ORIENTAL NUMISMATIC SOCIETY

ONS NEWSLETTER No. 148 Spring 1996

ONS News

An ONS open day will take place in connection with the London Coin Fair at the Cumberland Hotel, Marble Arch, W1 on Saturday 8 June 1996, by courtesy of the organisers, Howard and Frances Simmons. If you would like to present a paper, give a talk at this meeting or would like further information please contact the UK Regional Secretary, Ken Wiggins.

Also on Saturday 8 June there will be a talk sponsored by the ONS American Region at the New York International Numismatic Convention, Marriott Hotel, World Trade Center. The meeting starts at 5 pm; William F Spengler and Wayne G Sayles will talk on 'Coinage of the Zengids: Christian Artists in Muslim Lands', and their new book, *Turkoman Figural Bronze Coins and their Iconography, vol. II: The Zengids* will be available.

ONS meeting Tübingen

Jan Lingen has provided the following report.

The meeting mentioned in Newsletter 147 duly took place in the historic surroundings of Schloß Hohentübingen on 27 and 28 April. A little over 30 people from France, Germany, Netherlands and Switzerland attended. After welcoming the participants, Lutz Ilisch called for a minute's silence in memory of the late Dr Karl Gabrisch who had recently died (see obituary below).

The programme started with a presentation on a new, comparative study into the origin of metals used for coining which were mined during the middle ages in Central Asia and the Black Forest. The aim of the study is to determine the different trace elements in the composition of the metals and thereby identify the mining area(s) where they originated.

Information was then provided by Stefan Heidemann on the collections of oriental coins in various museums in Germany (see also Newsletter 147), after which Hans Herrli explained his views about clipped Sasanian and Arab-Sasanian drachms, which he suggested were a special form of dirhem.

Hans Wilski informed the meeting about a series of rare nickel patterns of 2 piastre, 1 piastre and 20 para struck in 1857, probably in Paris, during the reign of the Ottoman Sultan Abdul Mejid (1839-1861), and Stefan Heidemann used the diary of an Italian merchant to give an idea of the price fluctuations during the siege of San'a in 1904.

There then followed an instructive talk by Gerd Puin on the subject of Arabic ligatures (joined characters), with special attention paid to the difference between "rising" and "falling" ligatures.

A dinner in the Ratskeller and an informal get-together afterwards concluded the first day.

The second day began with a lecture by Lutz Ilisch entitled *A cultural continuation or a numismatic rudiment?*. This discussed the survival of pre-Islamic coin-types in the period of the Abbasids. Then Florian Schwarz spoke about the progress made in researching a hoard of 160 early Ottoman gold altin at the Forschungsstelle für islamische Numismatik, Tübingen. The meeting concluded with another talk by Hans Wilski, this time on contemporary counterfeit Greek countermarks on Ottoman coins.

The next annual meeting at Tübingen is proposed for 19-20 April 1997.

Other dates for ONS meetings are:

19 October 1996: Royal Coin Cabinet, Leiden, Netherlands (for further information contact Jan Lingen).

9 November 1996: Pullman Hotel, Cologne, Germany (for further information contact Nikolaus Ganske, Kreutzerstraße 2, D-50672 Köln, Germany)

The ONS accounts for the year ended 31 March 1995 have now been completed. An audited summary is available from Regional Secretaries for any member who would like to have a copy. A stamped, addressed envelope would be appreciated. This is an opportunity to express our thanks to all the Regional Secretaries and the Treasurer for all the work they put in to ensure the continuing success of the Society.

Obituaries

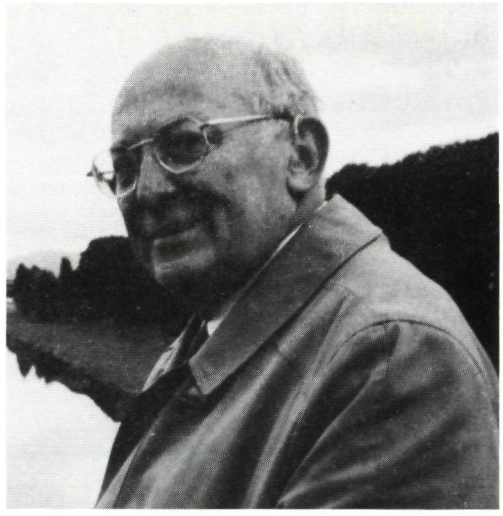
It is with regret that we announce the death of four ONS members, Dr. F. A. Turk, Cornwall, UK; Dr Karl Gabrisch, Mannheim, Germany; Dr. Bernhard Acksteiner, Berlin and Anne Kromann of the National Museum, Copenhagen. Mrs Kromann's colleague, Jørgen Steen Jensen, will continue the ONS membership on behalf of the museum.

Dr Karl Gabrisch, born in Königshütte, 17 August 1927, died in Mannheim, 11 December 1995.

Dr Karl Gabrisch was the chief veterinary officer at the Kattowitz Zoo, and a renowned expert on the diseases of reptiles. He escaped from Poland in the early 1960s, initially to Hannover, and then to Mannheim, where he established a successful veterinary practice.

In Mannheim, he was able to develop his interest in coins and in Tibet, and his researches during the 1970s led to the publication, in 1983, of *Tibet, A Philatelic and Numismatic Bibliography* in collaboration with Wolfgang Hellrigl. The numismatic part of this bibliography is a remarkably comprehensive survey of the published material on Tibetan coinage up to that date.

Meanwhile, he began to accumulate one of the finest collections of Tibetan coins and banknotes, making regular visits to India and Nepal in search of new material. He collaborated with Carlo Valdettaro and myself on a comprehensive catalogue of the coins of Nepal, published by the Royal Numismatic Society in 1989. Although his knowledge of Nepalese coins was initially confined to the Malla Dynasty, his contribution to the production of the book was considerable. His photographs provided most of the illustrations, and he obtained details of many new varieties during his many visits to Nepal. Without his energy and drive the book would probably never have been produced.



After the completion of the Nepal book, Karl Gabrisch turned his attention back to Tibet, and between September 1989 and August 1990, his collection was exhibited at the Münz-Kabinett at Winterthur. His catalogue of this exhibition remains the best book on Tibetan currency published to date. It makes use of the considerable body of numismatic research published in Chinese books and journals, and gives a masterful summary of the history and development of Tibetan coinage. As he was aware that this small book, being published in German only, was not accessible to all interested readers, and that it did not provide a comprehensive catalogue of all the varieties of Tibetan coins, he was working at the time of his death on a comprehensive book on Tibetan coinage, in collaboration with myself. I can only hope that I shall be able to complete this work, as a fitting memorial to his numismatic legacy.

Apart from his work on Tibetan and Nepalese coins, Karl Gabrisch also did valuable research on the coins of Yemen, building up a fine collection, and working with Volker Popp on a publication of this inadequately researched series. He also published an interesting series of articles on gold fanams[1], of which he had a good collection.

In addition to numismatics, in the limited spare time from his veterinary practice, Karl Gabrisch also succeeded in producing, part as author, and part as principal editor, the standard textbook in German on the diseases of small animals. This book, first published in 1984, reached a 3rd edition shortly before his death, and a translation into English has also appeared. He was also a regular speaker at veterinary conferences throughout Germany, and his contributions to the study of diseases of small animals in general, and of reptiles in particular, were significant.

Having worked with Karl Gabrisch over a period of about fifteen years, I was continually impressed by the power of his intellect, and the diligence and quality of his research. It is a pleasure and a privilege to have known such a man.

Nicholas Rhodes

1. *Münzen Revue*, July-Oct. 1982.

Anne Kromann - obituary

Anne Kromann (1936-1996) was educated at the University of Copenhagen (classical philology, cand.mag. 1963). She joined the Royal Coin and Medal Collection at the National Museum of Denmark in 1963. In 1965 she was appointed assistant-keeper, a position she kept until her death (after an illness) on 7 March this year.

From her early years, Anne Kromann took an interest in oriental coins, first Arabic (Kufic) dirhems, later Indian, Japanese and Chinese coins. In recent years, a large number of dirhems from the 9th and 10th centuries have been found in Denmark. Anne Kromann was able to publish several hoards and many individual coins and coin fragments entered the museum collection.

Her last published work was an article about Islamic coins in Denmark in the 9th and 10th centuries, prepared in collaboration with Else Roesdahl for the volume issued for the exhibition *The Arabic journey* at Moesgård near Århus (on until 29 September 1996, see below for details). Here she dealt with the great Danish hoards, several of which are from the very last years, and the surprisingly very few Spanish Umayyad coins found in Denmark. The volume was published in Danish, but an English version is in preparation.

Other News

1. As a result of a foundation by Samir Shamma, a centre for Islamic numismatics is being installed at the Archaeological Institute of Yarmouk University, Irbid, Jordan. The construction of a numismatic museum is well advanced. The research centre at Tübingen will be cooperating with colleagues in Irbid on a permanent exhibition.

2. The collection of Bactrian, Indo-Greek, Indo-Scythian and Kushan coins of ONS member Frank Payton is due to be sold by Baldwins Auctions, London in May.

3. To mark Copenhagen Cultural Capital 96 three Danish museums - The National Museum, Moesgård Museum and The David Collection - have cooperated in the production of an exhibition trilogy which from different perspectives explores the themes of Islam and the Islamic world. The exhibitions draw upon extensive collections of Islamic art and cultural historic artefacts to be found in Danish museums and private collections.

The exhibitions are accompanied by a broad range of activities, including lectures, films, music and dance performances. Each exhibition is accompanied by a lavishly illustrated catalogue, in both Danish and English, with articles written by Danish academics. Details are as follows.

Sultan, Shah and Great Mughal - the history and culture of the Islamic world

This exhibition at The National Museum from 29 March to 29 September 1996 tells of the beginnings of Islam on the Arabic Peninsula more than 1300 years ago. It charts the spread of Islam to large areas of Asia, Africa and Europe, an tells of the Muslim kingdoms in the Orient of the past, colonial occupation and of the independent modern states. An extensive collection of opulent exhibits illustrates the great achievements of the Islamic world in the fields of art, craftsmanship, music, literature, philosophy and science. A few coins are included in the exhibition, notably the series of gold zodiac coins of Jehangir.

The Arabian Journey - Danish connections with the Islamic world over 1000 years

This exhibition at the Moesgård Museum from 27 March to 29 September 1996 explores, through a number of themes, the connections between Denmark and the Islamic countries: trade and plundering in Viking times, crusades and pilgrimages in the Middle Ages and the impact of Islamic sciences in Europe. Embassies and scientific expeditions undertaken in subsequent centuries are also presented, taking the exhibition up to today's meeting of cultures where Muslims are a part of daily life in Denmark. On display in this exhibition is a substantial part of the latest, great Kufic hoard found in Denmark (Grisebjerggaard 1993). The hoard comprised more than 1000 dirhems, mostly fragments, and was probably deposited in the 920s AD. Also shown are the four Spanish Umayyad coins so far found in Denmark, and a selection of the (mostly modern) oriental coins which were brought to Denmark by Carsten Niebuhr (1733-1815) after his oriental journey of 1761-67. The coins entered the Royal Collection of Coins and Medals in the late 18th century.

By the Light of the Crescent Moon - the Near East in nineteenth century Danish art and literature

This exhibition at the David Collection from 28 March to 29 September 1996 tells of the influence of the Near East on Danish authors and painters of the 1800s.

The National Museum and David collection are both in Copenhagen; the Moesgård Museum is in Århus.

New and Recent Publications

1. *Chronological table of the Japanese currency* (in Japanese), Institute for Monetary and Economic Studies, Bank of Japan, 1994, 136 p, ISBN 4-930909-38-4-C. ¥ 1800.

2. Drs. Arjan van Aelst: *Majapahit Picis - the currency of a "moneyless" society 1300-1700,* published in the Journal of the Royal Institute of Linguistics and Anthropology, Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde 151 (1995) pp 357-393. ISSN 0006-2294.
In this article the author describes how imported Chinese cash came to replace the Hindu coinage in 14th century Java. The Majapahit empire (late 13th-early 16th century) produced copies of these Chinese coins when supplies fell short. These copies, however, were smaller and lighter, adapted to the monetary customs of the Malay world. This type of coin evolved, in the 17th century, into the very light tin picis that only vaguely remind us of their Chinese ancestors.

For information about the journal, please contact the institute at Reuvensplaats 2, PO Box 9515, 2300 RA Leiden, Netherlands. Fax: (31) (0)71 5272638.

3. Jan Wisseman Christie: *A preliminary survey of early Javanese coinage held in Javanese collections.* 62 pages, ISBN 979-640-000-6, published in the *Kundika* series of the Museum Nasional, Jl. Merdeka Barat 12, Jakarta 10110, Indonesia. Fax: (62) 21-3868171.

This book provides a general synopsis of the currency in use in early Java mentioned in old Javanese inscriptions, currency weights and early Javanese coins. From this, an impression can be obtained of economic life in 8th - 10th century Java. In the appendix, old Javanese coins in various collections in Java are described and discussed for the first time.

4. Alexander B Nikitin, St. Petersburg: *Die Münzen des letzten indo-parthischen Königs von Sistan - ein Abschied von "Ardamitra",* published in Numismatische Zeitschrift, Band 102, Vienna 1994. This journal is published by the Österreichische Numismatische Gesellschaft.
Alexander Nikitin: *Sasanian coins in the collection of the Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow,* published in Ancient Civilizations from Scythia to Siberia, 2.1, Brill, Leiden, 1995. The author catalogues 295 Sasanian coins according to the classification of Robert Göbl, giving also a transliteration of coin legends, dates and mint monograms and various other details.
Alexander Nikitin: *The Sasanian Šahrab of Balkh,* in Ancient Civilizations, 1,3 1994, Brill, Leiden. This article deals with a group of fragmentary clay seals of the Kushano-Sasanian period found in 1976 at Djigadépé near Balkh in northern Afghanistan and bear the portrait of a Sasanian official and a unique double inscription in Bactrian and Middle Persian scripts. Combination of the various fragments allows a full reading of the inscription and the identification of the owner as a high official - šahrab - of modern Balkh. The seal is tentatively dated to the 4th century AD, but too few seals of this period are known to make this certain.

5. The Numismatic Chronicle, volume 155, 1995, published by the Royal Numismatic Society, London, contains the following articles of oriental interest:

Hodge Mehdi Malek: *The coinage of the Sasanian king Kavad II (AD 628)*
Alexander Nikitin and Gunter Roth: *The earliest Arab-Sasanian coins*
Alexander Nikitin and Gunter Roth: *A new seventh-century countermark with a Sogdian inscription*
Stuart Munro-Hay: *A new gold coin of King MHDYS of Aksum*

There is also a review by Audrey Burton of E A Davidovich's book on Shaibanid coinage *Korpus zolotykh I serebryanykh monet Sheibanidov XVI vek.,* Moscow, 'Nauka', 1992.

6. Hodge Mehdi Malek: *The Dabuyid Ispahbads of Tabaristan,* AJN 5-6, (1993-94), pp 105-160, 7 plates. This article deals with the history of the Ispahbads from the context of the Persian and Arabic sources and it includes a catalogue of the known types by reference to the ANS, British Museum, Fitzwilliam, Leiden, and Ashmolean collections and by reference to other collections of types not found in these collections. The series is not covered in Walker's 1941 British Museum catalogue and, although dealt with by Unvala in the 1930s, his work is replete with errors and many new types have emerged, eg Rawh ibn Hatim AH 146 and 147 issues.

7. James B. Lovett: *Biblical related coins,* hardback, 210 pages, 567 pictures, 2 maps and index. This book, which took 24 years to research and write, covers 236 topics related to the Bible, both Old and New Testaments. Each topic covers the name of the topic (and where and what it is), the biblical passage(s) naming the topic, coinage etc. Price $25 plus $2 postage, from the author, 117 N. Park, Little Rock, Arkansas 72205, USA. Fax: (1) 501-376-3689. Tel: (1) 501-376-3686. Wholesale terms available.

8. The Classical Numismatic Review, Volume XXI,1 spring 1996, published by the Classical Numismatic Group, Inc, PO Box 479, Lancaster, Pennsylvania 17608-0479, USA, includes photographs of 35 specimens of the Chingis Khan gold coins described by Bill Spengler in Newsletter 147.

9. *TRANKEBARMØNTER 1620 - 1845. Danish India Tranquebar Coins.* Market Values 1996. Uno Barner Jensen. ISBN 87-983682-1-4. Paperback, 34 pages. Published by the author, Kirkegade 82, 9460 BROVST, Denmark. Price 60 Danish Kroner.

My mother, who was only 5 feet tall, insisted that the most valuable things came in small packages. This booklet about the coins of Trankebar by Uno Barner Jensen is such a package. Many collectors are obliged to collect the coins they admire in a vacuum, as information about what they collect is poor, lacking, or missing altogether. In such a case, all that one can do is to write the book or catalogue oneself, which is exactly what UBJ did, and this is the third updated and improved version of his valuable little book. As well as a catalogue, this, like previous versions, has valuations which inform the collector of currently prevailing prices. Instead of photographs, the book is illustrated with excellent line drawings made by the author himself. Of course, as he points out, due to production methods, most coins will only show a proportion of the design.

For those collectors requiring more detail than is possible, or even desirable in a booklet, there is a bibliography of specialist articles on the discovery of new varieties and, alas, fakes, in various publications.

I do have one or two small reservations, why, for example is UBJ 31 illustrated before UBJ 30? The numbering system too, seems to be a little confused in places, with what are plainly die varieties being given separate type numbers in some places, but not in others. Reasonably adequate english summaries are given for those who do not read danish.

Paul Withers

UK readers may obtain the book from Galata Print, price £7.50 including postage.

Work in Progress

1. S Shamma, Riyadh, is working on a publication to cover the Abbasid copper coinage.
2. Messrs Spengler and Sayles are in the process of completing volume II of *Turkoman figural bronze coins and their iconography.*

Lists Received

Stephen Album (PO Box 7386, Santa Rosa, Calif. 95407, USA) list 124, March 1996.
Indian Books Centre (40/5 Shakti Nagar, Delhi - 110 007, India) list 4214/96 includes a special list of books on history, as does list 4215/96.
Versandantiquariat Gertrud Weiermüller (Beethovenstraße 24, 50674 Köln, Germany) a 200 page list of numismatic literature (Versandliste 17). The next numismatic list, expected in the autumn of this year will include a small library on Indian numismatics as well as some other books that might be of interest to ONS members. This will be sent out to ONS members on request.
Stefan Nebehay (Postfach 263, A-1011 Vienna, Austria) list 6 - Numismatic Literature. This includes a section on oriental subjects.
Dmitry Markov (PO Box 950, New York, NY 10272, USA) buy or bid sale #3 (closing May 17th 1996) includes various oriental coins.
Scott E Cordry (PO Box 9828, San Diego, CA 92169, USA) Catalogue 103 (April-May 1996) of Islamic and other coins and banknotes.
Persic Gallery (PO Box 10317, Torrance, CA 90595, USA) list 38 of Islamic, Indian and Central Asian coinages.

Correspondence

John E Page of New Bern, North Carolina, USA has sent the following response to Joe Cribb's article *Punch-marked coins - approaches to new research* which appeared in Newsletter 146.

In the Autumn 1995 issue of the ONS Newsletter (No. 146), Mr. Joe Cribb comments on a previous article written by K.J. Atkins, called *Ancient Indian Magadha-Maurya Punchmarked Silver Coinage.* However, Mr. Cribb's obsession with attributing a late date for the minting of India's early ancient coinage soon tempts him to abandon his critique of Atkins' article and pursue the "chronology" issue of the early coinage.

Firstly, Mr. Cribb wants to establish dates based on only one source - a book edited by Heinz Bechert called *When Did Buddha Live - The Controversy on the Dating of the Historical Buddha.* Bechert's work has received little or no support among scholars as well as a negative review. Secondly, Mr. Cribb states, in effect, that the "Coinage" can only be dated once the dates of the Buddha's life can be fixed. The Buddha did not initiate coinage in India; but, was, to a great extent, an indirect result of this "Coinage" as the coins played no small part in being a factor in the affluent conditions in which the Buddha was born and lived. And, thirdly, he selects the "bent-bars" of the Kamboja and Gandhara Janapada areas as India's first coinage. This region was quite late in reaching a high urbanization level as compared to the Janapadas of the middle Gangetic Plains where urban conditions first evolved and created the need for coinage much earlier.

For a state, be it a Civilization, Empire, Kingdom or Nation, to evolve to a phase in its urban development that tolerates dissidents such as a Buddha, Socrates, Voltaire, or Martin Luther King there has to be a high level of affluence among its general population as well as a substantial wealthy class. Moreover, regional, local and personal security are high with trade and industry at

their height. These conditions create a very tolerant and liberal society that allows and supports whose who challenge the status quo and the values of the past. And, this was just such an urban phase that existed among the Mahajanapadas, as well as many Janapadas, of ancient India during the life of the Buddha.

If we want to "scientifically" establish the beginnings of coinage in ancient India, then we need to trace the various phases of that urbanization that occurred during the *Ganges Valley Civilization* era in which Buddha lived and "coinage systems" as well as coins were abundant. For it is the various changes created by urbanization that creates the need for coinage systems as well as a society that tolerates dissidents. However, it's the very early phases of urbanization that create a need for coinage; whereas, changes in values, philosophy, and religion occur much later once urbanization is well established and flourishing. Moreover, all indications are that coinage was well established and being utilised several hundred years before the Buddha's birth.

We now know that settlement began in the Gangetic Valley prior to 1000 BC with archaeological evidence from such sites as Kausambi whose occupation dates back as far as the 13th century BC. Definite findings of the use of iron, an important indicator of urbanization, from 1025 to 995 BC occur here, also. Similar discoveries have been recorded at the ancient sites of Koldihwa, Chirand, Chechar, Sohagaura and Prahladpur. Hastinapura reveals occupation of a pre-1200 BC date with the use of iron from 1100 to 800 BC.

With this evidence ony may see that urbanization was beginning at selected sites as early as 1000 to 800 BC. However, by 700 BC ample evidence from archaeological excavations reveals wide-spread change throughout the *entire* Valley. Roy summarizes these excavations throughout the Gangetic Plains and states in his book, *The Ganges Civilization*, the following: "The introduction of cheap iron (beginning from 800 BC) democratized agriculture and industry. Blacksmith's furnace, pottery kiln and several types of open and closed mouth hearths suggest that the life was settled. Not only copper, bone and miscellaneous objects of terracotta produced in large number but the presence of a large number of iron objects along with slag indicate that probably there existed a separate class of iron smelters. The archaic stumpy figurines were given a black lustrous slip similar to that of NBP. Thus the change was from restricted agriculture to extensive agriculture, from almost no economy to self-sufficient economy of trade and commerce and from static life to regional movement of the people and material. The open villages of the preceding chalcolithic phase were converted into closed towns of this civilization." In reference to Kausambi he states that during the second cultural period from 885 to 605 BC there occurs "... the introduction of a moat and the appearance and circulation of coins..."

It is this phase of early urbanization, manifesting great energy and growth, that would have produced India's early coinage and not several hundred years later when urbanization was so well established and a given way of life. More evidence shall obviously surface as more horizontal excavations such as those at Kausambi are undertaken. The paucity of evidence thus far has been directly related to so many vertical excavations and so few horizontal excavations which reveal so much more in terms of artifacts such as coins.

In attempting to establish which coinage is oldest, one needs to examine the coinage thus far found in the areas of early urbanization. Those coins presently attributed to Kashi, Kosala, and Magadha offer the best evidence. These coinages illustrate a long evolutionary change in weight, from coins weighing approximately 6 grams to those weighing 5 grams. Then from 5 grams to approximately 4 grams. Finally, we see the standard 3½ gram weight of Magadha and an approximate 3 to 2½ grams weight of Kosala coinage. Moreover, evolutionary changes in fabrication are quite obvious as coins become thicker with decreased dimensions while maintaining a constant weight. Upon examining these coins linearily, we see evidence that these changes evolved slowly over a long period of time. In comparison the so-called "bent bars" of the Kamboja/Gandhara area show no such evolution in either weight or fabrication. Moreover, they are quite crude and simple as compared to other early coinages. And, lastly, the number of these coins are nowhere as abundant as those found in the middle Gangetic Valley. This all indicates a late arrival as well as a shorter life span for the "bent bars".

Unlike Mr. Cribb, most scholars do not take the historical records of early India to argue their position, particularly in reference to dates, dynastic lists, or events. Taxila or the Janapada Gandhara to which Mr. Cribb attributes, partly, India's earliest coinage is a good example of how misleading the early historical records can be. Early literature paints this site as legendary in terms of history and age, associating it with numerous mythological figures and events. Sir John Marshall in his book, *A Guide to TAXILA*, writes "... the hard facts of excavation is much more sober. The earliest of the remains uncovered on the site go back no further than the sixth century BC or thereabouts." Urbanization and resulting coinage would come much later.

The main point I wish to make is that the dates of the Buddha's life, whatever their exactness, should not be a benchmark in establishing the beginnings of coinage in India. The early *Literature* that describes this period only reveals that coinage was well established. Such incidents as an individual being able to pave a garden or court-yard with coins for the Buddha attests to this. Although the early *Literature* helps reveal events, places, and personalities, it is only the archaeological evidence that can help us place these events, places, and, maybe, personalities in their proper timeframe and location.

At present we may not be able to establish a definite date for this early coinage. Theoretically, it could have existed as early as the 8th century BC as conditions were well in place for its utilization. However, numerous definitive indicators are beginning to accumulate. Such findings as those at Kausambi tell us that coins were in circulation toward the end of the 7th century BC. How much earlier, if at all, may only be established once a majority of these earliest sites of the middle Gangetic Plains have been more thoroughly excavated horizontally.

Joe Cribb has commented on Mr Page's response:

As John Page rightly observes, the coinage of ancient India is part of a broader complex of issues which reach far beyond the question of the dates of the Buddha. I have addressed these issues elsewhere in articles published in 1983 (Investigating the introduction of coinage in India - a review of recent research, *JNSI*, 1983, pp. 80-101) and in 1985 (Dating India's earliest coinage,·*South Asian Archaeology* 1983, Naples pp. 535-554). For those who have not had the opportunity to read these articles I would summarise their contents as a detailed examination of the methods used by numismatists, historians and archaeologists to date the origins and early history of coinage in India. The main methods are based on literary references, historical context, stratigraphy, find-spots, radio-carbon dating, associated ceramic sequences, hoards, weight standards, sequences of issues, etc. In 1983 1 discussed the merits of each of these methods as a means of creating a firm absolute chronology for these coins. I concluded that whereas most of them were capable of helping to understand the development of India's earliest coins, it was only hoards of these coins in which they were found with datable non-Indian coins that could offer any insight into absolute chronology.

I examined the chronological implications of such hoards and found that the earliest hoard in which Indian coins were found with datable Greek coins was the Chaman Hazouri hoard from Kabul. It contained bent-bars of the earliest variety together with an Iranian copy of an Athenian coin issued between about 380-340 BC. On the basis of this I suggested a date for the bent-bar coins during or after the early fourth century BC. A hoard of later bent-bars and other punch-marked coins from Taxila could be dated on the basis of another Greek coin to the late fourth century or more likely later. The end of the issue of the punch-marked coinage can be dated to about 150 BC, on the basis of a hoard of late punch-marked coins found in the excavations of a Greek city at Ai-Khanum in northern Afghanistan, containing Greek coins issued about AD 180 and buried before AD 130 (when the city was destroyed).

I then proceeded in the 1985 paper (originally delivered before an audience of leading archaeologists specialising in India, at the South Asian Archaeology Conference, Brussels 1983) to show how the bent-bar coinage fitted into the evolution of coinage in India, showing its close relationship to the earliest of the Gangetic coinages, the cup-shaped coins attributed by some to Kasi. It is possible to show how the rest of north Indian punch-marked coinage developed from the cup- shaped coinage. The consequences of the evidence of this evolution is a dating of the beginnings of coinage in India during the fourth century. John Page's suggestion that this conclusion is an obsession based entirely on the evidence of a twentieth century book could not be further from the truth. It is the result of a detailed analysis of the coinage, built upon the work of P.L. Gupta, Terry Hardaker, Durga Prasad, E.T. Walsh, D.D. Kosambi, Michael Mitchiner and numerous other scholars and collectors.

The chronology proposed by John Page for the coinage "several hundred years before the Buddha's birth" is based on a chronological hook, the date of the Buddha, which is uncertain. Bechert's book (*When Did the Buddha Live? The Controversy on the Dating of the Historical Buddha*, Delhi, 1995, and his two original German volumes, *Die Datierung des Historischen Buddha*) shows how much dispute there is over the date of the Buddha and presents the opinions of the leading archaeologists, historians, scholars working on Indian literature, etc. Bechert presents his own view and summarises the results proposed by the other scholars who contribute to his volume. Reviewed at length by L.S. Cousins in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* third series, volume 6, part 1 (April 1996), pp. 57-63, the German volumes are given a positive but critical assessment, with the reviewer concluding that, like Bechert and the majority of his contributors, "we should no doubt speak of a date for the Buddha's Mahapainibbana [Mahaparinivana, i.e. death] of c. 400 BC". It is because of the central role of the date of the Buddha as a hook on which the whole of Indian political history in the early historical period rests that I recommended Bechert's book as essential reading for those interested in early Indian coinage. The dating of the coinage used by Gupta, Mitchiner, et al. use this hook, because they date the coins in relation to the expansion of the Magadhan state, which is dated according to the chronological relationship between the Magadhan kings responsible for its expansion and their contemporary, the Buddha.

Alongside the political history lies the archaeological record which also helps to provide a chronological frame. John Page refers to the Kausambi site as a good example of the evidence for the chronology of the coinage derived from archaeology. According to this evidence he says that the site's second cultural period datable to 885-605 BC is the context of "the appearance and circulation of coins". This is derived from the excavations published by G.R. Sharma *The Excavations at Kausambi 1957-1959*, Allahabad, 1960. A cast copper coin was found by the excavator in a context which he dated to 885-605 BC. However this dating is very speculative and has been questioned by D.K. Chakrabati (Reader in Indian Archaeology at Cambridge University), *The Archaeology of Ancient Indian Cities,* Delhi, 1995, who says of Sharma's Kausambi publication that "His chronology for the first two periods, however, leaves one baffled. The method by which he estimates their dates (assigning an average span of seventy years to all sub-periods including the earlier ones)... is never a dependable one." (p. 196). Chakrabati goes on to suggest that the second period and its associated pottery would be better dated according to the third-second century coin excavated from it. His discussion of Sharma's work concludes by pointing out the importance of the identification of an early Buddhist monastery at the site: "The basic importance of this discovery is that it closely ties up with the life of the Buddha and is thus of immense chronological and historical significance." (p. 198). Once again a return to the chronological hook of the date of the Buddha by one of India's leading authorities on the archaeology of ancient cities in the sub-continent.

Another assessment of the chronology of the Kausambi site can be found in Bechert's book, where the German archaeologist, H. Härtel, assesses the chronological evidence of sites associated in the traditional literature with the life of the Buddha. Härtel suggests a date in the sixth century BC for the earliest occupation levels at Kausambi (i.e. 5-600 years later than Sharma's dating). He also refers to the opinions of three other archaeologists who have reached the same conclusion on the basis of Sharma's excavations (e.g. A. Ghosh, *An Encyclopedia of Indian Archaeology*, New Delhi, 1989, p. 215: "... the origins of Kausambi, particularly the defences thereof, were not as old as the excavator's reports would have us believe"). Härtel's dating of the site corresponds with an overview of the development of urban sites in northern India presented by numerous archaeologists.

A similar site at Mathura in U.P. shows a very similar profile to the Kausambi excavations and has recently been summarised by M.C. Joshi (pp. 165- 170) for a conference on the history and culture of Mathura (D.M. Srinavasan, editor, *Mathura - the Cultural Heritage*, New Delhi, 1989. Like Sharma at Kausambi he identified a second phase of occupation during which cast copper coins were in use. In the same volume the stratigraphy of the coins has been reviewed by S.C. Ray (pp. 140-145). The cast coins were found in the second strata of the second occupation phase. Joshi identified the second phase as the first full-scale urban development phase at the site, corresponding with the Northern Black Polished (NBP) ware found at early urban sites across northern India. He dated this phase to the Mauryan period, late fourth century to the second century BC. Ray suggests that the cast copper coins were in use during the second half of this period (i.e. c. 200-100 BC), more than four hundred years later than Sharma's dating for them at Kausambi.

Similar datings for cast copper coins come from other excavations, such as A.S Altekar and V. Mishra's *Report on Kumrahar Excavations 1951-1955*, Patna, 1959. They excavated a site at the ancient Mauryan capital of Pataliputra and dated to "before 150 BC" (p. 19) the context of the coins dated by Sharma to 885-605 BC. Chakrabati's bafflement at Sharma's chronology can be understood in the light of such different conclusions to the same evidence.

I am well aware that the Buddha did not issue coins and I do not propose a dating of the coins according to the Buddha's involvement in their issue or use or any relationship between the cultural climate in which he worked and its economic level of development. It is simply that the Indian historiographic tradition is devoid of absolute chronology before the time of Ashoka and earlier dates are based entirely on the opinions of various scholars as to how long before Ashoka the Buddha and the kings who were his contemporaries lived. Bechert's opinions and those of the scholars he brought together represent the most authoritative statements on this issue at present.

I should also comment that the story of the Jetavana Garden (a park is bought for the Buddha at the price of enough coins to cover its surface) referred to by John Page as evidence of coinage in the time of the Buddha is not a story from the time of the Buddha, but a later adaptation of a story first current in the second century BC. Early versions of the story describe the garden being purchased with gold, not with coins. The earliest certain references to coins is in the pictorial version of the story at the Bharut Stupa (c. late second century BC). We should not believe everything we read in books.

One last response should focus on the issue of pace of development. There seems to be a general agreement that the punch-marked coinage goes out of official production in the mid-second century BC. Many people looking at the punch-marked coinages issued before that final phase react to their diversity in weight, fabric and designs, by looking to a long period of development to account for that diversity, John Page's "long evolutionary change". He proposes 'that these changes evolved slowly over a long period of time", contrasting them with the bent-bars which "show no such evolution in either weight or fabrication".

The diversity of the punch-marked coins seems to reflect the existence of about thirty production centres and about the same number of weight standards, with about twenty different fabrics. I propose to accommodate this level of diversity (which is certainly evolutionary) into a period of about two hundred years. If one were to compare that with the diversity arising during the first two hundred years of coinage in the Greek world (i.e. c. 600-400 BC) the rate of development I suggest for the Indian coinage would seem rather slow. Coinage was an exceptionally successful invention and spread rapidly in the Greek world, already being issued in southern

France, southern Italy and Sicily, Libya, and throughout western Turkey and Greece within about a hundred years of its invention. It is not difficult to envisage a similar rate of acceptance and adaptation in the Indian context, once the idea had become available in the sub-continent.

The indigenous and independent invention of coinage in India is an attractive idea to all fascinated by the history and culture of South Asia, but the possibility that the idea came to India from the Greek world cannot be discounted and fits best the nature of its first appearance in India. Literary texts of the pre-urban period in India's history suggest that before the time of the Buddha payments were made in gold and cattle. The Vedic tradition suggests a general dislike for silver. The first contacts of India with coin-using people are with the eastern edges of the Achaemenid Empire from about 520 BC, when northern Pakistan was absorbed into the Iranian empire. The Achaemenids were at that date issuing coins in western Turkey and over the next century and a half exported these coins along with Greek silver coins into the eastern parts of their empire. The adoption of a silver coinage in India during the period of Achaemenid rule on the north-western borders was an innovation in Indian culture, in the same way as it had been for the Greeks and Iranians shortly before. The punch-marked coinage represents India's adaptation of this rapidly spreading invention. Indian tradition to that date suggests that gold and cattle payments were replaced (but not entirely) by the acceptance of this new successful and useful idea. The use of stamped silver was adopted, but it was given an Indian form. Even with Bechert's new later chronology for the Buddha, unfortunately his Nirvana, a few decades before its arrival, deprived him of the opportunity of encountering this new-fangled Greek idea. The stories of the Buddha's life coming down to us among the Jatakas and other Buddhist literature do mention the use of coins, but this merely reflects their dates of composition in the centuries after the death of the Buddha when coins were already in use. The early references to the story of the purchase of the Jetavana Gardens for the Buddha by a payment in gold is fully compatible with what we know of the use of gold in payments in the time of the Buddha before the arrival of silver coinage in India. The later adaptation of the story to refer to a payment in coin reflects the change to the normal means of payment a few decades after the death of the Buddha, i.e. the introduction of the silver punch-marked coinage in northern India during the fourth century BC.

Dammas Daniqs and 'Abd al-Malik

Robert Tye

For a number of years I have been perplexed about the very small (c. 0.5 gram) silver coins struck by a number of Medieval Hindu and Moslem dynasties in India. The issues seem to be widely scattered in time and place - so why did separate dynasties keep returning to this inconveniently small module for their silver coinage? And further, was it just a coincidence that an identical unit of account for silver, (called the daniq, 0.5 grams), seems to have appeared in Iran near the start of the Moslem era? Recent discoveries have set me thinking about these problems again, and I have constructed the following explanation. Very aware that I am pushing the hypothesis out into waters where I have no expertise, I circulated a version of this paper to a number of collectors and learned institutions, expecting criticism. None came. I am therefore publishing the material in the ONS newsletter with the following requests I) are the facts correct? and, II) are there any facts relevant to the hypothesis that I have missed? If the thesis is correct it overturns several decades of supposition that the metrology of the dirhem derived primarily from matters to do with gold/silver ratios, and Byzantine metrologies. The hypothesis that the metrology of the dirhem derives from India would seem, if it holds up, to be important enough to receive further attention. I have one further request. It occurs to me that there may be some, especially amongst professional scholars, who might object not to the factual basis of this paper, but to the conjectural mode of the investigation in which the facts are employed. If this is the case, I would be grateful if they would also come out of hiding and put their arguments on the table, as I do have a little expertise in epistemological matters, and it may be that I can assist them in this connection.

What follows is a conjecture based upon numismatic evidence and the surviving historical comment that are I have come across. It is by no means the only hypothesis that could be constructed around the evidence, nor is it likely to turn out to be the exact truth of the matter. It does seem however to be the simplest and most plausible way of accounting for the facts at our disposal.

THE INDIAN SILVER UNIT OF ACCOUNT

The unification of India under Magadha/Mauryan rule (+/- 300 BC) brought to the sub-continent a universal unit of account for silver, the karshapana. The weight of the karshapana was constant at around 3.3 grams, whilst its silver content fell over time from about 80% to about 70% (thus 2.6g AR down to 2.3g AR content). The Indo-Greek drachm which took its place in the North West in post-Mauryan times (c. 180 BC) was a very minor adjustment to the same unit, weighing c. 2.45g, and being perhaps 90% fine (thus 2.2g AR). Subsequent issues of the Western Satraps and Guptas around Gujarat aimed at a weight standard of around 2.2g or 2.1g throughout, with a decline in silver quality from around 95% down to 85% by the late Gupta period, c. 450 AD. (AR down from c. 2.1g to 1.8g). Thus for more than 800 years (c 400 BC to post 455 AD), we see a silver denomination holding its own, declining in value by about 4% per century. Locally, both the Mauryan karshapana, and the Indo-Greek drachm did debase, but the continuance of normal standard coins elsewhere, seems to imply, (and probably facilitated) the survival of these difficulties by the unit of account.

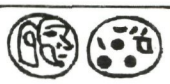
DEBASEMENT UNDER SKANDAGUPTA

Skandagupta, the last imperial Gupta, (currently dated to 455-85 AD), issued garuda type silver drachms (MA 4867), and a new bull type (MA 4879), apparently at the normal standard. A third altar type (MA 4869) however seems to have rapidly debased, presumably late in the reign. This altar drachm seems to be a deliberate debasement of the Indian silver unit and it coincides with the fall of the Guptas. I know of no analysis of the Skanda silver issues. On the basis of appearance, and subsequent events, I postulate that at (or around) this time the Indian silver unit (the *damma*), was re-valued to:

$\frac{1}{8}$ of the Sasanian drachm, (around 0.5 grams)

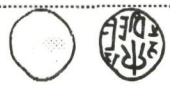
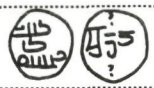
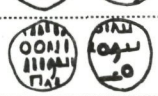
The base altar type drachms of Skandagupta seem to have been a single large issue late in the 5th century AD. Common garuda type base drachms in the name of Kumaragupta (MA 4900-1) however are more likely to be posthumous issues, post-Gupta 'trade coins'. The well known coinage of nearby Valabhi (MA 4887) was most likely contemporary with that of the Guptas. A heavy debasement is also seen in Valabhi drachms (MA 4892+) and it seems to mirror that observed in the Gupta coin. Debased Valabhi and posthumous

Kumaragupta coins are very common, and might have met the need in Gujarat for a 'silver' damma coinage through the 6th and even the 7th century AD. In Malwa (MA 5082) and around Kanauj (MA 4929) restored versions of the old drachm were launched around 550 AD, and issued for perhaps a century thereafter. [I would postulate that these were tariffed at 4 'ordinary' (or 'Gujerat' dammas)]

		A LIST OF INDIAN DAMMAS
A		**Sri Vigraha**, MA 247+, date and state unknown. Possibly Gujarat, probably contemporary. with Deyell. #1 (Pratihara 'Indo-Sasanian.') and thus first struck around 750 AD. Weight c. 0.4g. Obviously follows a Gupta prototype
B		**Kalachuris (?)**, MA 287+, date unknown, probably similar to A above. Mitchiner lists 4 different rulers, three bust obverse, one srivatsa obverse. Weight reported as c. 0.5g. Again obviously follows a Gupta prototype.
C		**West Central Provinces** (Punjab) MA 4905+. Date and state unknown. Weight c. 0.8 grams thus not a damma in our sense, but maybe a 2-damma. Definitely derived from a Gupta prototype, (crude garuda top rev) and itself the prototype for H below, which is a damma. Probably contemporary with A, thus c. 750 AD+?

THE SILVER DAMMA c. 750 AD

Two of the three areas that saw issues of c. 2 gram post Gupta drachms in the 6th century went on to produce much smaller silver coins subsequently. In all three new small AR's signal their link to the ancient drachm by a crude rendering of a bust on the obverse. **Type A,** apparently from Gujarat, shows a bull on the reverse, with the legend 'Sri Vigraha'. It typically weighs 0.4g, and the bull soon devolves into a 3-dot design. We also find scarce c. 0.4 to 0.6g issues, apparently from Malwa naming a series of kings **(type B)**. I postulate that both types **A & B** were tariffed as dammas. In the Punjab, (thus the West-Central provinces), we find a very common 0.8g silver coin **(type C)**, with bust obverse and 3-dot reverse. Above the 3 dots is a crude rendering of a garuda, below them an altar, to the sides a legend that has been read as 'Gupta'. These I would postulate were 2-damma coins (to the 'gupta' damma standard). It is very difficult

		FURTHER INDIAN DAMMA SERIES ISSUES
D		**Raja Sri Thajighra**, mint and date uncertain, weight 0.62g. Perhaps the same mint (or prototype) for **E** below. Note 3 dots on hat! (Reported and tentative reading by Robert Senior)
E		**Sri Rovina,** (Swat), ONS #84, date and state unknown. c. 0.5g uniface. The letters Gu-Ta either side of the trident, reiterate the 'Gupta' legend found on C, so again this is ultimately derived from the Gupta drachm
F		**Sri Rana Hasti,** MA 4910, 'West/Central India.. Mitchiner's 5th cent attribution seems unlikely, that of P L Gupta to the Pratahara ruler Vatsaraja (778-88 AD) is very interesting if correct, weight c. 0.5g
G		**Jayasimha Siddharaja**, Gujarat, c. 1094-1133 AD, weight 0.45g. Differs in style from E, and I have not observed the two types coming mixed together, so they probably are different dynasties/areas/periods
H		**Chaulukyas of Badami**, Album 104/117. reported weight 0.5g. Anyone know of a write up on this - or of any other 0.5g AR's lurking in the undergrowth?
I		**Simhadeva,** R. 170, Nepal, 1105-22 AD, , weight c. 4.0g, The first coin that can be unambiguously identified as a damma
		BILINGUAL ISSUES
J		**Gharlibids (?)**, Multan (?), 10th century, unpublished. A series of 4 or 5 rulers inscribed in Arabic , perhaps acknowledging 4 different Pratihara Emperors by their biruda (in Nagari). Weight c. 0.5g,. Design (3 dots plus garuda) is clearly derived from C, thus ultimately from the Gupta drachm
K		**'Jituda',** MN 219, 10th century? 0.4g, Sind, date and state unknown, Nagari reading uncertain, known from one inferior specimen only
		ISLAMIC ISSUES
L		**Habbarids**, Mansura(?), weight c. 0.55g. There appear to be at least 9 rulers known, all presumably around the 10th century. The sequence seems to be: Umar/'Abd allah I/Ali/'Abd ur Rahman/'Abd allah II/ Muhammad, plus scarce rulers Da'ud, Hatim and Ahmad at uncertain points in the sequence.
M		**Isma'ilis,** Multan, 965-1011 AD, c. 0.53g, coins in the name of two Fatimid Caliphs, BM collection, pub. by Lowick.
N		**Ghaznavids,** Mansura, 1031-99 AD, Mas'ud/Maudud/Farrukhzad/Ibrahim I presume in a fabric which debases in parallel (?) with the contemporary AR standard at Ghazna
O		**Independent Issues of the Ghaznavid period (?)**, exactly 0.49g ($\frac{1}{6}$ dirhem). Commonly found in monotype mint state hoards. A stylised resurrection of the last Habbarid issue (ino Ahmad), as the Ghaznavid damma fell into disrepute? However, a second ruler has apparently come to light.....

to fix a date for the appearance of these three related types. A separate series of 4 gram Indo-Sasanian 'Sri Vigraha' coins (MN 384+) from the East Central Provinces has been plausibly attributed to the mid 8th century Pratiharas by Deyell (LWS/28), and since the Pratiharas likely also ruled Gujarat at this time, it seems simplest to give these coins to the same authority. Thus all these diminutive AR's were perhaps introduced in the mid 8th century. Some apparently very rare bust types, with a trident reverse, **(types D & E)** seem to be a further development of the main type, and were perhaps struck in or around Swat (now in N. Pakistan).

The newly discovered bilingual Gharlibid (?) coins **(type J)** prove what I have suspected for nearly 20 years - the Arabic AR's of Sind were struck to a pre-existing Hindu denomination standard - the damma. They seem to have co-existed around the 10th/11th century AD with purely Islamic issues of four main types **(L, M, N & O)**. Types **L** and **O** are very common.

Ibn Haukal visited Sind in the later 10th century, and gives us a commentary on the coins he saw which exactly matches the numismatic record we construct today. He speaks of Gandharan coins (ie Shahi jitals - MN 117), worth 5 dirhems, and Tatari coins (ie Gadhaiya paisa - MN 419+) worth 8 dirhems. The dirhem he accounts in cannot be other than the 0.5 gram dammas discussed here, exemplified by types **L** and others herein. It is not clear whether the damma as a unit of account, or examples of damma coins themselves were referred to.

Finally we know of four further Hindu types **F, G, H, & I**. None of these show any vestiges of the original gupta bust design. Two of these types can be fairly securely dated to around 1100 AD. It seems possible that all four belong to that period, and record a return to the practice of striking the damma at that time.

From the first half of the 13th century we get[1] a fragment from the contemporary monetary debate. A courtier in Jalor called for one paruttha dramma to equal 8 ordinary drammas. Deyell has interpreted this as a call for an 8-fold devaluation of the Gadhaiya coin. This seems unlikely to me, not least because politicians have a tendency to keep their heads down when devaluing the currency. More likely this was a monetary conservative, making a call for the retention/restoration of a gadhaiya coinage with a full 8 dammas worth of silver in it.

There was without doubt a general devaluation of indigenous silver currencies in early 13th century India however. It is seen in both the jital at Delhi and the gadhaiya coin in Gujarat. It seems to have been brought about by tinkering with the value of the unit of account itself. The damma appears to have lost almost two thirds of its value, dropping to about 0.18 grams AR. The debasement is shown clearly enough on the face of the coins, but literary sources hint at a fuller explanation.

The almanac of old coins by Thakkura Pheru[2] is a listing of old coins and their values, recorded around 1317 AD. It is not as useful a work as it at first sounds, since it is frequently very difficult to work out what coins Pheru is actually referring to in the text. I suspect much of the early material in the work was copied from earlier Hindu almanacs verbatim, and that Pheru himself did not know, in many cases, what coins his text was referring to. It does allow us to pin down the nature of the early 13th century devaluation of the jital. It also yields the further conclusions, which lend support to the general case being made here:

1) In 1317 AD there was a universal unit of account used for reckoning all public and private finance in N. India, it was called the gani, and was worth c.0.18 grams of silver ($\frac{1}{60}$th of a tanka)

2) The gani was worth exactly one damma (and most probably, 'gani' was the name used to refer to late 13th century damma, that is to say, the damma after its debasement in the reign of Iltutmish)

3) Silver coins had always been measured in terms of the damma in India. In his lists of coin types, Pheru refers to coins valued in dammas which can only be silver tetradrachms, obsolete more than 13 hundred years earlier.

The evidence is not conclusive, but both coins and documents point to a universal Indian financial unit, the damma, being used as a basis for accounting silver in India since ancient times. Discounting the tiny incremental losses of value which accumulated over centuries, we can account for almost all Indian silver denominations by postulating just two intentional adjustments to the value of this unit - the first one during the fall of the Guptas, the other during the conquest of North India by Islam.

THE ARAB CONNECTION

In early Omayyad times we find the Arabs figuring the value of their silver coins in an abstract unit of account. They called it a daniq, and it was worth almost exactly 0.5 grams of silver[3]. I propose here that:

a) the Arabs got this unit of account from their old trading partners, the Gujaratis.

b) the daniq and the damma were identical.

c) When 'Abd al-Malik first fixed the value of the dirhem, he set it at 6 dammas.

There is nothing novel about proposing that the Arabs borrowed financial techniques from India. As is widely known, our counting system reached Syria from India and had been enthusiastically received there by the mid 7th century AD. Is it not likely that whilst 'Abd al-Malik and his circle learned, as young men, to count in the Indian manner, they also learnt to account in the Indian manner?

What is the alternative to the hypothesis presented above? The only one I have been able to patch together would seem to run thus:

The Arabs chose first to fix their gold denar at the weight of worn Byzantine solidi, that is, 20 Arabian carats, (why - when silver was their prefered metal?). Favouring a 14:1 gold silver ratio, they proceeded to create a completely new silver denomination, the dirhem, weighing just under 3 grams. They followed the Sasanian tradition of creating a fractional sixth part for the dirhem, *but did not strike it* (why?). They created a name for the imaginary fraction however, the daniq, and began immediately to use it as a unit of account (for Arabic, Sasanian, Tabaristan and soon Bokharan and Shahi coins). *By sheer coincidence,* these coins are simple multiples of the daniq.

Since Arabs would know about existing Indian accounting systems at the time of 'Abd al-Malik, and Hindus likely already had a 0.5g AR damma unit at the base of their system, is it not more plausible to conclude that the damma figured in Arab calculations from the start?

The above summary does not do justice to Grierson's pioneering work[4] on the dirhem of course, and it is not my purpose to contradict it. It is my purpose to supplement it, and seek a more rounded, less Eurocentric view of medieval monetary events. Much more work is required on medieval Indian silver coinage to take this hypothesis further. There is an important distinction to be made between the

value of a unit of account in silver, and the silver content of a coin merely tariffed at that value (the coin will often contain less silver, but only exceptionally more). Nevertheless, analysis of the silver content of the base drachms of the Guptas and Valabhi would be most interesting. Also some of the small AR's listed above are published for the first time here. It seems very likely that there are still new types yet to see the light of publication, which would fill out our understanding further.

THE DAMMA IN THE 12TH CENTURY

A separate but related topic is the well known spread of the daniq in the Moslem world of the 11th/12th century. Arab writers of the period linked issues of Sind to similar coins struck in 11th century Africa. Yemen also began a daniq coinage at this time. But the currency zone of the daniq was not confined to the Indian ocean. Prior to adopting the restored silver dirhem, the Seljuks of Rum seem to have experimented with a daniq coinage. The only common silver issue in the Islamic Western Mediterranean was the diminutive qirat, exactly a double daniq. (Meanwhile, far to the East, in Hindu Java, a silver currency system sprang to life in what appear to be 1, 2 and 4 damma pieces.....)

By 1,000 AD coin had more or less disappeared from Islam, the economy ran on bullion and money of account. During the 11th century a revitalising Iranian economy began to borrow money forms from its neighbours, including coppers from Byzantium in the West, and jitals from India in the East. Neither of these matched the spectacular success of the daniq at that time however. It spread over thousands of miles against their mere hundreds. This too seems to point to the great importance of the daniq, as a pre-existing unit of account. *A unit built into the very foundations of the Arab economy.*

Thanks for help with the evidence behind this article to Robert Senior, Michael Broome, Joe Cribb, Stephen Album, Howard Simmons

Notes

1. Referenced in Deyell *Living Without Silver*, p. 112.
2. See *INC* Vol. VII parts I-II (1969), pp.100-114.
3. See Walker, *A Catalogue of the Arab Sasanian Coins*, London 1941, p. CL.
4. Grierson, *The Monetary Reforms of 'Abd al-Malik*, JESHO, 1960.

Identity of the Napki coins

Shoshin Kuwayama

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The Problem

The coins bearing the Pehlevi legend variously read as Napki Malka, Nspk MLD, or degenerate versions thereof and restored by some scholars as Nafak Shah, Nizak, etc., are a series of coins which characteristically depict a buffalo-head as the main ornament on the king's crown and have long since been deemed Hephthalite. Having gone so far as to confidently state that 'coins of the Napki Malik series are among the commonest Hephthalite issues' datable to between *c.* 475 and *c.* 560, Mitchiner (1972: 167) sums up the theories put forward by scholars:

... for de Morgan (1923-1936) and most earlier writers they were issued by a Hephthalite king living in the 4th or 5th century AD but for Ghirshman (1948) they were the coinage of a Hephthalite principality that existed in the 7th century; Göbl (1967) has accepted some features of each view and attributed the Napki series to Hephthalite princes ruling Ghazni region from *c.* 460-600 and the Kabul Valley from *c.* 515-700.

The following discussion, however, does not lend support to any of these attributions. My main intention here is to call your attention to the long ignored Chinese written documents that describe a gold crown with a bull's head in order to associate it with that on the coins and revise the identity and chronology of the Napki series.

The bull-headed crown

A gold crown with a bull's head was first brought to light by Rémusat (1829: 211) when he published a selected translation of the account on Central Asian kingdoms in the 14th century encyclopaedia of Chinese dynastic regulations, *Wen xian tong kao*.[1] The encyclopaedia describes that the king of the Cao Country wears a gold crown with a bull's head. Göbl did indeed draw attention to the translation when he dealt with the Napki coins, but he does not seem to have liked using this information since he believed, exclusively from the zoological point of view, that the head on the coins was not of a bull but of a buffalo (Göbl 1967, I: 135).

He was apparently unaware of the following facts, which are a matter of common knowledge for any Sinologist. First of all, since Chinese classical writers did not differentiate buffalo from cattle, 'bull' in the encyclopaedia can include buffalo., Secondly, the paragraph in question in the encyclopaedia is a word-for-word copy of the Cao Kingdom section in the *Tong dian* (Comprehensive History of Regulations) which was completed between AD 766 and 768.[2] Thirdly, the Cao Kingdom also appears in the Western Region chapter of the *Bei shi* (History of the Northern Wei, Qi, Zhu and Sui Dynasties) which was completed in AD 659.[3] Fourthly, the Western Region chapters of the *Tong dian* and *Bei shi* apparently originate from the chapter in the *Sui shu* which was edited in AD 629 and 630. The account of the Cao Kingdom in the *Sui shu* is, therefore, the earliest mention of that country among the various Chinese literary sources.[4] Accordingly, the Cao king's crown mentioned in the 14th century encyclopaedia was not correct at that time but contemporary with the Chinese Sui dynasty, i.e. from AD 581 to 617.

However, in no accessible edition of the *Sui shu* is the bull's head found, but strangely enough, a fish head takes its place, although no serious difference exists among the other sentences of the sections on the Cao Kingdom in any of these source books. The difference about the crown possibly arose between the existing editions of the *Sui shu* and the one that was used for the *Bei shi* in the middle of the 7th century and the *Tong dian* in the middle of the 8th. The Western Region chapter of the *Bei shi*, edited only twenty years later than the original *Sui shu*, was not based on any new information about Central Asia available at that time but was simply extracted from the descriptions in the Western Region chapters of the *Wei shu, Zhou shu* and *Sui shu*, all being dynastic histories housed in the imperial library. There is no mention of the Cao Kingdom in the *Wei shu* and *Zhou shu*. The same is true of the *Tong dian*.

Considering these facts, how could the editors of the *Bei shi* and the *Tong dian* have described the bull-headed crown in their accounts of the Cao Kingdom were it not for the description in the original *Sui shu*? This supposition gives us cause to think that the original *Sui shu* certainly alluded to the bull-headed crown and that the king of Cao actually wore such a crown in the time contemporary with the Sui dynasty. Taking into consideration the fact that except for the Napki coins no example of coins that depict a bull-headed crown is known, we have reached the basic point: the king on the Napki coins can be associated with the Cao king; that is, the Napki coins were issued by Cao kings at least from the late 6th century to the early 7th.

Identification of the Cao Kingdom

The question then arises as to what and where was the Cao Kingdom. We have a couple of reasons for identifying Cao with Kāpiśī. First, evidence is afforded by references to the whereabouts of a statue of a deity called Deva Śunā. The Cao Kingdom section of the *Sui shu* alludes to a big shrine for Deva Śunā. Since the upper limit of the period covered by the *Sui shu* is AD 617, this deity had been worshipped in the Cao Kingdom before AD 617 at the latest. The very same deity is also referred to by Xuangzang in the *Da Tang Xiyu ji* as having been worshipped in Zabulistan after it had been shifted from Kāpiśī sometime before his visit in AD 629. These sources imply that the statue of Deva Śunā had been in Cao before it was moved to Zabulistan. Xuangzang's suggestion that the statue of Deva Śunā was originally in Kāpiśī is important. Thus, it appears that Cao is quite different from Zabulistan and that it is probably identical with Kāpiśī.

Secondly, there is geographical evidence for identifying Cao with Kāpiśī in the Sui dynasty. In AD 606 a geopolitical book entitled the *Xiyu Tuji* (Illustrated Account of the Western Region) was edited by an officer, Peiju, based on information given to him by long-distance traders at a town in the western borderlands of the Sui empire. Although this source book is now lost, the complete preface is preserved in his biography in the *Sui shu* and includes an allusion to three major Central Asiatic routes starting from Dunhuang.[5] Among them the southern route was the only one leading to the Subcontinent including eastern Afghanistan. The preface mentions the names of the countries on this road in the following order: Dunhuang, several minor kingdoms on the southern fringe of the Takla Makan Desert, Tashkurghan in the Pamirs, Badakhshan, Tokharistan, Bamiyan, Cao and the northern Brahman Country, or the present northwestern part of the subcontinent. This sequence locates Cao between Bamiyan and the northern Brahman Country. Twenty years later than this account, Xuanzang passed along the same route when he left Tokharistan through Bamiyan and Kāpiśī for Laghman which he clearly includes in the northern Indic Country. The parallel between Xuanzang's itinerary - Bamiyan, Kāpiśī, northern Indic Country - and the countries in Peiju's preface - Bamiyan, Cao, northern Brahman Country - lends strong geographical support to the identification of the Cao Kingdom of the *Sui shu* with Kāpiśī of Xuanzang.

Thirdly, more evidence for identifying Cao with Kāpiśī is found in the *Tong dian*. The editor of the *Tong dian*, a scholar in the middle of the Tang dynasty, places his account of the Cao Kingdom at the end of the Jibin Kingdom section quoting all of the descriptions of the *Sui shu* and adds a special note that the Cao Kingdom was first known to China in the Sui dynasty. This implies that he was aware that the Cao Kingdom of the Sui dynasty was identical with Jibin in the Tang dynasty. As Lévi (1895; 1896) proved, Jibin was Kāpiśī for the Tang court. So, Cao in the Sui dynasty is Kāpiśī. This identification leads us to the further conclusion that between AD 581 and 617 the kings of Kāpiśī wore the bull-headed crown and issued the Napki coins.

Khingal kings of Kāpiśī

Several source books of the Tang dynasty broaden this chronological scope. According to them, Kāpiśī, or Jibin, sent a dozen missions to the Tang court from AD 619 onward. Speaking of AD 658, when Tang China set up the Protectorate General at Kāpiśī, it was reported to the Tang court that the first king of Kāpiśī was Khingal and that the kingship had been inherited from father to son for twelve generations up to the present king called Ghar-ilchi. In AD 653, Kāpiśī had also reported to the Tang court that the princely heir had succeeded to the throne in that kingdom. This account most probably indicates that in AD 653 Ghar-ilchi had already ascended the throne. Eight years later, in AD 661, when Tang China officially established its presence in Central Asia, the king of Kāpiśī was again confirmed in his position as the Protector General in the capital city, or the third and latest city of Begrām in the archaeological context, whose date, as given by Ghirshman, has been revised to the period from the middle of the 6th century to the end of the 7th century (Kuwayama 1974; 1991a). The name of the king is not shown therein, but this very silence suggests that Ghar-ilchi must still have been the king even in AD 661. From that time onward Kāpiśī was confronted with Muslim power coming from the south, and some kind of military cooperation arose between the king of the Khingal line in Kāpiśī-Begrām and the Turkish prince, Barha Tegin, in Kabul, who was under the hegemony of the former.

In any case we can state that in Kāpiśī there was a line of kings which had begun with Khingal. Although we do not know whether 'twelve generations' is actually correct, this line of kings will go back to the middle of the 6th century at the latest, if the average minimum duration of a king's reign is provisionally taken as ten years. The Khingal dynasty of Kāpiśī therefore covers at least a period from the middle of the 6th century to the middle of the 7th and includes the king described in the *Sui shu* as wearing a bull-headed crown. It is between these dates, or more exactly in AD 629, that Xuanzang visited Kāpiśī, which shows that the king of Kāpiśī was of the Khingal line.

Very important here for revising those theories that maintain that the Napki rulers are Hephthalite is Xuanzang's allusion to the Kāpiśī. of the Khingal line as belonging to the *ksatriya*, which Xuanzang describes elsewhere as one of the four *varnas* in India. This is the one and only mention of a *ksatriya* king in his account in the *Da Tang Xiyu ji*. He does not mention it in any Indian kingdom but only in relation to the king of Kāpiśī, which is actually just outside of the real Indic countries, which start from Laghman to the east of Kāpiśī. With such a specific reference to it, Xuanzang must be trying to make it clear that the king of Kāpiśī is not foreign to the Indic world but of Indian origin, despite the fact that Kāpiśī is geographically just outside of the Indic world. This clearly shows that the kings of the Khingal dynasty were not *mleccha*, and not Hephthalite.

Certainly the Hephthalites had kings called Khiṅgila, who are known from their coins and the *Rājatarańginī*, but we also know of other Khiṅgālas who appear among the Kabul Shahs of Turkish origin, as mentioned in the inscription on the Gardez-Ganesá image (Kuwayama 1991b) and in al-Ya'qūbī's *History* (Houtsma 1883: 497). Therefore we have Hephthalite Khingal, Turkish Khingal, and even Indian *ksatriya* Khingal. We can find no reason to identify Kāpiśian Khingal with a Hephthalite origin.

Conclusion

The above discussion leads us to the following conclusion: it is known that a golden crown decorated with a bull's head was worn by a king of the Cao Kingdom during the period contemporary with the Sui dynasty. The Cao Kingdom is identical with the Jibin Kingdom in the Tang dynasty and therefore also identical with Kāpiśī. In Kāpiśī there was a line of *ksatriya* kings which started with Khingal most probably in the middle of the 6th century, the kingship being inherited from father to son at Begrām at least down to the middle of the 7th century.

Since the king contemporary with the Sui dynasty, or from the last years of the 6th century to the early 7th century, wore a gold crown with a bull's head, that crown must have been proper to the Khingal line of Kāpiśī, considering that no examples of coins that depict the bull-headed crown are known except for the Napki coins. These coins are most probably the emissions of the Khingal dynasty in Kāpiśī, roughly dating from the middle of the 6th century to the middle of the 7th. Although the Napki coins have several varieties, all of them should be attributed to this house of kings and included within that timespan.

Notes

1. The Wen xian tong kao (Encyclopaedia of Regulations from the Remote Past to the Sung Dynasty), edited in AD 1317 by Ma Tuanlin. A French version of the section about the Cao Kingdom given by A. Rémusat (1829: 210-211) runs as follows:

Au temps des Soui, on appelait ce pays royaume de Tsao, et on le disait situé au sud-ouest des montagnes Bleues. Les historiens des Soui assurent du moins que ce royaume était le Ki-pin du temps des Han. Leur roi appartenait à la famille Chao-wou et il était parent ou allié des rois de Khang-kiu (Sogdiane). Il avait sous ses ordres dix milles soldats. Des lois sévères entretenaient le bon ordre dans l'état. L'homicide et le vol étaient punis de mort. Ils avaient beaucoup de pratiques susperstitieuses. Dans les montagnes Bleues, il y a des gens qui adorent le Dieu du ciel. Leurs rites sont très recherchés; ils

construisent des édifices d'or et d'argent; le terre est recouverte de ce dernier métal. Devant le temple il y a une vertèbre de poisson, au travers du trou de laquelle un cheval et son cavalier peuvent entrer et sortir. Le roi porte un bonnet fait en tête de boeuf, et s'assied sur une trône construit en forme de cheval d'or... Ce pays est à sept cents li de Fan-yan (Bamiyan) du côté du nord; à six cents li du royaume de Khiei, du côté de l'orient, et à six mille six cents li de Koua-tcheou, du côté du midi. Il en est venu un tribut dans le courant des années Ta-niei (605-616).

2. The *Tong dian* (Comprehensive History of Regulations, covering the time from the remote past to AD 756 and edited in AD 768 by Du Yu) reads as follows:

The kingdom of Jibin... was called Cao in the time of the Sui Emperors. It is located to the southwest of Mount Onion. [Du Yu's note: The *History of the Sui Dynasty* says that it was called Jibin in the Han period.] (The succeeding paragraphs are the same as those in the Sui shu excepting the description of the king's crown.)

3. The *Bei shi* (History of the Northern Wei, Qi, Zhu and Sui Dynasties), edited in AD 659 by Li Yanshou.

4. The *Sui shu* (History of the Sui Dynasty, AD 581-617, edited in AD 636) reads as follows:

The kingdom of Cao is located to the north of Mount Onion, called Jibin in the Han time. The surname of the king is Zhaowu and the given name Shunda. He belongs to the family of the king of Kang (Samarkand). The square capital measures sixteen Chinese miles. The superior warriors number more than ten thousand. The rules of the state are strict: murderers and thieves are punished by death. The worship of licentious gods is a custom of that country. On Mount Onion there is a deity called Shun (Śunā Deva). The ritual is extremely magnificent, the shrine being roofed with gold and silver plates and paved with silver ones. More than one thousand people come to worship it every day. In front of the shrine there is the backbone of a fish, the centre being pierced with a hole through which a mounted horseman can pass freely. The king wears a crown decorated with a golden fish head, seated on a throne decorated with golden horses... Seven hundred Chinese miles to the north of it is Bamiyan, six hundred to the east the Kingdom of Jie and six thousand six hundred to the northeast is the Chinese district Gua. In the Daye Era they sent messengers to offer local products as tributes.

5. The *Xiyu Tuji* (Illustrated Account of the Western Region), edited in the first half of AD 606 by Peiju. The preface reads as follows:

There are three major routes starting from Dunhuang to the Western Sea: on the northern route one may reach the Western Sea passing Hami, the Tiele tribe of the Turks on the Pulei Lake, the headquarters of the Khaqan of the West Turks, the rivers running northward and the Byzantine Empire; on the middle route one may reach the Western Sea passing Turfan, Kara Shahr, Kucha, Kashgar, Mount Onion, Ferghana, Ustrushana, Samarkand, other minor towns in Soghdiana and Sassanian Persia; on the southern route one may reach the Western Sea passing Miran, Khotan, Yarkand, Tashkurghan, Mount Onion, Wakhan, Tokhara, the Hephthalites, Bamiyan, Cao (Kāpiśī) and the North Brahman Country. The kingdoms on all three routes are connected with each other by other roads. Countries such as East Nü ('Woman') and South Brahman can also be reached. Therefore one can realize that such districts as Hami, Turfan and Miran are the doorways to the western region. All roads running from the western region converge on Dunhuang, which is like a bottleneck.

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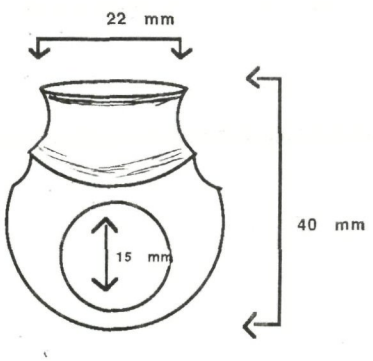
A unique Indo-Greek royal seal of a monetary type.

Osmund Bopearachchi and Aman ur Rahman

A bronze seal in the form of a ring depicting the obverse monetary type of the Indo-Greek Hermaeus was brought to Mr. Aman ur Rahman's attention by a dealer who had purchased it from the Peshawar bazaar in August 1995. According to reliable information gathered from the dealer, it seems to have come from the second Mir Zakah deposit. As elaborated elsewhere (cf. O. Bopearachchi, 1994), this deposit, discovered, accidentally, in 1992 in the village of Mir Zakah in Afghanistan, was one of the largest ancient coin hoards ever attested in the world. It probably consisted of three to four tons of gold, silver and bronze coins, dating from the fourth century BC to the second century AD. The hoard is also said to have contained over three hundred kilograms of gold, silver and bronze objects, such as statues, vine goblets, plates, jewellery etc. (for further details, see O. Bopearachchi & A.u. Rahman, 1995: 11-2). The bronze seal was covered with a heavy encrustation of greenish-black salt and was partially cleaned by Aman ur Rahman in order to reveal its surface. The following drawing gives its measurements:



Evidence exists in the Greek and Roman world for large seals which were worn as finger rings, but this seal, although also ring-shaped, was probably hung around the neck on a cord, since there is a thin cut on the annulus, at the point where the ring came into contact with the cord. Again, while Greek and Roman rings were invariably made of precious metal (cf. A.D.H. Bivar, 1969: 22), the alloy and structure of our seal is indicative of an object that was designed for strength and intended for practical use as a seal, and not for ornamental purposes. Such seals were impressed on clay or shellac, the two substances used to seal administrative documents, as a 'mark' of the originator of the document and as a measure ensuring confidentiality. In recent years, a large number of administrative documents, such as taxes receipts and parchments, have been found in Afghanistan and Pakistan (cf. P. Bernard & Col. Rapin, 1994 and J. Rea 1994). One can imagine that the ring, with its royal portrait and legend, originally had a plating of gold on the bronze core; however no traces of any precious metal were found on it. This observation, once again, confirms its utilitarian purpose. It may also be noted that a number of seal-rings of non-precious metal were found in the Ai Khanum excavations, and most of them were not mounted (Cl. Rapin, 1992: 132, pl. 77, 04).

Aman ur Rahman also has several iron and bronze rings in his collection that have intaglio engravings of human and animal figures, some with and some without legends. They too were used, most probably, by administrators and nobles, as personal seals. The upper surface of the seal depicts the obverse monetary type of the Indo-Greek king Hermaeus: diademed bust of king to right, with the Greek legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ / ΕΡΜΑΙΟΥ (cf. *BN*, Hermaios, series 3). The diameter of the engraving corresponds to that of drachms. The portrait of the king quite similar to the one illustrated in *BN*, pl. 53, no. 5. The legend arrangement and lettering are identical to the engraving on the coins *BN*, pl. 53, nos. 3-6. All these coins in question bear the monogram: ꝶ and are considered as life-time issues of Hermaeus (cf. *BN*, p. 115, n. 1). The seal and coin types bear such a close resemblance, it appears as if an obverse die has been affixed to the ring. However, on close inspection, the engraving seems either to have been done as for a die, but directly onto the

ring surface, possibly by the same engraver who cut the dies of the mint: ℞, or it was hubbed directly into the metal by using an ordinary coin as matrix.

Since the seal has a royal portrait and legend, it should probably be considered as a royal stamp. In antiquity, royal portraits occur on seals (see for example, J. Spier, 1992), but so far seals bearing a royal portrait and legend of an obverse monetary type have never been found. Several examples of actual coins mounted on rings are known, many with the obverse facing. However these have all been for ornamental purposes. The Byzantine gold ring mounted with a coin of Marcian (450-457 AD), in the British Museum, is one of the best examples of this type (cf. A. Ward, J. Cherry, C. Gere, & B. Cartlidge, 1982: no. 101). ... also has in his collection some gold Kushana coins mounted on rings. An example of a reverse monetary type is known through a baked clay sealing discovered at Sanghol in Punjab (S.N. Chaturvedi, 1969), depicting Athena hurling the thunderbolt, with the circular legend *rajadirajasa tratarasa Gudupharsa*, the reverse type of Gondophares (cf. Mitchiner, 1976, 1142). This seal is apparently hubbed by using a coin of Gondophares as matrix. We conclude, based on the identical inverse intaglio technique, depicting the portraiture and legend of life-time issues of Hermaeus, that the seal in question is a royal stamp and as such, is the first to have come to our attention.

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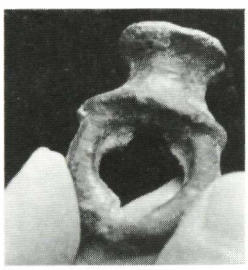


1. Side view of the seal

2. Surface of lhe seal

3. Imprint of the seal

A new type for Azes

Bob Senior

x 1.5 fig.1

The immense Mir Zakah hoard (over 3,000 kg) consists of c.50% Indo-Scythic coins of which over 75% are in the name of Azes. As one would expect, many varieties of monogram and control letter not recorded before will now become known and also quite a few new types. One such is the above drachm, published courtesy of Dr. D.MacDonald.

This coin (above and fig.1) is of special interest because it fills a gap in the development of types at this particular mint or officina. The coin shows an enthroned City deity seated left holding a torque in her outstretched right hand and a cornucopia (resembling a palm on this coin) in her left which rests on her left shoulder. The obverse legend is [ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩ]Σ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛ[ΟΥ ΑΖΟΥ]. On the reverse is a male figure (Hermes) standing left with a torque in his outstretched right hand and a long sceptre ending in a caduceus in his left. In the left field is the monogram and  in the right. The legend reads *Maharajasa Rajarajasa Mahatasa Ayasa*. The king's name is just visible.

We already have a known coin using these types, a copper coin which exists in three denominational sizes (fig.2) but which has the monogram  and  on the reverse.

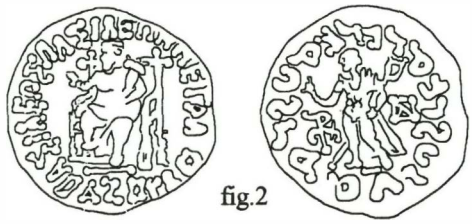


fig.2

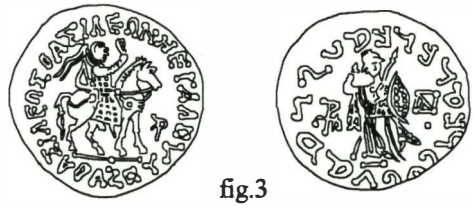


fig.3

These copper coins are lower denominations of a silver type (fig.3) with the same monograms and obverse - King mounted with whip (KMW) and a reverse with facing-Pallas. Many of these City deity/ Hermes copper coins are overstruck on coppers of Elephant/ Bull type (fig.4) which also correspond to this silver issue. A further type bearing these last monograms is the Bull/lion type (fig.5. 1/2 unit).

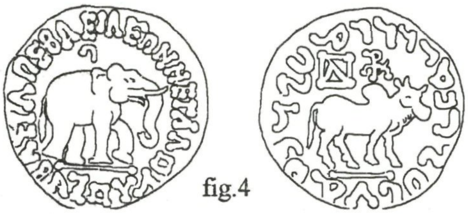


fig.4

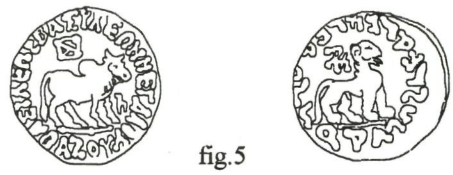


fig.5

I have digressed in showing the copper types associated with this particular issue of the facing-Pallas type for a particular reason. **<u>All</u>** the other facing-Pallas issues with <u>other</u> monograms are linked to <u>only</u> Elephant/Bull lower denominations. Preceding this facing-Pallas issue is a silver issue with KMW/Pallas-left (fig.6) which is also linked <u>only</u> to Elephant/Bull issues (fig.7) **-with one major exception**.

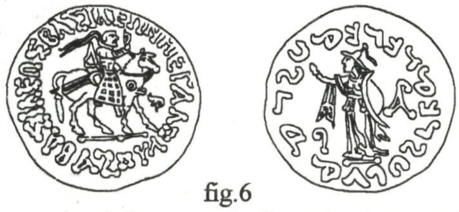


fig.6

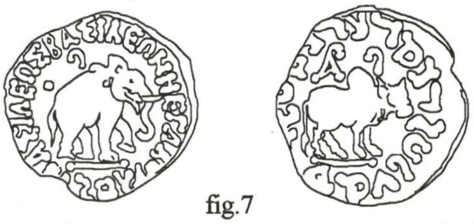


fig.7

That exception is known only from drachms, so far, and bears the same monograms as our new coin (fig.8).

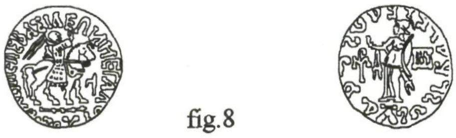


fig.8

This drachm issue is not associated with an Elephant/Bull copper denomination but a <u>Bull/Lion</u> type (fig.9).

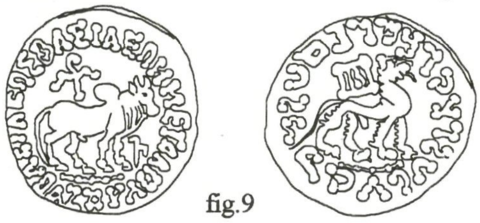


fig.9

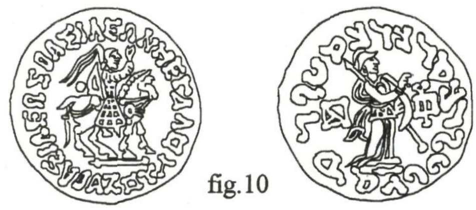


fig.10

To reiterate - the other Pallas-left issues (this does not include some other issues with *rajadirajasa* legend) with the exception of our issue with [monogram] plus [monogram] monograms have a monogram based on the greek letter A (e.g. fig 6) and <u>have Elephant/Bull copper lower denominations</u> (7). These issues are followed by facing Pallas issues, also with A-related monograms and <u>Elephant/Bull coppers</u>. The facing Pallas issue with [monogram] and [monogram] monograms begins similarly but then the copper with <u>City deity/ Hermes</u> is introduced. This Pallas issue with these monograms is by far the commonest issue, particularly in drachms. It was probably issued over a long period and possibly overlapped with the next main Pallas issue because coppers with the same monograms exist of <u>Bull/Lion type</u> (fig. 5). This next Pallas issue has Pallas to the right (fig.10) and it is <u>always</u> associated with only <u>Bull/Lion</u> coppers.
So where does our new coin fit in? If, as the overstrikes indicate, the City deity/ Hermes copper comes in the <u>middle</u> of the issue of the facing Pallas type with monograms [monogram] and [monogram] then the silver drachm (fig.1) is probably contemporary. The next copper issue for the previous mint is the Bull/Lion type and for all the succeeding Pallas(-right) issues elsewhere. The corresponding Bull/lion type (fig.9) to the Pallas-left drachm (fig.8) with monograms [monogram] and [monogram] would seem to suggest that these latter drachms immediately followed the City deity/Hermes drachm (fig.1) and were contemporary with the other copper Bull/lion issues struck at the end of the facing Pallas series/early Pallas right series.
This demonstrates that the type succession is far from being a simple picture and obviously the transition of types did not take place simultaneously in all mints. A further example of this is an Elephant/Bull copper (fig.11) which has one monogram [monogram], which occurs on our new type but which has **<u>no</u>** corresponding KMW/ Pallas left issue. Instead it corresponds to a King mounted with spear type (KMS) of Azes (fig.12).


fig.11


fig.12

In fact I have an example of this Elephant/Bull issue overstruck on a square KMS/Bull copper with the same monograms. These latter coins show that the types of the so-called Azes I (KMS) and Azes II (KMW) overlap and without any interruption by Azilises adding further evidence to there being only **one** Azes.
The inspiration for this type probably goes back to the coinage of Maues. A scarce silver type (fig.13) has an enthroned City deity with Zeus Nikephoros reverse. There may be a further connection with Maues in the use of the monogram which is found on a unique variety of one of his other types (fig.14) in my collection. The monogram in this form was not used by Azilises.


fig.13


fig.14

I would like to thank Dr. MacDonald for bringing this fascinating coin to my attention and hope that I have shown how it fits into this particular sequence of coins issued during the massive coinage struck by Azes. The following table summarises the probable sequence. Further detailed and complicated sequences will be shown in my forthcoming catalogue of Indo-Scythic coins.

													
AR	Æ	AR	Æ	AR	Æ	AR	Æ	AR	Æ	AR	Æ	AR	Æ
K1/A	□												
	E/B	K2/L	E/B	K2/L	E/B								
		K2/F	E/B			K2/F	E/B	K2/F	E/B	K2/F	E/B		
											C/H	C/H	
											B/L	K2/L	B/L
-	-	-	-			-	-	-	-				
				K2/R	B/L					K2/R	B/L	K2/R	B/L

K1 = King mounted with spear K2 = King mounted with whip A = Pallas Athena thundering left
L = Pallas left F = Pallas facing R = Pallas right □ = square KMS/Bull E/B = Elephant/ Bull
B/L = Bull/ lion C/H = Enthroned City/Hermes

Since I wrote this article, Dr MacDonald has generously sent the coin to me and I can see now that the marks in front of the seated deity are not part of the throne but the kharosthi letter *So*,  . This same letter appears on the next silver issue as one of the two known control letters on the obverse. The other known letter is *La* as on the illustrated coin (fig. 8).

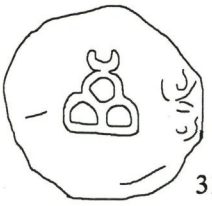
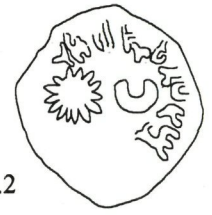
Type 315 Tree....Six arched mountain symbol. Page 194.

[illegible]	315.1	❑


315.1

Type 316 Mountain symbol....Sun and crescent. Page 194.

brahmi legend c.5 gm	316.1	❑
br./kh. legend c.5 gm	316.2	❑
ditto c.1-3 gm	316.3	❑
ditto	316.4	❑
legend?	316.5	❑
kharosthi/ brahmi leg.	316.6	❑
ditto	316.7	❑
brahmi	316.8	❑

316.2


316.5


316.7


316.8

DAMAGHSADA?

Type 318 Countermarked legend over Soter Megas. Page 194.

[illegible]	318.1T	O

Type 319 Mountain symbol countermark. Page 194.

	319.1T	O

Type 320 Horse right, spear before....mountain symbol. P.194.

billon		unit		1/4 unit	
[illegible]	320.1	❑	320.2	❑


318.1 319.1

Type 321 As last but rectangular copper. Page 195.

mahasatrap	unit		1/2 unit		1/4 unit	
greek/ brahmi	321.1	❑	321.1a	❑	321.1b[1]	❑

[1] The 1/4 unit seems to have a shorter legend. A spear visible before horse.

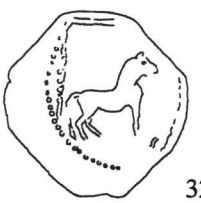

320.1


321.1b


JAYADAMAN

Type 323 Bust right ....Mountain symbol. Page 195.

[illegible]	323.1D	Δ




321.1

Type 324 Bull right....mountain symbol. Page 195.

[illegible]	324.1	❑
ditto	324.2	❑
in square frame	324.3	❑


323.1


324.3



324.2

RUDRADAMAN

Type 325 Bust right....Mountain symbol. As RAJA. Page 196.

[illegible]	325.1D	Δ

- as MAHASATRAP[1]

[illegible]	325.2D	Δ
[illegible]	325.3D	Δ
[illegible]	325.4D	Δ

Type 326 Mountain symbol....Sun and crescent. Page 196.

[illegible]	326.1	❑
with c/m [illegible]	326.2	❑

Type 327 Elephant....3-arched mountain symbol. Page 196.

	elephant right		elephant left	
[illegible]	327.1	❑	327.2	❑

Type 328 Horse right....3-arched mountain symbol. Page 196.

[illegible]	328.1	❑

Type 329 Facing bull....3-arched mountain symbol. Page 196.

[illegible]	329.1	❑
[illegible]	329.2	❑

Type 330 Bull right with trident....3-arched mountain symbol.

[illegible]	330.1	❑

DAMAJADASRI I

Type 331 Bust right....Mountain symbol. As SATRAP. P. 197.

[illegible]	331.1D	Δ
[illegible]	331.2D	Δ

- as MAHASATRAP

[illegible]	331.3D	Δ

331.3 332.2a

DAMAGHSADA II

Type 332 As last. As SATRAP. Page 197.

[illegible]	332.1D	Δ

- as MAHASATRAP

[illegible]	332.2D[1]	Δ

[1] Legend starts at 4 o'clock or 7 o'clock (332.2a)


325.1

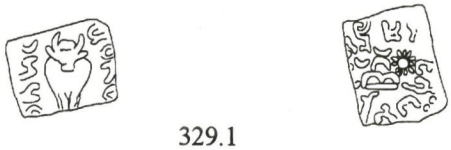
325.2 325.3


325.3i


326.2


327.1


328.1


329.1


330.1


331.1 331.3


332.1 332.2

[1] Where reverses are shown enlarged (2x), the legend inception is shown by a dot on the edge.

Overstriking of the Kota coinage of North West India, c. 270-350 AD

Les Riches

To start I will explain briefly the KOTA coinage.

They are copper coins of varying weights, from c. 6 grams to as little as 1 gram, for the very late types. They have as their prototype the coins of the Kushan ruler Vasu Deva, c. AD 195-230 and in the main are copied from the Siva & Bull types. There are a few rare exceptions with standing king, seated Laxmi etc. The main obverse type bears the Aksara KOTA or KOTA BALA or variations thereof in Brahmi script of c. 300-350 AD. There are many symbols on the left and right hand sides of the KOTA symbol as I like to call it. These include a trident , thunderbolt , wheel . Dr. Mitchiner, in *Oriental Coins & their values (Classical world)*, pp. 482-4, illustrates a few examples, as does Dr Göbl, in his work *Iranischen Hunnen in Baktrien und Indien*, plates 40, 41, 42.

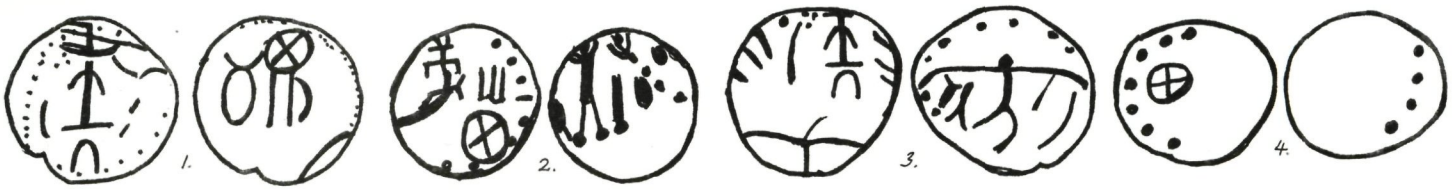
For some 20 odd years I have been collecting and researching this coinage, with a view to full publication. During this period I have seen, bought, photographed and recorded in excess of 3000 coins of this type and I would like to take this opportunity to publish some interesting overstrikes.

I first noted an overstrike on a coin in the collection of the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford back in 1970. Since then I have recorded a few more, with a few good examples coming from the Rupar hoard of the 1953 excavations. Rupar is an ancient site in the Ambala district of the Punjab, just north of Chandigarh. This hoard consisted of some 660 copper coins of the Kushan ruler Vasu Deva and imitations of them, i.e. Kota type coins. But from a very recent hoard have come some very clear and fine examples of overstrikes, which are the best I have seen to date.

Fig. 1 shows a Kota coin of the Siva & Bull type, overstruck with what looks to be a figure holding a trident, and, on the reverse, a crossed circle. Fig. 2 shows a crossed circle struck over the trident on the right of the Kota symbol, with something also on the Kota symbol itself. Fig. 3 is a Kota coin struck over another coin, type unknown. Fig. 4 shows a countermark, on a very worn Kota coin, of a crossed circle and 7 dots, the reverse being worn flat.

All these coins are struck on slightly concave, larger than normal flans, the norm being dumpy flans. This tells us they are overstrikes. The weights range between the normal 4.70 grams to 5.20 grams. This hoard also came from the Ambala district. It is possible that these overstrikes were the work of the invading Hun tribes. They are very similar to other overstrikes from the area.

Much more investigation is needed before I can prove this beyond doubt. If anyone has any information on the Kota type coinage, I would be very grateful if they would contact me.



The Gold Coins Of The Sultans Of Bengal, Part 2

Stan Goron

In the first part of this article I covered the period from the start of the Muslim conquest of Bengal up to and including the reign of Jalal ud-din Muhammad Shah (AH817-35/AD1414-1431). In this second part I intend to deal with the issues of the restored dynasty of Ilyas Shah and the Habshi Sultans, thereby taking the story up to the year AH899 (AD1493). Before doing so, however, I will describe one coin omitted last time. This is a 1/16 tanka of 'Azam Shah (AH792-813/AD1389-1410).

1

Obverse: 'Azam Shah
Reverse: As Sultan
Weight 0.7 grams, diameter 8mm.

Some small silver coins of this ruler are known[1] but this is the first such gold coin that I have come across.

The Kawale collection contains a number of gold coins of Nasir-ud-din Mahmud Shah (AH837-864/AD1433-1459). The issues of this ruler in both gold and silver are very varied and generally quite crudely engraved and struck. The most notable issue is that struck at several mints and bearing the depiction of a stylised lion facing either left or right. All dated coins of this type bear the date 849. A unique gold tanka of this type, with lion facing right, was published by Vasant Chowdhury and Parimal Ray a few years ago.[2] A couple of other gold coins of this ruler have been published elsewhere[3] and there are also two gold coins in the British Museum collection which are included in the descriptions below.

2 *3* *4*

Obverse: Nasir-ud-dunya wa'd-din Abu'l Muzaffar Mahmud Shah as-Sultan
Reverse: Al-muwayyidu ba-tayyid al-Rahman Khalifat Allah bil-hujjat wa'l burhan (He who is strengthened by the support of the Merciful One, the Viceregent of God in deed and in proof)
Weight 10.9 grams, diameter 21 mm

The obverse of coin 3 shows part of a circle at the bottom right and that of coin 4 a circle on much of the left hand side; otherwise there is no sign of any decoration on the coins, though they seem to correspond to Karim's type P, which he describes as having a circle on both sides.

5

This coin is similar to the above but is somewhat cruder. Weight 10.8 grams, 22 mm.

6

Another coin of the same type, again somewhat crudely engraved, but well struck with full legend on the reverse. Weight 10.7 grams, 22mm.

7

As above but with the Sultan's *kunya* as Abu'l Mujahid. The obverse is within a double circle while the reverse legend is within a circle and decorative border. Weight 10.7 grams, 20 mm. Similar to Karim type Q.

8

A similar coin to number 7, but a bit cruder. Both sides appear to be within a decorative border. Weight 10.7, 21 mm.

9

This is a coin in the British Museum, similar to number 8 but in better condition and showing far more of two decorative borders. Weight 10.79 grams, 21 mm.

الدنیا والدین
ناصر
ابو المظفر محمود
شاہ سلطان

ناصر الاسلام
و المسلمین
خلد ملکہ

10

Obverse: legend as above, but with *kunya* Abu'l Muzaffar
Reverse: Nasir-ul-Islam wa'l Muslimin Khallada Mulkahu
Weight 10.7 grams, 22 mm. The reverse of this coin is within a circle. Karim type G.

11

As number 10 but with the *kunya* Abu'l Mujahid. The obverse has a V-shaped decorative border with dots between the interstices. This seems to be Karim type H. Weight 10.8 grams, 19mm.

12

This coin is like number 11 but is extremely crudely engraved and has a deep chisel test mark on the reverse. Weight 10.7 grams, 22 grams.

13

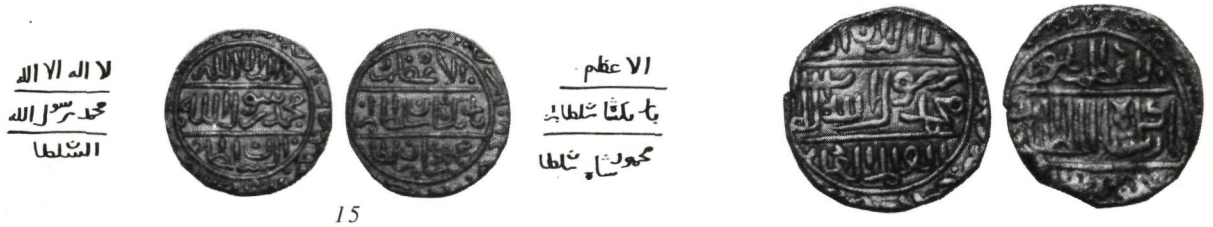
Obverse: As-Sultan al-'Adil Nasir-ud-dunya wa'l din Abu'l Mujahid Mahmud Shah as-Sultan
Reverse: Al-Muwayyidu ba-tayyidu'l Rahman Khalifat Allah bi'l hujjat wa'l-burhan
Weight 10.72 grams, diameter 21 mm

This British Museum coin has an obverse legend that is not recorded in Karim. He mentions two obverse legends that have the word *Sultan* at the start but none that include *al-'Adil*, though it is possible that some of the coins he inspected or notes have this legend with the words *al-'Adil* off the flan. This coin seems to have a mint or mint date formula in the reverse margin, but I have been unable to decipher it from the photograph. The mint has apparently been read as Muazzamabad, but this looks doubtful to me. Mahmud Shah was succeeded by his son, Rukn-ud-din Barbak Shah who ruled from AH864 (AD1459) to AH879 (AD1474). His silver coins are not uncommon but tend to be as crudely engraved as those of his father. One type (Rajgor 370) is noteworthy for the tughra style of the legend on the obverse. Because of the arrangement of the legend, some of these particular coins have in the past been attributed to Mahmud Shah. No gold coins of Barbak Shah have hitherto been published, but two coins have now come to light and are described below.

14

Obverse: Kalima. Dar-ul-Zarb 873. Margin: unread but possibly the names of the first four Khalifahs.
Reverse: Zarb as-Sultan al-'Adil al-Azam Barbak Shah Sultan bin Mahmud Shah Sultan Khallada Allah Mulkahu (wa Khalifatuhu?). Margin: unread.
Weight 10.7 grams, diameter 23 mm.

This coin corresponds to Karim type C and is the gold equivalent of Rajgor type 371. The use of the word *zarb* at the beginning of the reverse legend is unusual. It may simply mean *coin of ...*



15

Obverse: Kalima. As-Sultan, within a circle and with the field divided into three horizontal segments. Margin unread.
Reverse: Al-'Azam Barbak Shah Sultan ibn Mahmud Shah Sultan, within a circle and with the field divided into three horizontal segments. Margin unread.
Weight and diameter unavailable.

The second Barbak Shah gold coin comes from the Al Sayyed collection. It is very similar to Karim type I, a silver specimen of which is illustrated by way of comparison. This type is usually found without mint and date but it is possible that this would be found in one of the margins, if enough of the legend were visible.[4] It is interesting to compare the gold and silver versions of this type. On the silver coins the third segment of the obverse contains the words *Al-'alim al-'adil.* These words are missing on the gold coin, which has the words *As-Sultan* in this position. The top segment of the silver coin reverse has the words *Al-'azam al-mu'azzam* while, on the gold coin, *al-mu'azzam* is missing.

While no gold coins are as yet known for Barbak's son and successor Shams-ud-din Yusuf Shah (AH879-886/AD1474-81), two types have been published for the next ruler Jalal-ud-din Fath Shah (AH886-892/AD1481-86). The first of these was published by Rudolf Hoernle back in 1890[5] and bears a unique legend. This is set out by Karim on page 100 of his book, but for those who do not possess either the original publication or Karim's work it is reproduced below.
Obverse: in a circle surrounded by arabesques:-
al-Sultan al-manur ba-nur al-Mustafwi al-Ilahi al-mukhatib ba-Sultan al-Jahidin fi-al-Yaqzat al-Mashahidat.
The Sultan who is enlightened by the light of the chosen (and) the Divine, who is entitled "Sultan of those who are devoted to vigils and contemplation".
Reverse: Al-Shaykh al-mujawar li-qadam al-Rasul Jalal al-dunya wa'l-din Abu'l-Muzaffar Fath Shah bin Mahmud Shah al-Sultan Khazanah 890

The Shaykh, who waits on the Qadam Rasul Jalal al-dunya wa'l-din Abu'l-Muzzafar Fath Shah, the son of Sultan Mahmud Shah, Khazanah (The Treasury), 890.[6]

The second type was published in IMC (coin 152)[7] and is depicted in Rajgor as his type 435. The mint is Khazanah and known dates are AH887 and 890. There are no gold coins known for the first and ephemeral Habshi ruler Shahzada Barbak,[8] but two coins of his successor, Saif-ud-din Firuz (AH892-5/AD1486-9), are known to me, one in the Kawale collection and one in the British Museum. Both coins are of the same type, dated 893, but from different mints.

16

Obverse: Kalima. Khazana 893. All within a decorative border.
Reverse: Saif-ud-dunya wa'd-din Abu'l-Muzaffar firuz Shah as-Sultan Khallada Allah Mulkahu wa Sultanuhu.
Weight 10.6 grams, diameter 22 mm.

17

Legends as for number 16, but mint of Fathabad. Weight 10.94 grams. The legends on both sides are within a decorative border. The style of the calligraphy of this coin in the British Museum is somewhat different from that of the Khazanah coin.

The last of the Habshi rulers was Shams-ud-din Muzaffar who reigned AH896-899 (AD1490-93), after the short reign of Nur-ud-din Mahmud Shah (AH895-96). A gold coin of Muzaffar Shah was published by Sir E C Bailey as far back as 1872.[9] This was a coin of Khazanah, year 896. Two more coins of this type were published by R D Banerjee.[10] In 1983, S K Bhatt,[11] unaware of the previous publications, published another coin of this type. The type is illustrated in Rajgor as type 459. The Kawale collection has a gold coin of this ruler dated 898, also of Khazanah mint but of different style.

18

Obverse: Kalima. Khazanah 898, all within decorative border.
Reverse: Shams-ud-dunya wa'l-din Abu'l-Nasr Muzaffar Shah as-Sultan Khallada Allah Mulkahu wa Sultanuhu.
Weight 10.7 grams, diameter 21 mm.

The third and final part of this article will deal with the issues of the Huseini dynasty. In the meantime, I should like to thank Dr Elizabeth Errington for providing the photographs of the British Museum coins, and the Director and Trustees of the British Museum for permission to publish the coins.

Notes
1. I had 1/4 and 1/8 tankas in my collection.
2. Vasant Chowdhury and Parimal Ray *Hitherto unknown lion mohur of Nasir-ud-din Mahmud Shah of Bengal* in Coinage and Economy of North Eastern States of India. This coin is also noted by Rajgor as his type 361.
3. R Burn in JASB 59, 1890, p 173 - Karim type P; S A Shere *Some unique gold coins found in Bihar*, JNSI, vol VII, 1945, pp 41-5. Rajgor also notes a "crude type" of Khazana mint as his type 360. As the coin is not illustrated, the description is useless.
4. One coin of this type in the Deyell collection has the mint-name Barbakabad in the bottom field of one of the sides (private correspondence).
5. JASB 59, 1890, p 173.
6. This coin was also noted by G S Farid in *Two coins of Jalaluddin Fath Shah of Bengal*, Numismatic Digest II (II), 1978, pp 68-74.
7. H Nelson Wright *Catalogue of the coins in the Indian Museum Calcutta*, volume II.
8. A few silver coins of this ruler have come to light in recent years.
9. JASB 1872, pp 313-5.
10. R D Banerjee *Gold coins of Muzaffar Shah of Bengal*, Numismatic Supplement XVI, pp 696-8, of the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
11. S K Bhatt *An unknown gold coin of Shamsuddin Muzaffar Shah 896 AH*, JNSI XLV, p 67.

The "1477" Type of Islam Shah Suri
by N.G.Rhodes

Among the most common of all the silver coins of the Sultans of Delhi are the mintless rupees of Islam Shah Suri with the mysterious numerals "1477" in the margin above the square type on the reverse (fig. 1). So far, I am not aware that anyone has managed to explain the meaning of these numerals. Rajgor[1] describes them as a "pseudo date" while Wright[2] postulates, very tentatively, that they may represent "some title in *abjad*, or even perhaps the name of a mint".

Rajgor also tentatively ascribes the type (which has AH dates 952-960) to the mint of Tanda in Bengal. This attribution is presumably based on the similarity in style of a whole succession of mintless rupees in the names of Muhammed Adil (961AH), Bahadur Shah (964-68AH), and Jalal Shah (968-71AH), followed by a coin of similar type with the name of Daud Shah, dated 980-81AH, and with the mint name of Tanda spelled out. The attribution remains tentative, however, as Tanda was only raised to prominence about 974AH (c1565AD) during the reign of Sulaiman Kararani (971-80AH), when this king apparently moved his capital there from Gauda.

Tanda remained an important city, and is mentioned in the *Ain* as the capital of Bengal, and as being the location of a mint. Finally, Tanda was destroyed by floods about 1826.[3] All that can be said is that the "1477" coins were almost certainly struck in

Bengal. The purpose of this article is, however, not to make an attempt to solve the question of the location of the mint of these coins, but to raise a question regarding the "pseudo date" 1477.

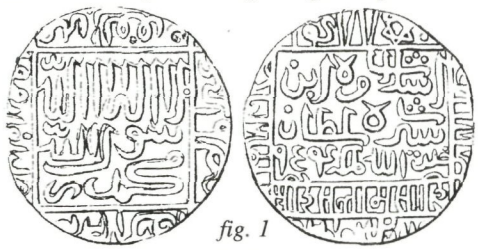


fig. 1

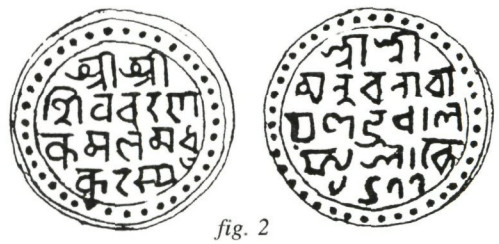


fig. 2

In 1986, a large hoard of silver coins was discovered at the village of Chandir Jhar, in the Jalpaiguri District of West Bengal. 767 coins from this hoard were secured by the local police, and these have recently been published in detail.[4] Of the coins described, 222 were of Nara Narayana of Cooch Behar[5] (fig. 2), 267 were of the Suri Sultans of Delhi, of which 136 were of the "1477" type of Islam Shah, and 273 were of the Sultans of Bengal, of which 61 were "mintless" coins of Bahadur Shah, dated 964-68AH, 8 were similar coins of Jalal Shah, dated 969-70AH and two were of Daud Shah c 980-81AH. The latest coin in the hoard was a rupee of Akbar, dated 989AH (1581AD). The concentration of the "1477" coins of Islam Shah is consistent with their being struck in Bengal, and it is interesting to note that nearly half of the coins consisted of the rupees of Cooch Behar and the "1477" coins of Islam Shah Suri. What is, however, really remarkable is the fact that both these types have the "date" 1477 on them. My question is, can this be coincidence?

The problem is that the coins of Nara Narayana of Cooch Behar are clearly dated 1477 in the *saka* era, equivalent to 1555AD, while Islam Shah ruled from 952-60AH, or 1545-52AD. Hence, if "1477" is a date in the *saka* era, it would be equivalent to three years after the death of Islam Shah. I know of no other Indian era, which would permit the numerals to be equivalent to a date during the reign of Islam Shah, and Wright's suggestion that some form of numerical code is involved seems rather far-fetched, as no similar code is found on any other coin of the Sultans in India.

One alternative hypothesis would be that the coins were actually struck under the authority of, or for use for payment of tribute to, Nara Narayana, and the numerals on the coin were a coded reference to this fact. Historically, this theory is quite attractive. Between the years 1562 and 1564, Nara Narayana and his brother, Sukladhvaj, led an army on a military expedition around north east India, and received the submission of a number of rulers. The Ahom king of Assam, the Kings of Manipur, Jaintiapur, Tripura and the Khasi kingdom of Khyrim all submitted to Cooch Behar suzereinty, along with the muslim ruler of Sylhet, and all apparently paid tribute. Only when the Cooch Behar army attacked Sulaiman Kararani at Gaur was the Cooch Behar army defeated, after which Nara Narayana beat a tactical retreat, returning to his capital. There is no doubt, however, that during the mid 1560s, Nara Nayana was the most powerful ruler in north east India, and the Sultan of Bengal was probably very careful not to provoke a full-scale attack from that quarter. During these particular years, from his accession in 1563 (971AH) until his death in 1572 (980AH), Sulaiman Kararani did not strike any coins in his own name, initially perhaps for fear of the Cooch Beharis, and subsequently for fear of Akbar and the Moghuls. Indeed, in about 1566 (974-5AH), Sulaiman apparently agreed to recite the *khutba* and to strike coins in the name of Akbar,[6] although no such coins in Akbar's name have been identified. Since large numbers of coins were struck by his predecessors, Ghiyas-ud-din Bahadur Shah (964-68AH) and Ghiyas-ud-din Jalal Shah (968-71AH), and by his successor Daud Shah (980-81AH), it would be reasonable to expect that coins were struck by Sulaiman Kararani also, particularly as he was apparently an able and powerful administrator who significantly increased the revenue of his kingdom.[7] Stylistically, the "1477" coins fit perfectly into this reign, and hence it is tempting to suggest that Sulaiman decided to strike coins, not in his own name, but in that of the recent Suri Sultan, so as not to offend any of his powerful neighbours.

Later in the 1560s, probably about 1568/9, Sulaiman followed Nara Narayana northwards, but he withdrew after only a short time, having demonstrated his power to the Cooch Beharis, but without annexing any territory.[8] The numerals "1477" could therefore be an oblique acknowledgement of his powerful northern neighbour, either before or after the military clashes between the two.

A serious argument against this theory, is that the coins have clear dates ranging from 952-960AH, spanning the whole of the reign of Islam Shah. Had this been a posthumous issue, I would have expected only a single fixed *hejira* date to have been used, and I find the fact that the full range of meaningful dates is found, a convincing argument indicating that the "1477" coins must be contemporary issues, struck during the reign of Islam Shah.

An alternative theory could be that the coins were struck by Nara Narayana himself, for export to Muslim territory in Bengal, either for payment of tribute or for trade purposes. It seems likely that Nara Narayana's own coins, with legends in Bengali script and an invocation to Shiva, would not have been widely accepted among a population who were used to Muslim coins. The Cooch Behar king might, therefore, have decided, for pragmatic reasons, to strike coins that could be easily used for trade purposes in the Muslim territories beyond his control, but in order to demonstrate that they were struck under his authority, his accession date of 1477 *saka* was included in the legend. This theory can, I think, be dismissed as extremely unlikely, partly because the "date" is not included in the design in a prominent position, indeed it is often at least partly off the flan, and also because it seems unlikely that Nara Narayana would have had the technology to strike coins that imitated so exactly the fabric and style of the coins of Jalal Shah and the other Sultans of Bengal, particularly as he never controlled Gaur or Tanda, or any other possible mint town in Bengal.

In conclusion, I can only leave the question of the "pseudo date" of 1477 as unsolved. I have postulated that these coins could be posthumous issues, struck during the reign of Sulaiman Kararani, but I have not convinced myself that this theory is correct. I have proposed, but then dismissed, a theory that the coins could have been struck by Nara Narayana himself. The fact that so many coins of this type were found at Chandir Jhar supports a Bengal mint for the issue, but I find it difficult to believe that the numerals "1477" do not link the issue in some way with Nara Narayana of Cooch Behar. A detailed die analysis of the coins might shed more light on the problem, particularly if die-links could be found between coins of different reigns or dates, but until that is done, I must leave the problem unresolved.

Notes

1. *Standard Catalogue of Sultanate Coins of India*, No. 1791, p. 122.
2. *The Coinage and Metrology of the Sultans of Delhi*, Nos. 1318-1325 and p.387.
3. Cf. "Notes on Gaur and other old places", by Monmohan Chakravarti, *JASB* 1909, pp. 229-231.
4. "Chandir Jhar Hoard of Silver Coins", by Pratip Kumar Mitra and Sutapa Sinha, *Pratna Samiksha*, vols. 2 & 3 (1993-94), Journal of the Directorate or Archaeology and Museums, Govt. of West Bengal, Calcutta 1995, pp .278-419.
5. All the Cooch Behar coins in the hoard were of Nara Narayana of the variety with separated letter, as illustrated here, together with three minor denominations of the same type.
6. Cf. Monmohan Chakravarti, *op.cit.* p.230.
7. Dr. R. C. Majumdar, *History of Mediaeval Bengal*, Calcutta 1973, vol.2 p. 72.
8. Cf. *A History of Cooch Behar*, trans. by S. C. Ghoshal, Cooch Behar 1942, p. 146.

A rupee of Nadir Shah Afshari struck at Benares

Ken Wiggins

About sixteen years ago Stan Goron and Michael Mitchiner published a rupee struck at Benares in the name of the Persian ruler Nadir Shah.[1] Recently another such coin has come to light and I make no apologies for republishing it as it is probable that many members missed the original publication of this interesting coin. Furthermore, this latest coin is in better condition and there are a few points in the original publication which need correction.

The facts concerning Nadir Shah's invasion of India are probably known to the majority of collectors of Indian coins but a brief recapitulation is given here. Nadir Shah Afshari[2] rose to power under the Safavid Shah of Persia, Tahmasp II (1722-1732), as a military leader. Much of Persia was then under the heel of Afghan invaders and Nadir, or Tahmasp Quli Khan as he was known, under the direction of the Shah, systematically ousted the Afghans from Persia. He was rewarded with the governorship of several Persian provinces. In time he became quite powerful and was able to dethrone Tahmasp and set up a puppet Safavid ruler whom he likewise deposed and then proclaimed himself Shah with the title of *Sultan-as-salatin i Jahan, Shah i Shahan, Nadir Shah, Padshah, Sahibqiran.*

In 1736 (AH 1149) he decided to invade Afghanistan and India, more to obtain plunder than to gain territory. He took Qandahar, Ghazni and Kabul and then marched through the Khyber Pass to take Peshawar. Proceeding across the Panjab his army captured Sahrind and Lahore. It was met by Mughal forces near Karnul in February, 1739 (AH 1151), where the Persian army gained an easy victory. The Persians went on to Delhi which they reached on the 20th March 1739. The Mughal emperor Muhammad Shah (1719-1748) offered no further resistance and in fact accompanied Nadir Shah into his capital. On the following day the *Khutba* was read in the name of Nadir Shah in the local mosques. This established Nadir Shah as the ruler of Hindustan. He did not however depose Muhammad Shah and it would appear that he had no intention of prolonging his stay in India. Nadir Shah did not proceed further east from Delhi but he caused it to be known that he expected tribute from the Mughal provincial governors. He also annexed the Mughal provinces west of the Indus river.

Nadir Shah and his army left Delhi on the 16th May 1739 (AH 1152) after they had plundered and pillaged the city and stamped out all resistance by massacring a substantial number of the inhabitants.

Nadir Shah had coins struck during his stay in Delhi. His rupees of Shahjahanabad (Delhi) are dated AH 1151 and 1152, regnal year one.[3] No gold or minor coins are known. It has been said that Nadir's own troops were paid in his own coins struck in Delhi.[4]

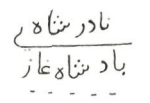
It would seem that the Mughal governors of Oudh, Bihar, Bengal and Gujerat acknowledged Nadir Shah as emperor and ordered coins to be struck in his name. It also seems certain that they were fearful that the wrath of the Persian invader would fall upon them if they failed to comply with tribute and acknowledgement. Coins in the name of Nadir Shah were therefore struck in the following places: Azimabad (Patna). Rupees only known, dated 1151.[5] Murshidabad. Rupees and fractions known dated AH 1151 and 1152.[6] (The Hegira year 1151 terminated on 10th April 1739). Ahmadabad. Rupees and a half rupee known, dated AH 1151.[7]

The rupee illustrated here was unknown until 1980. It was struck at Muhammabad Benares. This mint was founded during the reign of Muhammad Shah after whom the town was called Muhammabad and had only been functioning for five or six years before the invasion of Nadir Shah.

Rupee, 11.4 grams

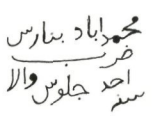
Obv.

The bottom line is off the flan, as it is on the coin previously published, but it is probably *sikka mubarak*. The legend is therefore: *Sikka mubarak Nadir Shah Badshah Ghazi.*



Rev.

The legend is: *Zarb Muhammabad Benares, sanah ahd, jalus, Wallah .....* the bottom line is off the flan but is probably *maimanat manus.*



The word *wala* on the reverse deserves some explanation, It does not appear to be the word *walajah* as proposed by Goron and Mitchiner. *Wala* or *vala* means exalted in dignity or eminent. *Walajah* means of exalted dignity. Just why this word was put on the coin is not clear but it was possibly an admission of servility to Nadir Shah.

Comparing the two published coins of this type, it appears that the obverses were struck from different dies while the reverses were struck from the same die.

References

1. Spink's *Numismatic Circular*. Vol. LXXXVIII. no. 12. December, 1980.
2. Nadir Shah was not a Durrani as stated in the previous publication.
3. Whitehead, R.B. *Catalogue of Coins in the Panjab Museum, Lahore*. Vol. III. Coins of Nadir Shah & the Durrani Dynasty.
4. Ibid, quoting Jonas Hanway. *Hanway's Travels*, London, 1753.
5. Ibid, coin no. 43, page 8.
6. Ibid, coins nos. 51 to 57, pages 10 and 11.
7. Ibid, coins nos. 11 and 12, page 5.

8. I am obliged to Julie Franlin for the photograph of this coin.

Sikh coins - a new rupee from Amritsar

Jyoti Rai ©

AR Rupee, dated VS 1855. Weight 10.7 g, diameter 23mm.

Obv. partial AH date
Deg Teg Fath
Nusrat Bederang
Yafat az Nanak
Guru Gobind Singh

Rev. Zarb Sri Ambratsar jiv
Samvat 1855
Kartar manus

The above is a new type of rupee from the Amritsar mint. Though similar to KM # A20.2, it is distinctly different because of the leaf on the obverse. The date is VS 1855. This date has not been previously recorded for the kartar type of rupee.

A rupee of this type was illustrated under the heading: 'Unknown mint' ("The gold and silver coinage of the Sikhs', ONS information sheet no. 26, 1984, part IV, Addendum, by Goron and Wiggins). That coin was dated VS 1860 and as the mint name was off the flan it could not be appropriately classified. Since the coin is clearly similar to the one shown above, it can now be attributed to the Amritsar mint.

ONS Newsletter 148
Supplement

Proceedings of the Second annual study day on Mongol Imperial Money, 10 February 1996, London.

The second annual study day on Mongol Imperial Money opened up a number of almost-hidden subjects. Most participants felt a renewed interest in some of their obscure specimens. Others became aware of the diversity of coinages and monetary practices the Turks produced before, during and after the Mongol Empire.

Judith Kolbas, the organiser, would like to thank all the speakers, two of whom came from abroad, for their enthusiasm which showed itself best during the discussion and afterwards at a local pub. Much advice and effort by Vesta Curtis and other staff at the Coin Room of the British Museum was gratefully received. There was also direct and immediate support from the ONS and individual members. The following Proceedings will remind those who attended what was said and those who did not, what they missed.

Introductory Talk:

Turkish groups in Anatolia and north-western Persia during the 11th to 14th centuries
Colin Heywood (SOAS)

The basic historical background to the day's theme was provided by the migration of a section of the Oghuz Turks from their tribal *refugium* in the steppes north of the lower Jaxartes (Syr Darya) and the Aral Sea into the Islamic world. This process began at the end of the 4th/10th century; its main political outworking was the formation of the Great Saljuq sultanate in Persia and parts of the Fertile Crescent in the mid-5th/11th century, while in demographic terms one can speak of the partial Turkification of both the older lands of Islam brought under the rule of the Great Saljuqs and of what had hitherto been the Anatolian provinces of the Byzantine Empire.

The conventional point at which to begin, in both political and numismatic terms, is the establishment of Saljuq rule in Persia (conquest of Nishapur, 429/1038) and the proclamation of the Great Saljuq Sultanate (447/1055). Nonetheless, the Great Saljuqs were not the first 'Turkish' Islamic dynasty: primacy both politically and numismatically rested with the so-called Qarakhanids (Ilek-Khans) in Transoxania (see especially the studies of Omeljan Pritsak). It is also worth pointing out that the Saljuq view of sovereignty (while not unique; cf. the Qarakhanids — or even peculiarly Turkish, as has sometimes been suggested; cf. the Saljuqs' predecessors in Persia, the Buwayhids) was certainly productive of a complicated dynastic history replete with shared/familial sovereignty, regional sub-dynasties (Saljuqs of Iraq; Saljuqs of Kirman) and, in the period of Great Saljuq decline after the assassination of the sultan Malik Shah in 485/1092, both successor or breakaway regimes (Saljuqs of Syria; Tughtiginids in Damascus, etc.) and the appearance of local Turkish/Turkoman dynasties of either mamluk or quondam Oghuz origin.

Before entering into the detailed discussion of individual papers, a couple of caveats may perhaps be made, which will serve to illuminate some general remarks.

Firstly, in this period numismatic and political/dynastic history does not always coincide. Dynastic history often predates numismatic history, e.g. although the Saljuq sultanate of Rum possessed a discernible political identity from the late 1070s, its numismatic history began only some seventy-five years or so later, while other, more transient Turkish polities from the first period of the conquest of Anatolia, possessed a numismatic history which considerably antedated that of the Saljuqs of Rum.

Secondly, what are clearly recognisable as successor states to particular dynasties in a political sense may be in no way successor states numismatically speaking. Sometimes they are (e.g. the transformation of later Ilkhanid Anatolian coinage into that of the central Anatolian post-Mongol Eretnids, in the mid-14th century); sometimes they are most definitely not (if, for example, we contrast the predominantly gold-based, epigraphic coinage of the Great Saljuqs with the silver-based, occasionally heraldic, and extremely prolific coinage of the Saljuqs of Rum).

Finally, it is perhaps worth pointing out that the political (and hence the numismatic) history of this period is neither consistently linear nor entirely 'Turkish'. Dynastic history intermittently crosses the two great fault-lines of the Turkish invasions and the Mongol conquests, and the survival or appearance of non-Turkish dynasties, whose numismatic productions either contributed to the general circulation of money in these lands at this time (e.g. the later 'Abbasids) or influenced the numismatic practices of certain specifically 'Turkish' dynasties (e.g. Ayyubid influence on later Artukid coinage) should not be overlooked.

Reappearance of the Ildigizids in the early Mongol period
Judith Kolbas, London

Shams al-Din Ildigiiz (531-570 or 71/1137-1175) was originally a slave of the wazir to the Great Saljuq Sultan Mughith al-Din Mahmud II (511-525/1118-1131). Later he became part of Sultan Ghiyath al-Din Mas'ud's (529-547/1134-1152) retinue and was appointed governor of Adharbayjan and Arran. His main centres were Urmiyah and Salmas from which he issued silver coins from 546 to 549/1151 to 1154. Shams al-Din became an atabeg when he married the widow of Sultan Rukn al-Din Tughril II (526-29/1132-34). He placed his stepson Arslan on the western Saljuq throne at Hamadhan in 556/1161 but Abu Ja'far Muhammad Jihan Pahlavan, Ildigiz's own son by his new wife, was made regent in 568/1172 and later to Tughril who ruled at al-Rayy. Muhammad Pahlavan inherited the power behind the throne. A younger brother, Muzaffar al-Din Kizil Arslan 'Uthman, sat in Tabriz from 581 or 582 to 587/1185 to 1191 as a subordinate ruler.

Under Muhammad Jihan Pahlavan (571-587/1175-1191) and his immediate successors Ildigizid territory stretched from Isfahan to the borders of Shirvan and Georgia. Ildigizid chronology is confusing and does not permit complete accuracy. Nor do the amorphous borders allow easy identification but Ardabil seems to have become the capital in the 570s/1190s.

Shams al-Din had minted silver as a governor of the Great Saljuqs but copper as an atabeg. His successors continued this policy. Starting with Shams al-Din, they often placed Turkish symbols of legitimacy on the obverses which included the dagger, trident and bow. The bow was first deployed by Tughril, the founder of the Great Saljuqs, at the top of his gold struck at al-Rayy in 434/1042. The Ildigizids often added their own variation, two dots inside a strung bow. Abu Bakr, in particular used the bow as his symbol. Under him Ildigizid power reached its apex and this design continued to appear intermittently on coinage of the following rulers. Pursuit of the bow through the coinage provides a silent testimony to the power and influence of the Ildigizids when the textual material is absent.

Muhammad was followed by his two sons, first Nusrat al-Din Abu Bakr (587-607/1191-1210), then Muzaffar al-Din 'Uzbeg Pahlavan (607-622/1210-1225). Ten years after 'Uzbeg ascended the throne, his domain joined the rest of the Middle East as a battleground between the Mongols and the Khwarazmshahs whohad taken over Jibal in 590/1191. 'Uzbeg's first encounter with the Mongols occurred in 617/1220 when they sacked Ardabil. He fled to Tabriz where they followed him and then four years later he had to contend with Jalal al-Din Mangubarni (617-628/1220-1231), one of the sons of the last Khwarazmshahs who tried to reconstitute the

empire after the initial Mongol sweep. Upon the approach of Jalal al-Din, 'Uzbeg abandoned Tabriz for Ganja with a great deal of his treasury. 'Uzbeg's wife remained in Tabriz and negotiated with Jalal al-Din. He accepted the terms, including marriage, which gave him a legitimate right to Tabriz. It never officially went out of Ildigizid hands but, effectively, they were now reduced to a narrow stretch along the Aras river basin. Jalal al-Din entered Tabriz peacefully on 17 Rajab 622/1225. Four years later, in 627/1230, his position began to weaken after he lost the battle of Akhlat.

In the following year, he left Adharbayjan and wandered towards the Jazira. With only a handful of men and his family, he was killed by Kurds in the Hazro Hills which are within sight of Mayyafarraqin. Chormukhan, the new Mongol general, installed 'Uzbeg's son Khamush as ruler of Tabriz in 628/1231.

The Mongols left the areas to their former rulers but a special situation developed in Adharbayjan. This was always the Mongol's favourite area because of the excellent grazing land. They took over the countryside but needed the Ildigizids to run the towns and create trading opportunities for the Mongol imperial princes.

In 637/1239, Mongol coinage began in Adharbayjan at Ardabil. It was silver and organized by Nizam al-Din, the brother of the Persian malik of Isfara'in and Khurasan. He, in turn worked under the Uighur Kirgiz, the imperial civilian governor of the West. Nizam al-Din probably used Ildigizid mint officials because the calligraphy is almost identical between the two coinages. This series showed at the bottom a bow replete with royal symbolism. It was without the dots but often displayed tassels at the tips, indicating it was a ceremonial object used at court.

Khamush lost control of Adharbayjan and fled to Rum Saljuq territory at some point. The coins suggest it occurred in 638/1240. In that case, both the Ildigizid and Bagratid dynasties came under the protection of the Rum Saljuqs that year. The evidence arises from the fact that at the end of 638/1240, Nizam al-Din developed a different monetary system with a new type and weight standard. It still had the bow but lacked the tassels. Tabriz minted first, then in 639/1241, the diwan moved to the town of Langoran, then Bazar at the Mongol military camp, the permanent secretariat at Ganja and back to Tabriz again.

Nizam al-Din continued for another year but this series ceased in 640/1242 at Qarabagh because of the problems caused by the recent death of Ogedai Khan in 639/1241. As Mongol authority crumbled, one Qarabagh die had the two dots of the special Ildigizid tamgha.

The imperial quriltai in Mongolia resolved to undertake some minor campaigns of conquest and a Mongol force defeated the Rum Saljuqs and their allies in 641 and 642/1243 and 1244. Simultaneously, a new civilian governor, Arghun Aqa, arrived in the West. He decided on a new type, the horseman with the Mongol archer shooting backwards. The first variety does not have a mint but it does have design similarities to the Ganja issue of 639/1241.

The reconquest of Gurjistan in late 642/1244 led to its re-enrolment in the tax registers. The diwan in Ganja moved to Tiflis and took Ganja's dies with it; Ganja's bifurcated arrow appeared until new dies were made. Then the mint moved to Nakhchavan. As in 639/1241, there is no indication that the Ildigizids or their officials were in direct control of the mint.

At this point in 643/1245, a senior Mongol official from Batu's court, Sharaf al-Din, appeared in Tabriz. He seems to have entered the scene because the normal governor, Arghun Aqa, had set out for the quriltai in Mongolia which was to elect the new khan, Guyug. He moved the mint to Tabriz, out of the hands of former officials, now based in Nakhchavan, because he had completely different ideas about taxation. He changed the whole system and type but it lasted only one year because he died later in the year. Arghun Aqa was able to reinstate his horseman coinage and in late 643/1245 the mint returned to Nakhchavan.

However, Arghun Aqa, the governor, was in Khurasan at Tus and still on his way to Mongolia. He was not able to oversee personally the diwan in Adharbayjan which had been severely disrupted. Apparently, the best way to continue was to put finances under local control. This time he chose the Ildigizids. The son of Khamush had been hiding in Rum but, after its conquest and a diligent search, the Mongols had located him. They brought Nusrat al-Din II back and gave him some responsibility. From the numismatic evidence, it seems he was reinstated at Nakhchavan in late 643/1245.

Nakhchavan started reminting with dies borrowed from Tiflis so it was important to identify these dies as its own, that a change had taken place. It put a dot in each section of the bow, a resurrection of the Ildigizid symbol from the time of its greatest ruler. This unobtrusive but significant feature suggests reasonable if limited atabeg control of the region. Soon the power of Nakhchavan became more obvious. New dies modified the horseman scene by putting a hare beneath the steed and the tamgha was removed. The same type was used at every mint controlled by Nakhchavan. In 644/1246, the mint circuit consisted of Nakhchavan, Tabriz and Baylaqan.

After the accession of Guyug in 644/1246, Arghun Aqa headed back to the west but, in Khurasan, he spent some time in the spring of 644-45/1247 rebuilding Marv. He sent ahead Sadr al-Din, the new regional civilian governor of Arran and Adharbayjan. Meanwhile, Mengu-Bolad, whom Chormukhan the general had appointed temporarily as basqaq over the artisans of Tabriz, wanted stronger confirmation of his post. He increased his power by attaching himself to Guyug's chief minister and received an appointment as both the basqaq of Tabriz and chief governor of Adharbayjan. Mengu-Bolad also arranged for Nusrat al-Don to be commander of the army in Tabriz and joint governor of Adharbayjan. He knew his main strength on the ground was the new-found power of Nusrat al-Din and he included him in his plans.

Mengu-Bolad's activity was a direct assault on Arghun Aqa's authority. It caused a severe problem in imperial policy and reflected events in the empire as a whole during Guyug's reign. Probably with the help of Batu b. Jochi (624-653/1227-1255), Arghun Aqa ordered coinage stopped in Arran and the mint was transferred late in 645/1248 to Bulghar. The area was under the authority of Batu whom Arghun entrusted with the preservation of what was left of an imperial monetary policy.

Then, Sadr al-Din and Arghun Aqa set out for Guyug's court to settle the dispute over the control of Tabriz and Adharbayjan. It was delayed because of the impending civil war between Batu and Guyug but that was averted by Guyug's death in 647/1249. The horseman coinage had ceased the year before, Order was not restored in the Mongol empire until Mongke quelled numerous factions and was elected imperial khan in 649/1251.

Arghun Aqa and Sadr al-Din won the battle for Tabriz. With Sadr al-Din's return to Adharbayjan in 650/1252, Tabriz was made the financial centre and often the only Mongol mint until Ghazan Khan's reform. Sadr al-Din was still in charge in Tabriz when Hulagu arrived who reappointed him. Arghun Aqa died a peaceful death in 674/1275, serving Abaqa Khan. He was still a senior member of the court and the chief tax official. Nusrat al-Din was no longer heard of. He had aligned himself with the losing side when he tried to improve his position. The gamble was fatal. Instead, the Ildigizids disappeared from historical texts and also from view on the coinage.

The Hamid Oghullari: Coins of the Eğridir Branch

Johann-Christoph Hinrichs, Bremen, Germany

The principality of the Hamid Oghullari was founded by Hamid Bey, a leader of a Turkmenian tribe and a general in the Seljuk army. Almost nothing is known about him and his son Ilyas. The tribe had its roots in Iran, but crossed Anatolia and settled in the mountains around lake Eğridir, in the north of Antalya. Ibn Sa`îd (in the middle of the 13th century) wrote that about 200,000 tents settled there, that is about one million people!

The grandson of Hamid Bey, Falak al Dîn Dündar, declared his independence in the year 699/1299. The coins corroborate this because from that year on hitherto unknown mints like Burgulû, the capital of the Hamid Oghullari (today Uluborlu), Burdûr, Akridûr (today Egridir) started to mint coins in the name of both the Seljuk Kaiqubâd III and the Ilkhan Gâzân Mahmûd.

Very few of these coins are published: Ismail Uzunçarsili, who wrote the basic history of the Hamid Oghullari, knew of only two coins. Barbara Fleming, who wrote a book about the territory of the Hamid Oghullari, as well as Zambaur and Ibrahim Artuk knew of a single coin. The coin described in the catalogue of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, does not belong to this dynasty. Cüneyt Ölcer described altogether five coins in the Bulletin of the Turkish Numismatic Society, as did Tuncer Sengün with four coins minted in Burdûr. Henri Aroyo published four coins in "al-Maskûkât", so that as far as I know only sixteen coins of this dynasty are published, some of them not recognized as coins of the Hamid Oghullari (Zambaur, Artuk).

The cause is not a lack of coins but a lack of publication, because there are about 120 coins known, thirty-three of them being shown at the meeting.

In 1979 a huge hoard of about 1600 coins was found in the southwest of Turkey, most of them in very poor condition. It was good luck that this hoard was offered to a Turkish collector, but it was bad luck that this collector did not have enough money to buy them all, so he selected about 150 coins in good condition, the rest was melted down. Our collector changed some of these coins, some of them he sold, but very few came to the west, so that most of them are unknown here.

A second, smaller hoard was found just three or four years ago. One half is now in the hands of a private Turkish collector, the other half was sold in the bazar of Istanbul. This hoard includes a very interesting series of coins minted in Antalya and some coins from Karaagac, Gölhisar and Beysehir.

These two hoards very much enlarged our knowledge of mints of the Hamid Oghullari. Some very rare coins are also in the collection of S. Album, now in the university of Tübingen, so a good impression of the minting of the Hamid Oghullari in the first twenty years of the fourteenth century (that is the time of three Ilkhan rulers, Gazan Mahmud, Uljaitu and Abu Sa`id can now be given.

In 699/1299 coins in the name of Kaiqubâd III and Gâzân Mahmûd were minted side by side, because in the following year, there are coins in the name of both again, and even in the year 702/1302 coins in the name of the now late Kaiqubâd were struck. We can see the same phenomenon in other beyliks: they prefer to mint coins in the Seljuk tradition, but sometimes they were forced to mint in the name of the hated Mongols, hated because they destroyed the khalifat and plundered Anatolia. This time is called in Turkish "the age of fear" and a typical prayer on the coins of the Hamid Oghullari is *"humîya 'an al-afât"* = "protection against evil", the evil was the Mongols. Another prayer (or even a statement) is the formula *"al-nâsir al-mu'min"* = "the believer is the winner" on a coin minted in Burghulû and dated 705 AH. In the controversy for the hegemony in the Islamic world between the now muslim Mongols and the Mamluks in Egypt, the Hamid Oghullari were followers of the Mamluks, the (true) believers who should win!

The coins of Burghulû (dated 705), and of Antalya (n.d.) with Uljaitu on the obverse and the name of the last khalif, al-Musta'sim bi-llah (murdered by the Mongols in 1258 AD!) on the reverse, shows that the Hamid Oghullari were obliged to mint in the name of Uljaitu, but they felt themselves to be in the tradition of the 'Abbasid khalifat.

Another coin, again minted in Burghulû in the name of Uljaitu (the year is not legible, but around 705 AH) shows on the reverse four times the name of `Alî. There is no relationship between Turkmenian tribes in southwestern Anatolia and the Shi`a, but another movement in Islam also proclaimed `Alî, the so-called Futuwwa. It was organized in Anatolia by the Brotherhood of the Akhis, and had great political influence in Anatolia. The numbers three and four are holy to the Aklhis, so the name of `Alî written four times on this coin and three times on a similar coin of the Karaman Oghullari may show the influence of this brotherhood on the mintage (which can be demonstrated for other mints in Anatolia as well).

In 705/1307 Falak al-Dîn Dündar changes his capital from Burghulû to Akridûr (Eğridir), and he changed the name of his new capital, too: it was now called on the coins Falakâbâd, so his own name was hidden in the name of the mint and appeared thus on the coins beside the name of Uljaitu and, later on, af Abû Sa`îd! The Ashraf Oghullari in the neighbourhood of the Hamid Oghullari did the same with their capital's name; they changed it from Beyshehir into Süleymanshehir according to the name of the founder of their principality.

Falakâbad minted coins in the name of Uljaitu, Abû Sa`îd, anonymous coins in the years 718 and 721 AH and a coin in the name of a genuine ruler of the Hamid Oghullari, Hisâm al-Dîn Ilyâs, on the coin written as al-Hisâmî ("belonging to Hisâm"), no date.

A hitherto unknown mint is Gölhisâr. We know from Ibn Battûta that a ruler of the Hamid Oghullari, called Sultân Mehmet Çelebî, ruled in Gölhisâr. The spelling of the name is the same as on the coin, with *qaf* and *lam* for Göl. The coin is minted in the name of Abû Sa`îd and has the old Iranian and Seljuki (but for the Mongols) unusual title of *"al-Sultân al-a`zam zill Allah fî 'l-`âlam"* = "the very magnificent Sultan, shadow of God in the world" and the usual prayer of the Hamid Oghullari, "protection against the evil".

Another mint of the Hamid Oghullari is Karaagaç (not to be confused with Karaagaç in the Caucasus which had been a mint of the Ilkhans as well), coins in the name of Uljaitu (710 AH) and Abû Sa`îd (721 AH) are known. Unfortunately there were two places in the territory of the Hamid Oghullari called Karaagaç, Karaagaç shargî and Karaagaç gharbî (today Acipayam), so these two coins may belong to either of the two Karaagaç.

Other mints in the area like Akshehir and Beyshehir may or may not be mints of the Hamid Oghullari, because both towns were in the hands of this principality for only a short while.

Another branch of the Hamid Oghullari, settled in Antalya and environs, minted in Antalya, Karahisâr (the ancient Perge) and in Istanus (today Korkuteli), but the coins of this branch were not included in this presentation.

The Influence of the Mongols on the Coinage of the Seljuks of Rum

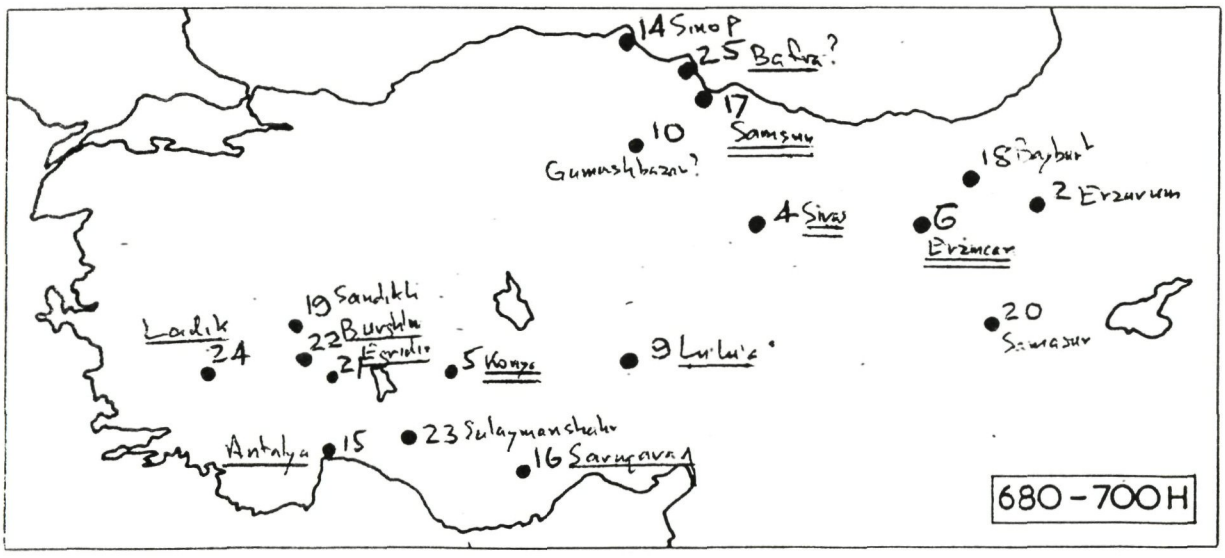
Michael Broome, London

Originally from Central Asia, the Seljuks were one of the four or five Turkmen groups who established themselves in Anatolia in about 500/1100. The Seljuks settled at Konya and took over the other Turkmen lands to create the Seljuk Sultanate of Rum. Their earliest coins were of copper and in the Byzantine style but the design was soon changed to an armed rider, perhaps to display their 'steppe' origins. By 600/1200 they were minting both gold and silver 'rider' coins. They were good administrators and developed a settled economy based on secure communications and an ample supply of locally mined silver. From 616 on, the sultan Kay Qubad I issued a large, well made, purely inscriptional silver currency quite different in style from any other contemporary coinage.

Mongol influence began in 620 when the Khwarazmshahs with the Mongols at their heels threatened from the east. Kay Qubad annexed the main principalities in the east, Erzurum and Erzincan and fortified them but in 634 a demand for tribute was received from the Mongol Great Khan Ogeday. The Seljuk response was to mobilise their armies and to strike an immense coinage of silver 'sun-and-lion' dirhams; probably the last true Seljuk coinage. In 641 the Mongols invaded the country and turned it into a vassal state, dividing it into two parts with separate puppet sultans to maintain the co-operation of the different groups of Turkmen amirs. Numismatically the result was a confusing mixture of coin types and the opening of a plethora of different mints. Between 678 and 696 there were six different Mongol Ilkhans and Anatolia was swept by armies of the competing contenders and of ambitious Turkmen tribes. Mint activity moved from the central plains to the peripheral mountain areas and the two last Seljuk sultans, Mas'ud II and Kay Qubad III, competed for support from the then current Ilkhan. When Ghazan Mahmud secured this position he instigated a reform of the Ilkhanid coinage and took direct control of some of the Seljuk mints, initially at Tokat in 696. The confusing result was that three different types of coin were being issued at the same time; some named to Mas'ud, some to Kay Qubad and others to Ghazan. In addition, the new Ilkhanid weight standard was being introduced gradually with varying success.

The coinage of this transitional period provides some interesting questions for research. One in particular relates to coins from the mint of Gumushbazar (the silver market), the location of which has never been satisfactorily settled. A very prolific mint for much of its life under the Seljuks, its output virtually vanished once the Mongols took control. Roughly at the same time a new mint of Bazar appeared on Mongol coins. Could there be a connection between these two events?

Seljuk mints in operation c. 670 AH.



Mints known for Kay Qubad III are underlined. Those also naming Ghazan are underlined twice.

The Bitlis Dynasty and its Coinage in the Turkoman Period

Tom Sinclair, University of Cyprus

The Kurdish dynasty of Bitlis controlled key trading routes in northeast Anatolia for over three and a half centuries during the Turkoman period. Its power has not been reflected in the major dynastic chronicles so local Armenian and Kurdish histories have to be searched carefully for information about the extent of territory, building activities and relationship with major powers. Even though coins were rarely minted, they fill lacunae in the history of this tenacious dynasty. Dr Sinclair combined the two sources to create the most complete dynastic list to date.

Coins	Armenian	Sharafnāma	Conclusion
	(Haji) Muhammad went insane, council of principality replaced him with his nephew Shams al-Din, c.1445.	Haji Muhammad died 865/1460-61. He was succeeded by his son Ibrahim; his other son was Shams al-Din (I.387.)	Haji Muhammad was replaced by his nephew Shams al-Din, c.1445
	Shams al-Din last mentioned by Armenian source in 1454		Shams al-Din certainly reigned until 1454
Series of coins in name of Sharaf b. Muhammad	A Sharaf, prince of Bitlis, known who had certainly started reign by 1458	Unknown to Sharafnāma	Sharaf (III)'s reign started c.1458.
Single Bitlis coin bearing name Ibrahim b. Muhammad. No date		An Ibn Ibrahim b. Muhammad known in 1473, when Bitlis captured by Ak Koyunlu. This Ibrahim accepted a living in city of Qum. (I.389-90.)	Sharaf (III)'s reign certainly at an end by 1473, because by this time Ibrahim (III)'s reign had started. Ibrahim, son of Haji Muhammad, minted the coin in question.

Princes of Bitlis

Sharaf al-Din Abu Bakr. Attested 733/1332-33.
Zia al-Din I. Attested 750/1349.
(Haji) Sharaf I. Reign started before 1387, ended perhaps c.1395, at any rate after 1394 and before 1399.
Ibrahim I. Attested between 1396 and 1399 (p.114, n.39). An infant son, Šamšati, who may well be Shams al-Din I, was put in his place.
("Veli") Shams al-Din I. Started before 1406; executed by Iskender in 1423. Probably son of Sharaf I. Prominent ruler.
Sharaf II. An idiot. Reign started 1423; date of death perhaps c.1426. Son of Shams al-Din I.
Shams al-Din II. Reign perhaps started c.1426, ended 836/1431-2 or a little later. Anarchy at first.
Ibrahim II. 836/1431-2 or a little later, to AD 1436 or a little earlier. 5th son of Shams al-Din II.
(Haji) Muhammad I. Started AD1436 or a little earlier; ended c.1445, when became insane. Probably Ibrahim II's son.
Shams al-Din III. Started c.1445, ended 1454 or after. Nephew of Haji Muhammad. Probably minted coins in his own name.
Sharaf III. Started 1458 or just before; ended after 1467. Probably a son of Haji Muhammad. Minted coins in his own name.
Ibrahim III. Known 1473. Son of Haji Muhammad (I), perhaps bypassed in c.1445 on grounds of age. One coin known.
Ak Koyunlu direct rule. 1473-900/1494-5.
(Shah) Muhammad II. 900/1494-5 to 903/1497-8. Minted coins in own name.
Ibrahim V. 903/1497-8 to c.1500, certainly before 1502. Infant son of (Shah) Muhammad II.
Sharaf Khan, IV, first reign. c.1500 to 1507 or 1508, when imprisoned by Shah Ismail. Nephew of (Shah) Muhammad II. No prince, 1507 or 1508 to 1510 or 1511; the principality then surrendered to the Safavids.
Safavid administration. 1510 or 1511 to 1515.
Sharaf Khan, IV, second reign. 1515 to 1533. Prominent and beneficial ruler.
Shams al-Din IV. 1533 to 1535, when dispossessed by Ottomans and fled to Iran. Son of Sharaf Khan.
Direct Ottoman rule. 1535 to 1578.
Sharaf V. 1578 to c.1595. Son of Shams al-Din IV. Author of *Sharafnāma*. Abdicated, partly to write the work, which is dated 1597.
(Abu'l Me'ali) Shams al-Din V. c.1595 to c.1600, certainly before 1603. Son of Sharaf V. Sharaf may have come back to rule and rebel in 1601 and 1602.
Zia al-Din II. Known in 1603, 1604 and 1607.
Reigning princes unknown. 1609 to 1638.
Abdal Khan, first reign. Before 1638 to 1665, when defeated by Melek Ahmet Paşa and fled.
Zia al-Din III. 1665 to 1666. Son of Abdal; murdered by brother.
Abdal Khan, second reign. 1666 to 1675. Deposed by Ottomans.
Badr al-Din. Started 1675.

Galata Print Ltd, Old White Lion, Llanfyllin, Powys SY22 5BX, GB.