



ORIENTAL NUMISMATIC SOCIETY

NEWSLETTER

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ONS News

From the Editor

The ONS has reached another landmark with the publication of this the 150th issue of the Newsletter. I have been Editor for the past ten years and have greatly enjoyed being able to publish so much interesting and relevant news and so many good articles on oriental numismatics. I would like to thank all the contributors and also our printers, Paul and Bente Withers, for all their efforts during this period. One thing which continues to puzzle me, however, is the continuing relative lack of articles for the Newsletter on Near and Middle Eastern Islamic coinages. This is a huge area and I cannot believe that there are not students active in researching within it who are capable of providing articles.

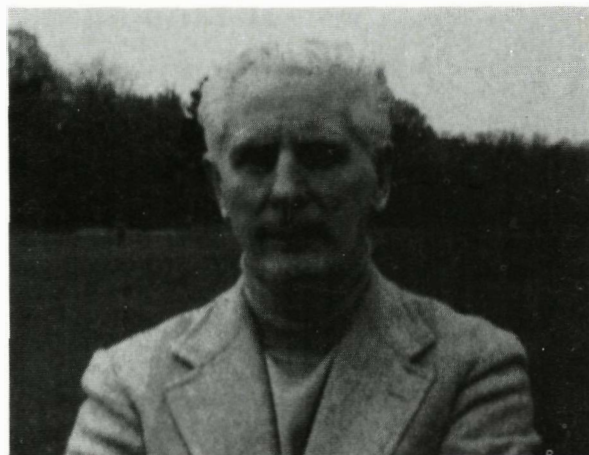
One member who cannot be said to have been inactive is Kenneth MacKenzie who will shortly be celebrating his 80th birthday. In honour of this occasion, Hans Wilski has compiled the following article and bibliography which we are delighted to publish.

Kenneth M. MacKenzie - 80 years old and still going strong

Kenneth Malcolm MacKenzie, one of the most active numismatists in the field of Ottoman numismatics, will celebrate his 80th birthday on January 12th, 1997. In more than 108 original papers and 54 book reviews he has provided students and collectors with interesting and valuable information on coins, banknotes, and monetary history. Let us take the opportunity to thank him for his enormous activity and work and congratulate him on his 80th birthday, wishing him all the best for the future, good health and many happy returns of the day.

Kenneth MacKenzie's father had moved from the island of Lewis to Inverness, Scotland, and had married a lady from England in the West Country, Devon. Kenneth, born there in 1917, was the ninth child. When he was 7 years old he got a lot of Chinese cash coins from his father who had been a military officer in Shanghai at one period of his career. Thus the interest in numismatics was sparked and the collecting of foreign coins and stamps became one of his hobbies. When Kenneth was 14 years old, his father died, and he, his twin brother, and some sisters moved to London where he continued his education and had the idea of working in commercial advertising or as an architect. Due to the economic conditions in those days it didn't happen, and he took employment in the book trade, at first with an exporter, then in retail, managing an art gallery and related bookstore. It was during these years that his colleague N. S. Doniack (who managed the Oriental Department at Foyles) gave him lessons in Arabic.

In August 1939 he was placed on active Service with his Territorial Regiment, The London Scottish. After attending Officers training he was transferred to the artillery and moved to many places from the Orkneys to Middle East, Kenya and India-Burma regions. He returned home from service (where he rose to the rank of Major) in 1946 and joined a publisher of fine art books,



Kenneth M. MacKenzie

Batsford, in London and, in 1948, he was sent by them to New York to assist in setting up their new American branch. He later worked for the Macmillan Company (British) named St. Martins Press. After 9 years he changed to the American Macmillan (which had split from the original British Company) and became their Contracts Manager. He retired in early 1987, at that time 70 years old.

In 1943 he was married to Jean, a nurse, in Torquay, Devon and they have two children and four grandchildren, the son being an executive in an Insurance Company, and the daughter in the Environmental Agency in Massachusetts. The MacKenzies live in Tenafly, New Jersey, USA.

During his employment in London Kenneth was a frequent visitor to Seaby's shop where - just after the War - R. L. Protassowski encouraged him to concentrate on the coinage of the Ottoman Empire. Coming to the USA he joined the American Numismatic Society in 1952. This was a fortunate event because it led to the meeting with Nuri Pere who appointed him agent for his Catalogue of the Yapi ve Kredi collection, which was done in 1968 under his imprint NUMISMATA ORIENTALIA. Hence followed the friendship with Cuneyt Ölcner whose books he imported and distributed, and reviewed with the intent of promoting Ottoman monetary history in the USA. In this sense he also worked for the Standard Catalog of World Coins (Krause Mishler Bruce). His work on the Ottoman coins in the ANS and the catalogue of the Islamic coins found in Sardis led to his being elected a Fellow of the Society in 1974. In the same year he published his book on *Countermarked Coins of the Ottoman Empire* together with Samuel Lachman. Visits to Istanbul, Turkey, and Tübingen, Germany (in 1989 and 1995) brought about friendship with many more collectors.

He has been a member of the American Numismatic Society, of Numismatics International (Dallas), of the International Banknote Society, of the Oriental Numismatic Society (since 1975), and the Hellenic Numismatic Society as well as the Turkish Numismatic Society.

The numerous papers published by Kenneth MacKenzie which show his activity in so many fields not only of Ottoman numismatics are listed below. Both lists are very long, but it was impossible to make them really complete, and, as far as I know Ken, he will make these lists still more incomplete in the years to come because of his never-resting activity.

With all the best wishes for the future

Hans Wilski

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(Diacritical signs and dots of foreign languages have been omitted in the list)

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ONS Meeting Leiden

Some 25 members attended the recent meeting in Leiden, Netherlands, on 19 October 1996 at the Museum of Antiquities. During the meeting the following talks were given:

J C Hinrichs - *Seljuks of Rum, the coins of Kaiqubad III (1298-1302)*

Arjan van Aelst - *Javanese cash coins*

Stan Goron - *British influence on Indian State coinage*

An auction of coins was held which contributed useful funds for the Society. Our thanks are due to Jan Lingen for organising the event, to the speakers, the Museum of Antiquities for use of their facilities and to all those who provided material for the auction.

New York Convention

Along with the convention due to take place on 7 December 1996, there will be an educational programme, starting at 10.00. Two items of ONS interest are a talk by Mrs Marilyn Higbee Walker entitled *Silver coinage of early Umayyad Spain; changing annulets and decoration patterns* commencing 18.00 and a meeting of the American Numismatic Society Standing Committee on Islamic & South Asian Coins, with Bill Spengler in the chair. This meeting, commencing 19.00, is closed to the public. The seminars and education forums will take place at the Marriott, World Trade Center, 3 World Trade Center, 3rd Floor, NY.

Other News

Arab-Byzantine Forum II

This forum, sponsored by the American Numismatic Society and the ONS, took place on 12 October 1996 and the Museum of the ANS. The following papers were given.

Harry Bone - *The copper coinage of Umayyad Syria*

Clive Foss - *The circulation of coinage in seventh-century Syria*

Peter Lampinen - *New discoveries - Caesarea*

Charles Karukstis - *The underlying die types of countermarked Arab-Byzantine coins*

Laurence Silbert - *The "Honesty" coinage of Damascus*

Michael Cook - *Coins and history in seventh-century Syria.*

ANS Selects Hamad Fellow

Parvaneh Purshariati has been selected as the first recipient of the Shaykh Hamad bin Abdullah Al-Thani Fellowship in Islamic Numismatics at the American Numismatic Society, for the academic year 1996-96.

The Fellowship has been made possible by a generous donation to the Society's Islamic Department from Shaykh Hamad of Qatar, a Gold Circle member of the ANS. Shaykh Hamad was recognised as the International Honoree of the Society at the Tribute Dinner for Eric P. Newman on 25 October.

Dr Pourshariati received her Ph.D. in mediaeval Middle Eastern history from Columbia University's Department of History in 1995. Her thesis, *The Iranian tradition in Tus and the Arab presence in Khurasan*, which dealt with the early Islamic period of eastern Iran, won Honourable Mention in the Foundation for Iranian Studies "Best Dissertation Award" competition.

The Fellowship is intended to combine service to the Society with training in Islamic numismatics and museum practice. Dr Pourshariati will work at the Society every Tuesday until May 1997. The Fellowship includes a stipend of \$3000.

The Jem Sultan Collection

William Holberton was a numismatist, collector, dealer, lecturer and author who died in 1995. He was a specialist, inter alia, in Ottoman coins. By 1971 he had accumulated about 6000 Ottoman coins and some medals. His task, as he saw it, was to sell the duplicates and promote interest in the series. He decided to use as a trading name the name of a son of Sultan Mehmed II, Jem Sultan, who ruled for only a few weeks in Bursa, in 1481. In due course he sold the whole collection and produced a detailed catalogue in an edition of 1000 copies (now sold out). Since the sale, over 600 coins have been added to the collection. These too were catalogued before Bill's death, but this supplementary catalogue has not yet been published. It is understood that the collections is again available for sale. The supplementary catalogue will be available to any future purchaser, provided the collection is kept intact and hopefully made available for study purposes. Any ONS member who would like any additional information is requested to contact Ken MacKenzie.

The "Haza del Carmen" Hoard

The "Haza del Carmen" hoard was discovered by chance in the city of Cordoba in September 1981, when a bulldozer blade broke a ceramic jar with the coins inside. The Museum of Cordoba was able to recover practically all the contents of the hoard with a weight of ca. 42.28 kg of coins and fragments of coins (before cleaning). Entire coins account for about 7000, while the rest of the material consists of fragments of all sizes and kinds weighing some 22 kgs. The earliest coins, dated 320 H / 932 AD, come from the reign of the first caliph of Cordoba, Abd al-Rahman III, while the latest specimens date to the third caliph, Hisham II, in 385 H / 995 AD. The hoard is now in the process of restoration. Its study has been undertaken by Dr Alberto Canto (Univ. Autónoma de Madrid) in a research project running from 1994 to 1998.

South Indian Numismatic Society Conference

The sixth annual conference of the South Indian Numismatic Society took place in Mysore 20-22 January 1996. Twenty-two lectures were delivered: 17 concerned Indian monetary history from the earliest period to modern times under the East India Company; 5 contributions discussed finds and hoards of Roman coins in India; P Berghaus described the new hoard of denarii from Kararagoa district, Kerala. The papers will be published in the forthcoming volume VII of *Studies in South Indian numismatics*. At the conference, vol. VI was presented; it contains studies on Roman coin finds from India by Berghaus and Sathyamurthy as well as papers on Indian numismatics.

Steve Album at Oxford

ONS member Steve Album is currently holding the Samir Shamma Research Fellowship for the Michaelmas term at Oxford University. During his stay, he is due to give three lectures in Islamic numismatics:

1 November - *Metrological problems in late Timurid and related coinages*

8 November - *Devaluation in 14th and 15th century Iran*

15 November - *The coinage of 18th century Iran*

All three lectures will take place in Lecture Room 1 of the Oriental Institute, Pusey Lane, Oxford. The first of the lectures will consist of a synopsis of the research project that he has chosen for the fellowship. He began working on the subject back in the mid-1980s, and later put together a presentation for the Middle East Studies Association. Since then he has found a great deal of additional information, both from newly discovered coins and further readings of literary texts. His plan is to publish the results toward the end of 1997.

Honour for Dr Boppearachchi

The Hellenic Numismatic Society awarded life membership to Dr Osmund Boppearachchi in February 1996 for his contribution to Greek numismatics.

New and Recent Publications

1. *Seleucid Coins of Bactria* by Brian Kidd, published by CNG for \$35.

This is a detailed numismatic study of the entire series of Seleucid coins struck in Bactria during the half century Seleucid occupation of that province. The results of the study have greatly changed the picture of the minting operations and administration of the province, and substantially altered and enhanced the historical framework behind the coinages. A previously unknown Seleucid colony in Bactria was discovered in the 1960s, Ai Khanoum, in the far northeast of the province on the border of modern Afghanistan and the former Soviet Union. Seleucid bronze coins found in the French excavations of this site provided evidence which the current study now shows requires the re-attribution of the former Bactria series to this site. The re-attribution of the former Susa series provides the first clear evidence of a second mint in Bactria.

2. Three history books available from the Indian Books Centre, 40/5, Shakti Nagar, Delhi 110007, India.

Edwin Atkinson (Ed) - *The Himalayan Gazetteer*, 1996, 3 volumes in 6 parts; reprinted. £120, \$160

Radhagovind Basak - *The history of North Eastern India*, 1996. £30, \$40

A R Kulkarni (Ed) - *Mediaeval Deccan history*, Bombay 1996. £25, \$33.33.

3. The Northcountry Publishing Company, 1509 Fillmore Street, Alexandria, Minnesota 56308, USA, has announced the publication of two new booklets: *A concise economic overview of Southeast Asia money* (ISBN 0-930366-90-5), and *A concise economic overview of Japanese money* (ISBN 0-930366-91-3), each 12 pages, saddle stitched, with illustrated card cover and useful bibliography. They are written by Allen M Blair, member of the American Numismatic Association and International Bank Note Society. These can be ordered from the publisher at \$5.75 each (\$4.75 to ANA or IBNS members) plus \$3.50 shipping anywhere in the world.

A new edition of this publisher's *A world money from the earliest times: a concise non-Eurocentric history of the world's native currencies*, 1996 (ISBN 0-930366-88-3) is now available for \$35 plus \$4 shipment to anywhere in the world.

4. *Studies in ancient coinage from Turkey*, edited by R Ashton. Royal Numismatic Society Special Publication 29, British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara Monograph no. 17, ISBN 1 901405 33 7; ISSN 0969-9007. A4, 168pp, hard cover, 3196 half-tone illustrations on 69 plates. Price: £45 (£33.75 to RNS members) plus £4 UK/£6 overseas postage and packing per order. Available from Spink and Son Ltd. (Book Department), 5-7 King Street, St. James's, London, SW1Y 6QS.

The principal purpose of this volume is to make accessible the work of Turkish scholars in the field of ancient numismatics, both by the translation of articles already published in Turkish periodicals and by the presentation for the first time of material in Turkish museums and private collections. Several British scholars have also contributed their own work or collaborated with their Turkish colleagues in joint articles. The book includes reports on seven hoards of Greek and Greek Imperial coins, four hoards of Roman Imperial coins, and catalogues of six other collections of

mostly provenanced coins.

5. Volume 28, numbers 3-4 (Summer/Fall 1995) of Iranian Studies, the Journal of the Society for Iranian Studies, contains an article by Touraj Daryaei entitled *National history of Keyanid history?: the nature of Sasanid Zoroastrian historiography*.

6. Volume 8 (1994) of the Bulletin of the Asia Institute, the archaeology and art of Central Asia, studies from the former Soviet Union, includes the following two items:

E V Rtveladze - *Kampir-Tepe: structures, written documents, and coins*

E V Zeimal - *The circulation of coins in Central Asia during the early mediaeval period (fifth-eighth centuries AD)*

7. In Newsletter 148 we reported the death of Anne Kromann, Copenhagen. A 64 page booklet in her memory has recently been published by the Royal Collection of Coins and Medals, National Museum, DK-1220, Copenhagen K, Denmark. Entitled *Anne Kromann Balling 5 august 1936 - 7 marts 1996*, edited by Jørgen Steen Jensen, the booklet includes a substantial obituary as well as a full bibliography. It is available from the Museum shop for 50 Dkr plus postage. ISBN 87-984086-6-6.

8. Three articles by Devendra Handa have appeared in recent issues of Spink Numismatic Circular: *Coins of Kuru Janapada*, a description of some new coins of the 6th - 5th century BC found at Sugh near Jagadhari, Haryana, India. (Vol. CIV, no. 7 September 1996); *Coins of two new Ayodhya rulers* (Vol. CIV no. 8 October 1996); *Counterfeit copper coins of Hippostratos & Azes I* (Vol. CIV no. 9, November 1996).

9. Volume 17 (1993) of the Numismatic Digest, published by the Indian Institute of Research in Numismatic Studies, PO Anjaneri, Dist. Nasik 422 213, Maharashtra, India, contains the following items:

Narendra Kothari - *New silver punchmarked Janapada coins*

Ajay Mitra Shastri - *A note on the Mana hoards of punchmarked coins*

R R Bhargava - *Uninscribed coins from Thathari (M.P)*

Nisar Ahmad - *Coins of the Arjunayanas*

Laxmikant B Varma - *Silver coins of Skanda Satakarni*

Ajay Mitra Shastri - *Vasishthiputra Vijaya Satakarni*

Parmeshwari Lal Gupta - *A new gold coin-type of Kumaragupta I*

Biswajeet Rath - *Gold coins of the Paramaras: a reappraisal in the light of fresh evidence*

Nicholas G Rhodes - *Coins of the Kashmir Sultans*

Danish Moin and Dilip P Balsekar - *Coins of Baz Bahadur of Malwa*

M K Gupta - *Some Mughal nisars*

AH Siddiqui - *Copper coins of Aurangzeb from Haidarabad mint*

S U Bhandare - *Coinage of the Ghorpade chiefs of Gooty*

Parmeshwari Lal Gupta - *Bombay coins of King William and Queen Mary*

Michael B Mitchiner - *Ramatankas: their role and manufacture*

O Thomas Lutz - *Swedish plate money from Madras harbour*

V Pandit Rao - *Chemical and metallographic studies of copper-zinc punchmarked coins*

There are also several book reviews.

The contribution by Nicholas Rhodes is the most definitive statement to date on the coins of the Sultans of Kashmir. The articles by S U Bhandare corrects and expands upon the relevant section in Wiggins and Masheshwari's book on the coinage of the Marathas. P L Gupta's item on the William and Mary rupees presents a corrected reading of the legends. Price Rs 250, \$25.

Work in Progress

S Album - analysis of a Muzaffarid/Timurid hoard from 793 H / 1391 AD.

A Sornin - catalogue of the Whittemore Islamic coin collection in Harvard University Museum.

F Thierry - has completed the manuscript of volume I of the catalogue of Chinese coins in the Cabinet des Médailles, *L'antiquité pré-impériale (des origines à 221 av. J-C)*. The book should have around 350 pages and 120 plates.

Lists Received

Stephen Album (PO Box 7386, Santa Rosa, Calif. 95407, USA) lists 126 (June 1996) 127 (July 1996), 128 (August 1996) 129 (September 1996) and 130 (October 1996).

Scott Cordry (PO Box 9828, San Diego, Calif. 92169, USA) lists 104 featuring a fine range of modern Islamic gold coins, and 105.

Jean Elsen (Tervurenlaan 65, B-1040 Brussels, Belgium) list 184. This list includes a range of Islamic and other oriental coins as well as two articles of oriental interest: *An unrecorded Afghan rupee of Shah Shuja al-Mulk* by R Dauwe and *Un trésor de double-dirhems et dirhems ilkhanides frappés par les souverains mongols Ghazan, Oldjaitu et Abu Saïd sur le territoire iranien. Proportion anormale de coins de droit at de revers* (A hoard of Ilkhanid double dirhems and dirhems struck by the Mongol rulers Ghazan, Uljaitu and Abu Saïd on Iranian territory. Abnormal proportion of obverse and reverse dies) by G Graff.

Robert Tye (Loch Eynort, Isle of South Uist, UK, HS8 5SJ) list 30.

Auction News

We illustrate here three gold mohurs that featured in the Spink Coinex week auction.



1

2

3

1. Gold mohur in the name of Shah Alam II, AH 1178, year 6 with the mint-name Najibgarh. Weight 10.6 grams. Najibgarh is not otherwise known, but could be the stone fort erected in 1755 by Nawab Najib-ud-daula a mile to the east of Najibabad and which was known as Pathargarh in the late nineteenth century.

2. Gold mohur struck by the Sikhs at Multan, S.1876 (AD 1798). Previously unpublished.

3. Gold mohur struck by the Sikhs at Lahore, S.1884/92 (AD 1814). Cf Herrli 08.08.2.

Book Reviews

Copper cash and silver taels: the money of Manchu China

by John E. Sandrock.

409pp 182 figs 12 tables 9 maps. Gateway Press, Inc., Baltimore 1995. US\$44.50.

John E. Sandrock is a retired US Navy captain, an "old China hand" with an interest in Far Eastern numismatics, old newspapers and photographs. He has combined these interests to produce this volume. To quote the author: "this work is definitely not presented as a catalog"; it is "about the monetary aspects of life in China during the Ch'ing dynasty". Sandrock has allowed himself some indulgences, which throw light on non-monetary aspects of Qing life, eg how to smoke opium, quotes from Marco Polo several centuries earlier, navigational details for the Yangtse River. These diversions give unexpected and obscure information, such as the names of the US warships heading upriver.

Sandrock explores monetary aspects in Qing life with an enthusiastic approach. Placing the complex money system against a background seen through the eyes of contemporary witnesses works well (albeit they were Western witnesses, who were famously confused by Chinese money of this period). Some of the

most interesting numismatic information is offered quite far on in the book, in Sandrock's "Numismatic Observations" and in the eight Appendices, where he lists the issuer [in Chinese and romanisation], dates, denominations (copper, cash, tiao, or tael) and formats of the notes he has seen. Particularly useful are the 25 quasi-governmental banks (Appendix 3); and the 140+ small commercial establishments (Appendix 5). Appendix 9 (Pictorial Supplement, China, c.1900) while not relevant to numismatics, is a fine collection of photographs.

The section on paper money is useful. Most of the recent books on Chinese paper money have been written by Chinese authors for Chinese readers, and important observations are often left unmentioned because they are too obvious to the Chinese author, yet it is precisely these observations that make the subject comprehensible and interesting for a non-Chinese reader. Sandrock's book is aimed at the beginner and tackles many of these observations. As a beginner's book, it should be welcomed.

Sandrock also suggests a number of sources for further study of life during the Qing dynasty, and his 13 pages of "Reflections on a day in the life of China 1876" consider current events of May 13th 1876 through the *North-China Herald and Supreme Court and Consular Gazette*. Unfortunately, references for other sources are not always supplied.

Sandrock's outline history of Chinese money could be more accurate in places. Careless editing has left contradictions in the text, for example, "by the time of the ascendancy of the Han dynasty knife coins had become highly developed" in the same paragraph as he writes that Qin Shi Huangdi had "demonetised the spade and knife coins". His account that Chinese coins differ from other coins in that they are "cast rather than struck and tend to be quite thin" is not entirely accurate; many Chinese coins are, in fact, thicker than non-Chinese coins. Likewise, his comment that "being strung together...the coins received very little wear...as a consequence, many of the earliest of these coins were regularly found in circulation hundreds and even a thousand years later". Evidence from coin hoards reveals that there is, in fact, a standard ratio of early to later coins on account of the varying metal alloys of different periods. For a more rounded discussion of Chinese money, readers should, therefore, also consider the standard numismatic works (eg by Cribb, Thierry, Burger, Hartill, Morse, etc.). Those seriously interested in Qing money should also consider the vast body of numismatic material in Chinese and recent studies by European authors.

Just to elaborate on Sandrock's caption for fig.61, this is a Qing Treasury note from the British Museum collection (reg no. PM 552, presented by H.B. Morse): Xianfeng year 3 (1853), 11th month, 9th day, 1 ounce (on the Beijing "2 ounce" weight standard), serial no. Gong 29608, 257 x 222mm.

Helen Wang

Turcoman Figural Bronze Coins and Their Iconography - Vol II, The Zengids by William F. Spengler and Wayne G. Sayles, Clio's Cabinet, Lodi, Wisconsin 1996.

Hardback, 15 x 23 cm., xxvii pp introduction, 161 pp. Illustrations and figures throughout the text with appendix, glossary, select biography, concordance of main catalogue reference numbers, 2 pp quick photographic guide to types and an A.H./A.D. conversion chart. Available from leading numismatic booksellers USA \$35, UK £25.

This is the second of the joint authors' (both ONS members) three, possibly four volume series on the figural bronze coins of the various Turcoman dynasties, struck mostly in the 12th and 13th centuries from their power bases in upper Mesopotamia and contiguous areas. The series will provide a type catalogue including type variants and dates, a numismatic commentary encompassing the historical circumstances of each issue plus a discussion of the iconography and choice of design for these eclectic and problematic coins. It is not a corpus and the gold and silver issues are not covered.

Members may have seen my review of Volume I on the Artukids in ONS Newsletter No 139, Winter 1994. In that review I described in some detail the background to this study, the authors' methodology and the novel layout of the catalogue section:

Volume II follows the same format.

This volume deals with the coins of the four branches of the Zengid dynasty - Mosul, Aleppo, Sinjar and Al-Jazira, and those of the atabeg Badr al-Din Lu'lu' who usurped power in Mosul from his former Zengid masters. Thirty-one coin types and their variants are described, including, for historical and numismatic continuity, eight non-figural ones. One rare coin, which has appeared occasionally in dealers' lists and auction catalogues, that of 'Umar bin Muhammad of Sinjar, is published for the first time with fully read legends. Also, the catalogue clears a previous uncertainty regarding the issue of the fulmen type struck at al-Jazira in A.H.639: this was apparently issued by al-Mu'azzam Mahmud with his crown prince Wali 'Ahad al-Zahir. The authors' researches have also extended our knowledge of dates for certain types. Some of them had runs over a ten year period. There are gaps and no doubt collectors will be carefully checking their cabinets against the listings!

It has to be said that compared with those of the Artukids, the figural bronze coins of the Zengids show less artistic licence, are less varied (the same basic designs are more frequently used again for subsequent issues) and are generally more conservative. Perhaps being closer to centres of orthodoxy, the Zengids were more constrained in their choice of coin design than their more remote northern neighbours. Astrological motifs do occur but are mainly limited to representations of the sun and moon. In this regard, it is not mentioned in the text that Lu'lu's, personal laqab, Badr al-Dunya wa al-Din, translates full moon of the world and of the Faith. Given the predilection for luna in Mosul this may explain Lu'lu's revival of the seated prince with crescent moon type as his first figural coin design.

Of the non-astrological types, the most controversial hypothesis concerns a coin of Qutb al-Din Muhammad from Sinjar. It is claimed that the attractively engraved obverse depicting a female bust in a Corinthian helmet is intended to portray Pheideas's famous statue of Athena Promachos which once adorned the Athenian acropolis. The statue was removed by Constantine the Great to his new capital Constantinople but fell in the orgy of destruction following the Fourth Crusaders' sacking of that city in A.D.1204, equivalent to A.H. 600, the date of this issue. If this is one of the sub rosa designs (see infra), it is as likely to be evidence of animosity by the Eastern towards the Western Church, as a statement on a deplorable act of cultural vandalism per se, as the authors suggest. However, attractive as this theory is, I am inclined to view this design as having been chosen just for its martial character. The prototype for the design does appear to have been correctly identified as a Roman provincial bronze coin of Aegeai in Cilicia.

The introduction includes an essay first presented at an International Symposium in Istanbul in 1993, developing themes put forward in the first volume. In this essay the authors contend that the Nestorian Christian School of Nisibin, who were much involved in the revival of classicism and the cultural efflorescence in the Near East, played a key role in both Turcoman coin design and engraving. It is argued that craftsmen trained at the School provided the celators to produce master dies on commission for the Turcoman princes and that, seemingly, they were inspired by a collection of ancient coins to which they had access and whose historical significance they would have understood. More daringly the authors posit that they selected prototypes and adapted the designs for sub rosa Christian propaganda.

The book concludes with a preliminary report by Michael and Neathery Fuller on ongoing excavations at a mediaeval site at Tell Tuneinir in Syria where substantial numbers of Artukid, Zengid and Ayyubid coins are being unearthed.

In conclusion this is an important work, using numismatic evidence to shed much light on the historical events and shifting alliances in the Jazira during a turbulent period and proposing some refreshing and occasionally controversial ideas on the iconography of the coins. As a catalogue it is easy to use, particularly for the non-Arabic specialist, making this splendid series of Turcoman coins accessible to all. On both counts it can be strongly recommended.

D.Priestley

The Effect of Civil War on Mint Production in the Sasanian Empire
Touraj Daryaee

There appears to have been a strict central control of minting in the Sasanian empire, and indeed, to a large extent, the coinage of Xosrow II (590-628) attests to this central organisation in the late sixth and early seventh centuries.¹ When there were iconographic changes on the coins, they appear to have been uniformly implemented and show the central organisation of the mints and the efficiency of the Sasanian empire, although some exceptions exist. One exception appears in the early years of Xosrow II's rule. During the first two years of Xosrow II's reign, there was a civil war between him and his general, Wahram VI who was able to crown himself. Xosrow II had to flee the empire and take refuge in Byzantium. There was certainly confusion within the empire and in the first two years different mints minted coins for either man, and at times in one year the same city minted coins for both. By the second year (591 AD), Wahram VI had been pushed to the northeast where he minted coins for the last time. Then, Xosrow II was able to reform the coinage iconographically and adopt the winged crown with a new legend instead of the merlon type crown of year 1 (type I/1). This essay will demonstrate how this period of confusion manifested itself on the coinage of Xosrow II. The crown chosen for years 2-39 (type II/2 and II/3)² of Xosrow II was the winged crown signifying Wahram, an avatar of the deity. This symbolised his victory over his opponent, and the addition of the formula hwsllwb GDH 'bzwd, "the glory of Xosrow increased", assures us of the fact.

The coinage reform, however, does not seem to have been executed successfully over the whole empire. Several mints still minted coins in the second year with the crown of year one, the merlon crown. There are four mints found so far to have been issuing type I/1 for year 2 which should be type II/2 of Xosrow II's coinage (fig. 1). These coins are very rare and the author has been able to find them struck at WYHC Weh-az-Amid-Kawad,³ AYLAN which may be the royal mint,⁴ RD Ray,⁵ and LA Ram-Hormizd.⁶ This may mean at the time the decision was made to change the coinage, these mints were neglected or did not receive the orders in time. All four mints were exactly in the area where the conflict took place, and was the general area which the usurper, Wahram VI, controlled. This may explain the anomaly.



fig. 1

Where the new winged crown was minted for year two, there also seem to be variations. This has to do with the specific features of the winged crown, where dots appear instead of feathers at the base of the crown (fig. 2). So far ten mints with this type of dotted crown have been identified, and there may be more. They are: 1. AY Eran-Xwarrah-Sabuhr, 2. AHM Hamadan, 3. BN Gwasir, 4. BYB Besabuhr, 5. NY perhaps Nehavand, 6. WH Weh-Ardaxsir, or Weh-Andew-Sabuhr, 7. WYH Weh-Ardaxsir, 8. LYW Rev-Ardaxsir, 9. GD Gay, and 10. LA Ram-Hormizd.⁷ The dots appear where the feathers attach to the cap. On the regular issues feathers are present.

Besides these anomalous designs, the rest of the coinage of Xosrow II has the regular feathered winged crown (fig. 3), with some minor differences. I believe even within the "regular" category, there are stylistic differences in terms of the design of the feathers at the base of the wings attached to the crown. Although there were more than one hundred different mint monograms, all were not active at the same time. Many were closed under a ruler or were in operation periodically, depending on the area of control, wars or crises. About 20 mints seem to have minted the bulk of

Sasanian coinage,⁸ thus making the number of anomalous mints significant since many were major mints.



fig. 2



fig. 3

This scheme may show that in the second year of Xosrow II's reign there was still confusion, and the change was not implemented successfully. We do not know how the orders for change in the design of the coinage was implemented. Either a sketch of the design was sent to each mint where the design was copied, or dies were sent to each city to be used there. The other possibility is that a die cutter was sent to each mint. We do not have any information regarding coin forgeries in the Sasanian empire, but they could have existed since in Byzantium certainly there were forging activities and laws existed regarding punishment for such crimes. If a die was sent out, the design would have been uniform and we would not have had such a scheme where different designs appear on the coins. This anomaly has been explained as the work of a single die cutter who travelled through the empire but the scattered nature of the mints makes this suggestion implausible. In general there seems to be two different designs for year two. Why would such a difference exist? If this is the work of specific die cutters, then we are dealing with two individuals or two groups of die cutters over the whole empire, which seems unlikely. Thus it makes sense to understand these anomalies as the result of confusion within the Sasanian empire where central organisation of the mints seems to have waned for a period. Xosrow II, after defeating Wahram VI, was able to take control of all the mints of the empire and after the third year, there seems to have been a uniform production of coinage. The degree of the organisation of the mints is again apparent in year 11, when the coinage went through another iconographic change. This is the break of the inner ring on the obverse by the word 'bzwd abzud "increased" (fig. 4). This phenomenon appears on virtually all of the coins and it must be thought of as a centrally determined design.



fig. 4

It should be clear that in year two of Xosrow II's reign there was still confusion and he was not able to control all of the mints efficiently. When a king captured a territory, one of the first matters that he attended to was to have coins minted in his name. Year two shows that some of the mints were not under his direct control, because they were minting type I/1 of Xosrow II which

was before Wahram VI had taken control of them. The other possibility is that those mints knew who was in power but did not have the new design at hand, and thus they minted type I/1 for year two. The dotted crowns, however, are not particular to one region alone. Even according to the Sasanian division of their empire, these mints are scattered in several adjoining areas. The only explanation for this is that there was utter confusion within the empire and it took a year or more for Xosrow II to control his empire.

NOTES

1. R. Göbl, "Sasanian Coins", *The Cambridge History of Iran*, vol. 3(1), Cambridge University Press, reprint 1993, p. 331.
2. R. Göbl, *Sasanian Numismatics*, Linkhardt & Biermann, Baunschweig, 1971, pl. XII.
3. R. Gyselen, "Ateliers monétaires et cachets officiels sasanides", in *Studia Iranica*, tome 8, fasc. 2, 1979, p. 210; her reading is based on a seal with three cities mentioned Staxr, Bisabuhr and Veh-as-Amid-Kavad, thus located in Fars. Eadem, *La géographie administrative de l'empire Sassanide*, Res orientales, Peeters, Leuven, 1993, for the discussion see p. 62, for the seal see p. 112. Malek doubts that Veh-az-Amid-Kavad (Arrajan) was such an important town in Sasanian times to have such a large output of coins; Malek, "A Seventh-Century Hoard of Sasanian Drachms", in *IRAN*, Journal of the British Institute of Persian Studies, London, 1993, p. 90. M. Bates showed me the iconographic details which seem to have existed only on Arab-Sasanian coins in Fars, and WYHC has the same features. Bates believes that this mint should be identified as the Sasanian mint of Weh-az-Amid-Kawad, Islamic Arrajan. M. I. Mochiri, *Etudes de numismatique iranienne sous les Sassanides et Arabes-Sassanides*, vol. II, Tehran, revised edition, Leiden, 1982, coin # 645.
4. AYLAN has been attributed to Susa, but I believe it may be an imperial mint since it has the name of the Sasanian empire; Mochiri, *Ibid.*, coin # 899.
5. Münz Zentrum 27, 3-5 Nov. 1976.
6. (The American Numismatic Society Collection) ANS collection, 1940.209.1004.
7. All of these coins are housed with the American Numismatic Society in New York with the exception of the mint of Gay which I was able to see thanks to the kindness of Bill Warden.
8. Göbl, *Idem.*, 1993, p. 332.

About the dating of India's first coin Dr Wilfried Pieper

I have followed with great interest the recent discussion about the origin of India's earliest coins in Newsletters 145, 146 and 148. I think Joe Cribb is quite right in demonstrating how India's first coinage began in the north-western region, spreading from there to other parts of India, but I think he is quite wrong regarding the question 'When did India's first coinage commence?'

The year 487 BC as the date of Buddha's death has until now been used by numismatists as a key date for determining the chronology of India's early punch-marked coins. In Newsletter 148 Joe Cribb draws to our attention new evidence as it is summarised in Heinz Bechert's book *Die Datierung des Historischen Buddha* resulting in a new placement of Buddha's nirvana around 400 BC or even some decades later. This would mean that contemporaries of Buddha, like king Bimbisara of Magadha and his son Ajatashastru, had also lived considerably later than assumed hitherto.

Ancient Indian texts mention coins while referring to Buddha and his time - a garden is bought for Buddha at the price of enough coins to cover its surface - and from this story one concluded that coins were already current in ancient India at Buddha's time. Joe Cribb, however, argues that this story is not the original version but a later adaptation and that the early version describes the garden being purchased with gold and not with coins. Both versions obviously exaggerate the price paid for the garden to underline the importance of the Buddha. The gold version is even more impressive in this respect and therefore preferable to the authors of the text in question - regardless of whether at the time of the purchase of that garden coins were in daily use or not. So one cannot derive from the original gold version that there existed no Indian coins at Buddha's time. Not that Joe Cribb does draw this negative conclusion verbatim, he only discards the positive conclusion in stating that the Jetavana garden story is no proof of the existence of coins at Buddha's time. This statement certainly is right but it is not admissible to create the impression that at the

time of the Buddha only the barter system existed in Indian economic transactions and that Indian coinage only later came into being. To put it clearly: the chronology of Buddha, be it the established or the revised one, isn't of any help in answering the question: When did coinage originate in ancient India?

Meanwhile Joe Cribb favours a very late date around 350 BC for the beginning of coinage in India, based mainly on hoard evidence and here mainly on the Chaman Hazouri hoard from Kabul. Already Allan held the view¹ that Taxila's bent-bar coins belonged to the earliest phase of Indian coinage having developed under foreign, i.e. Persian, influence. Joe Cribb² supported this view by analysing the Chaman Hazouri hoard containing local silver bent-bars together with Greek and Persian coins and different locally produced Kabul coin types, some of them obviously inspired by Greek coin types. The analysis of this hoard provided a further argument for the assumption that the Indian coinage had originated here in the North-West under the influence of Persian and Greek coin models. Only later did other Indian authorities in the Narbada and the Ganges valley follow the new achievement of the North-West and began to produce coins of their own and thus the various classes of the early Indian silver coins came into being. By contrast A. N. Lahiri³ regarded the Ganges valley Kashi coins as the earliest Indian coins: "These saucer coins of the 48 ratti standard seem to have been the most primitive type of organised currency, preceding all categories of punch-marked coins. They might have been in circulation in the last quarter of the sixth or the first quarter of the fifth century BC, representing the coinage of Kasi Mahajanapada." But if one is going to speak of primitive coins in this context, one should rather regard bent-bars as a primitive form of coinage - in any case more archaic than these saucer-shaped coins with their system of carefully arranged four punches on a thoroughly prepared flan. Compared with these coins the bent-bars are by far easier to produce, being merely cut from a sheet of silver and deeply impressed with the punch. The same archaic appearance and simple fabric applies to the 'pulley' coins from the Avanti area, to the 'pentagonal-symbol' types and to some other, newly discovered series as well, all of which must be grouped among the earliest coins of India. With regard to the evolution of Indian coins from North-West to the Ganges valley Cribb seems to be right and his coin comparisons support his view.⁴

But how early are these earliest Indian coins? And here I can not follow Cribb's arguments. The fact that one dateable coin in the Chaman Hazouri hoard allows us to assume a terminus post quem of ca 380-360 BC for the hoard's burial does not justify us deriving a date near to this burial for the origin of the bent-bars. Other hoards have contained very different classes of coins issued over a period of hundreds of years. Take for example the first Mir Zakah hoard composed of bent-bars and other punch-marked coins, Greek coins, Graeco-Bactrian and Indo-Greek coins, Indo-Scythian, Indo-Parthian and Kushan coins. And the recently discovered huge Mir Zakah hoard II seems to show a similar composition.⁵

And then in consideration of the many 5th century coins in the Chaman Hazouri hoard, from Persia, from Athens, the Aegean islands, Macedonia, Thrace, Cyprus and Acanthus, why should it not be that the Indian coins in the same hoard had also been produced some time in the 5th century?

Why should it not be possible for the first Indian coins to have come into being around 500 BC or perhaps some decades later? Around 500 BC the Taxila region had lost its independence and had been incorporated into the Persian empire by the Achaemenid king Darius I. Why should the people in this Persian satrapy use the barter system as the only form of currency until as late as the 4th century and only at that late date begin to take advantage of a coin system? The Persians certainly would have encouraged the spread of coined money which was highly developed throughout their empire and, in addition to the imperial coin types, the toleration of provincial currencies is attested as well.

Now let's take a look at the locally produced Kabul coin types in the Chaman Hazouri hoard. They seem to represent the earliest stages in the development of the indigenous Indian coinage; they follow the Persian weight standard, but their devices are inspired by Greek prototypes. Of special importance in our

context are those showing two bulls' heads face to face. Referring to these coins Osmund Bopearachchi rightly states that they "remind us of the early electrum of Lydia".⁶ This is a further strong argument for the early origin of the rare and short-lived Kabul imitation coins, from which the bent-bars developed through several immediately following stages, as Joe Cribb himself has shown. The bent-bars seem to have been a very successful class of coins, accompanied by smaller denominations and circulating for long periods. They seem to have been widely accepted and the silver-plated copper imitations found in the North-West and also as far south as Kausambi obviously underline their economic importance.

By placing the origin of the Indian coinage around 350 BC Joe Cribb presses the whole of the Indian punch-marked coinage into a frame too narrow by far. In 321 Chandragupta occupied the throne of Magadha, which, for the following 130 years was held by members of his dynasty, the Mauryas. With Chandragupta, India began to enter its imperial phase and so did India's coinage, characterised from now on by the small, thick 5-punch silver karshapanas of 3.4 grams weight. This standard coin was conservatively maintained in fabric and style until the end of the Mauryan empire and only the devices on the coins, of which hundreds of varieties are known, changed.

The different classes of the earlier, local punch-marked silver coins, the find spots of which are characteristically restricted to certain well-defined areas in the Indus, Narbada and Ganges valleys, must have developed, existed and disappeared before the Mauryan time. And this would all have to be compressed into a period of only a few decades, if one were to follow Cribb's chronology. Moreover, in that case all the different classes of the pre-Mauryan coinages would have to be attributed to the kingdom of Magadha, whereas, before the time of Magadha's expansion, no coinage at all would have existed in India.

At this point attention must be drawn to T. R. Hardaker's comparison between Kosala coins and Magadha coins,⁷ which is based on the use of symbols and of banker's marks, of style and of weight systems and which results in the following conclusion: "... although Kosala may have begun first, most of its coinage is contemporary with the earliest Magadhan issues, terminating near the point when Magadha karshapana series II/III are introduced. This point may coincide with the time when Kosala was conquered by Magadha about 460 BC." From Hardaker's observations it seems to be clear from the coins themselves that there existed already a well developed coinage in India around the time of Magadha's expansion - even if we have to correct the time of this expansion to a later date around perhaps 400 BC according to the revised chronology of Buddha's death. Thus this coin study seems to be a good argument for the correctness of the conventional action of numismatists in establishing a chronology of the early Indian coinages according to the expansion of Magadha - whatever the exactness of the dating of this historical event.

Of course the dating of India's first coins remains a major problem and as things are, no-one can provide a proof for his theory but only more or less plausible arguments. But I am convinced that the arguments for an early date of origin of India's coins around the beginning of the 5th century BC are more plausible than those for a later date. These plausible arguments are: the incorporation of North-West India into the Persian empire from ca 520 BC onwards; the circulation of Persian and Greek coins in Central Asia from the beginning of the 5th century BC onwards; the composition of coin hoards with early Indian coins from the North-West together with Persian and Greek coins from the whole range of the 5th century BC; the existence of some early Indian coin types which were obviously derived from early Lydian prototypes; the improbability that the great diversity of the early Indian locally restricted punch-marked coinages had only developed after Magadha's expansion; coin studies like that of Hardaker which make it probable that there already existed a well developed Indian coinage at the time when Magadha began its expansion.

Joe Cribb pays high attention to the Chaman Hazouri hoard. I would agree that this hoard is of special importance for more than one reason. I can, however, not see how it could confirm the hypothesis of Indian coinage to have begun as late as the 4th century BC. On the contrary, as shown above, the evidence of just

this hoard rather points to an earlier origin of Indian coinage.

NOTES

1. Allen, J. (1936), *BMC*, 'Coins of Ancient India', p. xvi.
 2. Cribb, J. (1983), 'Investigating the Introduction of Coinage in India', *JNSI*, xlv, pp. 96-101.
 3. Lahiri, A. N. (1973), 'Archaic Coins of Northern India', *JNSI*, xxxv, p. 12.
 4. Cribb, J. (1983), 'Dating India's earliest coinage', *South Asian Archaeology 1983*, Naples, 1985, pp. 535-54.*
 5. Bopearachchi, O. & Aman ur Rahman (1995), *Pre-Kushana coins in Pakistan*, p. 11.
 6. Bopearachchi & Rahman, *Pre-Kushana coins in Pakistan*, p. 55. Coin illustrations 1-2 in the same catalogue. Bopearachchi was the first to have described this coin correctly; before that, the design had been interpreted as representing two elephant heads.
 7. Hardaker, T. R. (1992), 'Punch-Marked Coinage of Kosala', in *Indian Numismatics, History, Art & Culture - Essays in Honour of Dr. P. L. Gupta*, pp. 3-27.
- * Supplied courtesy of Dr. O. Bopearachchi. My special thanks to him! Furthermore he provided a copy of the first publication of the Chaman Hazouri hoard by Curiel & Schlumberger:
Curiel, R.; Schlumberger, D. (1953), *Trésors Monétaires d'Afghanistan - Mémoires de la délégation archéologique française en Afghanistan*; Tome xiv, Paris 1953.

A note on a parcel of punch-marked coins from Mir Zakah II.

R C Senior

The gigantic hoard of coins found in Afghanistan some years ago has been partly dispersed and several lots of punch-marked coins, perhaps several thousand, have found their way west. A lot of some 800+ in the U.S.A. produced over 80 varieties of coin and a similar lot in Germany contained a similar number of varieties. A lot of 640 coins arrived here and I had the opportunity to look through them and below is a classification of types which has the same 'proportions', I gather, as the two previously mentioned lots.

The standard work for identifying the coins is the estimable *Silver Punchmarked coins of the Magadha-Maurya Karshapana series* by Gupta and Hardaker (GH), Nasik, 1985.*

See table overleaf

NOTES

1. overstruck on type 289.
2. c/m symbol 469 on reverse (three figures).
3. one has two six-armed symbols!
4. type 595 on reverse !?
5. one with 469 c/m on reverse, another with symbol 262 (bull) as reverse c/m.
6. c/m with symbol 469 on reverse.

A few of the coins are rare to extremely rare types but by far the commonest coins belong to type 574. This and the next type, 575, account for some 44.5% of the group and they are by far the best preserved. This would suggest that they are the latest coins in the group and/or were struck closest to where the hoard was buried. The chronology adopted by GH would indicate that these last coins were struck ca 150 BC. Type 575 is often found debased but in this group they seem as good as all the previous coins, the earliest of which have seen considerable wear.

Type 289 (series II) weighs 3.26 grams and the weights of coins of series II to Va weight between 3 and 3.30 gm. Type 574 weighs on average 3.35 gm. A few series 'I' coins are reported to have been in the group but taken out because of their size.

* I made a small contribution to this work by transporting the plates to India!

GH no.	number	GH no.	number	GH no.	number	GH no.	number
289 (II)	1	442	4	506	2	563	1
295 (III)	1	443	5	507	1	564	2
305	7	450	9	509	3	565	1
306	1	454	1	510-15 (Vb)	43	567	4
308v	1	456	4	516	3	568	4
319	1	464	1	518	6	569	2
320	5	467	2	519	2	570 ⁵	14
323 ¹	1	468	3	521	2	571	3
344 (IVa)	2	471	2	527 (VIa)	3	572	1
356 (IVb)	2	475	4	534	3	573	12
382	1	477 (Va)	6	537	1	574	235
397 (IVc)	1	479	3	538	2	575	50
402 (IVd)	1	480	3	542 (VIb)	4	576 ⁶	4
405	1	482	9	543 ⁴	15	582	2
410	1	483	1	548	1	584 (VII)	2
414	2	484	6	550	15	586	5
416	13	486	2	552	8	589	4
417	1 ²	488	7	555	5	590	2
418	1	490	1	556	1	591	3
419	2 ³	497	1	557	2	594	1
423	1	498	1	559	1	595	1
424	3	499	1	560	4	596	2
425	2	503	1	561	4	uncertain	2
427	2	505	3	562	1	poor/uniden.	15
						TOTAL	640

A Problematic Indo-Greek Overstrike

David MacDonald

An overstruck bronze of Heliokles II (Fig. 1) appeared in Classical Numismatic Group Auction 38 (6-7 June 1996), lot 528, where it is described as:

'528. Heliokles II. Circa 110-100 BC. AE Hemiobol (8.77 gm). Uncertain mint. Diademed bust/elephant walking left. MIG 294; Bopearachchi serie 7. Fine, brown patina. Overstruck on a bronze of Polyxenos, helmeted bust/aegis, type of MIG 300.

Cunningham, *Coinage of Alexander's Successor*, p. 189 notes a bronze of Polyxenos overstruck by Heliokles, but without an accompanying illustration to confirm his assertion. Bopearachchi questions his attribution, not knowing of the coin which Cunningham describes. This coin confirms Cunningham's find, and also confirms that Polyxenos' and Heliokles' reigns overlapped to some degree, or even that Polyxenos preceded Heliokles.'



Fig. 1: Heliokles II Overstrike

The description of the overstrike is incorrect. The visible remains of the obverse (Fig 2) are the plume of helmet, back profile of helmet and bust, and a portion of the legend, ΒΑΣΙΛΙ[. The visible remains of the reverse are a portion of the Kharoshthi legend: Maharaja[.

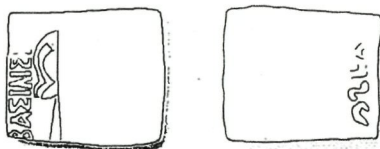


Fig. 2: Visible Traces of Undertype

The cataloguer presumably mistook on the reverse the elephant's tail and part of the Kharoshthi legend behind the elephant for portions of the aegis design of the Polyxenos issue and did not notice that on the obverse the surviving portion of the legend of the host coin, ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣ[., is inconsistent with Polyxenos and rather indicates the issue of Agathokleia and Strato I:

Obv.: Armored, helmeted bust of Athena r. ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣΣΗΣ
ΘΕΟΤΡΟΠΟΥ ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΙΑΣ

REV: Heracles seated l. on rock, holding club. Kharoshthi legend: Maharajasa/ tratarasa dhrami/ kasa Stratasa. Monogram:

O. Bopearachchi (1), pp. 251-2 Classe I série 3A; M. Mitchiner, Vol. 2, p. 170 Type 307a.

Bopearachchi, through typographical error, gives the reverse legend as Maharajasa tratarasa dhramikasa Agathukriae rather than the correct Maharajasa tratarasa dhramikasa Stratasa.

O. Bopearachchi (1989) has published five similar overstrikes of Heliokles II rectangular AEs over Agathokleia and Strato I AEs. One, in the British Museum, is struck from the same dies as the new specimen, supplying the monogram which is struck off flan.¹ In addition to these five overstrikes, Bopearachchi (1989) records single overstrikes of Heliokles II/ Elephant rectangular AEs on Strato I sole reign, Antialkidas, and Cunningham's report of the overstrike on Philoxenos, and Bopearachchi and ur Rahman record an additional overstrike on Strato I sole reign.²

Cunningham may have had a genuine overstrike on Polyxenos or may have mistaken an overstrike on a coin of Agathokleia and Strato I for an overstrike on Polyxenos, as in the recent catalogue. The overstrike must not have been clear; Cunningham describes it only as over "probably a Philoxenes". Many of Cunningham's bronze coins were lost in a shipwreck on the coast of Ceylon in 1885,³ and it is not possible to identify the coin for certain among Cunningham's surviving coins, although there is among them a second Heliokles II overstrike on Agathokleia and Strato I.⁴

Although the new coin does not confirm Cunningham's report or the chronological relationship between Heliokles II and Polyxenos, it does re-enforce the implication of the material published by Bopearachchi: a considerable portion of Heliokles II AEs issue was overstruck on earlier or contemporary coins of other rulers. No reason is readily apparent. It is tempting to postulate a political event, such as conquest, and there were certainly politically motivated instances of overstriking, such as the Seleucid Demetrios I's overstriking of the coinage of the usurper Timarchos. Coins, however, were primarily fiscal instruments, and political rather than fiscal motives ought not to be readily assumed without specific evidence.

Notes:

1. Bopearachchi (1989), p. 56 no. 3 (Pl. V, 3) = Mitchiner p. 165 Type 294e (photo third row centre) = Gardner Heliocles no. 26 (no mention of overstrike). In referring to earlier publications, Bopearachchi has confused this coin with his No. 8. Monogram:

2. Bopearachchi and ur Rahman, pp. 134-135 no. 470.

3. Cunningham (1869), "Coins of Alexander's Successors in the East," *NC* 1869, p. 245 = Cunningham (1884), pp. 189. Shipwreck: Whitehead (1950), p. 211 = Whitehead (1969), p. 123.

4. Note 1, above. The coin entered the British Museum from the Cunningham collection.

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- Classical Numismatic Group Auction 38 (6-7 June 1996).
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 Bopéarachchi, O. (1991) *Monnaies gréco-bactriennes et indo-grecques* (Paris, 1991).
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 Whitehead, R.B. (1969) *Indo-Greek Numismatics* (Chicago, 1969).

A Bob Senior Miscellany

Menander versus Zoilos - another overstrike

In the March, 1996 Auction Catalogue (No.37) of CNG, lot 825 was a drachm of Menander of the helmeted type overstruck on a drachm of Zoilos I. This, almost certain, identification implied that Zoilos was Menander's contemporary and not his successor. The coin that I illustrate below sheds a little more light on this relationship. The coin is a tetradrachm of Menander BN series 12A¹ (ill. 1) which was issued probably before the helmeted coins of Menander. On the obverse one can see traces of another bust behind Menander's and it seems to have flowing diadem ties. The top of the letters ΖΩΙΛΟΥ are just visible, particularly the first two letters (ill. 2). On the reverse one can see two streamer ends above a monogram \uparrow and a few lines in the right field that may be the lion's pelt and leg of Hercules. This closely fits only one other coin, that of Zoilos (ill. 3), so far known from a unique specimen in the Ashmolean Museum (BN 2A).

The monogram \uparrow was used only by these two rulers and appears on *tetradrachms* of Zoilos but not Menander. It appears only on Menander's drachms, of BN series 13 (drachm to ill. 1 tetradrachm type) and the helmeted drachm BN series 16.

The use of Hercules as a reverse type by Zoilos may indicate a family link with Euthydemos I.

The monograms appearing on Zoilos's coins are;



Monogram 1 was used previously only by Diodotos I and II, Euthydemos and Demetrios (reinforcing the above family link) and disappears after Zoilos. Monograms 2 and 3 are used *only* by Zoilos and Menander. Monograms 4 and 5 appear on the coins of Eukratides and Antimachos Nikephoros of Menander's predecessors and on Menander's earliest issues (with owl reverse). Monogram 5 ceases after Menander/Zoilos's reign but 4 passes to their successors.

One can suppose that Zoilos first strikes coins at mint 1 (it appears on his unique Attic tetradrachm) as rival to Eukratides (?) and as a representative of the ousted 'Euthydemid' line. The main question is 'When did he issue coins with monograms 4 and 5?'. Was it before Menander? Did he precede Menander? Probably not. I suspect that Menander issued his 'owl' and 'spearthrunder' coins *before* Zoilos came on the scene. From his base, Zoilos may have expanded to issue coins with monograms 2 and 3 and then possibly come into conflict with Menander and temporarily acquired mints 4 and 5 (but see below). His coins with a tiny Nike on the shoulder of Hercules may refer to his military conquests? Menander then ousts Zoilos and re-strikes his coins - hence the extreme rarity of his tetradrachms. Menander seems to have died in his prime, almost certainly in the continuing fighting taking place between the various Greek factions.

I believe Menander had a son and successor - Thrason. I discovered and identified the sole coin of the latter amongst a hoard of Menander's drachms. There were *no* other coins of



ill. 1



ill. 2



ill. 3

Menander's successors though a few Apollodotos I and Antimachos Nikephoros drachms in the hoard. The coin of Thrason is almost undetectable from the coins of Menander - virtually the same portrait, though very young, and the same Athena reverse. Only the name and titles differed. He too must have fallen quickly.

The Indo-Greek realm then split into two. One part was ruled by Agathocleia as regent for her son Strato, another son of Menander and using the same reverse type of Athena. The other part fell to Lysias who may have been a son of Zoilos since he adopted the Hercules reverse. It may be that Zoilos was responsible for Menander's demise and that his coins with monograms 4 and 5 were actually issued after Menander's death. Coins can only tell a small amount of the story and more re-strikes need to be found to suggest what may be the correct version of events. Until more evidence surfaces we can only surmise but the above re-strike places more firmly the evidence that Zoilos and Menander were contemporaries and rivals.

1. *Bibliothèque Nationale - Monnaies Greco-Bactriennes et Indo-Grecques*, O. Bopéarachchi, Paris 1991.

An enigmatic Indo-Scythic coin

Every now and again a new and unexpected coin surfaces that doesn't fit the normal pattern of known currency. Such a coin was dealt with on pages 13-16 of Newsletter 148 and now I have received another from the same source - the sharp-eyed Dr. D. MacDonald. Dr. MacDonald bought it in Chicago but I suspect that, like the previous coin, the original source was part of the Mir Zakah II hoard that has been dispersed. This is partly born out by the light weight (1.88 gm.) - all Mir Zakah coins have lost 10/15% of their weight through silver migration, irrespective of wear.



x 1.5

fig. 1

There seem to be a few transitional coins from the 'King mounted with spear' (KMS) to the 'King mounted with whip' (KMW) series of Azes coins. This coin falls into that category. I have been stating for some years that there was only one king called Azes, not two,

and this coin is some more evidence towards that fact. On the obverse we have a king mounted with his right arm *at his side*. There is no spear and no whip though a bow case is behind the king as on KMW issues. There is also no additional letter before the horse. On the reverse we have the standard Pallas to right with right arm raised and shield on her left shoulder. This type is only known so far with a KMW obverse. The monogram in the right field is Λ and in the left field is a kharosthi letter *Shu* which, as far as I can see, occurs on no other known Indo-Scythic coin. The 'Pallas' reverse series with 'A-form' monograms seems to be centred on Charsadda (ancient Pushkalavati) and the earliest issues are KMS/ Pallas left senes (fig. 2). These were preceded by a KMS/ Zeus facing issue. The form of the king on the obverse, with his arm at his side, varies slightly - it is exactly as in figures 1 and 2 when the streamer behind the king is *single* and the control letter *absent* or in the *exergue*, but in the more usual issues where the streamer is *double* and the control letter *before the horse*, the right arm is always *bent* (fig. 3). These latter issues seem to come slightly later in the series and it is curious therefore that on our new coin the form is as on the earlier issue. The absence of spear might indicate that an old die was used in an emergency and the spear removed from the die.

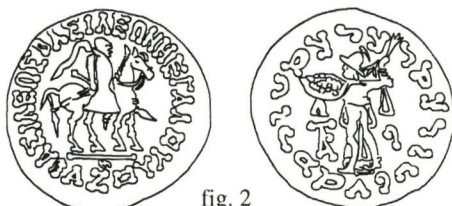


fig. 2



fig. 3

The reverse bears a monogram that until now was only known from one other issue - KMS/ Pallas left (fig. 4). This issue was followed by a 'Pallas facing' type (not known for this monogram) and then a 'Pallas right' series (also unknown with this monogram until now).



fig. 4

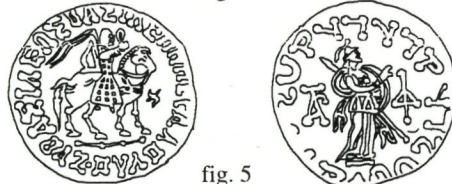


fig. 5

The puzzle is to know where the coin fits in the series of issues; in the KMS period according to the obverse style, or the final phase of the KMW senes according to the reverse? Only one 'Pallas right' issue bears an 'A' monogram and that is a type (fig. 5) that uses the form of monogram, Λ . This monogram is known on issues from KMS/ Zeus through all the KMS/ KMW Pallas types. Pallas has 'extra drapery' below her spear on the last issue and it seems to have been struck by a different authority. I suspect that fig. 1 type came from a small, short-lived mint and may have been an experimental issue, possibly even before issue Fig. 4. As we saw in the Newsletter 148 article, the reverse types may not all have been issued at the same time at the different mints/officina. Hopefully more coins with this monogram will surface and provide clues towards the solving of this problem. In the meantime this unique coin is truly enigmatic.

Indo-Scythic Gold Coins

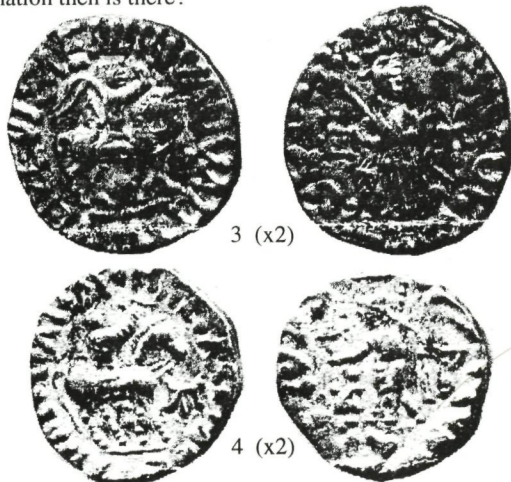
The Indo-Scythic coinage, like the Parthian coinage to its West, was a bi-metallic currency. Coins were issued in either silver (degenerating to billon) or copper. Some years ago a few gold Parthian coins of Vonones surfaced, beautiful in execution and struck from dies but not accepted by all authorities as genuine. Sometimes, one cannot point to a conclusive piece of evidence and say that is proof that a coin is counterfeit - one is left saying "would I pay a stiff price for such a coin, that if I was certain it was genuine, I would gladly pay?" One has a gut feeling, mostly based on decades of experience, and one decides one way or the other, sometimes (though infrequently) wrongly.

A few gold 'drachms' of Azes have surfaced and their source is given as being the Mir Zakah II hoard. To date three coins are reported and if the source is accurate then more will surely be in the 3 ton mass of coins that is still intact from the hoard, here in Europe. If scholars can get to examine this huge deposit before it is dispersed it could provide much invaluable verification and identification of new types. At the moment pieces are appearing in dribs and drabs.

Taken on their own, these gold coins of Azes are hard to fault yet one feels that they are hard to explain because they do not fit into the currency system. I have photographs of two of the coins, one courtesy of the British Museum where the coin, which I also examined later, was shown, and the other courtesy of Riaz Babar in Peshawar. Riaz also reported the third coin but with no further details. These are the two coins, enlarged 100%, the 'BM' coin first. Coin 1 weighs 2.22 gm. and coin 2 is given as 2.2 gm.



In my collection I have a silver drachm the same as coin 1 with the same control letter *Bu*. The drachm is only known from two specimens and all the other known coins with these monograms are *tetradrachms* and most have other control letters. The drachm (ill. 3) is therefore unusual and when I was first shown coin 2, I thought that perhaps the mintmaster was experimenting - the coin is from a different die and has all the spelling mistakes etc. that occur at that mint. When shown the photograph of coin 2, of which I also have a silver drachm (coin 4), I began to doubt this explanation. I would place coin 4 much later than 3 and in a more eastern location. What explanation then is there?



A) Assuming they did come from the Mir Zakah hoard and are therefore 2000 years old, they could be 'mint sports', contemporary copies of drachms or possibly presentation pieces. A gold Indo-Parthian drachm of roughly this period was found at Tillya Tepe in the left hand of a buried Princess.¹ Such coins are known normally struck in base silver.

B) They could be modern forgeries struck from dies which have been made from drachms. Coin 1 certainly is slightly smaller than the drachms (the Utmanzai forgeries were ca 1/16 smaller than the dies of their originals) and the gold has the dull appearance that I have seen on a gold dinar of Queen Buran, also struck from dies that were made from a silver drachm.

My feeling is that they may well be ancient but not part of any Scythic currency system, and if so, probably made as suggested in A. The gold coin of 'Athama' published as MIG 893 is almost certainly a weight and the word Athama referring to its weight, 0.22 gm, as an 'eighth' of some unit. I cannot 100% condemn them nor 100% authenticate them, though I tend to the latter. As to whether I would pay a high price for one, as the most dedicated of Indo-Scythic coin collectors, I have to answer in the negative, though if more surface and they are offered cheaply, I would probably have a gamble!

1. 'Bactrian Gold', V. Sarianidi, Leningrad 1985. Pl. 186, coin 128.

The Coinage Of Itravasu/Indravasu Continued

In the ONS Newsletter No 141 I re-attributed the tetradrachms of 'Indravarma' to a king Itravasu, son of Vijayamitra. I also made readings of the legends of some copper drachms which contained both the words Itravasa and Ispava. The latter word was confusing and I tentatively attempted to create a genealogy assuming it was a proper name, placing Itravasa as both a father and son of an Ispava. The word occurs both before and after the name Itravasa on the coins. It seemed possible that Itravasa was the same as Itravasu but the word Ispava, if a personal name, hindered the link. Now a new inscription has been published in Japan which provides a solution to the problem.¹

This inscription is dated in the 32nd year of the Apracaraja (Avacaraja) Vijayamitra (who I showed in the above Newsletter is the father of Itravasu) and he is also called 'Ispara' (Ispava) or Lord. Now that we know the word to be a title and not a name one can safely attribute the copper drachms bearing the name Itravasa +Ispava+Apracaraj'asa to Itravasu as well. He obviously assumed the same titles, Ispava and Apracaraja, as his father.

In a paper to be published in Nasik under the title 'The Apracarajas² and their coinage' I refer to the reading on a relic casket of Indravarma first published by H. W. Bailey in the JRAS, 1978, "Two Kharosthi casket inscriptions from Avaca". The reading I used was a revision by R. Salomon and G. Schopen in 1984 published in the Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies 7, pp. 107-23, "The Indravarma (Avaca) casket inscription re-considered: further evidence for canonical Passages in Buddhist inscriptions". This inscription is dated in the 63rd year of the late Great King Azes and is dedicated by Indravarma, son of the Apracaraja. He mentions his father Visnuvarma, the Avacaraja's brother (my interpretation) and also Vijayamitra, the Avacaraja. It ends in the enigmatic 'in the year 25'. We have a year 5 of Vijayamitra from the Bajaur casket³ and I conjectured in my Nasik article that this too was a regnal year for Vijayamitra. Since Azes was now deceased (the late great king) and the Apracarajas had commenced with their own coinage imitating that of Azes, I proposed that Vijayamitra's year 1 possibly commenced on Azes' death, i.e. ca. 20 BC (if the Vikrama era of 57 BC = Azes era then the Indravarma inscription of year 63 = 6 AD and if that is also year 25 of Vijayamitra then his year 1 = 20/19 BC). This new inscription extends Vijayamitra's rule to year 32 which would equate to 13 AD. If these suppositions are correct we can calculate a reign of ca 38 years for Azes which is above average but not unreasonable. Vijayamitra has 32+ years.

In the Apracaraja's inscriptions we have other titles used such as prince, lord and commander. At present we have no clear understanding of their relative merit and usage and it seems that several titles can be used at one time and several rajasa ruling at the same time. We have coins of Itravasu, son of Vijayamitra and also of Aspavarma, son of Indravarma (son of Visnuvarma). The coins of Itravasu and Aspavarma are closely related in style and

chronologically with the former probably preceding the latter.

Vijayamitra probably did not long rule after 13 AD and the rare coins of his son Itravasu may be dated in a year or two between 15 and 20 AD. I believe that Aspavarma was his successor at this time (ca 18/20 AD) in the Apaca territory and this is also not unreasonable since we have mention of his father in 6 AD. His reign would seem to have been long in view of the output of his coinage - his final demise coming with the supremacy of the Kushan under Wima Taktu (Soter Megas) some 20/25 years later. His contemporary was Sases who seems to have been related to him and who acquired all the Indo-Parthian territories outside Apaca ca 19 AD (?) and who perished just before Aspavarma. Joe Cribb has recently discovered an example of his coin overstruck by Soter Megas, using the same types (king mounted right/ Zeus right). Of course this would fit nicely with the Takht-i-Bahi inscription of year 103, 26th year of Gondophares if we identify Gondophares Sases (as given on his coins) with this Gondophares. We could then date Soter Megas's conquest to 46 AD plus a year or so. Gondophares Sases was preceded in Gandhara by Abdagases, the nephew and successor of Gondophares the First. Gondophares the First was a contemporary of Azes in Seistan and Arachosia and his principal successor in Gandhara. This would mean, if you accept this chronology, that he was ruling either side of 20 BC, when Azes died. The Takht-i-Bahi inscription probably does not refer to Gondophares 1st unless it is dated in some other era (which would have had to begin between ca 130-100 BC).

NOTES

1 Sent to me by Prof R. Salomon. Unfortunately, apart from the kharosthi inscription itself and an English translation of it, it is all in Japanese and I am unable to give the title or author etc. until I get a translation!

2 There are several variant spellings of this title, Avacaraja, Apracaraja, Apracaraja as well as Avatiraja and Apatiraja.


3 N. G. Majumdar, Epigraphica Indica 24, 1-8. 1937-8 "The Bajaur casket in the reign of Menander".

A Note On Early Kushan Coins

I was recently shown two groups of coins that have some bearing on the early issues of the Kushan. The first was a small group of coppers of Kujula Kadphises consisting of the 'Macedonian Soldier' type (MAC 2873/4) and the 'Augustus head' type (MAC 2878/9). They were found at Siri Bahlol north of Mardan in Pakistan. A find-spot is useful to know for such coins, especially as they are in excellent condition and may not have travelled far from their place of issue. We can see from the kharosthi legends on the above-mentioned coppers illustrated by Dr. Mitchiner that Kujula used the title 'Kushana'. The kharosthi *Sha* is quite clear in the legends on those coins. It seems equally clear that in the Greek legends on the above two coins we have the same word but written KOPCAN on the first and KOPANOY or KOPANCY on the second type. A greek Rho doesn't quite equate to *Sha* in the kharosthi legend but I do not think that Rho is in fact the intended letter. On the joint coins of Spalirises with Azes and of Spalirises alone we have the legend ΠΙΛΑΙΡΙΠΙCΟΥ which equates to *Spalirishasa* in Kharosthi. Even though both letters look like Rho, the first is meant to be some form of breathed 'S'. On the coins of Kanishka we have a Rho-like letter in the Greek legend which takes the part of 'Sh' in Kaneshki, Oesho etc. β

To me it seems clear that the Scythians and the Kushan both used new letters to represent sounds that were not represented by pure Greek letters.

The second group of coins has a bearing in this matter. It is a group of obols of 'Heraus' type (ill. 1) and imitation Eukratides coins (ill. 2) which came from Afghanistan. The former have the word KOPPANOY on them (or corruptions thereof) but some rare types are known with a cursive form KOPCANOY similar to the above. Again, I do not believe that Rho's are intended in the legend but some form of S or Sh so that 'Koshanoy' is the intended pronunciation.

The imitation Eukratides obols all bear the monogram  This group confirms an association that I made many years ago when I saw a hoard of tetradrachms of Eukratides, all with this same monogram, together with a single 'Heraus' tetradrachm (ill. 3). I illustrate one of the Eukratides tetradrachms, which belongs to Dr. D. Smith (ill. 4).

- as MAHASATRAP

[Sanskrit inscription]			
160	𑀘𑀓	350.2D	Δ
161	𑀘𑀓-	350.3D	Δ



350.1

VIJAYASENA

Type 351 Drachm. As SATRAP. Page 202.

[Sanskrit inscription]			
160	𑀘𑀓	351.1D	Δ
161	𑀘𑀓-	351.2D	Δ



351.62

- as MAHASATRAP

[Sanskrit inscription]			
161-172		351.61/72D	Δ
𑀘𑀓 - = 𑀓𑀓𑀓𑀓𑀓𑀓𑀓𑀓			𑀘𑀓 - =

ISVARADATTA

Type 352 Drachm. As MAHASATRAP. Page 203.

[Sanskrit inscription]	164?	𑀘𑀓𑀓	352.1D	Δ
	yr 1		352.2D	Δ
[Sanskrit inscription]	yr 2		352.3D	Δ



352.2



352.3

DAMAJADASRI III

Type 353 Drachm. As MAHASATRAP. Page 203.

[Sanskrit inscription]			
172	𑀘𑀓=	353.2D	Δ
173	𑀘𑀓≡	353.3D	Δ
174	𑀘𑀓𑀓	353.4D	Δ
175	𑀘𑀓𑀓	353.5D	Δ
176	𑀘𑀓𑀓	353.6D	Δ
177	𑀘𑀓𑀓	353.7D	Δ



353

RUDRASENA II

Type 354 Drachm. As MAHASATRAP. Page 203.

[Sanskrit inscription]		
years 177 to 200	354.17-40D	Δ
𑀘𑀓	𑀓𑀓𑀓	
𑀘𑀓	- = 𑀓𑀓𑀓𑀓𑀓𑀓𑀓𑀓	
𑀘𑀓	- = 𑀓𑀓𑀓𑀓𑀓𑀓𑀓𑀓	
𑀘		



354

VISVASIMHA

Type 355 Drachm. As SATRAP. Page 204.

[Sanskrit inscription]			
199	𑀘𑀓𑀓	355.19D	Δ
200	𑀘	355.20D	Δ
202	𑀘=	355.22D	Δ

- as MAHASATRAP

[Sanskrit inscription]			
date?		355.2xD	Δ



355.19

a more likely candidate as a mint for this coin, although as with other words on this coin, it is badly engraved. I think that bi-Gaur may be discounted as the preposition *bi* had fallen out of use by the 16th century. Gaur or bi-Gaur appears as a mint name as part of a longer formula on some early coins of the Bengal Sultans but was later discontinued and the name Lakhnauti used.

Another possible explanation for the presence of this word is that it is an error on the part of the die cutter. The word resembles the *سور* (سور) of Humayun (هـ م ی ا ی ن) which in some cases on other specimens of Humayun's coinage occupies the entire bottom line (see photograph of coin C). It is possible that the engraver, who was merely copying what he saw from some model, completed the name Humayun on one line and then attempted to reproduce what he saw on the bottom line without realising that it was, in fact, duplicating what he had already engraved.

The reverse marginal legend is also problematic. While *As-Sultan al-a'zam wa'l Khaqan khallada allah ta'ala* is clear enough, the last couple of words are very uncertain. One would normally expect the legend to end with *mulkahu wa Sultanahu*, i.e. 'may God, may he be exalted, make his kingdom and power eternal'. The words as engraved, however, bear only scant resemblance to this. The last word looks more like *subhanahu* (may he be praised) but this would leave the phrase *khallada allah* without an object.

B. ♂ Rupee. Weight: 11.24 grams. Diameter: 28 mm.



This coin is similar to coin A but more than half of the marginal legends are not struck up.

Obv. Within an inner circle the Kalima plus the same religious quotation. Rather inaccurately engraved and without the word *سور* (adl). Of the marginal legend all that can be read is ... *Umar al faruq* and *Uthman* ... The remainder is no doubt similar to the previous coin.

Rev. Within an inner circle *Muhammad Humayun ghazi* as before. The marginal legend is somewhat similar ... *khaqan khallada allah ta'ala wa subhanahu*. The word *mulkahu* is absent on this coin and, again, the last word may be a faulty reading of *sultanahu*.

Neither coin A nor B shows a date.

C. This is a far superior type of rupee, produced from dies showing high quality calligraphy. This type also shows a mint name (Bangalah) and a date (AH 945), and was probably produced at Lakhnauti during Humayun's stay there. Such a rupee was published by the late Nicholas Lowick, who entered the debate on who issued the first rupees, Sher Shah or Humayun.¹

♂ Rupee. Weight: 11.40 grams. Diameter: 26 mm.



Obv. Within an inner circle the Kalima with the addition of the religious quotation as before. Marginal legend:

بصاوة الامير بعد لعمر بختيارى عثمان بعلم على

Rev. Within an inner circle

محمد همايون غازى

Marginal legend

السلطان الاعظم الخاقان خلد الله امه اعظم
زانه ملكه و سلطانه عدل بنگاله

The marginal legend on the obverse reads clockwise from 9 o'clock as follows:

the faithful witness Abu Bakr - by the justice of Umar - by the modesty of Uthman - by the wisdom of Ali -

The reverse marginal legend is similar but the word *ta'ala* is certainly not visible on the flan. The word *zatahu* appears to have been substituted rendering the whole inscription as follows: *al-sultan al-azam al-khaqan Muhammad Humayun ghazi khallada allah mulkaram zatahu mulkahu wa sultanahu adl Bangalah 945*, which may be translated as: 'The most mighty Sultan, the Khaqan Muhammad Humayun ghazi may God make his noble person, his kingdom and power eternal, just weight Bengal.'

On coin C the date is split, with 94 to the left of the central circle and the 5 to the right. On coin D the date 945 is placed to the left of the circle.

Coins A and B are so dissimilar from C and D that it is probable that they are from different minting places. It seems highly probable that C and D were struck at Lakhnauti during the period of Humayun's stay there in AH 945. The mint name of Bangalah is the Persian form of Bengal and although this does not necessarily mean that these coins were struck at Lakhnauti it is difficult to suggest an alternative minting place. During a stay of some 6 to 8 months there Humayun would have had sufficient time to establish his coinage within an existing mint.

It is conceivable that coins A and B were struck elsewhere than Lakhnauti. In the absence of a date or mint on these rupees there is no definite evidence as to where they were minted. The possibility that they were struck at Lakhsaur, Nagor or Gaur has already been examined without coming to any positive conclusion. During his advance into Bengal Humayun invested and finally took Chunar. Presumably he left an occupying force and the opportunity may have been taken to strike coins in his name there. Wherever these coins were produced, it is apparent that the die cutting was done by artisans who had an incomplete knowledge of the Persian script.

References

1. N. M. Lowick, 'Humayun's silver coinage in Bengal and the introduction of the rupee', *Numismatic Digest*, vol. vi, June & December, 1982, parts I and II. In this article two rupees of Humayun (photo C) were published and the question of who produced the first rupee denomination was discussed at length.
2. Ahmad Husain Dani, 'Lakor, Ba-Gaur or Nagor'. An opinion on the mint name found on some 13th century coins of Bengal.' *JNSI* vol. xvii, 1955, part II.
3. Unpublished coin in the Goron collection, now in the British Museum.
4. Thanks are due to Julie Franklin of Spinks for providing the photographs of the coin illustrated and I am greatly obliged to Dr. A. H. Morton of the S.O.A.S. for his valuable assistance in reading the inscriptions and for his helpful comments.



A new variety of legal dirhem

Sanjay Sahadev of Ahmednagar, India, has sent details of a round legal dirhem struck by the Mughal ruler Aurangzeb at the mint of Shahjehanabad in AH 1093. Legal dirhems or *dirhem shari* are usually square in shape, though Whitehead¹ mentions one or two round pieces of Akbarabad. He quotes the following mints known for legal dirhems during Aurangzeb's reign: Akbarabad, Allahabad (Ilahabad), Patna, Shahjehanabad, Katak, Lahore and Multan. These pieces were not meant for circulation but had a religious/fiscal significance. Hodivala² in a note on this subject demonstrated these legal dirhems had their origin in, and were the result of, Aurangzeb's reimposition of the *jizya* (poll-tax on Hindus and other non-Muslims) in 1679. Akbar had previously abolished it in around 1579.





Aurangzeb's edict was published with the intention of "spreading Islam and overthrowing infidel practices."³ For the purpose of assessment, the non-Muslim population was roughly divided into three classes: poor, middle class and rich, with incomes below 200 dirhems, 200-10,000 dirhems, and above 10,000 dirhems respectively, the rate of taxation being 12, 24 and 48 dirhems a year. Twelve such dirhems were said to have been equal to three tolas, one masha and three-fourths and one twentieth of a masha of silver, i.e. roughly 3.2 grams of silver.

The tax was a heavy one for many people and caused great dissatisfaction among those affected by it. In Gujerat it is reported that the land revenue yielded 11 million rupees while the *jizya* yielded 500,000 rupees.

All legal dirhems are rare. The present coin weighs 3.0 grams and has a diameter of 15 mm.

NOTES

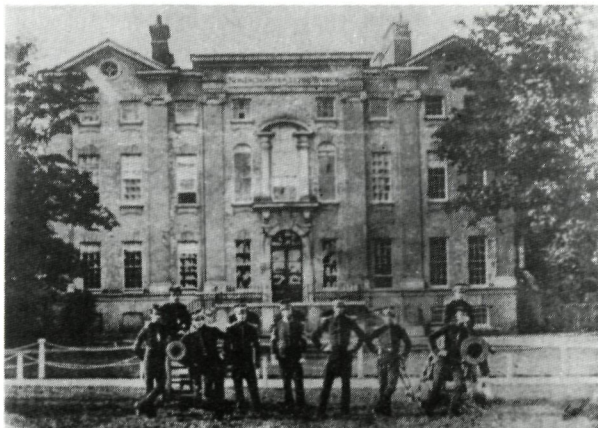
1. R. B. Whitehead, 'Some notable coins of Mughal emperors', *Numismatic Chronicle* 1926-27.
2. S. H. Hodivala in the *Numismatic Supplement* xxvii, *JASB*, 1917.
3. Lt.-Col. Wolsley Haig, *The Cambridge history of India*, vol. iv, *Mughal India*, p. 242.

The Pollock Medal Stan Goron

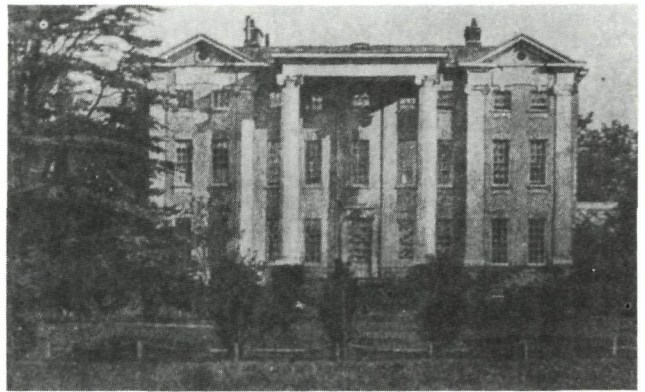
Addiscombe College

In the middle of the 18th century the East India Company had required a limited number of cadets for their army and these they obtained from home or India. All cadets were appointed to the Infantry and from these a selected few were drafted into the Engineers and artillery, although volunteers for the latter two branches were initially hard to find. This led to a temporary arrangement whereby a number of officers of the Royal Artillery and Engineers, educated at Woolwich, were allowed to join the Company's Service. In 1798 the Court of Directors of the Company were allowed to place a number of Cadets actually at the Royal Military Academy, Woolwich. This state of affairs lasted until 1809 when the Court of Directors decided to establish their own seminary at Addiscombe, near Croydon, some 12 miles south of London.

Addiscombe Place (see figures 1 and 2) was a largish brick and stone mansion built in 1702-3, on an estate that went back at least to the reign of Henry VIII in the early 16th century. The estate was sold to the East India Company in 1809. The mansion consisted of a basement, 2 main storeys and an attic. The entrance was via a flight of steps which led into the great hall. Over the central windows of the front and above the attic was the inscription in Roman characters "Non faciam vitio culpave minorem" - "I will not lower myself by vice or fault".



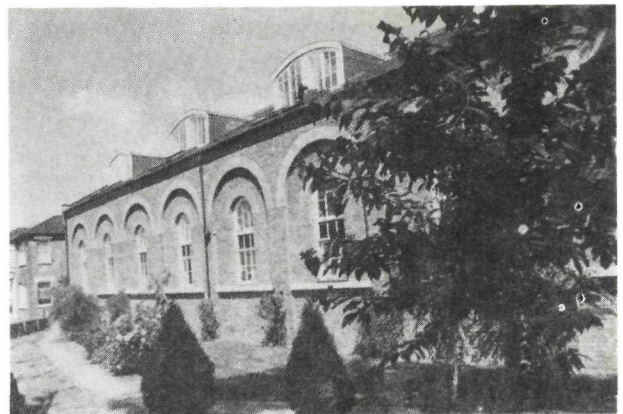
1. East Front of the College



2. West Front of the College

Initially the seminary comprised 60 cadets but this number soon increased. As a result it was resolved to erect some extra buildings. This process continued so that at its height the seminary comprised the mansion, various barrack blocks, a drawing and lecture hall, a hospital, a dining hall, bake-house, dairy, laundry, brew-house, various storerooms, a sand-modelling hall, a gymnasium, a fives and racquet court and a chapel.

For over forty years the seminary at Addiscombe provided trained officers for the Company's services. The events of 1857 and the subsequent removal of the Company from the government of India brought that to an end. When, in 1861, the amalgamation of the Royal & Indian services took place, it was first proposed to retain Addiscombe as military college. The War Office, however, disagreed, considering that the establishments at Woolwich and Sandhurst would be sufficient for the needs of the army. Thus on 30 August 1861, by direction of the Secretary of State for India, Addiscombe College and ground were sold by auction to the British Land Company for £33,600. The mansion, the barracks and most of the other buildings were demolished, and the land laid out with roads and in due course built upon. The roads were named Canning, Outram, Clyde, Elgin and Havelock after well-known Company officers, who, nonetheless, had nothing to do with Addiscombe. Of the original buildings only a teachers' house and the gymnasium have survived. The latter has recently been converted into a number of homes (see figure 3).



3. The Gymnasium, converted into flats. 1993

Sir George Pollock

George Pollock, fourth son of Mr David Pollock, saddler to George III, was born on 4 June 1786. He went to school at Vauxhall and from there to Woolwich in January 1801. He left Woolwich two years later with a commission in the Bengal Artillery. He arrived in Calcutta in January 1804 and proceeded to Dum Dum. In November that year he took part in the battle of Dig between the infantry of General Lake's army and Holkar. He was next present at the siege of Bharatpur, January to February 1805. As a result of subsequent action he was first appointed quarter-master of one of the Dum-Dum battalions, and then adjutant and quarter-master to the artillery at Cawnpore. He obtained his captaincy on 1 March 1812, saw active service in Nepal 1814-16 and was promoted to major in 1819. He was then appointed assistant adjutant-general to the Artillery, a post he held until receiving his commission as lieutenant-colonel in 1824. The next couple of years saw him campaigning successfully in Burma as Commanding Officer of

Bengal Artillery. For his actions he was awarded the Companionship of the Bath.

For health reasons he travelled home in 1827. In December 1829 he was promoted to brevet colonel. Returning to India in 1830, he took command of a battalion of artillery at Cawnpore until, early in 1838, he was nominated brigadier-general in command of the division at Dinapore. He was soon posted to the command of the Agra district and in June 1838 became a major-general.

In that same year a British army invaded Afghanistan and, after taking Ghazni, entered Kabul on 6 August 1839. Shah Shuja was proclaimed King and Dost Muhammad fled. As the war was considered at an end, the British army was broken up, with a force remaining to assist the Shah's troops. Towards the end of 1841 the British troops in Afghanistan were commanded by General Elphinstone and Sir William Macnaghten was the Minister of the Governor-General at the court of the Shah. The British were in cantonments outside the city about 2 miles from the Bala Hissar, a situation that was to lead to disaster for them. A bad disturbance broke out in the city when Sir Alexander Burnes and several other British officers were killed. Later that year Sir William Macnaghten was murdered in sight of the cantonment. No attempt was made either to rescue or avenge and the result was a treaty according to which all the posts in Afghanistan were to be evacuated and the British forces withdrawn from the country. The withdrawal was a total disaster for the British. Of the 16,500 men who had left Kabul, only one survived the attacks of the Afghans to reach Jalalabad on 13 January 1842. Some troops had been taken prisoner and hostages had been made of Lady Macnaghten, Lady Sales and other widows, wives and children. Major-General Pollock was appointed to command a force at Peshawar, which he reached on 5 February 1842. The main purpose of the force was to ensure the safe withdrawal of the garrison at Jalalabad, but Pollock urged a much bolder course, namely to advance beyond Jalalabad, inflict severe punishment on the enemy, effect the release of the prisoners and then withdraw safely back to India. Pollock's view eventually prevailed and there followed a vigorous and successful campaign with the aid of General Nott and his garrison that had been stationed at Kandahar. After many battles and skirmishes the British once again entered Kabul on 16 September 1842. The British captives had been removed to a fort in Bamiyan which they had subsequently managed to seize. With the Afghans defeated, they had decided to push on to Kabul and on 21 September they entered Pollock's camp to great rejoicing. On 12 October the British army commenced its return march and reached Peshawar with minimal losses. In December the army crossed the Sutlej at Firuzpur and were met by the Governor-General with the army of reserve.

The thanks of both Houses of Parliament were voted to the Governor-General (Lord Ellenborough), Sir George Pollock, Sir William Nott, Sir John McCaskill, Sir Robert Sale and General England.

While Lord Ellenborough was raised to an earldom, Pollock, to whom, Lord Hardinge later wrote, "is due the whole merit of the advance from Jalalabad to Cabul", the liberation of the captives and the victories, was merely nominated a Grand Cross of the Bath without pension or other reward, and was relegated to the command of a division at Dinapore. In 1843, Pollock became political resident at Lucknow and, in 1844, was transferred to Calcutta as Military Member of the Supreme Council of India. He held this office until 1846 when he was compelled by illness to return to England. On his arrival, the East India Company awarded him a pension of £1,000 a year. The Corporation of London granted him the Freedom of the city, and several other public bodies did likewise. In 1851 he was promoted Lieut.-General, and three years later he was appointed the senior of the three Government Directors of the East India Company by the President of the Board of Control. He retired from office in 1856 after 50 years service, was promoted general in 1859 and in 1861 was nominated Knight Grand Cross of the Most Exalted Order of the Star of India. In 1870 he was appointed field marshal and the following year became Constable of the Tower of London. In March 1872 he was created Baronet, his name enrolled in the College of Heralds as "of the Khyber Pass". He died on 6 October 1872, aged 86, and lies buried in the nave of Westminster Abbey.



4. The Pollock Medal - obverse



5. The Pollock Medal - reverse

The Medal

On Sir George Pollock's arrival in Calcutta in 1844, the British inhabitants of that city raised a subscription of 11,000 rupees to perpetuate the memory of his great services by instituting a medal, to be presented twice a year to the most distinguished cadet at the East India Company's Military Seminary at Addiscombe, on passing the biennial examination for a commission. They sent him an address in which, after recapitulating the achievements of the army he commanded, they said: "We honour you for the reluctance you evinced to return to the provinces from Jalalabad, a return with that (i.e. the march to Kabul) unattempted - which by your perseverance was at last accomplished - would have left a stain upon your country that not time nor circumstance could ever have effaced ... your short but glorious career of service in Afghanistan now assumed a character of intense and painful interest, requiring the most cautious discretion combined with an energy and decision that seemed scarcely compatible with its exercise ... The courage and ability demanded and displayed were in the cause of humanity, a cause which was hallowed and approved by Heaven and those who, abandoned, had pined and sunk to an untimely grave, live to bless the name of him who restored them to freedom and to life." Pollock replied: "I feel it impossible adequately to express my sense of the obligation you have conferred on me by the desire you have shown to perpetuate in my native country your too flattering estimation of my military services by the presentation of medals to students at Addiscombe. I concur most unreservedly in the very high respect and estimation justly bestowed on this Institution by public opinion. You have thus conferred on me a lasting distinction at once delicate, and far beyond my deserts".

The Court of Directors of the Honourable East India Company agreed to become trustees of the Pollock Prize Fund, and to add to its importance by pecuniary aid and by presenting the prize at Addiscombe.

The original medal was designed by General MacLeod and executed by Benjamin Wyon. It was struck in gold and bronze. The

medals for presentation were the gold ones being described as "a very handsome medal, being 2 inches in diameter, 1/8" thick, weighing over 3 ounces and being valued at 16 guineas". No mention is made of the bronze specimens; they may have been struck as proofs. It is interesting to note that Laurence Brown, in his book *British Historical Medals 1837-1901* (Seaby, London 1987, p. 72) gives the gold medal a rarity rating of 'R' and the bronze medal one of 'RRR'.

The obverse (figure 4, bronze specimen is illustrated) has as its main feature a uniformed bust of Sir George Pollock facing left. Immediately above the bust and arranged in an arc is the inscription: MAJOR GENERAL SIR GEORGE POLLOCK G.C.B. BENGAL ARTILLERY. At the top on a curved label is the inscription: TO COMMEMORATE EMINENT SERVICES. At the bottom: CABUL 1842. In two concentric lines around the bust is the inscription: TREACHERY AVENGED - BRITISH HONOUR VINDICATED - DISASTERS RETRIEVED - BRITISH CAPTIVES DELIVERED. / KYBER PASS FORCED - JELALABAD RELIEVED - VICTORIES OF MAMOO KHAIL - JUGDULLUCK - TEZEEN ISTALIF.

The reverse (figure 5) bears the following nine-line inscription in the field: PRESENTED BY / THE BRITISH INHABITANTS / OF CALCUTTA / AND AWARDED BY / THE COURT OF DIRECTORS / OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY / TO THE MOST DISTINGUISHED / CADET / OF THE SEASON. On a circular border above and below: ADDISCOMBE / POLLOCK PRIZE. Diameter 58 mm. Weight: bronze - 83.7 g (SLG specimen), 59.4g (Ashmolean specimen); gold - 'over 3 ounces'.

A print of a portrait of General Pollock, made in 1850 by G. Ford is illustrated at figure 6, courtesy of the National Army Museum, London.

The medal was first awarded in June 1848 and continued to be awarded in its original form until June 1861, soon after which the seminary was closed and activity transferred to the Royal Military Academy, Woolwich.

The very first medal awarded, that to Edward Charles Sparshott Williams (later General E. C. S. Williams, KCIE), came up for auction in the UK with a group of other medals awarded to General Williams, in March 1978. Its present whereabouts is not known.

Roll of Pollock Medallists at Addiscombe

Edward C S Williams	June	1848	Bengal Engineers
James J. McLeod Innes	December	-	-
Thomas G. Montgomerie	June	1849	-
George A Craster	December	-	-
Patrick Stewart	June	1850	-
Frederick S Stanton	December	-	-
Henry Goodwyn	June	1851	-
James P Bassevi	December	-	-
Arthur M Lang	June	1852	-
Salisbury T. Trevor	December	-	-
John U Champain	June	1853	-
E B Holland	December	-	Bombay Engineers
W. Jeffreys	June	1854	Bengal Engineers
Aeneas R R Macdonald	December	-	H.E.I.C.E.
Charles H Luard	June	1855	Bengal Engineers
John Eckford	December	-	-
John M. McNeill	June	1856	-
John Herschell	December	-	-
Keith A Jopp	June	1857	Bombay Engineers
Lewis Conway Gordon	December	-	Bengal Engineers
William Maxwell Campbell	June	1858	Bombay Engineers
William H. Pierson	December	-	Bengal Engineers
A W Elliot	June	1859	Not appointed
W Shepherd	December	-	Bengal Engineers
A J C Cunningham	June	1860	-
Kellen C Pye	December	-	-
W J Williamson	June	1861	Bengal Infantry

Postscript

In 1861 the Secretary of State for India in Council, Sir Charles Wood, decided to cease the annual grant necessary to supplement the interest from the Prize Fund, of which he had become the trustee. This made it impossible to maintain the medal at its original value. Without apparently referring to Sir George Pollock, he asked Benjamin Wyon to prepare dies for a smaller medal. This smaller medal was presented at Woolwich from December 1861 to

July 1893. Brown states that the value of this medal was 12 guineas, Vibart (see below) 10 guineas! An illustration of this gold medal can be found on page 30 of Robert Puddester's book *Catalogue of British India Historical Medals* (R.C. Senior Ltd., Butleigh 1987). This medal has a diameter of 45 mm and features on its obverse the bust of General Pollock facing left and the inscription 'POLLOCK CABUL 1842'. The reverse bears the following inscription in the field: FOUNDED BY THE/ BRITISH INHABITANTS/ OF CALCUTTA/ TO COMMEMORATE/ THE EMINENT SERVICES OF/ MAJOR GENERAL/ SIR GEORGE POLLOCK K.C.B./ AND AWARDED TO/ THE MOST DISTINGUISHED/ CADET OF THE SEASON. Above and below in a border inscription: POLLOCK PRIZE/ ROYAL MILITARY ACADEMY.

Oddly enough, Puddester makes no mention of the original medal, while Brown in his catalogue refers to the Woolwich medal as being in bronze.



6. Sir George Pollock, by G. Ford 1850.
(National Army Museum, London).

Sources

Much of the historical information in this article has been derived from *Addiscombe - Its Heroes and Men of Note* by Colonel H. M. Vibart, Royal (Late Madras) Engineers, published by Archibald Constable and Co. Westminster 1894. Photographs, prints of Addiscombe House, staff and cadets can be found in the study library of the London Borough of Croydon. Various papers and documents relating to the college are deposited in the India Office Library, London, as are many other East India Company reports, proceedings, minutes etc. A visit to the latter library did not, unfortunately, unearth any additional information about the medal, though some information may be contained in the lengthy minutes of the Court of the East India Company for the period 1842-48. The author has not seen a gold specimen of the original Pollock medal and would be interested to hear from any institution or individual who has one.

Hidden Christian/Nestorian symbols on Chagatayid coins from Zinjiang: fact or fantasy ?

Dr. T. D. Yih

Introduction

In the expansion of Christianity towards Central Asia several periods can be distinguished. Around 644 a Turkish king and his tribe is reported to be baptised by Eli, the metropolitan of Merv (Nau, 1913). The patriarch Timothy (779-843) sent out nearly 100 missionaries to the East and appointed a metropolitan for Turkestan with Samarkand as residence. There were bishops at Bukhara and Taskent (Vine). In the tenth and eleventh centuries Christianity, especially Nestorianism, was spread amongst several Altaic tribes such as the Naimans, Keraites, Merkits and Onguts. The Keraites are supposed to have been converted around 1007.

After their submission to Genghiz Khan a number of Nestorian princesses married into the Genghizid family. Tolui, the youngest son of Genghiz Khan, married a Nestorian wife from the subjected Keraites, Sorkhoktemi Beki, mother of Mongke, Khubilay, Hulugu and Ariq Buka (Weiers, 1986). Hulugu also had a Christian wife, Tokuz Khatun. His elder son Abaqa, married to an illegitimate daughter of the Byzantine emperor Michael VIII, gave personal patronage to the Nestorian patriarchs Mar Denha and Yabhallaha III. From the reports by the 13th century travellers Willem van Rubroek and the Nestorian prelate Barsauma going from the west to the east and vice versa, it is well known that Nestorianism was well spread under the Mongols near Lake Baikal (Jansma, 1959). As late as 1338, Richard de Bourgogne was installed by Pope Benoit XII as Roman Catholic bishop of Almaligh, the Chaghatayid capital (Grousset, 1960). However, Christianity also spread into the Mongol territories by ways other than missionary activity and royal marriages. Roman Catholic prisoners of war, e.g. Hungarians and Germans, were settled near Qarakorum and a complete tribe like the Alans served as soldiers and was settled near Samarkand and Chanbaliq, present-day Beijing (Herman, 1966).

Until now the numismatic evidence of Christianity has been restricted to the Ilkhanids (fig. I-1). As early as 1792 (Adler, 1792) a silver dirhem from Arghun has been illustrated bearing a cross and the legends *Bism el abi wa el ibni wa ruhi el quds ilahi wahidi* (i.e. In the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit). In addition, nowadays, "Christian" Ilkhanid issues minted in Georgia are known from Abaqa and Ghazan Mahmud (Mitchiner, 1977 and Weiers, 1978).

Recently, a book entitled Xinjiang Numismatics was published by Dong Qingxuan and Jiang Qixiang (1991). In this book, hereafter abbreviated as XN, a large number of gold, silver and copper Chaghatayid coins not published before, were illustrated. On a number of gold and copper pieces symbols appeared that might be linked to Christianity. As this study is based on illustrations only, the results should be considered as preliminary.

As far as the coins illustrated in XN are concerned, they are reported to originate from two find places. The gold and copper pieces were unearthed in the city of Bole, somewhat to the north-east of Almaligh. On the copper pieces this city is called Pulad (پولاد) and is mentioned on an old map from the 14th century (Herman, 1966). The silver pieces were found much further to the east at Changji, somewhat north of Urumqi, the present capital of Xinjiang.

Description

Gold pieces

The obverse of the gold piece illustrated in fig. I-2 bears in 3 lines the Kalima legend *La ilaha illa Allah wahdahu Mohammad rasul Allah*. The Christian symbol is placed above the word *Ilah* (الله). It consists of a cross on top of a circle (⊕). The reverse (fig. I-3) has a central three line legend reading *zarb el adil el a'zam*, probably an epitaph for the city of Almaligh. The first symbol is at the second line above the word *el adil* (العدل) and consists of a cross with a circular centre (⊕). It has no circle of its own, but makes use of the round shape of the first curl. It should be mentioned, however, that especially this position is the favourite place for decorations. Four out of ten gold pieces illustrated in XN show Christian symbols (XN 122, 123, 128, 129). Their diameters and weights range between 20 - 21 mm and 3.3 - 3.6 g, respectively. They do not bear a date indication.

Copper pieces

A cross symbol is found on a number of copper pieces minted at the city of Pulad (پولاد). On the reverse of these pieces the cross symbol takes the place of the dot belonging to the word *zuriba* (زریبا) and is more or less incorporated in the latter Z. Three out of four pieces illustrated clearly have the cross symbol. Their diameter and weight is around 23 mm and 2.2 g.

The cross symbols on the Xinjiang pieces clearly differ from those found on the Ilkhanid pieces by their position above a circular symbol. Apparently, the circular base is important. Either the complete cross with circular base (⊕) is present, or the cross is

placed above letters that resemble such a circle. More recently, Han Xuekun (1993) published a paper on about 1600 copper pieces found in the city of Bole. He illustrated an additional number of 8 pieces, unfortunately without any discussion of the presence of crosses. Most interestingly, amongst the illustrations was a piece with the legend *zuriba Pulad* on both sides. One side had the normal dot above *zuriba* (fig. I-4) and the other side a cross (fig. I-5). Another piece had both dot and cross above the Z (fig. I-6). The latter is especially important, since this suggests that the addition of a cross was not merely a decorative matter, a whim of the mint-master, but had a (religious?) purpose.

Silver pieces

For the sake of completeness, the silver piece shown in fig. I-7 should be mentioned. At first glance the symbol looks similar to the tamgha that occurs on a number of other Chaghatayid pieces. On some pieces it occurs on the obverse centre just above the name 'Almaligh'; it occurs on other XN pieces with the mint indication Pulad and on some pieces with the legend *sikkat Bukhara*. The direction, however, is always horizontal (↔) and not vertical. Only in cases where it is present together with other tamghas (⊕, ⊕, ⊕) is its direction vertical (Davidovitch, 1972; Chen Ge Zeng, 1981). Moreover, in the tamghas the cross-bar is always rectangular and does not narrow at the connection with the main axis S-figure.

Position of the symbols

There are apparently positions or words on the coins that are used preferably for decorative purposes. The Christian symbols are not scattered around the coins. They are placed just on those decorative places as to remain more or less hidden. Spots used for decorative purposes are the places above the words *Ilah* and *el adil*. Another favourite place for decorations is the position above the first curl of *el a'zam*. The following decorations on this position have been observed thus far: ⊕, ⊕, ⊕, ⊕

On the other hand one may argue that the transition from ⊕ to ⊕ was only by chance without any intention of mimicking a cross.

Data on Nestorians and their crosses in Central Asia

In contrast to the knowledge about the Nestorian Church in the Near-East (Syria) such as detailed lists of bishops (Vine, 1937), only scarce information is available from the eastern part of Turkestan. The presence of large communities of Nestorians in Central Asia is mentioned in the narratives of Marco Polo and Rubruc. Their references, however, are mainly general and often hostile. The history of the Nestorian community in the region of Almaligh is largely unknown.

According to the works of Timothy (Nau, 1913), the metropolises of Kashgar and Almaligh were founded around AD 781. The Nestorian historian Amr-ben-Mattai mentions around AD 1340 (AH 741) the cities of Kashgar and Almaligh as still being the sites of metropolites. One can imagine that with the destruction of the Latin mission by the Moslems in 1342, the Nestorian community underwent the same fate.

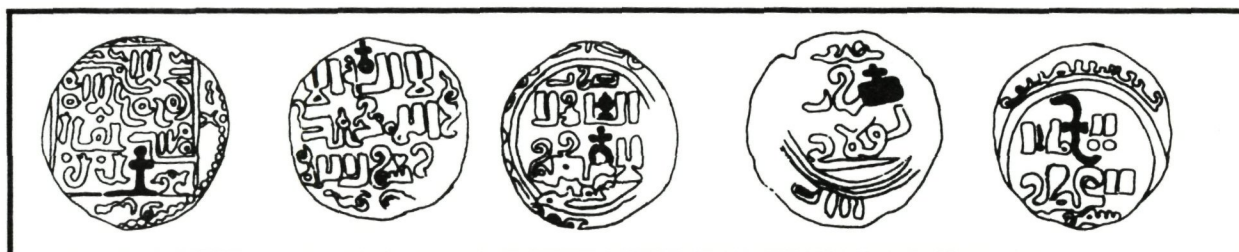
Nestorian cross types


On Nestorian crosses the following can be mentioned: Dauvillier (1956) in figure 2 of his typology of Nestorian crosses, describes a cross abundantly decorated with pearls and, in the centre, a circle around a rosace. According to him this type was also found in Semirechye. Crosses found in China were often placed on a figure like a lotus flower. Dauvillier, however, does not mention crosses placed on a globe or circular figure. On a silver disk, found in 1867 in western Siberia and supposed to be manufactured by 6th century Syrian Nestorians, a cross placed on the celestial globe (sphaera) is depicted (Effenberger, 1978). At the end of the 19th century, several Nestorian cemeteries were discovered. Two cemeteries were discovered around 1885 near Toqmaq and Pishpek, the present Kirghizian capital Frunze. Two others were located near the village of Potrovka at the southern border of the Issiqkul lake and Mazar, the medieval Almaliq. One of the grave-stones from Almaliq described by Kokovsov (1906) showed the Seleucid date 1683 (= AD 1372, AH 774). Unfortunately, Kokovsov did not show the actual form of the crosses. Fortunately, a large number of grave-stones and their crosses has been illustrated by Chwolson (1886, 1890). Their legends are written in "Syriac", the liturgical

Figure 1. Chaghatayid pieces and Nestorian grave-stones



1. Arghun (1284-91), Tiflis AH(68)5, Christian dirham
2. Xinjiang Numism. No.123, obverse; 3. Xinjiang Numism. No.122, reverse;
4. Han Xuekun No.3a; 5. Han Xuekun No. 3b; 6. Han Xuekun No. 9;
7. Chwolson(1886), pl. I, No. 3; 8. Chwolson(1886), pl. I, No. 5



language used by the Nestorians. On some grave-stones described by Chwolson the names of the buried persons are provided with the epitaph *Almaligaja* () (i.e. from Almaligh). They have the dates AD 1287, 1288, 1292 and 1300.

The dates on the stones range from the Seleucid dates 1560-1656 corresponding to the Christian and Arabic dates AD 1249-1345 and AH 647-746. From the epitaphs of some of the buried persons one can conclude that some Nestorians occupied high positions. At least three persons (buried in AD 1262, 1313 and 1339) had the Persian title *Isphalalan*, a high military rank in the Mongol army.

Figs. I-8 and I-9 show two grave-stones from Chwolson (1886 and 1890). The first one has the Seleucid date 1578 (AD 1267, AH 666) and the text: "This is the grave of the Periodeute Shah-Malik, son of Giwardis (Georgius)". The second has the Seleucid date 1603 (AD 1292, AH 692) and the legend: "This is the grave of the Chorepiscops Juchanan (Johannes) Ziamert Almaligaja". As can be seen, the first cross has been placed on a spherical base and the second cross on a triangular base. In addition, the endpoints of the arms of the cross are decorated with three pearls.

Fig. II summarises the types of crosses illustrated by Chwolson. Seventy-eight (70%) out of 112 crosses illustrated by Chwolson had a base decoration, whereas only 30% were without such decoration.

Conclusion

The presence of cross symbols on Chaghatayid pieces, especially the copper pieces, is the first numismatic evidence of Christianity from a region so far to the East as Xinjiang. Most likely these numismatic symbols are of Nestorian origin. However, since this paper is mainly based on numismatic illustrations that were not too clear, especially the gold coins, the author would welcome any additional evidence that might support his hypothesis.











Acknowledgements

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Figure II. Typology of crosses found on Nestorian grave-stones

CROSSES WITH A BASE									W/O	ND
										
2	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
7	3	7	7	-	7	1	-	-	5	8
10	1	3	12	7	7	1	1	-	5	14
19	4	11	20	7	14	2	1	-	11	23
Total	78								11	23
	88 %								12 %	

W/O = WITHOUT BASE ND = not determinable

REFERENCE: I = Chwolson (1886); II=Chwolson(1890); III=Chwolson(1897)

Late News

Lists received: Persic Gallery (P O Box 10317, Torrance, CA 90505, USA), Islamic, Indian and Central Asian coinages, list 39.

Publications: IIRNS Newline (Nasik) issue 11 (July 1996). This contains various short articles on Indian coins.

CANCELLATION:

Mongol Imperial Money: The annual study day will not take place in January because the staff in the coin room at the British Museum are concentrating on the new exhibition hall.

* * Season's Greetings and best wishes for 1997 * *