 39) the lower branch of the fork is difficult to distinguish since it is more or less fused with the 1st 'ö' of *törtönji*.

The last type (2-5) has the 2 dots below a branch above the first 't' of *törtönji*. As with type 2-3, two subtypes can be distinguished based on the direction of the curl of the final 'i' of *yili*. Subtype 2-5.1 can be divided into several variants. Variant 2-5.1.1 has two dots above a small line in the final 'i' of *törtönji* (similar to variant 2-4.1.2). Specimen no. 2 has, in addition, a peculiar branch (ʹ) in the final 'i' of *yili*. Variant 2-5.1.2 has two dots below a forked branch (ʹ) in the final 'i' of *törtönji*. Variant 2-5.1.3 is interesting since it might have the numerals of a date. Specimen no. 28 has on top of the initial 't' to the final 'i' of the two dots, a figure that bears a close resemblance to the turki numeral 5 (ʹ). Furthermore, it is possible that the numeral 2 (ʹ) is present in the final 'i' of *törtönji*. In the final 'i' of *yili* there is a curved branch that has the shape the number 9. It should be mentioned, however, that its rounded shape is quite different from the rather square appearance of the numeral 9 as present on some dated obverses.

It should be noted that for a number of pieces there is clearly a conflict between the date on the obverse 1295 (= 4th year of Guangxu) and the reverse legend '3rd year'. Until now no pieces have been discovered with the numeric date 1294 (= 3rd year).



2 FOURTH YEAR

2-1 2 dots only above 1st 't' of törtönji

- 2-1.1 * 2 dots in 'i' of törtönji 1;15;31;14-2
 - * branch (𐌲) in final 'i' of yili
 - * curved branch (𐌲) around 'i' of yili
- 2-1.2 * straight branch in final 'i' of yili 20;37;51
- 2-1.3 * no dots, but forked branch in final 'i' of yili 55
 - * 2 dots below that 'i'

2-2 2 dots and crescent above 1st 't' of törtönji (𐌲)

- 2-2.1 * 2 dots between a forked and straight branch (𐌲) in 'i' of törtönji 14;16;44;50;14;14-1;144;L2

2-3 2 dots above a forked branch (𐌲)

- 2-3.1 curl of final 'i' of yili pointing to the left
 - 2-3.1.1 * this branch starts from a dot and curves around 'ö' 12;25;30;32;35;46;53
 - * 2 dots divided by a branch in final 'i' of törtönji 54
 - * a branch hooks on the end tip of final 'i' of yili 35;53;54
 - * 2 dots above a forked branch above 2nd 't'
 - 2-3.1.2 * this branch starts parallel to the 'r' and does not curl around 'a'
 - 2-3.1.3 * 2 dots above a swirl in final 'i' of törtönji 21
 - * branch with leaves in final 'i' of yili
 - 2-3.1.4 * 2 (P) in final 'i' of törtönji 34
- 2-3.2 curl of final 'i' of yili pointing to the right 24;29

2-4 2 dots within a fork or curl of a branch

- 2-4.1 2 dots within the fork (𐌲)
 - 2-4.1.1 * 2 dots divided by a branch (𐌲) in final 'i' of törtönji 17;19;26;45
 - * 2 dots and comma-like dot above 2nd 't' (𐌲)
 - 2-4.1.2 * 2 dots above a line in final 'i' of törtönji (𐌲) 18;39
 - * a curved branch around the initial letter of yili (𐌲)
- 2-4.2 2 dots within the curl of a forked branch (𐌲)
 - 2-4.2.1 * dot and forked branch between 't' and 'r' 52
 - * 2 dots only above 2nd 't'
 - * branch with leaves above 'i' of yili
 - 2-4.2.2 * only a branch left of first 'a' 56
 - * forked branch above 'i' of yili

2-5 2 dots below a branch above 1st 't' of törtönji

- 2-5.1 curl of final 'i' of yili points to the left
 - 2-5.1.1 * 2 dots 'i' of törtönji 2
 - 2-5.1.2 * 2 dots with branch in final 'i' of törtönji 36;48
 - 2-5.1.3 * 2 (P) in final 'i' and 5 (Δ) above 't' of törtönji 27;28
 - * nine (P) shaped curl in final 'i' of yili
- 2-5.2 * curl of final 'i' of yili points to the right 38
 - * 2 dots above crescent (𐌲) in 'i' of törtönji

Rims

As mentioned earlier, a large number of obverse and reverse rim-types can be distinguished. The rim types are not distributed at random, but often belong to definite obverse and reverse subtypes. Rims can thus be used as an additional tool to identify a subtype. Remarkably, for obverse and reverse sides, different rim-types have been used. Until now 12 obverse rim-types have been observed. Only 3 of them have been used in more than one subtype. Very peculiar is the obverse rim with incuse circles on specimen no. 54.

Twelve different rim-types could also be distinguished for the 4th year reverses. The wave rim-type has been used for 3 reverse subtypes. In strong contrast is the very limited number of rim-types that could be distinguished for the 3rd year reverses. Until now only 2 closely related rim-types (wave-floral design) have been observed.

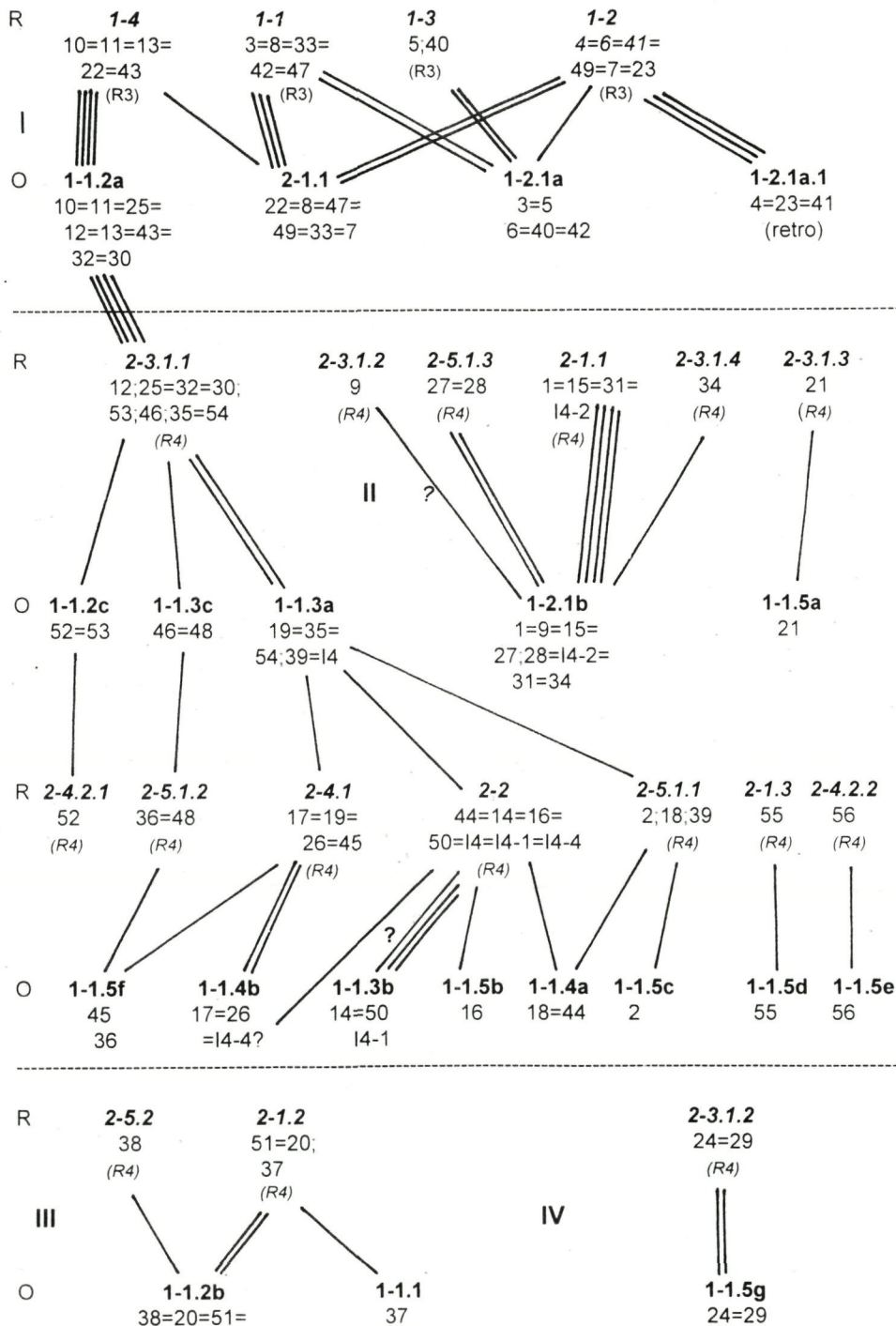
OBVERSE		REVERSE		Fourth year
1-1.1	1-1.3c	Third year	2-1.1	2-4.1
1-1.2a	1-2.1a	1-1	2-1.2	2-4.1
1-1.3b	2-1.1	1-2	2-2	2-4.1
1-1.4b	1-1.2c	1-3	2-3.1.1	2-3.1.4
1-1.5g	1-1.5d	1-4	2-3.1.1	2-5.1.2
1-2.1b	1-1.3b		2-3.1.1	
1-1.5b			2-3.1.1	
1-2.1a			2-3.2	2-5.1.3
2-1.1			2-3.1.2	
			2-4.2.1	

Die-linking

Fig. 5 shows the results of the die-linking study. Links between obverse and reverse dies are represented by lines. The more lines between obverse and reverse the stronger the linking. Some single bond linkages that are doubtful due to the bad legibility of the dies are marked with a question mark. Identical dies are indicated by =.

Apparently there is a fairly good separation between the 3rd and 4th year reverses (R3 and R4). This indicates a sequential rather than a parallel use. Until now only one obverse die type (1-1.2a) is linked with both R3 and R4 dies. Four R3 and R4 reverses are linked to this obverse die. At least four linkage groups can be distinguished. The first group (Group I) consists of the 3rd year reverse subtypes and a large number of obverse subtypes. Obverse subtype 1-1.2a, represented by 8 specimens, is strongly connected with reverse subtype 1-4. This subtype, however, is only linked by the single specimen no. 22 with the other R3 reverse subtypes.

These form a fairly linked group. Reverse subtype 1-2, represented by 6 identical specimens, is linked with 3 obverse subtypes. The linkage of reverse subtype 2-3.1.1 with the other obverse subtypes is problematic due to its heterogeneous character. The connection with the rest of Group I is by 2 routes, namely via specimens nos. 46 and 35/54. These are clearly not identical to the core-specimens of this reverse subtype (nos.12,25,30,32). The second group (Group II) has obverse subtype 1-2.1b represented by 8 specimens as its centre. Groups III and IV consist of only a few specimens. Finally, there are some isolated specimens that presently cannot be linked with other groups (Group V).



Metallic composition

The metallic composition of a number of pieces from the author's own collection was determined semi-quantitatively by X-ray fluorescence spectroscopy⁷. Analysis of specimens 39-47 revealed that these pieces contained more than 95% silver. In addition some traces of copper and iron and sometimes zink were detected.

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Table 3. Weights, sizes and provenance

No	Wt gm	Diameter mm	Thickness mm	Source	Date on obv.	Year on rev.*	No	Wt gm	Diameter mm	Thickness mm	Source	Date on obv.	Year on rev.*
1.	1.61	13.4 - 14.7	1.4	SA3	1x9x	3rd year	29.	1.71	12.6 - 13.7	-	S90	ND	4th year
2.	1.78	13.5 - 14.4	1.6	SA4	xx9x	4th year	30.	1.85	14.3 - 15.8	-	BM1885	ND	4th year
3.	1.74	12.9 - 12.9	1.8	SA5	xx9x	3rd year	31.	1.70	13.8 - 17.5	-	RH1	129x	4th year
4.	1.73	12.0 - 14.2	1.8	SA6	5921	3rd year	32.	1.71	15.0 - 14.0	-	RH2	ND	4th year
5.	1.76	12.4 - 16.9	1.7	SA7	xx95	3rd year	33.	-	14.4 - 11.7	-	HA1	1295	3rd year
6.	1.80	13.3 - 13.3	2.2	SA8	xx95	3rd year	34.	1.74	16.6 - 14.7	-	H4032	ND	4th year
7.	1.80	12.9 - 12.9	2.1	SA9	x295	4th year	35.	1.60	12.0 - 15.7	-	H4033	ND	4th year
8.	1.71	13.0 - 15.1	1.8	SA10	1295	3rd year	36.	1.27	11.1 - 11.8	-	H4034	ND	4th year
9.	1.69	14.0 - 14.0	1.6	SA11	x29x	4th year	37.	1.21	13.4 - 13.4	-	H4035	ND	4th year
10.	1.72	13.3 - 14.0	1.7	SA12	ND	3rd year	38.	1.76	12.2 - 14.8	-	BN1989.87	ND	4th year
11.	1.66	14.0 - 15.5	1.5	SA13	ND	3rd year	39.	1.76	14.7 - 14.7	1.5	Y1	ND	4th year
12.	1.81	13.0 - 14.8	1.5	SA14	ND	4th year	40.	1.71	12.6 - 12.6	1.9	Y2	1295	3rd year
13.	1.70	14.2 - 15.1	1.7	SA15	ND	3rd year	41.	1.68	11.7 - 11.7	2.1	Y3	95	3rd year
14.	1.59	13.4 - 14.3	1.4	SA16	ND	4th year	42.	1.69	12.4 - 13.2	1.9	Y4	95	3rd year
15.	1.74	14.1 - 15.1	1.6	SA17	ND	4th year	43.	1.35	13.3 - 14.0	1.4	Y5	ND	3rd year
16.	1.72	12.9 - 13.7	1.8	SA18	ND	4th year	44.	1.79	13.0 - 14.2	2.0	Y6	ND	4th year?
17.	1.56	14.6 - 16.6	1.5	SA19	ND	4th year	45.	1.69	14.7 - 14.7	1.5	Y7	ND	4th year
18.	1.73	13.4 - 14.0	1.7	SA20	ND	4th year	46.	1.84	13.9 - 13.9	1.8	Y8	ND	4th year
19.	1.79	14.0 - 15.2	1.6	SA21	ND	4th year	47.	1.85	14.2 - 15.1	1.6	Y9	x295	3rd year
20.	1.70	13.7 - 14.4	1.5	SA22	ND	4th year	48.	1.76	14.9 - 13.7	1.5	Y10	ND	4th year
21.	1.67	12.2 - 12.4	1.9	SA23	ND	4th year	49.	1.74	14.0 - 12.5	1.6	Y11	1295	3rd year
22.	1.71	11.7 - 13.7	-	S83	12xx	3rd year	50.	1.23	12.5 - 12.5	1.2	L2	ND	4th year
23.	1.54	12.4 - 12.4	-	S84	59	3rd year	51.	1.69	13.6 - 12.9	1.6	L4	ND	4th year
24.	1.70	12.8 - 14.0	-	S85	ND	4th year	52.	1.88	14.6 - 14.0	1.4	P148	ND	4th year
25.	1.84	12.6 - 12.6	-	S86	ND	4th year	53.	1.29	13.8 - 11.6	1.6	P149	ND	4th year
26.	1.58	14.0 - 15.3	-	S87	ND	4th year	54.	1.58	15.4 - 15.0	1.1	P150	ND	4th year
27.	1.68	13.0 - 14.6	-	S88	129x	4th year	55.	1.19	13.6 - 12.1	1.1	P151	ND	4th year
28.	1.70	15.0 - 15.0	-	S89	129x	4th year	56.	1.61	14.6 - 12.6	1.4	P152	ND	4th year

* for a number of pieces done by reconstruction and comparison. Thickness varies across flan, maximum quoted.

Y = author's collection; SA = S. Album collection, L = Liang collection, HA = Hamidi list 27 O. S, Rh and BM = data provided by J. Cribb (S, RH = Smith and Rhodes collections respectively), P = Paul collection, BN = Bibliothèque nationale (Paris) data provided by F. Thierry
 ND = not dated; NR = not readable.

SUBTYPES

Obverse



1-1.1



1-1.2



1-1.3



1-1.4



1-1.5



1-2.1



1-2.1a



2-1.1

Reverse

3rd year



1-1



1-2



1-3



1-4

4th year



2-1



2-2



2-3



2-4



2-5