



ORIENTAL NUMISMATIC SOCIETY

NEWSLETTER

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Summer 1999

ONS News

Annual General Meeting 5 June 1999.

The annual general meeting of the Society duly took place at 2 p.m. on 5 June 1999 at the Cumberland Coin Fair in the Cumberland Hotel, Marble Arch in London. The Council reported on the activities of the Society during the previous year, including meetings in the various regions, publications and the new Website; the Treasurer presented the Society's accounts for the previous year; and the members of the Council were elected.

The members of the new council are Nick Rhodes, Secretary General; Stan Goron, Deputy Secretary General and Newsletter Editor; David Priestley, Treasurer; Peter Smith, Secretary; Joe Cribb, Publications Secretary; Paul Withers, Membership Secretary; other members Tony Holmes, Venetia Porter, and Howard Simmons.

After the meeting there were three talks as described in the previous newsletter.

Our thanks to Howard and Frances Simmons for enabling the AGM to take place in association with the coin fair.

ONS Website

A reminder that the ONS Website can be found at <http://www.onsumis.org>

The site contains a full index of newsletter contents which members may find useful.

From the Editor

With this issue we are publishing a supplement by P. Anne van't Haaff entitled *Bankers' marks on Western Kshatrapa drachms*

Meeting of the Oriental Numismatic Society in Jena 17/18 April 1999

The annual meeting of collectors and professionals led this year, for the first time to Jena in Thuringia, Germany, which, with its Oriental Coin Cabinet, has a more than 200 year old tradition of Islamic numismatics. About 40 participants gathered from Germany, the Netherlands, France, Switzerland, Greece, Turkey, Egypt, Uzbekistan and the USA. The meeting had been organised by Stefan Heidemann and Tobias Mayer from the Institute of Languages and Cultures of the Near East at the Friedrich-Schiller-University. The participants were warmly welcomed by the director of the Oriental Coin Cabinet and Professor for Semitic Philology and Islamic Science in Jena, Norbert Nebes. In particular, Mr. and Mrs. Tzamalīs, from the Greek Numismatic Society and Celil Ender from the Turkish Numismatic Society were welcomed as representatives of other numismatic societies. Some synopses of papers given at the meeting follow:

Larissa Baratova, Tashkent:

Old Turkic Coins of Central Asia: Un-Iconographic Types

The Old Turkic coins follow the principal design of the Chinese cash: a square hole in the centre with inscriptions at its sides. The definition 'Old Turkic' derives from the names and titles which

appear in the legends. These coins can be divided into classes, groups and types. The following picture emerges if we take into consideration the topography and stratigraphy of finds:

a) Coins of the "Turgesh circle": groups A, B, C - Semirech'e (=Jety-Su), from the end of the 7th century AD.

b) Turgesh coins: group A - consisting of seven types - Semirech'e - after 730s.

c) Coins with Turkic names and titles: group A, B, C, D - some cities of Soghd, Chach, Ferghana and Semirech'e - from the end of the 7th to the middle of the 8th century.

d) Coins of anonymous Khaqans: groups A, B, C, D - Soghd, Chach, Ferghana - around the middle of the 8th century.

e) "Proto-Qarakhanid" coins: group A - Semirech'e - the 9th-10th century.

The script and language of the inscriptions are Soghdian, with the exception of the 'Proto-Qarakhanid' coins, which carry Kufic legends. The appearance of coins with inscriptions on both sides (one mentions the Turgesh Khaqan and the other referring to the local Soghdian ruler) within class a) reflects the political dependence of the Soghdian colonies on the Turgesh Khaqans. This led Mrs. Baratova to suggest that the Turgesh coins, which are known from finds throughout Central Asia, were produced under the influence of those cities. Some Turgesh coin-types were obviously issued by representatives of the Qarluq Dynasty, which came to power in Semirech'e after 766 AD.

The coins of class c) were cast by Old Turkic rulers in Soghd and Chach. Mrs. Baratova reported on the Turkish rulers according to the Chinese chronicles.

An important question remains: who was responsible for the issue of the anonymous coins of class d) with the title 'Khaqan'? The answer to this question can be found if one takes into consideration the distribution of finds as well as the traditions of Turkic statehood and the general background provided by Central Asian history. It can be assumed that the coins of class d) were issued by Turkic sovereigns, who ruled for a short time over certain areas of Soghd and Chach. The title $\gamma\gamma'n$ (Khaqan) was used as a counterpart to the Soghdian title $xw'\beta$ (Xwabu = 'lord, ruler'), which was common on the coins of Central Asia from the 6th to the 8th century. The relatively low number of Turkic coins found in Soghd, Chach and Ferghana is due to the chronological limits of this coinage - it was terminated by the Arab conquest of Mawara'annahr and the consequent introduction of new kinds of coins. In Semirech'e, however, the issue of Old Turkic coins continues into the 9th to 10th century developing into the transitional 'Proto-Qarakhanid' coinage with Chinese fabric and Kufic inscriptions.

Aleksandr Naymark, Bloomington, Indiana:

Some observations on Bukhar Khuda coins

Coins reproducing the design of the drachms of Varahran V were used as the silver currency in the realm of Bukhara from the 5th to the 11th century C.E. In scholarly literature they are known as

Bukhar Khuda drachms/dirhams - the conventional name derived from Lerch's outdated reading of the most common version of the Bukharan Soghdian legend.

This report addressed three separate issues connected with the three successive stages in this coinage.

a) Imitations of the Marv drachms of Varahran V with distorted Pahlavi legends - 5th and 6th centuries. Although these coins are well known, no sufficiently detailed typology has been produced up to now. Moreover, the earliest known specimens of the next stage with Bukharan legend do not follow the latest of these imitations, but rather copy the design of the coins, which occupy a position somewhere in the middle of the typological series. In the absence of decisive data three explanations remain: 1. There were two parallel series of imitations, one of which had been minted in Bukhara and resulted in the appearance of those coins with the Bukharan legend, while another series represents the issues of an unknown centre. 2. Coins with the Bukharan legend branched out from the middle stage of the coinage of an unknown centre. 3. The engraver who designed the first coins with the Bukharan legend selected as a pattern an earlier specimen instead of taking a contemporary coin.

b) Bukhar Khuda drachms with the remains of a distorted Pahlavi and three different Soghdian legends - 7th to the middle of the 8th century. A provisional chronology of the five distinguishable types: (1) The earliest type carries the Soghdian legend: *pwk' r xw' b k' n' w'* - 'The Lord King of Bukhara' or 'Kana, the Lord of Bukhara' (Henning; Livshits). A comparison of the palaeography and the titles with those of Bukharan copper issues allowed the speaker to suggest the interval between the middle of the 6th and the very beginning of the 7th century as being the most plausible time for the appearance of this legend. (2) Around the middle of the 7th century a new type was introduced which carried a longer inscription: *pwk' r xr' n xw' b r/ b/ k' r/ b/ k'*. (3) The succeeding issues, however, return to the shorter form of the legend. During the second half of the 7th century Bukhar Khuda drachms accumulated mistakes as if they were imitational coinage. By the beginning of the 8th century the process resulted in the appearance of a variety which is called, on the basis of its prominent findspot, 'Mug drachms': large, thin flans with low quality images surrounded by relatively broad, plain margins. (4) The next type, introduced in the 730s or early 740s, inherited some elements of the 'Mug drachms', but some of its features are derived from the earlier coins of the first half of the 7th century. (5) Sometime between 738 and the early 750s, the Samarqand ruler Turgar issued drachms with his name instead of the Bukharan legend (Smirnova).



Bukharkhuda drachm with Soghdian and remains of Pahlavi legend (Group II, Type I), Ashmolean Museum, Oxford

c) Bukhar Khuda dirhams with various Arabic legends, some of these in combination with the distorted Bukharan legend, - 850s to the beginning of the 11th century or possibly even later. The metal of all Bukhar Khuda dirhams is characterised by a low silver content, although the surface looks as though it is of quite fine silver. Analyses of fragments of Bukhar Khuda coins from the Kum Sovtan finds, which M. Ravich kindly undertook in 1989 at the request of the speaker, showed that this effect was achieved by the chemical process of surface enrichment.

M. Feodorov, Imenau: *The Jalalabad hoard of Qarakhanid dirhams (1009-1039) as a source for history*

About 1970 a hoard was found in Jalalabad, a city in the easternmost part of the Ferghana valley within the Kirghiz Republic. About a quarter of a century later it was sold to A. Kamyshev, a dealer in antiques in the capital, Bishkek, and to V.

Kosherov. It comprised 117 coins minted between 400-430/1009-1039. Ninety specimens or 77% were struck in Uzgend: AH 400 (1), 404 (1), 421 (24), 422 (12), 423 (6), 42[1-3] (25), 424 (1), 425 (4), 426 (4), 427 (5), 428 (5), 429 (1), 430 (1); Akhsiket, 13 coins, about 11%: AH 403 (1), 415 (1), 422 (1), 423 (2), 42x (2), 427 (3), 429 (1), 430 (1), 4xx (1); Kasan, 7 coins: AH 421 (1), 422 (1), 423 (1), 42x (4); Marghinan, 3 coins: AH 423 (1), 429 (1), 430 (1); Khojende: AH 428 (2); Khogend (Khokend?): AH 419 (1); Kashghar: AH 411 (1).

The Jalalabad hoard is an interesting and informative source on the history of the Ferghana valley between 1028-1039. According to the coins, the city of Uzgend was in the hands of the Western Qarakhanid ruler 'Adud al-Daula Kuch Tegin in the years 421/1030 to 423/1031-2. There he minted coins as a vassal of the supreme Khan of the Eastern Qarakhanids, Qadir Khan (I) Yusuf b. Harun, whose capital was Kashghar. After the death of Qadir Khan (I) Yusuf, Kuch Tegin struck coins as an independent ruler in Uzgend in the year 424/1032-3 and partly in 425/1033-4. However in the year 425 he lost the city to Qadir Khan (II) Sulayman b. Harun, a brother of Qadir Khan (I) Yusuf. Also Qadir Khan (II) minted coins in Uzgend between 425 and 429/1037-8 as an independent ruler. In 430/1038-9 a new ruler appeared on the coins of Uzgend: Tongha Khan, who was another brother of Qadir Khan (I) Yusuf. He also minted as independent ruler. The coins of Akhsiket, Kasan, Marghinan and Khojend provide further interesting information on other Qarakhanid appanage rulers of the Ferghana region and their suzerains of this very period.

Stefan Heidemann, Jena:

The Dirham hoard of Murom on the river Oka



dirhem of Samarqand, AH 328, Jena (OM)

In April 1868 a hoard of 42 kg or about 14,600 Dirhams was discovered at Murom on the Oka, an tributary of the Volga. The terminal date is 328/940. The hoard was dispersed in several small collections sent to various museums and coin cabinets. The majority of the coins, however, about 83%, were melted down. Thus by far the largest hoard dirham hoard ever discovered in Europe disappeared. Johann Gustav Stickel was able to get for the Oriental Coin Cabinet in Jena the largest group of 556 coins, which was obviously intended to represent the whole hoard. The present speaker and Thomas Noonan, Minneapolis, reconstructed the hoard on the basis of the lists of coins sent to the various museums found in the archives of Jena and St. Petersburg and analysed the position of the hoard among the other contemporary coin finds. In its composition, the Murom hoard is similar to the other hoards of around 328/940 shortly before the peak of Viking age trade, and is well representative of the circulation of coins within the Volga area. Murom was a settlement of Finno-Ugric tribes under the sway of the Rus in the border region facing the realm of the Volga-Bulghars. The hoard highlighted the importance of Murom as a trading centre on the road between Central Asia via Bulghar on the Volga to Staraja Ladoga, the main trading post of the Rus/Vikings near the Baltic Sea.

Lutz Ilisch, Tübingen:

Hares and ravens on coins of the Mongol period



Coin of Irbil, AH 661, with hare on moon motif, Tübingen University

The representation of hares and rabbits is to be found in Islamic art from early times onwards with an occasional appearance on coins in the 10th century. Only in the second half of the 13th century under Ilkhanid Mongol domination did they become frequent, especially on the copper coins from the mint of Irbil. It is possible to offer a variety of explanations for this bearing in mind the medieval Islamic environment, such as symbols of cunning and power, as a celestial constellation or as part of the Mongol animal cycle. However for most of the Ilkhanid coins a derivation from Far Eastern mythology as a symbol of the moon can be proven. The combination of the hare and the moon is in fact to be found on coppers from Irbil in 661/1262-3 and ca. 710/716-1310/1316. More decisive evidence is the parallel issues of silver coins with the image of the hare and those with the image of its counterpart, the sun raven, under the Ilkhan, Arghun. Both representations originate from the same Far Eastern mythological context. The hare and the raven are thus an iconographic variety of the more familiar moon-man or moon-face and sun-lion or sun-face found on many Mongol period coins. It was pointed out that in some rare cases the hare or rabbit may refer to a rabbit year, especially during the late Mongol and Safavid periods. Special reference was made to one particular variety of coin image, which depicts three hares connected by their ears in a circle, as this motif was adopted around 1300 AD by Christian iconography as a symbol for the rotation of the sun and the moon around the world.

Johann-Christoph Hinrichs, Bremen:

Influence of the Shi'ite on Ilkhanid Coins

Perhaps the most fascinating revelation of Hinrichs' paper was the fact, that religious formula on the coins did not always follow the official standards, i.e. coins from al-Jazira and from Akhlāt, minted in the name of Ghāzān Mahmūd (1295-1304 AD), who was a follower of the Sunna, sometimes show the formula *'alī walī allāh*, which is a Shi'ite formula. On the other hand there are coins from the Shi'ite time of Uljaytu (1304-1316 AD) which bear the name of the four *rāshidūn*, typical of Sunnite coins. Even coins with a Sunnite and Shi'ite formula on the same side of the coin exist. It is often the case that the Shi'ite inscriptions on coins from Anatolia are blundered or are just omitted as a kind of opposition against the hated Mongols.

In the times of Abū Sa'id (1316-1335 AD) who had returned to the Sunnite branch of Islam, only a single coin from Rūyān bears the Shi'ite formula *'alī walī allāh* and the names of the twelve Shi'ite imams, but there exist dinars and dirhems from Shīrāz with the formula *'alī walī allāh* concealed on them, together with the names of the four *rāshidūn*.



dirhem of Arghun, Astarabad, AH 685, with Shi'ite legend, private collection

In the times of Toghā Timūr (1338-1351 AD) Shi'ite and Sunnite coins were minted side by side in Rayy, Jurjān and Amul. Toghā Timūr himself was a Sunni.

(A print of the paper (26 pages) is available in German which can be ordered from J.C. Hinrichs, Adlerstr. 11, D-28203, price 3 Euro or equivalent).

Dietrich Schnädelbach, Berlin: *The Akçe of Sulayman Çelebi*

From the year 806/1406 Sulayman Çelebi had akçe struck in his part of the Ottoman realm. Most of the coins bear on the obverse the tughra of the ruler within a circle and on the reverse the formula *khallada mulkahu* above the date 806 within a square. Around the square are the names of the four *rashidun* caliphs, all within a circle. This series had four different types of the tughra on the obverse; there may also be a fifth. Within the tughra there can be no or one to seven dots, and, very rarely eight dots.

First hypothesis: The number of dots equals the number of regnal-years: 0 = 806 to 7 = 813 or 1 = 806 to 8 = 813. This hypothesis was tested: If the number of dots represents the regnal years, then the frequency of each type of coin should reflect what

could be expected on the basis of known historical events. At the beginning and end of his reign Sulayman Çelebi undertook a lot of military campaigns, for which a considerable output of coins could be expected. However the high point of production lay - according to the dots as an indication of the regnal years - at 4 dots, which would correspond to year 810. Two, three and five dots follow in frequency. The production at the beginning and end of the series of dots is minimal. Thus, the hypothesis of dots as regnal years is not very likely. Four dots seems to be an aesthetic optimum. The examination of the second hypothesis proves this first. The tughra types I to IV on the obverse reflect a logical sequence.

Ölçer named the variations of the reverse A to L. Some variations could be added to his list; these are labeled with the suffix "1" after the letter. These variations can be gathered up into groups, which can be named after the most frequent variation: group B (B, C, D, E1, F, L); group E (A, E, F1); group H (G, H); group I (I, I1) and group K (only K). An examination of stylistic characteristics - the frequency of specific characteristics is used as criteria - shows that groups B and E have many similarities in common, whereas groups H, I and especially K deviate from them and they also exhibit a lot of differences among each other. Moreover, it can be shown that the reverse groups underwent a stylistic development. These observations seem to imply: firstly that the reverse groups indicate certain mintplaces, because they have well defined characteristics. (An exception is formed by groups B and E which belong together, because of their great similarities). Secondly, the stylistic development of the reverse supports the assumption that the tughra-types I to IV reflect a straight chronological sequence. For quantitative and historical reasons together with the afore-mentioned similarities, the following mint attributions can be suggested: B and E are attributed to Edirne, H to Bursa, I to Serez and K remains unattributed.

Jürgen Mikeska, Bad Homburg - Hans Wilski, Bad Soden:

A Hoard from the period of Mehmed III (1003-1012/1594-1603)

In the autumn of 1997 a hoard of silver coins arrived in Germany, which comprised 360 'Dirhams' (average weight 2.08g), 349 of them were minted under Mehmed III in Amid. All coins are badly struck, without showing the complete die. But because of their large number, a complete reconstruction of the coin designs could be made for the first time. Five different coin types could be distinguished. A relative chronology, however, could not be established. A highlight among the hoard was one of the extremely rare coins of Shamakhi in the Caucasus.

Hadschi E. Yenisey, Trunau - Rolf Ehlert, Heidelberg:

The introduction of the Para and Beshlik in Constantinople under Murad IV.

According to Ottoman sources the para was introduced in Constantinople under the rule of Murad IV (1032-1049/1623-1640). The Grandvizier Qara Mustafa Kemankesh (1048-1052/1638-1642) sought a replacement for the akçe denomination in circulation, which had at that time a reduced weight of only about 0.3g. I. Galib (Takvim i Meskükat-i Osmaniye) published a coin (no. 499) with a weight of 4 ¼ Carat (1.05g) and called it "para". In the meantime about 10 coins of this and another type (N. Pere, no. 435) within the same range of weights (ca. 1.05 - 1.23g) become known. Previously, Osman II (1027-1031/1618-1622) had introduced the onluk, which was worth 10 akçe and had a weight of about 2.5 - 2.7g. Under Murad IV the onluk decreased in weight to about 2.4 - 2.5g. This made it likely that the afore-mentioned coins are not paras, but 5-akçe pieces, beshliks. Against the identification as "para", is the fact that these coins have the double weight of the Egyptian prototype the para/maydin (ca. 0.6-0.7g). But then, what coins were the paras mentioned in the sources?



para of Murad IV, Constantinople, AH 1032, private collection

A newly discovered coin, known from only one specimen, might perhaps confirm the written sources about the introduction of the para in Constantinople at the time of Murad IV and Qara Mustafa Kemankesh: mint Constantinople; accession year 1032; 0,707g; 15mm. Assuming this coin to be the afore-mentioned para of Constantinople, then only a maximum of 15 months were available for its production, between Sha'ban 1048/Dec. 1638 (appointment of Qara Mustafa Kemankesh) and Shawwal 1049/Feb. 1639 (death of Murad IV). This could explain its rarity nowadays. Ibrahim (1049-1058/1640-1648) continued to mint the para with the same weight and design (N. Pere, no. 437; 10 specimens known, 0.5 - 0.85g). This coin-type obviously did not succeed, presumably because of the easy confusion with the akçe. Possibly its production was stopped after the assassination of the Grandvizier Kemankesh in 1052/1642. The successor of Ibrahim, Mehmed IV (1058-1099/1648-1687), minted paras in Constantinople, which follow in type and weight the Egyptian model, the maydin/para. This para-type was minted till 1115/1703-4 in Constantinople, Egypt and as well, in 1058/1648-9 in Belgrade.

The speakers expressed their gratitude to Slobodan Sreckovic, Belgrade, who kindly supported the research for this presentation, notwithstanding the present situation.

Celil Ender, Istanbul:

The structure of the Gümüşhane mint in the years 1735-1736 and the Ottoman Kurush minted in those years

Gümüşhane located on the Trabzon-Erzurum road is famous for its silver mines. From the time of the Ottoman conquest under Sulayman I (1520-1566) it hosted a mint. The honorific name of the mint was *Dar al-faraj*. The old name of the region was Çatha. The city's name on coins can appear as, *Çânîçe, Khânja* and sometimes also as *Çâtha*. Nearby Erzurum was a prosperous trade city with a steady demand for coins. During the reign of Murad III (1574-1594) on 19 Jumada II 982 (September 26, 1574) it was decided to transfer the mint to Erzurum. One reason for this was the mint's location outside the city (Mühimme Defterleri, vol. 33.8 Za 985 - p. 198, no. 401; vol. 26,19 Ca 982 - p. 199, no. 549). In the reign of Murad IV. (1623-1640) the coin production became centralised in Istanbul except for Tarablus Gharb and Tunus.

In the reign of Mahmud I (1730-1754) in Muharram 1148 (May/June 1735) it was decided to re-establish a mint in Gümüşhane (Cevdet Darphane Classification, no. 2102). For the alloying of the coins 2,000 okkas, each comprising 1,284g of copper, were sent to the mint from the Küre/Kastamonu copper mines. This document allows us to calculate the number of coins. As the fineness of the kurush is 60%, 3,000 okka silver had to be added to the 2,000 okka of copper. The total weight of 6,420kg equals 253,000 kurush, each weighing 25.35g. Accordingly the capacity can be calculated as 800 kurush a day, which is low compared with the capacity of the mint in Istanbul with 100,000 kurush. A document (Cevdet Darphane Classification, no. 3170) dated on 22 Rabi' I 1148 (August 1, 1735) deals with the internal organisation of the mint. This inventory note-book reports that the mint worked with horse power and dies and the mint-press was sent from Istanbul. In the very same year, on 22 Rabi' I 1148, the Gümüşhane mint was closed and the supervisor of the mint, Sa'dullah Bey, returned to Istanbul.

Celil Ender, Istanbul:

Three archival documents related to the Ottoman army mint

Three documents from the Ottoman Archives provide important insight into the Ottoman Army Mint at the time of Mustafa II (1695-1703). The history of the Imperial Army Mint (*Orduyu Hümayûn darphanesi*) goes back to the Great Seljuq empire. Although this mint seems to have been set up in order to meet the requirements of the armies, its establishment was rather due to the sikka-prerogative of the ruler, to have his name on the coinage as a sign of sovereignty. According to Mr. Ender the Ottoman Army Mint usually accompanied the army and produced coins with the names of the cities in which the army resided. Such names as Kastamonu, Erzurum, Gence, Nahcivan, Demirköprü and Shemahi appearing on the coins of Murad III (1574-1595) during his Dagistan campaign can be taken as an indication for this. Although the establishment of an Imperial Army Mint by the Ottomans is known, its name does not occur on any coin except one gold piece of Mustafa II. After the defeat at Vienna in 1683, which had

devastating effects on Ottoman empire, the energetic Sultan Mustafa II tried to regain the military initiative in the Balkans.

The first document is dated 24 Dhu l-Qa'da 1108 (May 14, 1697). It states that the mint had eight employees and workers and lists their duties and some of their tools. The second document from 11 Dhu l-Qa'da 1108 (May 2, 1697) is a receipt for the 200 eshrefi gold coins with a value of 60,000 akçes which were delivered to the treasury by Ali Aga - the supervisor of the Imperial Army Mint. The third document of 29 Dhu l-Hijja 1109 (June 11, 1698) is a receipt for the 2,500 Esedi silver kurush pieces with a value of 400,000 akçes, which Mustafa Efendi - the supervisor of the Imperial Army Mint - delivered to the accounting department. One eshrefi gold coin minted in Mustafa II's Imperial Army Mint was published by Nuri Pere (no. 489). There has been no information on the mentioned Esedi coins. Since he knows of no other record of these coins in the Ottoman archives, the speaker concluded that the total number of coins minted at the Imperial Army Mint was 200 gold and 2,500 kurush pieces, which accounts for them being exceedingly rare nowadays. On January 26, 1699 the Treaty of Karlovitz was signed. Since there were no reports on the Imperial Army Mint after this date, the mint was probably closed down.

The two days ended with a guided tour through the historical centre of the city, which, with its rich and diverse architectural heritage, reflects the historical developments from the 14th to the 20th century, while maintaining its basically medieval urban structure.

The next meeting of the ONS will be organised by Lutz Ilisch, Research unit for Islamic Numismatics in Tübingen on the weekend of 6-7 May 2000.

Stefan Heidemann

London

The ONS Indian Coin Study Day on Indian punch-marked coins duly took place at the British Museum, Department of Coins and Medals, 10.30am-4.30pm, 8 May.

The following papers were given:

Shailendra Bhandare: *Archaic punch-marked coins: approaches towards classification*

Joe Cribb: *A missing link in the archaic coinage and its significance for chronology*

Paul Murphy: *The punch-marked coins CD project*

Elizabeth Errington: *Late karshapana hoards*

Marie-Françoise Boussac: *Karshapana hoards from Bangladesh*

Future meetings planned for London are on Saturday **9 October 1999**, commencing 11.00 at the Department of Coins and Medals, British Museum - topic to be decided; and an Indian Coin Study Day on Saturday **4 December 1999**, also at the British Museum. This is also likely to commence at 11 am but it is hoped to provided more details in the next newsletter.

Cambridge

The Indian Coinage Study Day on "Pseudo-Mughal Coinage" duly took place on 12 June at the Fitzwilliam Museum. Following a welcome from Mark Blackburn, a number of interesting papers were given. These were:

Shailendra Bhandare: *Pseudo-Mughal coinage, some general characteristics*

Richard Barnett: *Making a mint: the politics and contexts of currency in 18th century India*

Nicholas Rhodes: *Garhwal - coins in the names of Mughal emperors*

Neeraj Hatekar: *The economy of the Deccan regions: an historian's perspective of the monetary evidence*

Jan Lingen: *Jagannathpur (Jaggernaikpuram): a mint town of the Dutch East India Company*

Ken Wiggins: *An unsuccessful East India Company Mint*

It is hope that some, at least, of the papers given at this and the previous meeting will be issued as a supplement to a future newsletter.

Members News

Joe Cribb, the ONS Publications Secretary, and Curator South Asian Coins at the British Museum, has been awarded the silver medal of the Royal Numismatic Society. This prestigious award is given by the Society to "some person highly distinguished for services to numismatic science".



Joe Cribb



From left to right: Dr A. Shakoor Malik, President of the Coin & Historical Research Society, Jhelum; Mohammed Amin, Lahore; Mobin Ahmed, Secretary Pakistan Numismatic Society, Islamabad; Jan Lingen; Shafiq M Mirza, Secretary of the Pakistan chapter of the ONS, Islamabad; H.E. Drs. J.A. Walkate, The Netherlands Ambassador to Pakistan; Mrs Walkate; Abdul Wadood Qureshi, Rawalpindi. Photograph taken in front of the Archaeological Museum, Islamabad.

Earlier, he had presented a paper on *The dating of the reign of Muhammad Shah and Nadir Shah's invasion of India* at Jhelum for the Coins & Historical Society in that town. Both meetings were attended by 25 to 30 people, including several ONS members.



Silver medal of the Royal Numismatic Society

Joe has worked at the Coin and Medal Department of the British Museum for almost 30 years and the award recognises his outstanding contribution both to research and to exhibitions. Although the main focus of his research is on the early history of India, especially during the Kushan period (1st - 4th centuries AD), his publications cover a vast range of territory. His catalogue of sycee (Chinese silver ingots) was published in 1992, as was *Crossroads of Asia*. He has also published *Money in the Bank* (an account of the monetary history of Hong Kong), and, most recently, *Magic Coins of Java, Bali, and the Malay Peninsula*. He has also written such general books on coinage as *The Eyewitness Guide to Money* (rev. ed 1999) and *Money: from Cowrie Shells to Credit Cards* (1986), and been responsible for two very successful exhibitions on the subject in the Museum: the temporary one in 1986 and the new permanent HSBC Money Gallery, which opened in 1997.

The medal itself is by Ian Rank-Broadley.

Jan Lingen, Regional Secretary for Continental Europe, recently visited Pakistan. There he met many local ONS members. In Islamabad He gave a talk in the presence of the Netherlands Ambassador to Pakistan and his wife on the subject of *The numismatic effects of Alexander's invasion of the East*.

Shailendra Bhandare has been appointed post-doctoral research fellow of the Society of South Asian Studies (British Academy, London) and will be working at the British Museum on the coins of the Indian princely states and related coinages from November 1999. He was selected from a strong group of applicants in various disciplines.

Auction News

At the Sotheby's sale held in London on 27 May 1999 some record prices were achieved for Islamic coins. An Umayyad dirham of Jiroft, struck in AH 82 (see ONS Newsletter 156) sold for £99,000 (including buyer's premium). An Umayyad dirham of al-Kufa, struck in AH 78, with an experimental design sold for £66,000. Other exceptional prices realised were £26,400 for a dirham of al-furat, AH 79; £20,900 for a dirham of Nahr Tira, AH 79; £19,800 for a dirham of Bahrusir, AH 97; £18,700 for dirham of al-Basra, AH 103; £17,600 for a dirham of Ifriqiya, AH 97; £17,600 for a dirham of Darabjird, AH 81; £13,200 for a dirham of Sus, AH 83; and £11,000 for dirham of Fil, AH 79. All prices include buyer's premium.

Sotheby's next London auction on 14 October 1999 will include a section of Islamic coins, the highlights of which will be the remaining coins from the John J. Slocum collection. This will include his collections of Arab-Byzantine and Danishmendid coins as well as significant groups of coins from Cilician Armenia and Cyprus.

NEW YORK. Dmitry Markov Coins & Medals announces the sale of an important group of Umayyad Dirhams and other Islamic coins as part of its 7th Mail-Bid Auction. The Company has provided the following information.

Featured in the Islamic section are a number of important rarities in high grade seldom offered for sale. The auction will take place in late September.

Highlighting the Umayyad section (of over 40 lots) are three extremely rare Dirhams: Bihqubadh al-Asfal AH 90; Bahrusir AH 97; and al-Jazira AH 95. The Bahrusir example offered is far superior in condition to one offered in the May Sotheby's sale, while the al-Jazira AH 95, listed only in Shams-Eshragh's tables, is apparently otherwise unrecorded. Other Umayyad Dirham rarities include: Maysan AH 96; Herat AH 99 (the last year of Umayyad striking at this mint); and al-Andalus AH 111 with an extra circle in the obverse field (not recorded by Walker). Following the Umayyad Section is an offering of better Abbasid Dirhams. The highlight of the Abbasid offering is an extremely rare, important and apparently unpublished Dirham of Ramhormuz AH 135 in high-grade. Tiesenhausen, and, recently, Steve Album, in his Second Checklist, note AH 134 as the only known year for Abbasid Dirhams from Ramhormuz.

Also featured in the Islamic part of the sale is a good selection of Silver and Copper coins of the Qarakhanids, Samanids (including Volga-Bulgarian), Buwayhids and other dynasties. Gold rarities are also featured, including a very rare Half Tilla of the Khan of Khiva, Muhammad Amin; an extremely rare Golden Horde Dinar issued during Berke's invasion of Ilkhan territories; and an extremely rare Great Seljuq Dinar, Shiraz AH 482 citing the Governor Khutlugh Beg with the name of the engraver. Other dynasties represented in Gold offerings include: the Umayyads, Abbasids, Ikhshidids, Mamluks, Ziyadids of Yemen, Ghaznavids, Amirs of Bukhara, Durrani and Sultans of Delhi.

The auction also features strong Ancient, Pre-Islamic, European, Russian and Polish sections.

Profusely illustrated catalogues (illustrating nearly all lots) for the sale will be available late August, for \$ 25.00

For further information, please contact: ++1 718-332-4248; fax: ++1 718-332-8676; or write: DMITRY MARKOV COINS & MEDALS, P.O. Box 950, New York, NY 10272.

New and Recent Publications

1. Jacques A. Schoonheydt: *Le frai des kārṣāpana*, in *Revue belge de Numismatique*, tome CXLIV (1998).
2. Volume LVIII (1996) of the *The Journal of the Numismatic Society of India* has been published by the Society, Banaras Hindu University, Varanasi - 221005, India. Contents are as follows:

R Krishnamurthy (Presidential address): *Coin circulation in*

Other News

The American Numismatic Society has appointed Dr Ute Wartenberg as its next Executive Director. Educated initially at Saarbrücken University, where she studied history, she went on to Oxford University as a Rhodes Scholar from 1987-1990. She holds a PhD in papyrology. Dr Wartenberg was appointed Assistant Keeper in the British Museum as Curator of Greek Coins in 1991 and served in that capacity for seven years.

Firza Ayupova of the Institute of Fine Arts, Tashkent, Uzbekistan, has been appointed the next Hirayama trainee curator of Silk Road Numismatics at the British Museum. She is a specialist in Kushan coin design and will be at the British Museum from October 1999 until July 2000.

ancient Tamil region c. 400 BC - c. 600 AD

N Ahmad, J Kumar, G Prasad: *A Mathura Museum lot of the universal silver punchmarked coins*

OPL Srivastava: *Coin of an unknown Mitra king bearing the title Mahāsenapati from Erich*

SG Dhopate: *Studies in ancient coins found in Thane*

PN Singh: *Two archer type gold coins of crescent variety of Chandragupta II known from a new hoard*

N Ahmad: *A unique repoussé gold coin of Kumar Gupta I in the British Museum*

R Lal: *A rare coin of Śarva*

S Das: *Coinage of Nasir-ud-din Mahmud Shah of Bengal*

JF Therattil: *Coin of Goda Varma identified*

AV Narasimha Murthy, P Kundanmal Jain: *An enigmatic coin of Achutaraya*

J Acharjee: *An interesting coin of Yaśo Mānikya, a Tripura king*

AV Narasimha Murthy, P Kundanmal Jain: *An unpublished coin of Mysore Wadeyar*

N Havalaiiah: *A new coin of Krishnaraja Wadeyar III*

N Ahmad: *Satvahana silver coins: some observations*

D Moin: *Medieval Indian coins: a calligraphic aspect*

BM Kundu: *Dynastic legend of later Ilyas Shahi dynasty*

A Mitra: *The unsuccessful experiment (a die study on Ahom coinage)*

Raijasbir Singh: *Sikh Misl coins minted in Ganga Doab: a study*

GS Dora: *Zarb Sri Amritsar Jiyo - a broader perspective*

K Ghose: *Campaign medal in Victoria Memorial collection*

MV Lakshminarayana: *A rare medal from Raj Kumar College, Rajkot and Death plaque*

SK Bose: *A token of new finds from tea gardens of Assam*

N Ahmad, B Prasad: *some silver punchmarked coins: a typometallurgical study*

D Rajgor: *Minting techniques of punchmarked coins of India*

N Ahmad, MN Akhtar: *The elephant / hill type unscripted copper cast coins - a study with reference to their composition*

B Chakravarty: *A note on the gold contents of the coins in Indian Museum as listed in "The Indian Gold" by BN Mukherjee*

3. The British publishers Routledge publish a range of books on Asian subjects. Of potential interest to ONS members are the following, with information from the publisher's catalogue:

A History of Japan

James Murdoch

Published by Routledge

Set © 1997

ISBN/ISSN: 0-415-15076-0, Price: US \$535.00, UK £325.00

First published in 1903, this three volume set deals with the history of Japan from its origins to the end of the Tokugawa Shogunate. Drawing for the first time on Japanese, European and Latin sources, this classic text was the first comprehensive study of Japanese history in English, contributing to a new understanding of Japan by Westerners at the time. Available for the first time since the 1960s, this facsimile edition includes a biographical introduction of James Murdoch's life by D. C. S. Sissons. An important document in the history of Japanese studies, this book is an enduring work by an author who became Australia's first professor of Japanese. (Publisher now out of stock)

A History of India

Hermann Kulke, Herman Kulke, Dietmar Rothermund,

Published by Routledge

Hb © 1998

ISBN/ISSN: 0-415-15481-2, Price: US \$85.00, UK £50.00

Pb © 1998

ISBN/ISSN: 0-415-15482-0, Price: US \$25.99, UK £16.99

A History of India is a compact synthesis presenting the grand sweep of Indian history from antiquity to the present. It remains the definitive text on the nation. This new edition has been thoroughly revised, containing new research, and an up-to-date preface, index and dateline. The authors examine the major political, economic,

social and cultural forces which have shaped the history of the Indian subcontinent in this survey. This classic text is an authoritative detailed account which emphasises and analyses the structural pattern of Indian history. (Publisher now out of stock)

The East India Company: 1600 - the Mid-Nineteenth Century

Edited by Patrick Tuck

This set of 6 volumes uses reprinted first-hand sources, scholarly surveys, and thematically arranged collections of recent journal articles, to trace the history of the East India Company and presents recent interpretations of its development.

Boxed set of 6 volumes

1998: 1984 pp; illus. approx. 15 b & w plates

Set: ISBN 0-415-15517-7

Price: £525

James Mill's History of British India

James Mill

In this work James Mill exhibits the character, history, religion, arts, literature and laws of the people of India. One of the great history books of the last century, it will interest social and political historians of the British Empire.

Boxed set of 10 volumes

1997: 4054 pp

Set: ISBN 0-415-15382-4

Price: £650

For further information please see the publisher's website at www.routledge.com or contact them at Routledge, 11 New Fetter Lane, London, EC4P 4EE, UK; tel: ++44 171 583 9855; fax: ++44 171 842 2303; e-mail: info.asian@routledge.co.uk

Lists Received

1. Stephen Album (PO Box 7386, Santa Rosa, Calif. 95407, USA; tel ++1 707-539-2120; fax ++1 707-539-3348; e-mail album@sonic.net) list number 153 (May 1999), 154 (June 1999) and 155 (July 1999).

2. Spink Numismatic Circular for June 1999 (Vol. CVII, number 5), included an article by J. J. North entitled *The bronze fish of China* and a section of Islamic and Indian coins for sale; and the issue for July (Vol CVII, number 6) included *More gold coins out of India of King Ousanas of Aksum* by Bent Juel-Jensen and reviews of Stuart Munro-Hay's *Catalogue of the Aksumite coins in the British Museum* and Neçdet Kabaklarlı's "*Mangır*" copper coins of the Ottoman Empire 1299-1808. The latter review is reproduced below. (Spink & Son Ltd, 5,6,7 King Street, St. James's, London SW1Y 6QS; tel ++44 171 930 7888; fax ++44 171 839 4853).

3. Persic Gallery (PO Box 10317, Torrance, CA 90505, USA; tel ++1 310 326 8866; fax ++1 310 326 5618; e-mail persic@msn.com) list 47 (June 1999) of oriental coins

4. Scott Cordry (PO Box 9828, San Diego, CA 92169, USA; tel ++1 619 272 9440; fax ++1 619 272 9441) list 113 (spring 1999) including a fine collection of Arabian Peninsula coinage.

5. Hippocampus, Inc (Bill Warden, PO Box 356, New Hope, PA 18938, USA; tel/fax ++1 215 297 5052) buy/bid list #3 of ancient and oriental coins. This list has now closed but members wishing to receive future lists should contact Bill.

List forthcoming

Sacra Moneta, a listing of 2000 new and secondhand numismatic books, including some of interest to ONS members, will soon be available from: Galata, Old White Lion, Llanfyllin, Powys SY22 5BX, GB.

Reviews

The following review was first published in Spink Numismatic Circular, July 1999, Volume CVII, number 6, and is reproduced here by kind permission of the Editor, Douglas Saville, and the author.

Neçdet Kabaklarlı: "Mangır" Copper Coins of the Ottoman Empire 1299-1808. i-xii, 536 pages, 67 plates of coin photos and 1200 drawings (enlargements). 3 Historical maps in colour. Text in Turkish and English. Printed on superior art-paper with strong library binding. 8in. x 11 in. x 2in. ISBN 9 75-96468 0-3 (Istanbul, 1999). Available from Spink £140 (plus £8 p. & p.).

Mr Kabaklarlı, a Turkish numismatist graduated from the

Middle East Technical University in 1962 and after studying woolen and fabric manufacture in the University of Leeds became a manufacturer of textile products. He has collected Ottoman copper coins for forty years, and in 1997 completed the classification of his unique collection now published for the Uşak Archaeological Museum.

He found it necessary to enlarge the scope of his work during the past twenty years, examining Ottoman coin collections in both private and museum collections. The photos of the coins have been enlarged and printed on 67 plates, in addition to 1200 drawings (also enlarged), of which a third are complete drawings of the legends and designs as the artist intended. The text (catalogue) portion has been presented in broad outline with weights and sizes, avoiding excessive detail, set out in the order of the ruling sultan on pages 59-557 for easy reference.

He refers to the fact that Ottoman copper coins in the Istanbul Archaeological Museum were first published with the silver and gold coins by Khalil Edhem¹ in 1915, the text was in Ottoman Turkish (Arabic script) which has been the standard (limited) source of information for this series of coins. In 1883 Lane-Poole² published his catalogue of Ottoman coins in the British Museum which included some copper coins, studied by Mr. Valentine in a book³ which collectors still refer to after eighty years. It was not until 1975 that the renowned Turkish numismatist Cüneyt Ölçer⁴ published his monograph on the ornamental copper coins in which he illustrated 185 mangırs with 20 mint place-names, and 57 with the sultan's name, but the bulk of his profusely illustrated work concerned the purely ornamental types (nakışlı). These latter are not the subject of Mr Kabaklarlı's present work which includes more than 3000 well classified specimens from such rare mints as Ladik, Maraş, 'Ayntab Huydede, Nusaybin, Darende, Siirt, 'Aden and others which enhances its value as a valuable reference work.

In the English language translation of the introduction (pages 37-54) the author describes the "Economy and the Ottoman State" and how the public revenue was acquired by farming out concessions (*mukataa*), he emphasises how the minting and issuing of coins in the state employed a system parallel to the Ottoman financial system in general, as they were seen as a means to popular taxation, by which large numbers of mints were licensed off to provide high short-term revenues. He explains in detail how the minting and distribution of copper coins essentially bore no function for the state other than that of acquiring additional income. The real and nominal values of the copper coins tended to differ considerably, unlike the values of the Ottoman silver and gold coins, which were generally close to their real value. This difference was intentionally created by the state which constantly forced set amounts of copper coins on to the populace in return for silver coins (*akçe*) which were taken from the holders as a kind of tax at source.

Importantly, he describes the functions of the special "tax mangırs" inscribed with legends familiar to many students and collectors, which some numismatists misread as mint places Barani and on others, Tripolitza (which Dr. C. Miles⁵ did when describing many hundreds of such specimens in the Agora excavations in Athens in 1962). The correct attribution of these puzzling mangırs struck during the reigns of Suleyman I, Selim I and Murad III is an important contribution to Ottoman numismatics, and a singular achievement by the author.

He concludes the chapter with remarks about the mint administration and personnel involved; the minting procedures and circulation of copper coins, with a brief note on the purely ornamental (*nakışlı*) coins which lack the name of a sultan or date inscribed on them. Included is a useful bibliography of works consulted and lists of museums and personal collections in which rare mangırs were found, described and photographed.

This publication is an important addition to Ottoman Numismatics and will be appreciated by museum curators concerned with Islamic coinage, directors of archaeological sites as well as auctioneers, dealers and collectors of the complex coinage of the Ottoman Empire and will certainly be an indispensable reference work for all time.

The revenue from the sale of his work is donated to the Uşak Cultural and Educational Foundation to whom the author has given his entire collection of coins.

K. MacKenzie

References

1. Edhem, Khalil: *Meskukat-i Osmaniye*, part VI of *Muze-yi Humayun*, Constantinople AH 1334
2. Lane-Poole, Stanley: *Catalogue of Oriental Coins in the British Museum*, Volume VIII, London 1883
3. Valentine, WH: *Modern Copper Coins of the Muhammadan States*, London (Spink & Son Ltd.) 1911
4. Ölçer, Cüneyt: *Nakışlı Osmanlı Mangırları*, Istanbul 1975
5. Miles, George C: *The Athenian Agora, Volume IX The Islamic Coins*, pp 10-14, Princeton, N.J. 1962

Catalogue of the Aksumite Coins in the British Museum.

By Stuart Munro-Hay. Published by British Museum Press, 1999. 47 pages and 69 plates. £65.

Until ten years ago, the British Museum collection of Aksumite coins was modest, containing only 100 coins. In 1989 the museum purchased the collection of 552 coins built up by Roger Brereton while he was living in Ethiopia. This presented the opportunity for a catalogue and it is a pleasure to welcome this volume to set beside publications of other collections, like that of Munro-Hay's own in 1986. Initially expected in 1995, its publication has been delayed, apparently by difficulties with the plates, and the bibliography includes no entries after 1995.

After a general introduction (with map), bibliography and outline chronology comes the catalogue proper followed by the plates. It would have been useful to include a table of the Ge'ez alphabet.

Using the same type numbers as the standard work *Aksumite Coinage* by Munro-Hay and Juel-Jensen (henceforth AC), the catalogue provides concise descriptions of each type whether present in the museum collection or not. Each BM coin is given a unique number and its accession number, weight and die axis are provided with notes on varieties, especially the symbols on the later coins (though these are not all noted and it is worth checking the plates and AC for further varieties). It is a pity that provenance and previous publications are not included; nor is there a history of the collection. So for BM 20, the unique large copper of Aphilas, the heaviest Aksumite coin known, while the accession number tells us it arrived at the BM in 1873 we must turn to *Aksumite Coinage* to discover that it was first published by Prideaux in 1884. The Brereton coins are identifiable from their 1989 accession numbers. 24 forgeries (all but one ex Brereton) are also described. All coins are well illustrated on the plates at x2 magnification. This is the most important section of the book. There are long runs of the copper coins (including 162 of the first anonymous type, 83 of the second and 58 of Armah) and while this occasionally includes a very worn specimen, it does make available to students illustrations of many different dies. Some of the types not represented in the BM are illustrated from specimens in the Juel-Jensen collection; the unique gold of Wazeba in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, is also illustrated (curiously at x1).

There are only a few slips in the text. On p.14 the tiny gold piece of Aphilas is described as a one-sixteenth piece rather than a one-eighth. In the catalogue: type 11 obverse should be as type 10 not type 9; type 63 variety should not have an additional CA at the end of the obverse legend; for type 88 the reverse legends of BM 403 and 404 are not clearly described; types 122 and 123 are reversed re AC; for type 144 the second Ge'ez B in the reverse legend should be a Ge'ez H. Some slips in AC are perpetuated: for type 144 the reverse legend should be translated "Mercy (not Peace) to the people"; for type 148-9 a Ge'ez Y is omitted from the reverse legend. Some references to the Juel-Jensen collection are incorrect: for type 57i J-J 382 should be 314 or 316; for type 66 J-J 300 should be 380.

There are more significant slips on the plates. 58 is not of type 39 (perhaps rather 42); 74 and 75 are transposed; obverse and reverse are transposed for 4,9, 27, 42,49, 70, 382 and many of the forgeries; many of the latest coins are wrongly orientated.

This is a handsomely produced, though slim, volume. It is expensive and general readers will get better value for money from AC. For the Aksumite specialist, however, this BM catalogue is a must, especially for its plates.

Vincent West



The renowned numismatist, Professor E.Rtveladze, started a new annual series "Numizmatika Tsentral'noĭ Azii" (Numismatics of Central Asia) thus inaugurating the first and the only numismatic periodical published in the republics of the Former Soviet Central Asia. The second issue (Tashkent, 1997, 52 pages, 6 ill.) contains two notes on coin finds:

D.Davutov's *A Drachm of Seleukos I from the Site of Shahri Munk* and K. Abdullaev's *A Coin with the Depictions of Hercules and Zeus from [the Valley of] Kashka-darya*. In his article *On the Interpretation of Words Σαυαβ and ΑΥΤΕΙΧ on the Tetradrachms of Heraios/Hiaos* E.V.Rtveladze suggested that the two words which appear interchangingly under the legs of the horse on the reverse of these coins are the Bactrian and the Greek versions of the same epithet 'repulsor of an enemy'. The article includes an extract from a letter in which V. A. Livshits addresses the etymology of the name Σαυαβ and is supplied with a letter from Iu. G. Vinogradov who comments on ΑΥΤΕΙΧ. A short note by I. M. Azimov deals with *Architecture on the Money of Central Asian Countries*. D. V. Biriukov's *From Artaw to Afrig or the Establishment of the Traditional Appearance of the Old Chorezmian Coin* is devoted to the very complex problem of the formative stage in the early Khorezmian monetary iconography.

Issue III (Tashkent, 1998, 68 pages, 6 plates) opens with the survey article by E.Rtveladze *Coins on the Great Silk Road*. The author defines the three main periods in the monetary circulation of 'Western Turkestan' by summarizing the data on local coinage and on the finds of Chinese, Parthian, Roman and Byzantine coins. An article by D.V.Biriukov *Afrigan Khorezm and Sasanian Iran (The Connections in the Sphere of Monetary Circulation and their Reflection in the Composition of One Hoard)* is a publication of the third known hoard of Pre-Islamic Khorezmian silver coins, which had been found near the modern settlement of Takhtakupyr. According to the data secured by Biriukov, 183 Khorezmian coins were minted during the reign of King Ramik (the new reading of the name by V.A.Livshits) and only 2 belong to his successor Brawik. There were also 199 non-Khorezmian drachms in the hoard: Peroz - 2; imitation of Peroz - 1; Balash - 1; Kawad and Khosrow I (exact numbers are not given, only the ratio is mentioned: nearly 2 to 1 respectively). The hoard was dispersed on the numismatic market and Biriukov's catalogue of 210 specimens is the only record reflecting its original composition. On the basis of the collected data Biriukov addresses various historical issues raised by this outstanding find. L. S. Baratova's article *Historical Interpretation of the Title 'Khaqan' on the Old Turkic Coins of Central Asia (end of the 7th to middle of the 8th century)* is devoted to the 7 coin types which follow the principal design of Chinese cash and carry Sogdian legends with the title γ'γ'n. The section 'Notes' contains: K.Abdullaev's publication of three

Hellenistic coins found in the bed of the Zang canal in the region of Termez; L.S.Baratova's publication of 25 Sogdian and Chach coins (5th to 8th centuries) gathered on the shore of the Tuibuguz reservoir near Tashkent; a brief discussion *Motif of double wings in art and numismatics of Iran and Central Asia* by G. A. Pugachenkova and M. P. Tikhonin's note on the coin of Soter Megas found in the Pskem valley near Tashkent. *An Uncatchable Coin* - an essay by B.A.Golender which appears in the section 'Collections and Collectors' tells the story of the extremely rare (unique?) 200 rouble coin of the Khorezmian Republic and controversies it caused in the 1960s among the Tashkent numismatists.

Like the majority of the modern scholarly publications printed in Central Asia both issues are not free from mistypes, especially in the bibliographic references in Latin script, and cannot boast the highest polygraphic quality. In the meantime, the inauguration of this annual series shows that the strained economic conditions and political changes were not able to interrupt serious numismatic research in the former Soviet republics of Central Asia.

Aleksandr Naymark

Kashīshiyān, Aleksandir, translator: *ʿarb al-nuqūd al-ʿarabiyya fī armīniyya wa-tadāwuluhā dākhil wa-khārij al-imbarātūriyya al-ʿarabiyya* [The issue of Arab coins in Armenia and their circulation inside and outside the Arab Empire]. Aleppo: al-Jamāʿiyya al-Khayriyya al-ʿUmūmiyya al-Arminiyya, 1997. 151 pp. ill.

Jūrj Sabāghiyān: *lamha ta'rikhiyya ʿan zuhūr al-nuqūd*, [A historical glance at the appearance of coins], 5-10. A survey of the origins of coinage in Asia Minor.

Mūshīgiyān, Ardāshīs: *al-nizām al-naqdi fī fatra al-khilāfa al-umawiyya wa'l-abbāsiyya wa-darb wa-tadāwul al-nuqūd al-ʿarabiyya fī armīniyya wa'l-imbarātūriyya al-ʿarabiyya*, [The monetary organization in the era of the Umayyad and Abbasid caliphate, and the issue and circulation of Arab coins in Armenia and the Arab Empire], 11-53. After a brief general discussion of history of coinage and early history of Islamic coinage, this article lists known Umayyad dirhams and fals from Irminiyya and its neighbours (Dabil, Tiflis, Arran, Janza, Madinat Balkh al-Bayda [sic!; p. 29, uncertain location but perhaps in Dāghistān near al-Bāb], and al-Bāb. The list seems to be from Walker (whose catalogues are the only source cited). The earliest date for Irminiyya is 81. Copper coins subsequently listed come from Kh. Mousheghian, Markov, Pakhomov, and older compilations. The survey of Abbasid coins is based mainly on the various well-known Abbasid catalogues. A table, 45-53, lists all issues of Irminiyya, Barda'a, Arran, al-Bāb, and other mints of Armenia in the widest sense from before 142 to 332 H., showing denominations and names on the coins without detailed description, illustration, or citation.

Mushegian, Ardashis: *ʿalāqāt armīniyya al-duwaliyya bayna'l-qarnayn al-thāmin wa'l-ʿāshir al-milādīyyin*, [International relations of Armenia between the eighth and tenth centuries A.D.] 55-104. Hoards of silver and copper caliphate coins found in Armenia, many from Pakhomov, Klady azerbaijdzana i drugikh respubliki kraev kavkaza. Pp. 86-104, hoards found outside Armenia with Armenian coins.

Jūrj Sabāghiyān: *atabak wa-sultan al-mawsil badr al-din b. ʿabd allah lu'lu' al-armani* [Atabeg and sultan of Mosul, Badr al-Din b. ʿAbd. Allah Lu'lu' the Armenian] 105-111. A discussion of the ruler Badr al-Din Lu'lu', Atabeg for the last Zangids (631-57/1234-59), and a dinar of Mosul, 645, issued in his name.

Jūrj Sabāghiyān: *ʿshāh arman' bāsfarajān*, [The "King of Armenia" Basfarajan] 113-115. On the Ayyubid use of the title Shāh Arman.

Jūrj Sabāghiyān. *darāhim fiddiyya bi-kitābāt armaniyya wa-ʿarabiyya musharaka*, [Silver dirhams with Armenian and Arabic inscriptions together] 117-21. On the Armenian horseman trams (dirhams) with reverse inscriptions naming the Rūm Seljūk sultan Kay-Khusraw II.

Jūrj Sabāghiyān: *TETRADRACHMA al-malik al-armani al-kabīr dīkrān al-thānī wa-mawāsifātihā*, [Tetradrachm of the great

Armenian king Tigranes II and its specifications] 123-27. A coin struck in Antioch, 83 B.C.

Ardāshīs Mūshghiyān: *nuqūd arminiyya duribat fī anātkiyya wa-dimashq min qabli al-malik dīkrān al-thānī*, [Armenian coins struck in Antioch and Damascus for King Tigranes II] 129-36. Lists and describes Artaxiad coins issued in Syria.

Arām Dayr-Ghifūntiyyān [Ter-Ghevondian]: *jadwal al-ukkām al-‘arab fī arminiyya*, [List of the Arab governors of Armenia] 137-150. A list from Muhammad b. Marwān (693-709) to Isā b. al-Shaykh, after 882.

Michael Bates

“New” and “Good” in Ṭabaristān

By A.S. DeShazo

As a general rule, the obverse marginal legends on late Sasanian and Sasanian-style dirhams begin in the first or second quarter and have a clockwise and inward orientation even when extending into the third and fourth quarter¹. The half-weight drahms of Ṭabaristān struck under the Ispahads and, later, the ‘Abbāsīd governors follow a different rule. Legends in the second quarter read clockwise and inward and also end there unless they are a continuation from the third quarter. Legends in the first, fourth and / or third quarter have a counterclockwise and outward orientation even when extending into the second quarter. Failure to realise this has caused numismatists problems.



fig. 1

Many of the Ṭabaristān issues have a word in the third quarter that, as far as I can determine, has been misread until now. The word (see fig. 1) in its correct orientation is [insert Pehlevi word] which is *nwk'* or *nōg* and means new or recent². In this context, “new” seems preferable. Just what is meant by “new” needs further study, but it should be noted that the initial occurrence of this word on coins is a new issue of the Ispahad Farrukhān dated PYE 75-77/9. This word also appears on the first issue of Farrukhān’s successor Dād-bürzmīhr of year PYE 79. “New” is discontinued for years until it is revived for Sa’īd during the ‘Abbāsīd period. What is meant by “new” is again not certain as it is used year after year by the same governors.



fig. 2

For many of the ‘Abbāsīd governors and nearly all of the abzūd issues, the word in the third quarter is [insert Pehlevi word] which is *nywk'* or *nēk* and means “good”³. Gaube reproduced the word correctly⁴ and obtained the correct definition⁵. The differences between his transliteration and transcription and those of MacKenzie are due to different systems of notation. Gaube should have been able to translate the word for “new”, but, oddly, he omitted it from his book.

Notes

1. Some coins of al-ḥajjāj have words or parts of words arranged radially.
2. MacKenzie pp 188 and 61
3. MacKenzie pp 190 and 58
4. Gaube Tafel 10 10 7.2.3
5. Gaube p 131

Malek, Hodge Mehdi: *The Dābūyid Ispahads of Ṭabaristān*, AJN Second Series 5-6 (1993-94) pp 105-160 pls 11-17

MacKenzie, D.N.: *A Concise Pahlavi Dictionary*, Oxford University Press (reprinted with corrections 1986)

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New Dating for Coins of Mas’ud al-Khwarezmi Issued at Kashgar

by Alexander Akin

Over the last few years several publications in China and in the West have described a series of broad, thin bronze coins bearing the name of an individual named Mas’ud al-Khwarezmi. In *Xinjiang Heiganchao Qianbi* (*Coins of the Qarakhanids in Xinjiang*), Jiang Qixiang attributes this series to the Qarakhanid period but does not venture to link the coins with any known historical figure, noting that Mas’ud is a common name, and that no date is visible on any of the specimens he has examined. He observes that the mint name “Kashgar” is visible in the marginal legend of some pieces.¹ In the popular illustrated volume *Xinjiang Numismatics*, photographs of similar coins appear on pages 26-27, again attributed to the Qarakhanids with a date postulated in the early 11th century.² None of the illustrated specimens retain enough of the marginal legend to make out the year of issue.

In an article published in the collection *Studies in Silk Road Coins and Culture*,³ Venetia Porter correctly identifies the issuer as Mas’ud Beg, a governor under the Mongols, rather than a Qarakhanid ruler. She reads the partial date on an illustrated specimen as 68X AH. The new volume of the Tübingen Syllogie dealing with coins of Eastern and Central Asian mints follows Porter’s identification. Mas’ud Beg is known from both Persian and Chinese historical records, as well as from *The Secret History of the Mongols*, the earliest Mongolian record of their own conquest.⁴

Stephen Album, the California-based specialist in Islamic numismatics, recently obtained a large group of Mas’ud’s coins and gave me the opportunity to work with them. Among the many pieces with incomplete or poorly preserved legends, there were over a dozen with the full date 650. Given the similarity in endings between fifty and eighty as written out in Arabic, Venetia Porter’s reading of 68X is understandable. However, in every case where a complete date was visible on the coins held by Stephen Album, it was 650 AH.

This date accords with the records of the Persian historian Juvaini, who mentions Mas’ud a number of times. His father, Mahmud Yalavach, made notable contributions to the Mongol cause in its early years and he and Mas’ud were rewarded with administrative positions in Central Asia.

When Möngke took the reins of the Mongol empire in 649 AH after a long power struggle, he held a *quriltai* at which he rewarded his allies and supporters. According to Juvaini, “...To Mas’ud Beg, who had come in fear and trembling and experienced terror and danger because of his devotion and adherence to the Emperor, until in the end after escaping that peril he became all-powerful and enjoyed great honour, there fell the whole of Transoxiana, Turkestan, Otrar, the Land of the Uighur, Khotan, Kashgar, Jand, Khorazm and Farghana. And since their arrival at Court had proceeded the *quriltai*, he dismissed them the sooner and all who had accompanied them were distinguished with all manner of favours.”⁵

Mas’ud or his officers apparently reached Kashgar in time to have this series of bronze coinage struck the next year in 650 AH (1252-1253). His coins appear in various degrees of legibility,

some so poorly engraved as to suggest the employment of illiterate die-carvers. These stages of degradation indicate that the series was struck for some years with a frozen date, based on a prototype of 650. The coins may also have been widely counterfeited at the time.

Above Mas'ud's name there appears a line of convoluted script which different scholars have interpreted variously; there is not yet even consensus on what alphabet was used. Into this fray I toss a new suggestion: Juvaini refers to Mas'ud as the Supreme Minister ("sahib-i-azam")⁶, among other titles, and the first word on the coin inscription looks as if it may be a poorly written "sahib." The next word might be "a'zam" or "amir." Scholars with experience in the calligraphy of the period and region may be able to contribute to this discussion by comparing the inscription with Mas'ud's various recorded titles.

The new date for this series is incorporated in the revised edition of Stephen Album's *Checklist of Islamic Coins*,⁷ in which Mas'ud's bronze coinage appears as type 1975.

References

- 1 Jiang Qixiang, *Xinjiang Heiganchao Qianbi*. Xinjiang Renmin Chubanshe, Urumqi, 1990: P. 58
- 2 Zhu Yuanjie et al, *Xinjiang Numismatics*. Educational and Cultural Press, Hong Kong, 1991.
- 3 Cribb, Joe et al, *Studies in Silk Road Coins and Culture*. Institute of Silk Road Studies, Kamakura, 1997.
- 4 Cleaves, Francis Woodman, translator, *The Secret History of the Mongols*. Harvard University Press, 1982: p. 203-204.
- 5 Boyle, John Andrew, translator, *The History of the World Conqueror by 'Ata-Malik Juvaini*. Manchester University Press, 1958: P. 597
- 6 *Ibid.*, page 612
- 7 Album, Stephen, *A Checklist of Islamic Coins (Second Edition)*. Santa Rosa, 1998.

Three hoards of 12th century Qarakhanid coins from south-western Kirghizstan.

By Michael Fedorov

1. The Uzgen hoard.

This hoard was found in Uzgen (mediaeval Uzgend), the easternmost town of the Fergana valley, and is kept in the Osh History and Folk Lore Museum (KP5021 Fnl40 Nr 1-24). Uzgen is the third town (after Osh and Djalalabad) of the Osh oblast' in the Kirghiz Republic. It is situated about 50 km north-east of Osh. Under the Qarakhanids, Uzgend (or, in the 12th -13th centuries, Uzdjend) was the capital of Fergana and had the biggest mint in Fergana (and one of the biggest in the Qarakhanid khaqanate). The Qarakhanid mint of Uzgend started work at the end of the 10th century and worked regularly till the beginning of the 13th century. The Uzgen hoard comprises 24 copper coins of 4 types.

Type 1. No mintname and date. Diameter 18-22 mm. Copper falsus. 15 coins (Nr. 1-15).

Obverse: within a border of two solid circles with a beaded one in between:

لا اله الا الله / وحده / لا شريك له

Circular legend (henceforth shortened to CL):

---دين الح---

Reverse: within the same border as on the obverse:

عدل / تغزل / حن

الخاقن العادل الاعظم جلال الدنيا والدين :CL

Type 2. No mintname and date. Diameter 20-22 mm. Copper falsus. 7 coins (Nr. 16-22).

Obverse: within square cartouche:

لا اله الا الله وحده / لا شريك له

Legend on the sides of the cartouche have not survived.

Reverse: within beaded circle: عدل / تغزل / حن

الخاقن العادل الاعظم جلال الدنيا والدين :CL

Type 3. No mint-name and date. Diameter 21mm. Copper fals. 1 coin (Nr. 23).

Obverse: As Type 1 but, above Kalimah, some badly effaced word

(عدل؟)

Reverse: As Type 1 but central legend is within the border of a single beaded circle.

Type 4. (Samarqand?). Mintname and date have not survived (or were not placed on the coin). Diameter 21,5 mm. Copper fals. 1 coin (Nr. 24).

Obverse: within a border of two solid circles with a beaded one in between:

عدل / لا اله الا الله / وحده / لا شريك له

There is no trace of CL.

Reverse: within the same border as on the obverse:

خاقن؟ --- :CL قلع / طغفاج / اخن

2. The Djalalabad hoard.

Djalalabad is situated about 46 km north-north-east of Osh and 30 km north-west of Uzgen. It is the second of the three main towns of Osh oblast'. The hoard was found in 1979 in the vicinity of the town. The exact amount of coins is not known. In Djalalabad museum there are 6 coins (of 2 types) from that hoard.

Type 1. No mint-name or date. AH 5xx. The coins are oval in shape 23.5-26 mm. Copper silvered dirhems. 5 coins.

Obverse: within circle: لا اله الا الله وحده / لا شريك له

---الدره--- :CL

Reverse: within circle: عدل / تغزل / اخن

سباس ايزد ناصر اسمه بقدر و جاه و دولت :CL

A. K. Markov¹ read the date on such a coin in the Hermitage as "5xx".

Type 2. No min-name or date. AH 5xx. Diameter 25 mm. Copper silvered dirhem(?). 1 coin.

Obverse: within circle: لا اله الا الله وحده / لا شريك له

بسم الله ض---ال--- :CL

Reverse: within circle: عدل / تغزل / حن

CL as Type 1 but without the word

A. K. Markov² read the date on such a coin in the Ermitazh as "5xx".

3. The Karavan hoard.

Karavan is small townlet (or rather big village) at the north-eastern fringe of the Fergana valley in Djangidjol raion of Osh oblast' in the Kirghiz Republic. It is situated about 10 km north of the border between the Kirghiz and Uzbek Republics. Across the border, about 40 km south of Karavan, is the Uzbek townlet of Kasansai, which was known in mediaeval time as "Kasan". Medieval Kasan was a large flourishing town; and was the capital of the Qaraqhanid appanage. Kasan possessed its own mint, which worked recurrently, minting coins of the Qarakhanid appanage rulers of Kasan from the 11th to the beginning of the 13th century. As to Karavan itself, it is identified with Karvan, a mediaeval town mentioned by the Arab and Persian geographers of the 10th to 12th century.

The hoard was found by schoolchildren and was kept in a small museum in Karavan school. I had learned about this hoard from one of my students, who, at my request, brought the coins to Kirghiz State University to show me. The hoard (or that part of it which was kept in the school museum) comprised 13 copper coins of 3 types.

Type 1. (Kasan?). 564/1168-69. Diameter 27.5-28.5 mm. Copper silvered dirhems. 2 coins.

Obverse: within a circle: لا اله الا الله وحده / لا شريك له

Above the Kalima is a ringlet. CL is badly effaced. E. A. Davidovich³ considered that CL was Qur'an IX, 33 "with many mistakes and distortions" but to me it looks rather like a date formula.

Reverse: within a circle: نصر/بن الحسين/طغرل/خا/قلن

ضرب هذا الدرهم سنة أربع و ستين —

Type 2. (Kasan?). Date has not survived. Diameter 2 1-22 mm. Copper falus. 6 coins.

Obverse: within a border of two solid circles with beaded one in between: لا اله الا الله / وحده / لا شريك له

Above the Kalima is an arabesque resembling a nomad bow.

CL is either effaced totally or there there was not any. A. K. Markov⁴ wrote that CL "was replaced by a beaded circle". Reverse: within the same border as on the obverse:

نصر / طغرل / خان

CL: (sic) اخلاقن العادل — جلال الدنيا و الد

A.K. Markov⁵ wrote that CL was a date formula. Maybe that was a coin with the same obverse but different reverse (or he may have been mistaken).

Type 3. (Samarqand?). Mint-name and date either have not survived or were absent. Diameter 21-22 mm. Copper falus. 5 coins.

Obverse: within a border of two solid circles with a beaded one in between: عدل / لا اله الا الله وحده / لا شريك له

Under the Kalima, three dots in a row placed horizontally.

قلج / طغغاج / خان

Reverse: within the same border as on the obverse:

قلج

To the left of the word are 4 dots placed lozenge-like. CL is badly effaced (titles or date formula?).

Background history.

Around 522/ 1128 a mutiny broke out against the head of the Western Qarakhanids, Arslan Khan Muhammad b. Suleiman (495-524/1102-1130). Arslan Khan asked the Seljuqid sultan Sanjar for help. Meanwhile Arslan Khan's son Ahmad quelled the mutiny. Nonetheless, Sanjar, with 70000 warriors, entered Mawarannahr, occupied Bukhara and minted coins there in his name in AH 522. In Samarqand and Fergana coins were minted in the names of Arslan Khan and his son and co-ruler, Qadir Khan Ahmad. Later Sanjar accused Arslan Khan of treason, claiming that assassins had been caught, who were sent by Arslan Khan to kill him. Sanjar besieged Samarqand and after 6 (or 4) months captured it. The invalid Arslan Khan was dethroned and exiled to Balkh. The vacant throne of the Western Qarakhanid khaqanate was bestowed by Sanjar upon another Qarakhanid, Qilij Tafghach Khan Abu-l-Ma'ali Hasan (also known as "Hasan-tegin") b. 'Ali b. 'Abd al-Mumin (more remote ancestors are not known). Then Sanjar left Mawarannahr. But in the second half of AH 526, the summer of 1132, Sanjar entered Mawarannahr again to quell the mutiny of Qadir Khan Ahmad who tried to restore the throne of the Western Qarakhanid khaqanate for himself⁷.

In the Osh History and Folk Lore Museum there is a hoard (KP 136/192 H6) of 999 copper silvered dirhems found in Osh. Their preservation is bad, only 891 coins could be identified. Dates have not survived and only on 1 coin has part of a mint-name survived. But the hoard can be dated exactly enough. 232 coins were minted in the name of Arslan Khan and his son and co-ruler Ahmad. These coins were minted between AH 522, when Ahmad having quelled the mutiny against Arslan Khan became the co-ruler of his father, and Rabi' I 524, when Arslan Khan was dethroned by sultan Sanjar (i.e. between 6.01.1128 and 14.03.1130). 115 dirhems were minted in the name of Qadir Khan Ahmad only, i.e. not later 526/1132,

when the mutiny of Ahmad was put down by Sanjar.

In the Osh hoard, there are 415 dirhems, minted in the names of Qara Khan (khaqan) Hasan and his suzerain sultan Sanjar, and 20 dirhems, minted in the names of Tughril Khan Husain (son and vassal of Hasan), Qara Khan Hasan (immediate suzerain) and sultan Sanjar (supreme suzerain). These dirhems could not be minted earlier than AH 522, when Sanjar and his 70000 warriors entered Mawarannahr, and must have been minted in AH 523, when Sanjar waged war against Arslan Khan. On one of Hasan's dirhems the end of the mint-name is visible:

(اخسيكت — سيكت)

So, prior to his accession to the throne as the Head of the Western Qarakhanids, Hasan was an appanage ruler of Akhsiket in Fergana. As to his son Tughril Khan Husain, he most probably was an appanage ruler of Kasan, situated "behind" (about 40 km north of) Akhsiket on the same river Kasan-Sai (the northern tributary of the Syr-Daria).

This Husain happened to start the line of Qarakhanid appanage rulers named "Tughrils of Fergana". He himself, his son and grandson, and one more of his descendents all had the title "Tughril Khan (or khaqan)". Having for the first time appeared as vassal ruler of one of the appanages in Fergana, Tughril Khan Husain then disappeared from the coins (and written sources) for quite a long time. He probably stayed in Fergana either as a private person or ruler of some appanage without the right to mint coins. But there is some evidence that, for at least several years at the end of his life, he was an appanage ruler of Uzdjend (as the town and mint were named in the 12th century). One inscription of the famous North Mausoleum in Uzgen reads that erection of the mausoleum was started 4 Rabi' II AH 547, i.e. 27.07.1152. Another inscription gives the name and titlage of a ruler for whom the mausoleum was built:

قتلغ يرك طغرل قراخانن الحسين بن الحسن بن علي
الخالقن العادل الاعظم جلال الدنيا و الدين الب تونكا

According to Djamal Qarshi⁹ "the ruler of Fergana, Husain Tughril Khan ibn al-Hasan Qarakhan" died in Rajab (seventh month) of 551 i.e. between 20.08.-19.09 1156. So at least in 547-551 Tughril Khan Husain was ruler of Uzdjend and probably of all Fergana. For a long time, coins minted by him in Uzdjend remained unknown. In the catalogue of muslim coins of the Imperial Hermitage Museum, published in 1896, A. K. Markov placed coins minted by an anonymous Tughril Khan among the coins of Tughril Khan Nasr, son of Tughril Khan Husain¹⁰. The coins were in a poor state of preservation without visible dates. A. K. Markov wrote that coins were "bez oznachemia mesta" (i.e. mint-names were not placed on them). A hundred years later B. D. Kochnev claimed that he had read on some of those coins the mint-name "Uzdjend" and on the others the name الحسي. He attributed the coins to the Uzdjendian mintage of Tughril Khan Husain. If so (and if B. D. Kochnev is not mistaken) those coins could not have been minted later than the seventh month of AH 551/09.1156.

And that is where the hoards studied in this article come.

1. *Uzgen hoard*. Types 1-3 were minted by anonymous

عدل طغرل خان

(Righteous Tughril Khan) and correspond to coin Nr. 554, published by A.K. Markov. If B.D. Kochnev is not mistaken these coins were minted in Uzdjend by Tughril Khan Husain b. Hasan not later than 551/1156. The very fact that the hoard of such coins was found in Uzgen (medieval Uzgend or Uzdjend) speaks strongly in favour of this attribution.

Type 4 was minted by an anonymous Qilij Tafghach Khan. Rukn al-Dunia wa'd-Din Qilij Tafghach Khan Mas'ud b. al-Hasan (brother of Tughril Khan Husain) was supreme ruler of the Western Qarakhanid khaqanate in 556-568/1160-1173. His mints operated in Samarqand, Bukhara, Binaket, and Tirmid. In AH 556-561 he minted billon (silverplated) dirhems. These dirhems circulated freely throughout the Western Qarakhanid khaqanate. But in AH 562 he started to mint fiduciary copper silvered dirhems. Fiduciary coins with forced value based on a state decree circulated only in Mas'ud's own dominions. As far as I know, they did not circulate in Fergana. Gold dinars and copper falus were also minted by Mas'ud but they were not so numerous. While fiduciary dirhems of

Mas'ud were not accepted in Fergana, his copper falus, not being fiduciary, circulated freely throughout all the Western Qarakhanid khaqanate reaching (as we see) even its easternmost town of Uzdjend. The coins of Tughril Khan Husain in the Uzgen hoard, judging by their small size (18-22 mm), were also falus. That is why they continued to circulate freely in AH 556-568 (the time when this fals of Qilij Tafghach Khan Mas'ud would have been minted).

2. **Djalalabad hoard** (at least that part of it that is in the Djalalabad Museum). This is a homogeneous hoard comprising coins of the same type. They correspond to coins Nr. 549-553, published by A.K. Markov, which B.D. Kochnev attributes to the Uzdjend mintage of Tughril Khan Husain. If Kochnev is right, these coins could not have been minted later than 551/1156. The fact that this hoard was found in Djalalabad, only 30 km from Uzgen speaks in favour of their having been minted in mediaeval Uzgend (Uzdjend).

3. **Karavan hoard**. The main part of this hoard consists of the coins minted by Tughril Khan Nasr b. al-Husain (son of Tughril Khan Husain), but in some other appanage than Uzdjend because since 559/1163-64 Uzdjend was the appanage of Arslan Khan Ibrahim b. Husain (brother of Tughril Khan Nasr), who minted coins there till 574/1178-79, when he became the Head of the Western Qarakhanid khaqanate with its capital in Samarqand. What part of Fergana was the appanage of Tughril Khan Nasr? Both his son, Tughril Khan Muhammad b. Nasr, and the successor of the latter Ulugh Tughril Khan minted coins in Kasan: Muhammad b. Nasr in AH 578(?), 587, 591, 594, 598 and Ulugh Tughril Khan in 605 and 608(9). It looks as though they inherited Kasan together with the title Tughril Khan (khaqan). No doubt, the appanage of Tughril Khan Nasr was also Kasan. The fact that the hoard comprising coins of Tughril Khan Nasr was found in Karavan, only 40 km from Kasan, speaks in favour of that. The Karavan hoard comprised both fiduciary copper silvered dirhems (Type 1) and copper falus (Type 2) minted by Nasr b. al-Husain. And fiduciary dirhems of Nasr b. al-Husain could circulate only within his appanage. Uzdjend, occupied by Arslan Khan Ibrahim was capital of another appanage, one of the biggest in Fergana. Karvan never was (and could be) the capital of an appanage but Kasan was the capital of Qarakhanid appanages both in the 11th and 12th centuries.

It is interesting that part of the Karavan hoard comprised falus of Qilij Tafghach Khan Mas'ud, minted most probably in his capital Samarqand. They were not fiduciary and circulated unhindered in all Fergana, the appanage of Tughril Khan Nasr b. al-Husain included.

The coins of Type 1 (fiduciary dirhems) were minted in 564/1168-69. It is the earliest date known for the mintage of Tughril Khan Nasr. Other dates are 568/1172-73 and 576/1180-81¹². Markov¹³ published a dirhem of his son Tughril Khan Muhammad b. Nasr. He read the date as "578". Bearing in mind that تسعين 70 and

تسعين 90 differ only in their diacritical marks, which as a rule were not placed on Qarakhanid coins, I suggested reading the date as "598". B. D. Kochnev¹⁴ rejected that suggestion saying that from at least the year 587 onwards Muhammad b. Nasr mentioned on his coins the caliph al-Nasir, and than this mention is absent on coin Nr. 1126. This argument is not conclusive. On a coin of such type in the Tübingen University collection the numeral in question is distinctly تسعين 90. Though having not placed the diacritical marks, die-sinkers often made it clear which numeral was meant by the simple expedient of making the first prong somewhat higher than three following prongs or setting it apart from the three following prongs that were closer together. On the dirhem of the Tübingen University collection the first prong is higher than the following three. Probably influenced by Kochnev, Tobias Mayer¹⁵ read the date on this coin as "5(7)8 H. (verschieden "598" H)", i.e. he considered that the date should be "578" but was written mistakenly as "598".

Kochnev has a tendency to believe that he is always right and all others are wrong. But he himself "having even not seen the coin", published by M. Mitchener¹⁶, criticised Mitchener who (in Kochnev's opinion) mistakenly read the date "608" instead of "605", which cannot be right because he (Kochnev) "studied tens of such dirhems and could not find on them the date "608". This

argument is not tenable.

Anyway if the date on the coin in question is "578", the reign of Tughril Khan Nasr b. Husain should come to an end between AH 576 and 578. And if the date is "598", the reign of Nasr should come to an end between AH 576 and 587 (the earliest known coin of Nasr's son Tughril Khan Muhammad). The coins of Muhammad b. Nasr have dates AH 587, 591, 594, 598. He was succeeded in Kasan by Ulugh Tughril Khan who minted coins there in AH 605 and 608.

The Uzgend, Djalalabad and Karavan hoards are an interesting and informative source on the history of the Ferganian Qarakhanids and money circulation in Fergana in the second half of the 12th century.

Notes

1. A. K. Markov: *Inventarnyi katalog musul'manskikh monet Imperatorskogo Ermitazha*, StPetersburg 1896, p. 281, Nr. 549.
2. Op. cit. p.281, Nr 546
3. E. A. Davidovich: *Klady drevnikh i srednevekovykh monet Tadjikistana*, Moskva 1979, p. 198.
4. A. K. Markov: *Inventarnyi katalog...*, p. 280, Nr. 533.
5. Op. cit. p. 281, Nr. 541.
6. Op. cit. p. 281, Nr. 541.
7. V. V. Bartold: *Turkestan v epokhy mongol'skogo nashestviia. Sochineniia*, tom 1, Moskva 1963, pp. 383-384.
8. A. Yu. Yakubovskii: *Dye nadpisi na Severnom mavzolee 1152 g. v Uzgende*. Numizmatika i epigrafika, tom 1, 1947, p. 29.
9. V. V. Bartold: *Turkestan v epokhu mongol'skogo nashestviia. Chast' I, Teksty*, St. Petersburg 1898, p. 132.
10. A. K. Markov: *Inventarnyi katalog...* pp. 281-282, Nr. 546-554.
11. B. D. Kochnev: *Svod nadpisei na karakhanidskikh monetakh: antropionimy i titulatura (chast' 2)*, in *Vostochnoe istoricheskoe istochnikovedenie i spetsial'nye istoricheskie distsipliny*, vypusk 5, Moskva 1997, p.268, Nr. 1102-1103; p. 303, footnotes Nr. 1102-1103.
12. Op. cit. p. 271, Nr. 1130-1131.
13. A. K. Markov: *Inventarnyi katalog...* p. 268, Nr. 585.
14. B. D. Kochnev: *Svod...* pp. 305-306, footnote 1136.
15. Tobias Mayer: *Sylloge Numorum Arabicorum Tübingen. Nord- und Ostzentralasien XV b Mittelasien II*, Tübingen-Berlin 1998, p. 63, Nr. 520.
16. M. Mitchener: *The World of Islam: Oriental coins and their Values*, London 1977, p. 163, Nr. 897, 898.

Some Unknown Dirhems of the Western Qarakhanid ruler Khidr Khān

By Michael Fedorov

Until the 1970s, coins of Khidr Khān, who reigned over the Western Qarakhanid khaqanate in the last quarter of the 11th century AD, were totally unknown. The first dirhem of this khan, minted in Uzgend, in AH 473 / AD 1080-81, was discovered by the writer in 1970 in a private collection in Tashkent and published eventually in 1979. Since it was known that, after AH 460 / AD 1067-68, Uzgend was in the hands of the Eastern Qarakhanids, who had conquered it from the Western Qarakhanids, this coin of Khidr Khān showed that there was another internecline war which resulted in the reconquest of Uzgend by the Western Qarakhanids¹. There is no mention of such a war in the scanty chronicles of the Qarakhanid period. The second coin of Khidr Khān was found in the summer of 1983 by archaeologist M.I. Moskalev at the hill-fort of Shirdak-bek high in the Tien-Shan Mountains, while archaeological reconnaissance work was being carried out². Three more coins of this ruler were then found at Safid-Bulend archaeological site near the famous Shah-Fazil mausoleum (north-east Fergana, Kirghizstan) and brought to the State History Museum of the Kirghiz Republic. Finally, in 1996, a Bishkek antique dealer showed me six coins of Khidr Khān found in Ketmen-Tiube Hollow (south-west Kirghizstan). These coins represent some new types different from those published.

Type III. (Ushrūshana?). AH 472 and 473. One of the coins (3.8 g, 27 mm) was found at Safid-Bulend, another in Ketmen-Tiube Hollow.

Obverse: within a double circle:

لا اله الا الله وحده / لا شريك له / ملك المسلم [المشرق؟]

Circular legend:

بسم الله —هم— اوسروشنه [؟] اثنى [ثلاثة] سبعين—

Reverse: within a double circle:

Above محمد رسول الله / المقتدى بامر الله / طفعاخ خان / الخضر.

is a tamgha. The circular legend has not survived.

The reading of the mint-name presents some difficulties for the letters are not well preserved and seem to be somewhat distorted. It looks like اوسروشه

(Ustrūshana) but with the letter *wā* after the letter *alif*, which is unusual. The last word in the obverse field is also uncertain:

المسلم or المشرق,

because the last letter is a simple ringlet without the tail and does not look like a letter *qāf*. The letter *wā* (assuming it is a *wā*) is written in a similar way in the mint-name "Ustrūshana" after the *rā*. If the reading ملك المسلم

(*malik al-muslim*) is correct it would be the name of a vassal. On the other hand, ملك المشرق
(*malik al-mashriq* - King of the East) was a common honorific epithet of Qarakhanid rulers.

Type IV. (Nuket?). AH (47)3/AD 1080-81. One coin (3.85 g, 27 mm) was found at Safid-Bulend, two others were found in Ketmen-Tiube Hollow.

Obverse: within a double circle: (sic)

لا اله الا الله وحده / لا شريك له / ملك المشرق

Above is a tamgha as in type III. Circular legend:

بسم نوكت [؟] ثلث

Reverse: within a double circle:

الله / محمد رسول الله / المقتدى بامر الله / طفعاخ خان / الخضر.

The circular legend has not survived.

On this coin the tamgha was placed on the obverse not the reverse.

The mint-name looks like نوكت

"Naukat" but again the letter *wā* (if it is a *wā*) is somewhat distorted: the loop above the line is like that of a *wā* but there is no tail under the line. The last word in the field should be *mashriq* (or *muslim*?) since the last letter is a small ringlet, again without a tail.

Type V. (Ustrūshana?). AH (47...)/ after AD 1077 and not later than AD 1088. One coin (3.97 g, 27 mm) was found at Safid-Bulend, another in Ketmen-Tiube Hollow.

Obverse: within a double circle:

لا اله الا الله وحده / لا شريك له / الخضر

Above it is a ringlet.

Circular legend: ضرب هذا الدين اوسرو [؟]

Reverse: within a double circle:

محمد رسول الله / المقتدى بامر الله / طفعاخ خان / الخضر

Above it is a ringlet. Circular legend has not survived.

On this coin no mention of a vassal is possible since the name *al-khidr* is placed both on the reverse and the obverse.

Type VI. Mint-name and date not visible. The coin was found in Ketmen-Tiube Hollow. The condition of the coin is poor. It has a reverse like type IV (?). On the obverse, to the right of the Kalima (written in three lines) is the word **الدولة**

On the coins of types I and II, Khidr Khān has the *laqab*

برهان الدولة

burhān al-daula. So this *laqab* was probably also on the coins of type VI.

There is one more coin, found in Ketmen-Tiube Hollow, but its condition is so poor that only the name *al-khidr* is discernible.

Thus if my reading is correct we have two more mints of Khidr Khān: Ustrūshana, the mediaeval province to the west of Khojend, and Naukat in the mediaeval province Ilaq (valley of the Angren River in modern Tashkent oblast in Uzbekistan). There is also one new date - 472 / AD 1080. Since the elder brother and predecessor of Khidr Khān, Shams al-Mulk Nasr b. Ibrāhīm died³ in Dhu'l Qa'da (11th month) of AH 472 / 24.04-23.05. 1080 AD, the coin in question could have been minted either in the 11th or 12th month of AH 472 / 24.04 - 21.06. 1080 AD.

In 1997, B.D. Kochnev⁴ mentioned dirhems, struck in Samarqand in AH 476 (?) with the titles *al-khāqān al-mu'azzam tafghhāch khān khidr* and *al-khāqān al-mu'azzam khidr*, but he did not give the detailed description of the coins.

Thus, we now have four mints for Khidr Khān: Uzgend, Ustrūshana?, Naukat?, and Samarqand

Notes

1. M.N. Fedorov. *Novye dannye k istorii Karakhanidskogo gosudarstva poslednei chetverti XI v. Istoriia i arkhologia Srednei Azii*, Ashkhabad 1978 p.175
2. M.N. Fedorov. *Vtoroi dirkhem Khizr-khana. Iz istorii dorevolutsionnogo Kirghizstana*, Frunze 1985, p. 151
3. V.V. Bartold. *Sochineniia*, tom II chast' I, Moskva 1963, p. 630
4. B.D. Kochnev. *Svod nadpisei na karakhanidskikh monetakh: antropionimy i titulatura (chast' 2)* in Vostochnoe istoricheskoe istochnikovedenie i spetsial'nye istoricheskie distsipliny Vyp.5, Moskva 1997, p. 257, Nr. 974, 975.

Notes on Ancient Coins

By Bob Senior

Bhumaka In Taxila

In Newsletter 158 (p.21) I published a Bhumaka copper with *jayatasa* included in the legend and stated that coins with this additional epithet were both finer in style and probably struck in a more western mint, i.e. where Kharosthi was more dominant as a script. As chance would have it a small denomination of this type has come into my hands which was found in Taxila alongside two other coins in the name of the posthumous-Hermaios. Obviously Bhumaka did not occupy Taxila but perhaps this coin being found there indicates it may have come from this tentatively proposed 'western' series rather than the cruder series with better Brahmi but corrupt Kharosthi often found in Gujerat. It weighs 2.91 gm.

The other two coins are variants of MAC 2856-8 type with 'Hermaios bust' right (looking more Roman on some coins) and Nike reverse with legend *maharajasa rajarajasa mahatasa heramayasa*. In the right field is a square monogram with crossed diagonal lines (of Taxila) and in the left is *ya* on one coin (2.51 gm) and nothing on the other (2.37 gm). These last two coins were almost certainly issued by Kujula Kadphises whose rule I date from c. 25 BC to AD 25. They follow the similar coins with seated Zeus reverse MAC 2854/5 and are probably amongst his earliest issues. The three coins are VF in condition and possibly contemporary.

It is of interest that Bhumaka's coins have now been found in Taxila in the Punjab as well as the Gulf Emirates, and those of Abhiraka, his predecessor, have been found in Kandahar and the Gulf Emirates. Rare and of low value, they are most likely to have been carried so far by traders as perhaps small change in their pockets. Their find spots suggest that the trade routes ran from the Persian Gulf to Gujerat and also up the Indus along the old Silk Route.

Epander

Another small hoard has a bearing on the dating of the ephemeral reign of Epander. His silver type with bust and Pallas reverse could fit anywhere between the reigns of Strato I and Apollodotus II stylistically and, in placing him in the tables included in the monograph 'Decline of the Indo-Greeks', I used other material for comparison such as the use of Nike and Bull on his copper as also found on coins of Philoxenos, and the possibility, as reported by Lahiri, that there was an overstrike of an Epander coin on a Philoxenos coin. The unique monogram found on his silver was hard to relate to any other but seemed close to the strange monogram found on Theophios' Attic coins, but turned on its side. His place is not therefore certain and wherever eventually settled would not upset the overall sequence.

This new hoard consisted of just four drachms. Two drachms were of Strato (Boparachchi BN serie 27 (pl.37) No 6 and 11. The former has the PK monogram associated with somewhere NW of Pushkalavati and the latter has the monogram of Pushkalavati itself. The third coin was of the joint Hermaios with Calliope type and the same Pushkalavati monogram. These three coins were VF in condition but the Epander is nearly EF which suggests that it is later in date. It is also unusual in bearing both its normal monogram together with the PK monogram found on the Strato coin. A copper of Epander with both monograms on the same coin is in the British Museum (BN 2F on plate 37). Rather than date him as early as 105 BC it might be more accurate to place him towards the end of Hermaios' reign, c. 80BC. The Pallas type used by Strato c.125-115BC was used then by Nicias and Polyxenos (both very rare kings) but, apart from Epander, no-one else until Amyntas c.75-65BC (on some very rare coins). On the basis of this new, if slight, evidence he would fit well in this position. His

Menander	ⵈ	ⵉ	ⵊ	ⵋ	ⵌ	ⵍ	ⵍ	ⵎ	ⵏ	ⵐ	ⵑ	ⵒ	ⵓ
130-125	Thr		Lys	Lys	Lys	Lys	Ag					Lys	Lys
125/20			Ant	Ant	Ant	Ant	Ag/St	Σ				Str	Ant
120/15	Nic	Nic	Str	Nic	Ni		Str	Str				Str	Str
115/10		The		The	The	Σ						Str	Str
110/05		Phil	Phil	Phil	Phil	Phil	Σ	Phil	Phil	Phil	Pol	φ	φ
105/00							H+C				Phil	Phil	
100/95				Dio	Dio			Dio	Dio	Arc	Dio	ⵍ	ⵍ
95/90		Her	Her				Her	Her	Her	Arc	Arc	Arc	Arc
90/85													
85/80							Hel	Hel	Hel	Hel	Hel	Hel	Hel
80/75									Epa	Epa	Epa		
75/70							Dem						
70/65									Tel	Tel			
65/60									Art	Art	Art	Art	Apo
60/55							Hip	Hip					Hip

Table 3 Showing the sequence of monograms used by Indo-Greek kings. *Italics* indicate that those monarchs struck Attic coinage with the monograms shown.

Name	approximate dates	Name	dates	Name	dates
The = Thrason	c.130 BC	Pol = Polyxenos	c.110 - 105 BC	Hel = Heliocles II	c. 85 - 75 BC
Lys = Lysias	c. 130 - 125 BC	Phil = Philoxenos	c. 110 - 95 BC	Dem = Demetrios III	c. 75 BC
Ant = Antialcidas	c. 127 - 120 BC	Dio = Diomedes	c. 100 - 90 BC	Amy = Amyntas	c. 75 - 65 BC
Ag = Agathocleia	c. 130 - 128 BC	Peu = Peucolaos	c. 90 - 85 BC	Men = Menander II	c. 65 BC
Ag/St = Agathocleia + Strato	c. 128 - 123 BC	Arc = Archebios	c. 95 - 80 BC	Art = Artemidoros	c. 65 - 60 BC
Str = Strato	c. 125 - 115 BC	H+C = Hermaios + Calliope	c. 95 BC	Tel = Telephos	c. 60 BC
Nic = Nicias	c. 120 - 115 BC	Her = Hermaios	c. 95 - 80 BC	Apo = Apollodotos II	c. 65 -55 BC
The = Theophilos	c. 115 - 110 BC	Epa = Epander	c. 80 BC	Hip = Hippostratos	c. 60 - 50 BC

particular monogram may in fact be related to the K-based monogram used by Maues and then Telephos. If so, since it is more complicated, it would probably precede them and a date around the time of the rise of Maues c. 80 BC seems reasonable. A revised table showing these positions is given below.

A Small Hoard From Haripur

A group of 41 base tetradrachms, all with similar wear was reportedly found at Haripur. It consists of:

20 coins of Aspavarma with Pallas reverse. All have the later monogram on the obverse and rosette on the reverse (MAC 2486-95).

14 coins of Gondophares-Sases of Taxila type with Zeus Nikephoros left and later monogram with bar below (MAC 2593-6 type).

7 coins of Gondophares-Sases of Zeus right type (MAC type 2626/28).

Alongside other hoards, this confirms that these two rulers were contemporaries. If anything, the Taxila coins of Gondophares-Sases were the most worn. There is nothing on the Gondophares-Sases coins to suggest that he was a sub-king under some other ruler. The coins clearly give him the title Gondophares and his use of the dynastic symbol is purely because he had succeeded to the Indo-Parthian realm after Abdagases, nephew and successor of Gondophares I. Aspavarma bore the title *Stratega* which means 'commander' but it was a title used by the Apracaraja family and did not mean that he was 'commander' under some other king. His father Indravarma had borne the same title. He was heir to the Apraca realm after the demise of Indravasu, the Apracaraja. The obverse legend was a corrupt one copying that of Azes but Azes was long dead and the die-cutters probably did not understand what it stood for. Again, it does not mean that he was a commander under Azes. The fact that some other coins bear the Gondopharid dynastic symbol does not mean, as has been supposed by others, that he transferred his allegiance to Gondophares. His coins on which the symbol occurs were probably struck in succession to Gondophares-Sases. The copper drachms of Taxila in particular copy exactly the monogram appearing on this hoard's Gondophares-Sases Taxila coins with the extra bar, not used by any of Gondophares-Sases' predecessors.

Kshaharata Questions

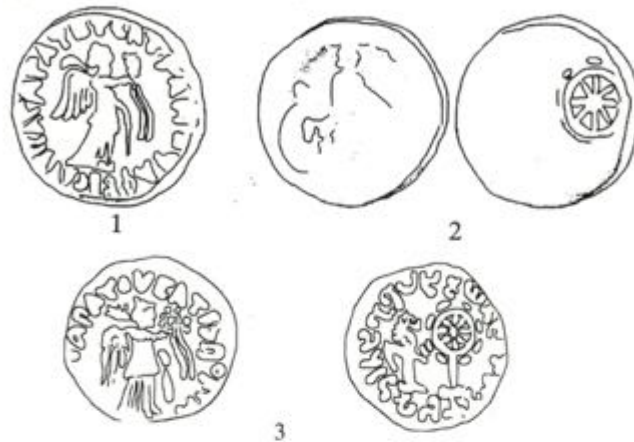
By Bob Senior

We know little about the beginnings of currency systems in Gujerat¹ but, by the first century AD, a system of silver drachms, later dated, became the norm. To the north, in the Punjab, the silver (later billon) and copper system of the Indo-Scythians and Indo-Parthians was replaced by the gold/copper system of the Kushan and to the south, in the Deccan, lead had predominated under the Satavahanas. These silver drachms have a parallel in the similar silver drachms issued in Sind by the Indo-Parthians and the drachms of the Paratarajas of Sind/Baluchistan. They probably grew out of, and were an extension of, the monetary system of the Parthians and were possibly influenced too by the appearance in the region of Roman silver denarii brought in trade.

The silver drachm coinage of Gujerat was mainly issued by the successors of Chastana, of the Kardamaka dynasty, the rulers of which dynasty are generally referred to as the Western Satraps. The silver coinage was introduced however by Chastana's predecessor and contemporary, the Mahakshatrap Nahapana of the Kshaharata dynasty. It would seem that Nahapana was probably the last of his dynasty to rule in India. He carved an empire stretching from Gujerat to Ujjain and Nasik before suffering reverses at the hands of the Satavahanas. It is Nahapana's forebears that interest us in this note.

His immediate predecessor was the Kshaharata Kshatrap Bhumaka of whom we know nothing apart from his coins, which are of copper only and generally found in Gujerat, though one was found in Sharjah, one of the Gulf Emirates. He in turn was preceded by Abhiraka (Aubhirakes). At present, he is the earliest named Kshaharata of whom we have coins and they have been found not only in Gujerat but as far afield as the Arab Emirates and Afghanistan, suggesting that it was he who may have founded the wealth of the dynasty by trading with the Romans. The coins of Abhiraka are of copper only and were struck in several sizes. The earliest coins are rather large and show his name in good Greek. In

ONS Newsletter 158, p.21 I illustrated an example from my collection and now Shailendra Bhandare has shown me a further example of this coin which is seemingly from the same obverse die. His unbroken example measures 26 mm in diameter and, though worn, weighs 11.27 gm. A drawing (1) shows the full type. The second letter in the king's name resembles Φ rather than Y on this example. It was found in Kutch together with a different coin of similar size that bears two countermarks. This latter coin was a bronze of Apollodotos II, the obverse of which is 'countermarked' with an eight-spoked wheel.² Shailendra has a second example from the same region and a further specimen was reported by Dilip Rajgor as having come from Rapar.³



This second specimen of Shailendra's, from Kutch, is on a very worn flan (but heavier at 13.52 gm) and is illustrated as No. 2 above. It shows for the first time that there is a reverse punch which shows part of an 'elephant/lion capital on a pillar'. This would seem to confirm Rajgor's guess that the wheel countermark was placed on the coins by Abhiraka since on ill. 2 the two punches represent the reverse device to be found on all Abhirakas coins (see ill. 3). One other distinguishing feature to notice about the wheel is the occurrence of ovoid shapes at the extension of each spoke. Similar ovoid shapes appear round Nike's wreath on most of Abhiraka's coins and this feature is found elsewhere only on the coins of Gondophares I, whom I regard as a contemporary of Abhiraka and whose coins the latter imitated for his obverse. The use of Nike would suggest an Indo-Parthian connection of some kind. Through these countermarked coins I would now like to try to trace the Kshaharata Satraps a little further back before Abhiraka.



This wheel countermark has so far been found on only one other coin type and that is the coin illustrated No. 4 above, which is in the collection of Lance Dane in Bombay, reportedly found in Junagarh in Gujerat. This has the 'elephant/lion capital on a pillar' on the reverse too. The issuer of the undertype is as yet a mystery but may be the predecessor of Abhiraka. Two uncountermarked examples of the issue (one illustrated as No. 5) are in the collection of W. F. Spengler (who cannot remember where he purchased them) and a third, which has the portrait facing left (No. 6), is in

my collection (now in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford) and is ex-Mir Zakah II hoard.

The legend on the obverse of these remarkable coins is in Greek on four sides, and in Kharosthi on the reverse in three lines, part of which one can read as '...maharayasa yapirajayasa...'. The 'Yapirajaya' would seem to be a title rather than a name. The reverse shows Nike, as on all obverses of Abhiraka and it is very close to the Nike appearing on some coppers of Gondophares I. This suggests that this new ruler was also an Indo-Parthian or Scythian. The obverse portrait is similar to certain coins of Orthagnes/Gadana, a contemporary king in Arachosia. I do not have the weight of Bill's coins but my (very worn) specimen weighs 10.68 gm. This is in line with the early Abhiraka and countermarked Apollodotos II coins. Bill Spengler and I had already observed the similarity in fabric and style of these coins to those of Apollodotos II and that the field letter *Di* occurs on some of his coins even before the countermarked coins had surfaced. I even suggested to him some years ago that Nahapana might have issued them, based on what I thought might be read from the visible Greek legend. We are left with an enigma therefore. Who could have issued them and when? I date Apollodotos II c.65-55 BC and, as his countermarked coins all seem to be worn, I would date them to some decades after their issue. Shailendra informs me that small round and square imitation Apollodotos H coins are often found in Kutch too. Gondophares I seems to have been regnant until the last decade BC and I feel Abhiraka was a contemporary of his towards the end of his reign. I would therefore place the 'Yapirajaya' c. 30/20 BC and suggest that Abhiraka countermarked these and the still circulating Apollodotos II coins shortly thereafter. I would hope that an example with clear legends will surface in the future which might answer the question of the ruler's name and that of the dynasty to which he belonged. All the Apollodotos coins with the countermarks are so far of just the one type and monogram, BN⁴ series 6 C,D. These are associated with a mint in Hazara, east of Taxila. Silver drachms of Apollodotos are also known to have circulated in Barugaza until the time of Nahapana. This strongly suggests that there were strong connections between the Punjab and Gujerat, possibly for trade but also possibly for ethnic reasons as may become apparent next.

The only other mention we have of the Kshaharatas is from inscriptions, not coins. On the Taxila copper plate inscription of year 78 one Kshaharata Kshatrap of Chukhsa, Liaka Kusuluka is mentioned with his son Patika (though this may have been misinterpreted in view of the next inscription). The inscription mentions the Great King Moga (Maues) and the era has been thought to be one of c. 155 BC when Maues was still alive but I would suggest that it could be an era of Maues and refer to a date in the last decade BC when the Kshaharatas were already wealthy. On the Mathura Lion Capital reference is made to the Mahakshatrap Kusuluka Patika and this may be the same person as above or his son. The inscription chiefly concerns the daughter of Kharahostes and queen of the Mahakshatrap Rajula (Rajuvula), and mentions the solemnities paid to the illustrious King Muki (thought to be Maues). It is dedicated in honour of the whole of Sakastana. It too would fall in the last decade BC. The one inscription being in Taxila and the other in Mathura shows that at this time there was a strong link between the Punjab and sites as far south as Mathura with all being encompassed by the term 'Sakastan'. Important people from these areas were interconnected and made religious or political donations at important places. The Kshaharatas were considered to be important enough to be mentioned. If one accepted that the Taxila copper plate was as early as c. 80 BC (which I do not) then their influence would stretch even further back. It has been considered that Kshaharata may refer to a place but if so then this is not certainly identified.

The other place mentioned in connection with the Kshaharatas is Chukhsa and this was identified by Sir Aurel Stein as being Chach, a district near Taxila, and no-one seems to have questioned this since. I do not know the origin of the name Kutch but it strikes me that this would be a more likely meaning of the word Chukhsa since we know that the Kshaharatas occupied this district. However, there is a further possibility of tracing their origin. One other inscription, the Taxila silver vase inscription, refers to 'Jihonika, the Skhatrap of Chukhsa'. Jihonika is considered to be the same ruler as the Satrap, later Mahasatrap Jihuniasa. In fact the

name of the father of Jihonika was reconstructed in the inscription from that of Jihuniasa on the coins - it being assumed that they are the same king. His Greek name is Zeionises. His name also occurs on one of the recently translated Buddhist scrolls now in the British Library but in the form Jihonige⁵. Such variations in name-spelling do not seem to be unusual. In my decades of coin collecting, I have seen that practically all the coins of Zeionises turn up, both silver and copper, in the Indian part of present Kashmir. It would seem that Scythians had been settled in this area for centuries (see ONS Newsletter 158, p.17-20) and since Zeionises is called the Satrap of Chukhsa I would suggest that it is to be found somewhere close to Kashmir. Zeionises is the successor to Azilises in this region and falls in the range c.40/35 - c.15 BC. He is son of Manigula who was brother of 'the Maharaja' or Great King. This may have been Azilises. There is no mention of Manigula or Zeionises being Kshaharatas and we must assume that they were not, unless evidence to the contrary surfaces. Was Liaka Kusuluka Patika the successor of Zeionises/Jihonika? and how was he/they related to Abhiraka? Were they contemporaries? Did the Kshaharatas move south at the same time that Sodasa, son of Rajuvula made Mathura his capital? And Finally, who issued the enigmatic coppers that were countermarked by Abhiraka and is he the missing Kshaharata link?

Notes

1. Kutch is the part of Gujerat north of the Gulf of Kutch. Kathiawar is the part to the south (the ancient Saurashtra/Surastrene) and Barygaza (Bharukucha) was the port of Nahapana's kingdom, sited where Broach now is near the mouth of the Narbada River.
2. Whereas the other two examples of this countermarked coin of Apollodotos II have original undertypes, this coin of Shailendra's seems to be cast, with the countermark being part of the mould design. The coin is light at 8.53 gm. Though there is a part of the flan missing (blister?) I think that the appearance is due to the coin being cast rather than having been partly melted in a fire. We have something similar with countermarked coins of Phraates IV of Parthia where some coins use original coins for the undertype and others are locally made dies with the countermark added to the die.
3. K. K. Maheshwari and B. Rath, Ed., *Numismatic Panorama*, New Delhi, 1996 - *Abheraka, the earliest Western Kshatrapa* by Dilip Rajgor, page 142, No.13.
4. O. Bopearachchi, *Monnaies Gréco-Bactriennes et Indo-Grecques*, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris 1991.
5. R. Salomon, *Ancient Buddhist Scrolls from Gandhara*, British Library, London 1999

A Gold coin, *Bhairava-gadyana*, of Western Chalukya ruler Jayasimha II Jagadekamalla?

By Dr. Nupam Mahajan



Recently, I acquired a gold coin which is shown in the figure above. The coin, which weighs 3.72 gm and which was perhaps issued in mediaeval southern India, appears to be unpublished. This is a uniface gold coin with seven punches, located at the border of the coin, four of which are prominent while three are partly struck. The two prominent punch-marks create two *Shri* monograms in *Telugu-Kanarese* script in a form that depicts Laxmi, the wife of Vishnu. The third punch-mark creates a triangular motif and the fourth punch-mark represents a *Telugu-Kanarese* inscription, which reads *Bhairava*. Two marks at the upper left and right corners represent lions (stylised) while the seventh punch-mark at the lower left corner might represent the sun and the moon.

The legend *Bhairava* on this coin could represent any of the followings:

1. The name of the ruler.
2. Title of the ruler.
3. Name of series/denomination of the coin.

Coins of a somewhat similar fabric were issued by the Western Chalukyas (specimens 85-99)¹, later Chalukyas (specimens 109-110)¹, Kalachuris of Kalyana (specimens 116-117)¹, Telugu-

Chodas (specimens 422-430¹ and specimens 684-686²) and Yadavas of Devanagiri (specimen 348)¹. To our knowledge, none of the above dynasties had a ruler named Bhairava nor did they have a ruler who assumed the title Bairava. Many Telugu-Choda chiefs ruling in the Nellore region of modern Andhra Pradesh and Bolangir district of modern Orissa state of India issued coins in the name of Bhujabalas or Bhujavalas (literal meaning: "one with strong arms"). Telugu-Choda chiefs continued to rule in this area from the 11th to 13th century under the sovereignty of the Western Chalukyas (of Kalayana) and minted coins with the *Telugu-Kanarese* legend *Bhuja*. The coin under discussion here bears a striking resemblance to and appears to have been executed in a very similar style to the Bhujabala coins, except for the different *Telugu-Kanarese* inscription. It is very tempting to postulate that a hitherto unknown Telugu-Choda chief or governor named Bhairava was a feudatory of Western Chalukyas and minted this coin showing the royal insignia/emblem of his master/s. But, because there is no evidence in contemporary inscriptions for the existence of such a ruler (or title) named Bhairava, this coin cannot be attributed to the Telugu-Chodas.

The most common gold coins of south India were known as Pagoda, Varaha and *Gadyana*. All three names represent the same gold coin weighing approximately 3.2 to 3.36 gm (about 50-52 grains)³. The term *Gadyana* was used to represent a gold coin of 48 rattis or approximately 5.2 gm in a famous book, *Lilavati*, written by Bhaskaracharya⁴. No coin type is available today which exactly corresponds to the standard mentioned in *Lilavati*. The term *Gadyana* was first mentioned in AD 733 and continued to be mentioned in inscriptions of the Rashtrakutas, Gangas and Eastern Chalukya dynasties of southern India¹. *Gadyana* was also quoted in Northern Indian inscriptions where it was a gold coin weighing about 4.01 gm (32 *gunjas* or 62 grains)⁵. Gradually the weight of this coin was reduced and finally standardised as a gold coin of 3.2 to 3.36 gm by 15th century. *Gadyana* coins were minted extensively by the majority of southern Indian dynasties during the ancient and mediaeval period until the rise of the Vijayanagara Empire. These gold coins can be classified into various groups based on various parameters.

In the inscriptions of the Kadamba dynasty of Goa, however, a reference was made to the coin called *Bhairava-gadyana*⁷. These coins were known to have been in circulation in the second half of the eleventh century. The Kadambas of Goa had established a distinct monetary system where specific attribution is possible because of the presence of the name or title of the ruler on the coins. The kings were known from various epigraphic records which also reveal the existence of three different Kadamba families: Kadambas of Goa, Hangal and Belur. The Kadamba rulers of Goa minted coins depicting a finely executed portrait of a lion on the obverse while the Kadambas of Hangal minted coins showing the monkey god, Hanuman and artistic scrollwork on the reverse. The Kadamba coins were one of the heaviest of all medieval Indian gold coinage. A gold coin of Jayakesi II was 89 grains or 5.75 gm⁸. The gold coins of Kadambas were maintained with remarkable accuracy throughout the reigns of rulers of this dynasty as seen in coins of Jayakesi I and Soideva^{7,8}.

It is almost certain that the coinage of the Kadambas of Goa was initiated by Jayakesi I (1050-1078 AD) who had adopted the Kanarese title *Shri-Malege-Bhairava* (*Bhairava* is another name of Lord Shiva)⁷. Some of his gold coins confirm this title as they bear the legend *Shri Malege Bhairava*, written in Devanagari script on the reverse⁷. These coins depict lion or *Gajasimha* (a chimera of elephant and lion) on the obverse and weigh 76.5 grains or 4.94 gm. The present coin could therefore be a *Bhairava-gadyana*, issued by the Kadamba ruler Jayakesi I. But, this is unlikely as the coin shown above is uniface, lacks a portrait of any kind and is considerably lighter in weight (3.72 gm as compared to 4.94 gm). Thus this coin is not likely to have been struck by any of the Kadamba dynasties.

Jayasimha II Jagadekamalla (1015-1042 AD), an early ruler of the Western Chalukya dynasty assumed the title of Jagadeva, "the lord of the world". He minted large numbers of coins with different legends and emblems - ten such different types have already been studied in detail¹. His coinage could be conveniently attributed due to the presence of any one of such legends as *Sri Jayadeva*, *Sri Jagadeka*, *Jagadeka*, *Jagadeva* or *Jaya*, on those coins. Some coins

of Jayasimha depict a triangular motif which is described as a 'spearhead' (specimen 89-91)¹, which is almost identical to the triangular motif depicted on the present coin. Secondly, the present coin is very similar in fabric and weight to the gold coins of Jayasimha, as seen in the case of specimen 91, which, too, weighs 57.6 grains or 3.72 gm¹. The weights of specimens 89 and 90 are not known. As the gold coins called *Bhairava-gadyana* were known to have been in circulation in the second half of the eleventh century, it is very tempting to propose that the coin shown is a *Bhairavagadyana* minted by Jayasimha II Jagadekamalla. Possibly, the mintage of *Bhairava-gadyanas* was continued by his successors till the reign of Someshwara II (1068-1076 AD). The Kadambas were known to be feudatories of the Chalukyas and this would explain the inscriptions of the Kadambas where *Bhairava-gadyanas* were reported to be in circulation in the second half of the eleventh century.

It is, therefore, quite possible that following the same tradition of many of the other prominent southern Indian dynasties, Jayasimha Jagadekamalla and his successors also minted a gold coin called *Bhairava Gadyana*, with a distinct emblem, that of a spearhead, for this illustrious ruler.

Notes:

1. Chattopadhyaya, B., *Coins and Currency system in South India*, New Delhi, 1977.
2. Mitchiner, M., *Oriental coins and their values*, III, Non-Islamic states & Western colonies, London, 1979.
3. Sankara Narayana, N., *Catalogue of Vijaynagar coins in the Madras government museum*, Bulletin of the Madras Government museum, 1994, p 11.
4. Mirashi, V. V., *Studies in Indology*, III, Ancient Indian coins, Nagpur, 1962, p. 145.
5. Rama Rao, M., *Selected gold and silver coins in the Andhra Pradesh Government museum*, Hyderabad, Andhra Pradesh Government Archaeological Series, No. 13, Hyderabad, 1963, p. 5, nos. 29-35.
6. Narasimha Murthy A. V., *Varieties of Gadyana in south India*, Numismatic Digest, 1992, Vol. 16 p 116-127.
7. Dikshit M. G., *Some gold coins of the Kadambas of Goa*, JNSI, 1949, Vol. XI, p 88-92.
8. Dikshit M. G., *Some gold coins of the Kadambas of Goa*, JNSI, 1948, Vol. X, p143-145.

I would like to acknowledge the assistance of Mr. S. G. Dhopate and Dr. William Warden in the preparation of this article.

A Remarkable Mohur of Aurangzeb from Multan By George Falcke



This coin is an example of Aurangzeb's first gold issued from the Multan mint with the epithet *dār al-amān*, dated AH 1069, *ahd*. This piece exhibits several unusual features not found on other coins of this ruler and mint.

On the obverse, the couplet is divided into four sections instead of the usual three and the legend at the bottom is differently arranged. The third section divider is formed by the word *jahān* instead of the usual word *sikkah*. The *n* of *jahān* has, inside it, a flower, possibly a lotus, almost identical to one on Akbar's hawk mohur of Asir. Both the AH date and regnal year are on the reverse, with 1069 placed inside the loop of the *s* of *julūs*, and with *ahd* just to the left.

Only one other mohur of Aurangzeb has so far been published clearly dated 1069, the year of his coronation in Dehli (24 Ramadan). This is a coin of Shahjahanabad (Skanda 391, Spink-Taisei catalogue 9). The Nagpur Museum Catalogue has a mohur of Kambayat, regnal year *ahd* with only the 9 of the date 1069 visible (coin no. 1017).

A Gold Nisar of Aurangzeb By Shailendra Bhandare

Fractional Gold coins of Aurangzeb (1658-1707) are rare, especially so from a southern mint. In the light of this observation, it was interesting to note a piece from the cabinets of the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. I am grateful to Dr Mark

Blackburn, the Keeper of Coins and Medals Department, for allowing me to study and publish this specimen. The coin may be described as follows -

Wt. 2.66 g; Accession number T-1251-1918 (Tremlett Bequest); photographic archive number neg S85/3,3

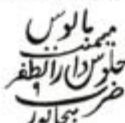


Obv: Truncated Persian legend - 'ālamgīr bādshāh ghāzī
The legend arrangement may be illustrated as below.



Rev: Truncated Persian Legend that could be restored as
mānūs maimanat julūs 9 zarb dar-uz-zafar bijāpūr.

The legend arrangement is as follows -



There are remarkable aspects to this coin other than its metallic composition and denomination. The first is that it has an obverse legend arrangement that is not known for other gold issues. Generally, one would expect the obverse legend to consist of the couplet *sikka zad dar jehān chu mihr munīr shāh aurangzeb 'ālamgīr*. ("Struck coins like the Sun and Moon in the world, Aurangzeb, the King, the Conqueror"). Instead of this what appears on the coin is 'ālamgīr bādshāh ghāzī. The arrangement of the legend is reminiscent of a similar legend met with on the silver nisars or largesse issues, struck at several mints for ceremonial scattering on an important occasion. The legend in this case reads *nisār 'ālamgīr bādshāh ghāzī*, with the word *nisār* forming the lowest divider. The legend in such cases is aligned as follows -



It is possible to deduce that in the case of the Fitzwilliam specimen the word *nisār* is truncated. However its existence is confirmed beyond doubt by the three dots below the word 'ālamgīr. These are the three dots constituting the Persian letter *ṣé* (ث), which forms the second syllable of the word *nisār*.

The coin may therefore be identified as the first known gold nisar struck in the name of Aurangzeb for the Bijapur mint. Gold nisars are exceedingly rare and a few are known to have been issued by Jahangir and Shah Jehan. In the case of Aurangzeb, they are known from Shahjehanabad and Chinapatan mints. While the former is of a quarter mohur weight, the latter is a pagoda presumably struck by the British East India Company in the Emperor's name.

It would be worthwhile to look into the circumstances that caused the emission of this remarkable piece. Unfortunately the only chronological detail that the coin bears is the numeral 9 on its reverse. Its placement indicates that it is the regnal year. However, it cannot be the regnal year 9 because, as Jan Lingen explained in his article (ONS newsletter 158) about the issues of Bijapur mint, the city fell to the Mughals only in AD 1686, RY 30. So the RY on the coins has to be 39 or 49. However, a possibility exists that it can be 29. The siege laid to Bijapur was a protracted one, and Aurangzeb was personally involved in it. The date corresponding to the close of RY 29 is 12 July 1686 and is very close to the date of the final capitulation of Bijapur, 22 September 1686. There is room to believe that, although the terms of surrender were finalised and ultimately executed on that day, the Mughals must have smelt victory several months in advance. The siege had begun about 15 months prior. In fact, had it not been for the marauding Marathas, winning over beleaguered Bijapur would have been a simple matter for the Mughals. It is therefore very possible that the coin

was actually struck sometime in June-July 1686, when the victory over Bijapur must have been announced. It can be believed that the emperor held court on that day and caused the nisars to be struck. Accordingly the coin bears the epithet *Dar-uz-Zafar* (Seat of Victory) for the mintname Bijapur. Although it seems to be purely speculative, it is not difficult to ascertain whether this was indeed the case from the daily records of the Mughal Court (*akhbarat-i-darbar-i-mu'alla*), translated by Setu Madhavrao Pagdi from Persian into Marathi, and published by the Govt. of Maharashtra as *Mughal Darbarachi Baatmipatre* in 3 volumes. But since this valuable source material is not available to me at the moment, no such attempt has been carried out here.

Alternatively, it could be ascertained from Mughal records whether there was a reason for the nisars to be struck in RY 39 or 49. The Mughal-Maratha struggle had progressed considerably in these years and the emperor had moved his base from Bijapur. It seems unlikely that the nisars would have been struck in the absence of the emperor.

Extracts from the diary of Christopher Henrik Braad, a Swede in Surat

Translated from the original, unpublished manuscript by Jeremy Franks with a biographical note

Christopher Henrik Braad (1728-81)

A generation after Braad's death in 1781, the Swedish-speaking world that knew him came to an end. Since time out of mind, its core had been the coasts and hinterlands of the western and northern Baltic, and its internal lines of communication across this sea had made its waters a part of this world. In 1809, Sweden was sundered from her former province of Finland. Adjacent to the Russian Baltic capital of St. Petersburg, Finland acquired the status (kept until 1918) of an Imperial Russian Grand Duchy. Sweden was not only severed from her pre-1809 history, of which Braad was a part, but, as never before in her history, was now shut in behind her Baltic, or eastern, coastline.

By the 1840s, a novel political philosophy that re-defined Sweden ahistorically was required to be learned by Uppsala undergraduates who would be public servants. Following their teacher - to them the Swedish Plato, to himself (in print) Professor B - they learned to evade whatever might conflict with his "rational idealism". Anything less like the Uppsala Braad had known a century earlier is hard to imagine, but, as a late 20th-century historian of ideas has said, this manner of thinking became the official late 19th-century ideology of Sweden.¹ While it cannot be more closely addressed here, it may be suggested as having caused the neglect of Braad's work in India, and, indirectly, the failure of the one known 19th-century effort, by August Strindberg, to remedy this neglect.

In the 1880s, when Strindberg was employed in the Royal Library in Stockholm, he published an article asserting that Braad's Indian and eastern papers were neglected.² This might have brought them the scrutiny they deserved had not Strindberg's first novel, *The Red Room*, made fun of what Professor B himself had taught Sweden to call *Samhälle*: Society, or the servants of the crown as an entity. It was not but might have been Professor B who admonished a brash young man to "never speak disrespectfully of Society: only those who cannot get into it do that."³ In taking umbrage at Strindberg, Society failed to make Braad's acquaintance and so could not make him and his work known to the compilers or readers of an unprecedented scholarly work on India.

Since 1886, the encyclopedic volume called *Hobson-Jobson. A Glossary of Colloquial Anglo-Indian Words and Phrases* has run through many editions in the British Isles and India. Of the 600 works in its bibliography (London, 1994), one is the English-language edition (1771) of Pehr Osbeck's book about his voyage to Canton. It (or Osbeck's original Swedish) mentions the young fellow-servant of the Swedish East India Company whom Osbeck met outside Canton and called "the observant Braad".

That Osbeck commented accurately on this fellow countryman is apparent from only a slight acquaintance with Braad's Indian and eastern papers. But who was he, and what induced him to spend a third or more of his adult life in India, or at sea on Indian voyages?

Christopher Henrik Braad was born in Stockholm to Paul or Poul Braad, a Dane from Jutland, and his wife Gertrude. She was from northern Sweden, her father being an official in Torneå, a tiny port at the mouth of a northern river.

The times were hard. Sweden was still recovering from 20 years of war. That with Russia had been definitive. Peace had been enforced on Sweden by amphibious operations by galley squadrons, a product of Peter the Great's naval genius, against which Swedish Baltic ports, from far-northern Piteå to Norrköping, south of the capital, were helpless.⁴

In 1734, the Braads moved to Norrköping. They placed their six-year-old son *sub informatione privata Dni Magistri Erici Walbom*, as an Uppsala clerk would note of this 15-year-old undergraduate in 1743. By then, Walbom had coached him into a command of Latin, and maybe also of Greek, and become a friend for life.

Despite an English poet's opinion, some parents do benignly affect their offspring. Paul's influence as a father who made a living in trade is perhaps plainest in his son's decision to study it at Uppsala and practise it in India and China. There is no saying whether Gertrude told her son of what she would have seen as a child in Torneå: how river craft came downstream in spring with loads of tar to be transhipped for the capital, the only market in Sweden for "Stockholm tar". (Tar being vital to northern European sailing vessels, the trade persisted until the early 20th century, when such river craft, up to 14-m long, carried up to four tons of tar or, poled upstream again, flour, sugar or coffee, as well as mail.⁵)

When Christopher was eight, the great world impinged on his family. Led by Pierre-Louis Maupertuis, French scientists came to Torneå to make observations to determine whether the terrestrial globe were spherical. Satisfied by spring 1737 that it was not, they returned to Paris augmented (says *La Grande Encyclopédie*) by a young Lapp girl, whom Christopher's autobiographical note identifies as one of his maternal aunts. Voltaire's crack about 'Maupertuis flattening the Earth' suggests her pregnancy by Maupertuis was already apparent. Her child, who was also Christopher's cousin, was born in Paris and died probably there.

Braad's agreeable character begins to show during his Uppsala years, from the regularity of Walbom's letters (his to Walbom seem not to have survived) and the appearance among the names of his most regular later correspondents of those of five or six of his fellow undergraduates.⁶ Of his European friends in India (of whose letters he probably lost most in a shipwreck in 1758), the English might have said he had "a bottom of good sense", meaning (as Samuel Johnson did of the lady of whom he hilariously said this) a "fundamentally sound" character.

In 1747, on his first voyage east, to Canton, Braad exemplified what his recently completed Uppsala education meant to him, if not also an unexpected turn to Johnson's remark that "he who would carry home the wealth of the Indies must carry the wealth of the Indies with him." Braad spent the eight-month voyage reading and annotating over 100 books in Swedish, German, French, Dutch, English and Danish. His sharp comment on *La Vraye Histoire comique de Francion* (Leyden, 1685) suggests his reading of this pornographic work reminded him of Maupertuis: "the most shameful and obscene of the sort I have ever read or seen". More apposite work in French included Du Halde on China (four volumes, 1736). As a newly-engaged servant of the Swedish East India Company, Braad knew he might trade in *pacotille* goods, or those stowed as personal effects on the voyage home: it is a nice question what his homebound book-box contained.

His second voyage kept him in Surat from September 1751 to January or February 1752. Europeans would usually hire one or more armed retainers to precede their persons in public. Braad followed his own nose: merchants importune him in the street, a swirl of its dust blinds him, coiners at work in the mint catch his eye, he jots down funeral inscriptions in the European burial grounds, paces the town walls, counts their cannon, peers into the fortress and, perhaps in relief, finds some large green trees by the river. A Moorish garden outside the town delights him with camellias, poppies, unfamiliar white lilies, arcades of orange trees, a water garden where, in the sun, jets of dew become rainbows. He compiles data, draws maps and illustrations, maybe also pens his

text. Why he should have done so much work and then spent most of the next ten years on India would be incomprehensible were not his fascination clear between the lines of his 400-page journal. On his return in 1752, he presented it to the directors of the Swedish East India Company.

Commissioned by them to investigate whether a Swedish trading station in Surat were feasible, he sailed east for the third time in 1753. Crucial events were impending. In 1757, after the battle at Plassey, the English Company dominated Bengal; and the emperor in Delhi; and could begin to force its European rivals out of India. Braad left for Sweden in 1758 but seems to have inspired an exceptional degree of trust by then.

Back in Surat in September 1760, he was at once allowed by the French Capuchin mission to read and make extracts from a diary it had kept since the 1680s. Known now only from his manuscript, it was probably then a secret, for, relied on sometimes as mediators, the worldly-wise Capuchins may be supposed to have relied on informers in the European and India circles that relied on them. While, in December 1760, with his extracts mostly done, Braad speaks in a letter of writing a history of India, what we know of his character suggests why he did not: what he had learned in confidence might not be published. He was not the man to endanger the mission. In the event, it existed until early in the next century; if its papers survived, their present location is unknown.⁷

Aged 35 on his return from India, Braad declined a directorship in the Swedish company: four eastern voyages and a shipwreck in fifteen years was enough. He returned to Norrköping, where he married thrice. He and his first wife had three daughters, before he was left a widower. His second wife died childless within two years of marriage. He married his third wife in 1772; they had a son⁸.

With the help of correspondents, he compiled the work by which Sweden now knows him: *Ostragothia literata*, the men of letters of Östergötland, his home province. He built up a library; its new works on India and the east suggest he never turned his back on his years there. His book buying must sometimes have almost provoked domestic trouble, but we have his widow to thank for engaging a bookseller whose listing of Braad's "beautiful and well-treated book collection" has its own beauty. Its 3,000 books may be scattered but the list is enough to suggest something of what made their owner such a distinguished figure.

Notes

1. See Sven-Eric Liedman, "The Swedish Philosopher C.J. Boström and His Influence", in S. Cho & N. Runeby (eds.) *Traditional Thought and Ideological Change. Sweden and Japan in the Age of Industrialisation* (Stockholm 1988), 13-27. This 15-page essay seems to be the only text in English on the Swedish Plato.
2. August Strindberg, "Notice sur les relations de la Suède avec La Chine" in *Revue de l'Extrême Orient*, 1 (1982), Paris, 513.
3. It was Lady Bracknell in *The Importance of Being Earnest*.
4. Nothing in Alfred Thayer Mahan *The Influence of Sea Power on History*, but see Robert K. Massie *Peter the Great. His Life and World*, Chapter 13.
5. These craft were called *forsbåtar*, 'rapid's boats'; see Emil Smith *Nautisk Ordbok på Svenska, Engelska och Tyska Språken* 'Nautical Dictionary, in the Swedish, English and German languages' (Stockholm 1914), 129-130, 175, where they are described and depicted.
6. The surviving letters to Braad from his Swedish correspondents are in Helsinki University Library, together with many to his parents; in all over 1,000 letters.
7. The Capuchin order in France was disbanded during the Revolution. The mission in Surat closed, or was closed, later, perhaps after the fall of Napoleon. Enquiries about the fate of its papers have as yet (June 1999) not reached a definitive result.
8. Mr Philip Nelson, Norrköping, kindly offered me these data from his research for his *Carl Bernhard Wadström. Mannen bakom myten 'Carl Bernhard Wadström. The Man Behind the Myth'* (Norrköping 1998).
9. The word is unclear in the manuscript. It "is perhaps meant to be Mahmudis though this was usually applied to a type of Indian coin weighing around 5 g and named after Mahmud I, Sultan of Gujarat." Note contributed by Stan Goron, Oriental Numismatical Society.
10. Two semi-legible fractions here; the second is probably one quarter.

From C.H. Braad: 1751-52 Journal, Book 2, Chapter 3

THE MINT IN SURAT

The Mint, or Xaraffa han, lying across the Meydan, is amongst the worst buildings in Surat, being made only of bamboo daubed with earth, with a tiled roof and bricked floor. It comprises long galleries, or rather sheds, divided into rooms. The longest of them, where smelting is carried out, holds forty or more small bricked kilns arranged in a horseshoe; they are open above. At each is a

man equipped with a small hand-operated bellows. The crucible is round, with a rim that is six centimetres high, and about 25 cm in diameter neatly matching the upper aperture of the kiln. Once the silver in it has melted and been purified, and cast into narrow thin sheets, it is borne into another room, where it is assayed, and cut up into small pieces of the same size that are beaten into discs with hammers and weighed; if any is deficient a hole is made in it and a small bit of silver that makes good the deficiency is hammered into it, then they are brought into another room to be minted. One seldom comes across a rupee that has more than half the impression of the minting die, for they do not flatten the silver so much that it has the same width as the stamp, which is roughly as large as our Caroliner.

I have heard it said that 40,000 Rupees are minted here every day and thus 30,000 lod is minted at a time. Undoubtedly this must be understood to mean on the days when minting is actually done, for they never do more than either melt or cut or mint each day.

Book 2, Chapter XIII

On weights, measures and coinage in Surat together with maritime information

Shirah¹, an Indian mountain king who reigned in India between 1540 and [15]50, who had previously driven off its real lord Homayum, who was forced to seek shelter in Persia, was the first who, in this country, established a certain mensuration and weight that were previously not established, which are still in use over the whole country, as well as in Surat, and are as follows.

An ordinary ser ought to contain 30 peis, and a peis weighs 3 miscal. 40 ser are reckoned as a simple man or maund, that after the same accurate weighing is found to come close to 37 English pounds or 40 Swedish pounds,² so that between a Swedish pound and a ser is but a small difference. 20 man make a candi.

There is, nevertheless, a great variation in this weight, all depending on the goods one

buys or sells. Such goods as have no waste product, such as iron, copper, quicksilver, cinnabar and indigo, is weighed in simple man, excepting that from Agra that is sold in Agra mans of 54 ser.

All the goods that have waste or in which contamination can be mixed, have from 41 to 44 ser per man, depending on how the buyer and seller agree, as in the preceding 'Price Current'.

A ser of coral or ambergris contains 18 Bhrapeis or 27 ordinary [ser].

When selling elephants' tusks, they are sorted by weight, so all tusks that weigh over 16 ser are taken at 40 ser to the man; from 16 to 10 ser a piece at 60 ser per man; and under 10 ditto at 80 ser/man; if one does not want to replace those that are cracked or spoiled, they must be included with the rest.

Pucka ser are those of Bengal and contain 2 ordinary Surat ser; one sells cochineal, silk and incense in these weights.

Brotschia³ weight is 5 per cent more for cotton, sugar & etc, so a brotschia candi cotton is 21 man Surat which they must carefully observe who send any goods to or from Surat.

Gold and silver weights are 6 chowls make 1 Rutta; 3 Rutta = 1 val. 32 val = 1 thola. 82 val are an English ounce troy weight, and 31 thola are 12 ounces, giving one thola against 2¼ Persian miscal or 1¼ massa [?] of which 414 massa are the same as one ser.

Diamonds and pearls are sold by Rutti. 20 viz are 1 Rutti - 24 Rutti = 1 Thanck and 100 Rutti go to 88 English carats.

People use here indifferently Roman balances⁴ or other European scales. Ordinary sellers have just simple weights, comprising scales of wood with small baskets for scales and worked stones for weights. To weigh diamonds and pearls they have a sort of small red berries with a black spot at one end, lall in Surat, and called sagga in Malay,⁵ which are trimmed [to match] how many go to a Rutti or Viz.

Mensuration of length is Cobit or Gouis, which has 24 Taya, and corresponds accurately to 27 English inches, or Swedish [?]. All goods are sold accordingly, except cloth, velvet and satin, that are measured in yards, English liqueurs, wood & etc that go by weight.

The usual coinage here is silver rupees; each should weigh 2¼ Miscal or 1¼ Massa⁶. They are struck in Surat, no wider than a six-stiver piece, but 4 to 5 times as thick, and thus not more than half the die comes onto it. The inscription is in Persian: Seckej

Zerba Surat Zaraff khané which is 'Coin struck in the mint at Surat', and on the other side Ahmet Shah Batchia Gazi: 'Ahmet the Ruler, Descendant of Mahomet', together with the year of his reign, which is altered each year on the die.⁷ Europeans who are willing to pay the outgoing may cause rupees to be struck here from their own silver.

Their copper coins are called pice, mostly four cornered or uneven in shape, with some Persian characters on either side. Each and every one should weigh 3 Miscals. Formerly, 64 of them corresponded to a rupee but now only 48 ordinarily, but they rise [in number], as the price of copper or the need for small denominations of coins rises, and therefore in January and February 1751 it went so far that they would not offer more than 46-47 pice for a rupee.

Just as cowries are valid for small monies as change in Bengal, so in Surat they have a sort of small bitter almond, that they call badams and [they] are brought probably from Persia, where they are taken from [the kingdom of?] Lar where they grow superabundantly. Sixty-four are more usual to a pice, but rise and fall in response to the quantity imported.

In bookkeeping there are 3 pice to an anna and 16 annas to a rupee. Books are kept in rupees and taka; one hundred of the latter to a rupee.

Gold coins are Mohurs, struck to 13 rupees,⁸ but rise and fall between 12.75 and 14 rupees.

Similarly Persian silver Mahmudis⁹ are valid, at 2¼ to 1 riya.

A round, full-weight Spanish piastre contains 73 Vals, for 100 of them one gets 214 to 216 rupees; the squared [sort] exchange at [?]10 percent less.

Thus all other European gold and silver coinage is valid, dependent on content; and also on account of the superfluity of the first metal.

Counting on a large scale is done in lacks; one lack of rupees is 100,000. One hundred lacks make a cror, and one hundred of them make an arib. Information as to how in other respects they count, and about their figures, is given elsewhere in this chapter.

I had almost forgotten that they also have a sort of counting on their fingers that first came into use on the Coromandel [coast] in the pearl fisheries. When, being in a crowd of many buyers, one will conceal the price he offers another, he raises his hands [over the skirt of his coat or with a handkerchief?], whereupon the seller takes him by the hand, and, by bending or squeezing their fingers, [bargain over?] the goods, when the other makes known in the same way how much he wants. The end of the finger signifies one (when large sums are in question this signifies ten, one hundred or one thousand), a bent finger five, a straight finger ten, a wholly open hand one hundred, a closed hand one thousand and so on, so, without uttering a single word, the largest purchase can be decided in the presence of many people, without anyone but the parties concerned being aware of it.

1. 'Shirah' was Sher Shah Suri (reigned 1538-45). Of Afghan stock, he was one of the ablest of all the Muslim rulers of India. He introduced a uniform coinage consisting of silver rupees weighing around 11.5 g and copper paisas weighing around 20 g. 'Homayum' was Humayun (reigned 1530-40 and 1555-56), the second of the Mughal emperors." Note contributed by Stan Goron, Oriental Numismatic Society.

2 Each of these two figures of pounds is, in the Swedish ms, followed by an illegible fraction.

3 Probably refers to the port of Broach, north of Surat.

4 That is, steelyards.

5 Braad writes *malleiska*.

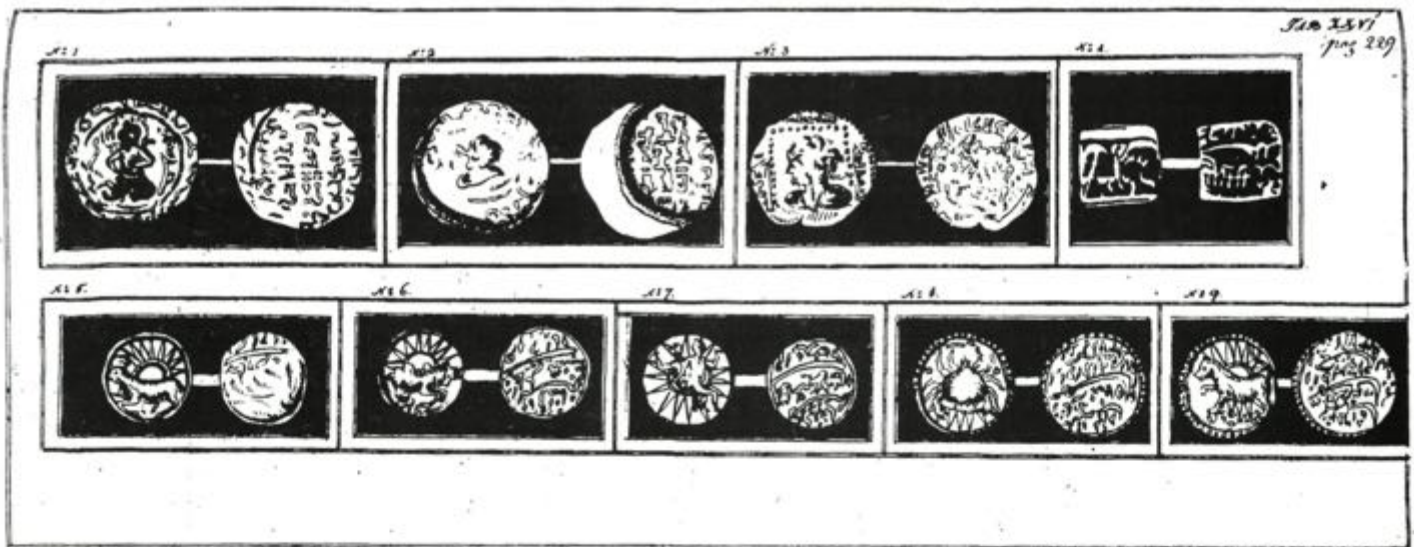
6 "The silver rupees of this period should weigh around 11.5 g. Surat was a very prolific mint; by the reign of Ahmad Shah Bahadur (1748-54) it would have been under the control of the local Nawabs of Surat, rather than the Mughals. The coins would still have borne the name of the Mughal emperor." Note contributed by Stan Goron, Oriental Numismatic Society.

7 "Braad has made a bit of a mess of the coin legends: the legend of the Surat rupees should be obverse: *ahmad shah bahadur badshah ghazi sikka mubarak* (Ahmad Shah Bahadur, emperor, slayer of infidels, auspicious coin); reverse: *zarb surat jalus maimanat manus sanah...* (struck in Surat year ... of his accession associated with prosperity)." Note contributed by Stan Goron, Oriental Numismatic Society.

8 The figure of 13 is followed by an illegible fraction.

9 The word is unclear in the manuscript. It "is perhaps meant to be Mahmudis though this was usually applied to a type of Indian coin weighing around 5 g and named after Mahmud I, Sultan of Gujarat." Note contributed by Stan Goron, Oriental Numismatic Society.

10 Two semi-legible fractions here; the second is probably one quarter.



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Table XXVI: p. 229

Rare sorts of Indian coins

Nos. 1, 2 & 3 are of copper and were said to be old Indian coins¹¹; I leave it to those who understand their inscriptions to determine in what places they were struck or what they say. No. 2 was covered with a greenish-white varnish, so little could be made of the die mark. No. 3, not finer copper than the others seems not to be very old. No. 4, of fine silver, was said to have been struck by Tamerlaine, as one who is familiar with Arabic could easily say¹². Nos. 5, 6, 7, 8 & 9 are silver Zodiac rupees, struck by the command of Noer Djiehan Begum.

I cannot say whether the Hindus formerly had any coinage. In the drawing are some that were issued thus, of which No. 1 should represent one of their deities¹¹, but in as much as I do not know what its inscription signifies I can draw no conclusion from it. No. [not given] is said to be from Malabar, as well as No. [not given].

Among the Mahometan [coins] there is none with figures on, other than the well-known Zodiac rupees, struck at the command of Noer Djuhaan Begum, Shah Selim's consort, of which I have drawn the five I was able to see¹³, but they are so rare hereabouts that those who have been fishing for them for as long as twenty years have not made a catch; and I have seen those among them that have been false; but they were so unlike them that no great effort was needed to distinguish them from the real. If No. 4 is a coin of Tamerlaine's, as I have been told, they may say who can understand its characters¹².

11 These copper coins are not Indian but Turkoman - the first one may in fact be an Ayyubid coin (Ed.)

12 This coin would appear to be a rupee of Akbar or a copy of one, such as has been struck as a religious token. (Ed.)

13 "The Zodiac coins were struck originally by the emperor Jahangir (1605-28) but were much copied thereafter. They were struck mostly in Agra and Ahmadabad but a few are known from other mints. Selim is the pre-accession name of Jahangir. A few coins were struck in this name at the start of his reign."

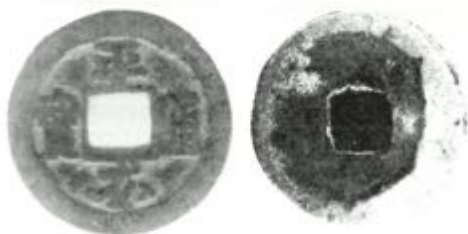
Note contributed by Stan Goron, Oriental Numismatic Society.

It should be noted that the legend side of the coins depicted have been drawn either upside down or sideways!

Origin of copper cash coin inscribed "Ping An tong bao"

Dr. T.D. Yih, The Netherlands

Sometimes it can be very useful to clean up desks. During one such exercise I retrieved a cash piece that I had had for a long time. I remembered puzzling about its origin. The piece involved is a copper cash with the legends "Ping An tong bao".



Its measurements are:

weight: 2.50 g; diameter: 23.5 mm and thickness: 1.0 mm. Its reverse is plain.

Chinese sources

According to Helen Wang (BM) there is only one reference to a similar coin with such a legend in the Chinese coin catalogue *Zhongguo guqian pu* (1989). Unfortunately, in this catalogue the piece is listed under the heading "pieces awaiting further research"

Japanese sources

In his work on Japanese coins, Munro illustrates, on plate 19, a number of E-sen. E-sen, also called picture sen, since they often

bear a pictorial design or decoration, were not meant for circulation, but were often issued at certain celebrations. More than 1000 varieties are known. Although not meant for circulation, some were produced at government mints.

The piece illustrated under no. 8 bears a similar legend. The Japanese equivalent of the legend reads: **Hei An tsu ho**. According to Munro all the pieces from plate 19 are fantasy coins and silver imitations of Chinese coins.

Annamese sources

There is a doubtful Annamese cash with the legends **Binh An thong bao**, reported to be issued around 1592. It is mentioned by Novak (no. 71) and Lockhart (no. 1377), but not by Toda and Terui.

Thus the numismatic literature on cash pieces with this legend is not very helpful for identification. Calligraphy, however, might give an indication of the origin of this piece.

The top part of the character *tong/tsu* has a rounded loop to the right (...).

Annamese coins generally have the character *thong* written with an angular/triangular loop.

Although based on its calligraphy, the piece might be of Japanese origin, it remains peculiar that only silver, but no copper pieces with this legend, have been mentioned in the Japanese numismatic literature.

The author would welcome any information concerning the presence of cash coins with this legend in museum or private collections.

The 'Alinagar Rupee of Siraj-ud-Daulah, Nawab of Bengal

By George Falcke

'Ali Wardi Khan, Nawab of Bengal, died on 10 April 1756. He was succeeded by his grandson, Siraj-ud-Daulah. Difficulties between the new nawab, who disliked the British, and the EIC's Calcutta council arose almost immediately and soon turned to armed conflict. The nawab's huge army occupied Calcutta on 19 June and, the next morning, the 183 defenders of Fort William were overwhelmed by the enemy. During the night of 20-21 June there occurred the tragic incident of the so-called "Black Hole of Calcutta". After its capture of Calcutta, the nawab changed its name to 'Alinagar.

Calcutta was retaken on 2 January 1757 by an EIC force sent from Madras under the command of Admiral Watson and Lt. Colonel Robert Clive. After some negotiations a treaty was signed on 9 February, called "The Treaty of 'Alinagar". Four months later, however, hostilities broke out again and the nawab was decisively defeated by Clive on 23 June at the Battle of Plassey. Siraj-ud-Daulah was captured several days after the battle and on 2 July he was murdered by order of Miran, the son of the new nawab, Mir Jafar. The latter and Clive had conspired against Siraj-ud-Daulah for some time and Mir Jafar, through his influence, had kept a large part of the nawab's army out of the battle. As reward, he was set up by Clive as the new Nawab of Bengal.



The coin illustrated here is a rupee struck in the name of 'Alamgir II, dated AH 1169, year 3, with the mint-name 'Alinagar. This rupee, without doubt, commemorates the capture of Calcutta by the Nawab of Bengal. The AH year 1169 closed on 25 September 1756; therefore the coin was struck sometime between late June and September. The mint-name 'Alinagar does not necessarily mean that the nawab had established a mint in Calcutta. The dies for this issue were almost certainly prepared at the Murshidabad mint and the coins may also have been struck there.

The obverse design is like that of the Murshidabad rupees except that the star mark has longer and fewer rays, and the two dot groups below 'alamgir are transposed. On the reverse, the mint-name is at the top, and, at the right of it, is a decorative dot group and another mark or symbol, which may have a special meaning. It is of interest to note that the initial British issue from Calcutta mint also has the mint-name at the top. The engraver obviously copied this from the earlier nawab issue.

This historically important coin was offered for sale in Steve Album's list 46, where it was described as "the earliest British issue of Calcutta". The AH date, however, is clear evidence that the coin was struck at least three months before the recapture of the city by Clive.

A Unique Rupee of Mysore

By Shailendra Bhandare

The coins of Mysore as a Princely State have been widely discussed in the past. Mention can be made of the listings made by J. R. Henderson in the 4th volume of the Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, edited by John Allan, and R. C. Campbell-Tufnell's *Hints to coin collectors in South India*. Historically, the existence of Mysore as a Princely State dates from 1799, the year in which Tipoo Sultan, the dreaded 'Tiger of Mysore' was finally vanquished by the British at the Battle of Seringapatam (Shrirangapattan) on 4 May 1799. After the fall of Tipoo, the British assisted a scion of the erstwhile Hindu dynasty of Mysore, which was forced into oblivion by Tipoo and his father Hyder Ali, to ascend the throne at Mysore. This minor ruler, then aged 6, was Krishna Raja Wodeyar. In the initial years of Krishna Raja's rule, Dewan Purnaiya, the able minister of Tipoo, acted as the regent. The period of Purnaiya's regency proved

beneficial to the state and he restructured the entire state administration, including the coinage.

Tipoo Sultan had added certain innovations to the coinage. Although complimentary to the general Indian currency system based on the paisa of around 11 gm, rupee of 11.6 gm and the favored South Indian gold pagoda weighing about 3.5 gm, the currency system under Tipoo differed mainly in the denomination structure and the effusive names which the coins carried. Purnaiya did away with this system and reverted to the more acceptable coinage based on the copper 'cash' and gold 'pagodas' (hons). This was integrated with the silver rupee coinage, and denominations of one, half and quarter rupees were also struck. These may be described in some details as this paper deals with a hitherto unknown type of Mysore rupee.

The Rupees initiated by Dewan Purnaiya largely follow the designs of the French East India Company issues of Pondicherry, bearing the pseudo-mintname 'Arcot'. On the obverse they bear the couplet of the Mughal Emperor, Shah Alam II, which reads

*Sikka zad bar haft kishwar ba-sayah fazal-i- alah
Hami din-e-Muhammad Shah Alam Badshah*

The reverse bears the usual 'Julus' formula, and the crescent mintmark, copied from the French issues, right above the initial loop of the word *julus*. The mint however reads *Mahisur*, in a rather strange manner, with the word split into two as *mahi* and *soor*. The resemblance to the French issues seems to be intentional. The French 'Arcot' rupees had long enjoyed the status of the standard units of exchange to determine the values of other rupees, due to their superior assay qualities. Indian princely issues would often ape the French style in order to display their own circulatory status as equivalent to the prevailing standard of purity. An other illustrious case is the Maratha issues of Dharwad (Nasirabad), issued from a centralised government-controlled mint issuing coins set to the 'Arcot' standard, after the district was rocked by fraudulent issues of private moneyers in the 1760s. These coins of Dharwad are also copies of the French rupee, except for the crescent mintmark. The Mysore rupees seem to have surpassed their Maratha forerunners, as they have not even spared the French mintmark in terms of being faithful copies.

The rupee being published hereunder, however, differs entirely from the known Mysore rupees. It has no resemblance to the French rupee in terms of style and legends. It does, however, retain the crescent mintmark. The coin lies in the cabinet of the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin - Preussischer Kulturbesitz in the Bodemuseum, Berlin. I had the opportunity to examine it in the aftermath of the 12th International Numismatic Congress held in Berlin in September 1997. I am grateful to Prof. Dr. Bernd Kluge of the Münzkabinett, Bodemuseum, for allowing me to study the coin and then very kindly sending its photographs for publication. The coin may be described as follows



Size: 24 mm Weight: 11.41 g.
Obverse: Couplet of Shah Alam II, as described above.
Arrangement:

بادشاہی بین محمد
محمد الیہ شاہ عالم
زور بہرہ و حسن دستور

Reverse: Legend in three lines, reading
*maharaja mahisur kishan raj wadyar bahadur julus sanah
shalivahana shaka 17xx*. Crescent mintmark after *ra* and above *ja*.

۱۷...
مہاراجہ مہیسور کیشان راج وادیار بہادر
جولس شانہ شالیواہانہ شاکا ۱۷...

Arrangement:

۱۷...
مہیسور کیشان راج وادیار
جولس شانہ شالیواہانہ شاکا ۱۷...

The uniqueness and importance of this coin is multi-faceted. No other Indian coin is known to bear the name of the era as succinctly spelt in Persian as on this coin. The reverse legend is completely unknown in any Mysore issue. Unfortunately, the *Shaka* date can not be read satisfactorily as it is truncated. As a consequence the year in which the coin was issued cannot be ascertained. There can be two possibilities for the year of issue. The first of these is the conjecture that it was issued immediately after the fall of Tippoo, when Purnaiya took over the reigns of the kingdom as the regent. Secondly, it is also likely that it was struck in 1812, when Krishna Raja managed to assert himself, forcing Purnaiya to resign and retire. The only fact that may go against this possibility is that the coin is issued in the name of Shah Alam II who was already dead in 1812. But then the practice of issuing coins posthumously in the name of Shah Alam II was continued by many states, including Mysore. Other ordinary issues of the state are a testimony to this fact. The only certain observation that can be made about this rupee is that it does not seem to be an ordinary issue. It is either a pattern that was intended to be put in circulation, but for some reason withdrawn or it is a special issue purely commemorative and ceremonial in nature.

Copper Issues from Bhilsa Mint - I

By Shailendra Bhandare

The history of Bhilsa (currently called Vidisha, located about 20 km north-east of Bhopal, Madhya Pradesh) stretches back to the 1st millennium BC. Objects of Antiquarian interest from the 2nd century BC to 5th century AD dot the town and include important sculptures, architectural remains and inscriptions. The town prospered as a Vaishnavite centre for about 700 years and then fell into oblivion. It is subsequently known to have passed under the control of the Sultans of Delhi, Malwa, and Gujarat. Akbar reduced Malwa in 1562 AD and with it Bhilsa passed under Mughal rule. The location of Bhilsa, being situated on the River Betwa and the eastern edge of the fertile plains of Malwa, gave it a considerable strategic importance and, under the Mughals, its prosperity as a regional commercial centre was rejuvenated. A mint is known to have operated almost continuously from the days of Shah Jehan I till the 20th century.

During the reign of Aurangzeb the town was renamed Alamgirpur and the mintname on succeeding issues appears as such. In the period of fragmentation of the Mughal Empire in the post-Aurangzeb era, Bhilsa was granted to the Nawab of Bhopal. However, the ascending fortunes of Marathas caused Malwa to pass into their hands at the battle of Amjhera in 1729. It was not until the late 1740s that the Marathas could consolidate their hold on Malwa, and Bhilsa was captured in 1745. The mint continued to be operated but issues after regnal year 26 of Muhammad Shah appear to have acquired a characteristic style for their inscriptions. As RY 26 corresponds to 1745-46, the date of the Maratha conquest of Bhilsa, the change in style enables the classification of such coins as early Maratha issues even though they do not have any differentiating symbols. Such issues in the name of Muhammad Shah and Ahmed Shah Bahadur are known (vide ONS newsletter 152). Specimens bearing the same fabric in the names of Alamgir II and Shah Alam II, although unpublished, exist in certain private collections. This indicates that the mint of Bhilsa (Alamgirpur) remained operational at least until 1760. The setback, which the Marathas received at the Third Battle of Panipat in 1761, resulted in loosening their grip on most of the central Indian territories. The fate of Bhilsa in the tumultuous decade 1761-1770 is not known, but most likely it passed under the control of the Nawab of Bhopal. Soon afterwards in 1772-73 the Peshwa's court in Pune witnessed a feud between Raghunath Rao and his nephew, the Peshwa Narayan Rao, who was eventually murdered at the behest of the former. However, a powerful faction of courtiers and ministers treated Raghunath Rao as an impostor and rallied behind the infant son of Narayan Rao, who was declared as the legitimate heir to the title. Mahadji Sindhia was one of these, and he restored the Maratha control in Central India to its former extent in the succeeding years. He received Bhilsa as part of his Jagir in 1775, probably as a reward for his loyalty to the successful faction at Pune. It remained with the Sindhias henceforth, and formed a part of Gwalior State until it was accessed to the Indian Union in 1948.

Lingen and Wiggins have extensively described the coinage of Bhilsa under Sindhia administration, c.1775-1910. Although they commented that the mint ceased its operations in the 18th century, subsequent research summarised in comments made above demonstrate that this was not the case. The latest coin bearing the mintname Alamgirpur in the pre-Panipat period is a rupee of Shah Alam II, RY 1 (Ahd), corresponding to AD 1759-60, which has yet to be published in detail. As they have remarked, it is possible to assume that the mint was restarted when Bhilsa was granted to the Sindhias, c.1775. However, the earliest issues traced by Lingen and Wiggins are the rupees and fractions in the name of Muhammad Akbar II (1806-1837), which leave questions regarding the mint's operations in the period c.1775-1806.

Lingen and Wiggins, although acknowledging the possibility, remarked that there seem to be no copper coins attributable to the Bhilsa mint. They only tentatively attribute a Paisa that has otherwise been listed under Gwalior fort mint as a possible copper coin of Bhilsa mint. The copper issues of Bhilsa have remained elusive until the recent discovery of two distinct series of copper coins bearing the mint name Bhilsa. The first of these comprises of coins that betray a 'countermarked' appearance. They are uniface and were struck with a die that is distinctly smaller than the area of the coin blank. The largest concentration of these coins seems to exist in the collection of the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. It is this series of Bhilsa copper issues that this article chiefly deals with. I am indebted to the Keeper of Coins and Medals Dept of Fitzwilliam Museum, Dr Mark Blackburn and the departmental Assistant Mr Martin Allen, for the help and assistance they have extended in allowing me to study and publish these coins. All reproductions are by courtesy of the Syndics of the Fitzwilliam Museum. As no provenance has been noted for these coins in the accession register of the Department, it is conceivable that they were deposited in the Museum before 1908. The second series of Bhilsa copper coins is of an entirely different fabric from the first. But it constitutes coins with motifs similar to those on the small dies used for the coins discussed here. A few coins of this series were noted by Ken Wiggins in an early issue of the ONS newsletter (no. 43, June 1976). However, they appeared in the 'what is it?' section and were evidently not identified. A few more exist in the collection of the American Numismatic Society and all these will be discussed in a subsequent article.

The first series coins may be described as follows; each coin has a 'neg' number that identifies its location in the Fitzwilliam Museum's photographic archives.

Group 1: Coins with a countermark composed of a symbol and the mintname in Persian

1. Wt. 13.63 gm; neg S189/1,5

Obv: A snake and *zarb bhelsa* (= 'struck at Bhilsa') in Persian below it. The entire motif has a rectangular enclosure. (see drawing 1)

2. Wt. 17.06 gm; neg S189/4,1

Obv: An octagon enclosing an inverted bow-and-arrow and the word *bhelsa* below it in Persian. The word is broken after *bhel*, which is rather unusual. The numeral 49 (apparently a date) is seen between the symbol and the word towards the left. (see drawing 2)

Group 2: Coins with a symbol and a truncated mintname in Nagari.

3. Wt. 17.04 gm; neg S282/2,4

Obv: A circular enclosure with a sun symbol in center. The clockwise locations of characters around the sun is as follows: at 12 o'clock, the numeral 49; at 9 and 3 o'clock *ja* and *rba* in Nagari; and 6 o'clock *bhe* and *la* in Nagari followed by two dots, indicative of shortening. (see drawing 3)

4. Wt. 16.7 gm; neg S282/4,1

Same as no. 3, but struck on the reverse of another coin similar to no. 2 in Group 1, described above.

5. Wt. 16.85 gm; neg S282/3,4

Same as no. 4, but the symbol of the undertype displays a small variation that is not known on an independently struck coin. It has a small leaf alongside the numeral 49. (see drawing 4)

6. Wt. 17.00 gm; neg S282/4,5

Similar to no. 4, but the rim of the sun symbol in the centre is excessively thick.

7. Wt. 17.35; neg S282/1,1

Obv: A circle with a flywhisk in its center. At 12 o'clock traces of a

truncated date. At 9 o'clock, the letter *ja* in Nagari followed by two dots, indicating an abbreviation of *jarba*, (the mint indicator Zarb in Persian). At 3 o'clock, the character *bhe* is seen followed by *lasa* at 6 o'clock. (see drawing 5)

8. Wt. 14.50 gm; neg S189/3,1

Obv.: A fish to the left within a circular border. Above that, the truncated mintname *bhela* followed by a dot. (see drawing 6)

9. Wt. 13.86 gm; neg S189/3,3

Same as no.8, but struck on the reverse of a coin belonging to Group 1. It has a rectangular border enclosing an inverted bow-and-arrow and *zarb bhilsa* in Persian. The undertype is not known as an independent issue. (see drawing 7)

10. Wt. 16.37 gm; neg S189/3,2

Same marks as on no.9, but struck three times on one side only. It is possible that the mark bearing the Persian legend has a trisul instead of the strung bow-and-arrow. (see drawing 8). The order of striking makes it clear that one of the 'fish' marks was struck first, then the rectangle with Persian mint-name and lastly the second 'fish' mark.

11. Wt. 14.76 gm; S282/1,2

Obv.: A morchel (flagstaff) enclosed in an oblong frame. Above and to the left of the staff, the character *rja* is followed by two dots; to the right, is *bhe*. Below and to the left is *la*, and to the right is *Sa*, completing the legend as *rja bhelasa*. (see drawing 9). The first character *rja* is erroneous and probably stands for a rather ingenious shortening of *Jarba* (Zarb in Persian).

12. Wt. 14.48 gm; neg S282/1,3

Obv.: a pearl-shaped border enclosing an axe. To the right of the axe, the Nagari character *bhe* is seen and to the left is *la*. There is hollow dot below *bhe*, which probably denotes the shortening of the word *bhelsa*. (see drawing 10)

13. Wt. 14.84 gm; neg S282/3,1

Same as above but struck with a different die

14. Wt. 13.67 gm; neg S282/2,1

Obv.: Same as above but the Nagari characters engraved retrograde (see drawing 11)

15. Wt. 13.57 gm; neg S282/1,4

Same as above but struck with a different die

Group 3 - Uninscribed coins

16. Wt. 15.57 gm; neg S282/2,2

Obv.: The symbol of a stylised double-bladed sword enclosed within a circle and struck twice. (see drawing 12) The same symbol is encountered on silver coins of Bhopal and Bhilsa mints. This coin could perhaps be an issue of Bhopal.

These coins are interesting in more ways than one. They clearly demonstrate that the mint of Bhilsa did not limit itself to silver issues only. As far as their attribution is concerned, the Sindhia affinity of most of the symbols encountered indicates that they are issues of the Gwalior State. The symbols have a strong geopolitical orientation. Other mints operating in the vicinity of Bhilsa also adopted them. For example, the snake seen on no. 1 of Group 1 is similar to that seen on the rupees of Rahatgarh (Gwalior issue). The whisk seen on no. 7 of Group 2 is similar to that on the rupees of Basoda (Gwalior issue) and the 'sword' on no. 14 of Group 3 is frequently met with on issues of Bhopal, Basoda and Rahatgarh. Coins generally similar to these in fabric and overall appearance, but having a different set of marks, have been attributed to Bhopal. As far as chronology is concerned, the internal chronology seems to be difficult to construct. It is apparent that there are two basic classes of the punches, one having essentially a Persian inscription and the other having Nagari ones. Only one coin is anepigraphic, and it could be a Bhopal issue, judging by the symbol it carries. The punches seem to have been applied somewhat contemporaneously, as indicated by no. 10 of Group 2. Here it is clearly seen that a punch belonging to Group 2 (Nagari inscription) has been applied first, followed by a one belonging to Group 1 (Persian inscription), followed again by another of Group 2. In all 15 marks are known, and they have been separately illustrated at the end of the paper. The only supposedly chronological detail that some of these coins bear is the number 49. Assuming that it is a posthumous regnal year of Shah Alam II, those coins with 49 can be dated to AD 1809. This date is supported by the occurrence of similar symbols on almost contemporary issues of other mints such as those described above.

Another interesting perspective for the dating of these coins is offered by those issues of Bhopal which are similar to these in fabric. In fact two such Bhopal coins in the collection of the Fitzwilliam Museum have actually been struck on the Bhilsa issues. They can be described as follows:

17. Wt. 15.92 gms; neg S188/3,3

Obv.: A mark consisting of a whisk and scimitar with a bifurcated hilt. Persian numeral 13 is placed below the scimitar. The mark has been placed over a Bhilsa mark, in all probability shown as drawings 7 or 8.

18. Wt. 16.01 gms; neg S188/3,2

Obv.: similar to no. 17, but Persian numeral 15 below the scimitar. The mark on the undertype can not be identified but most probably is one of those Bhilsa marks having a round or rectangular border, as in the case of those indicated by drawings 1, 3, 5, 7 or 8.

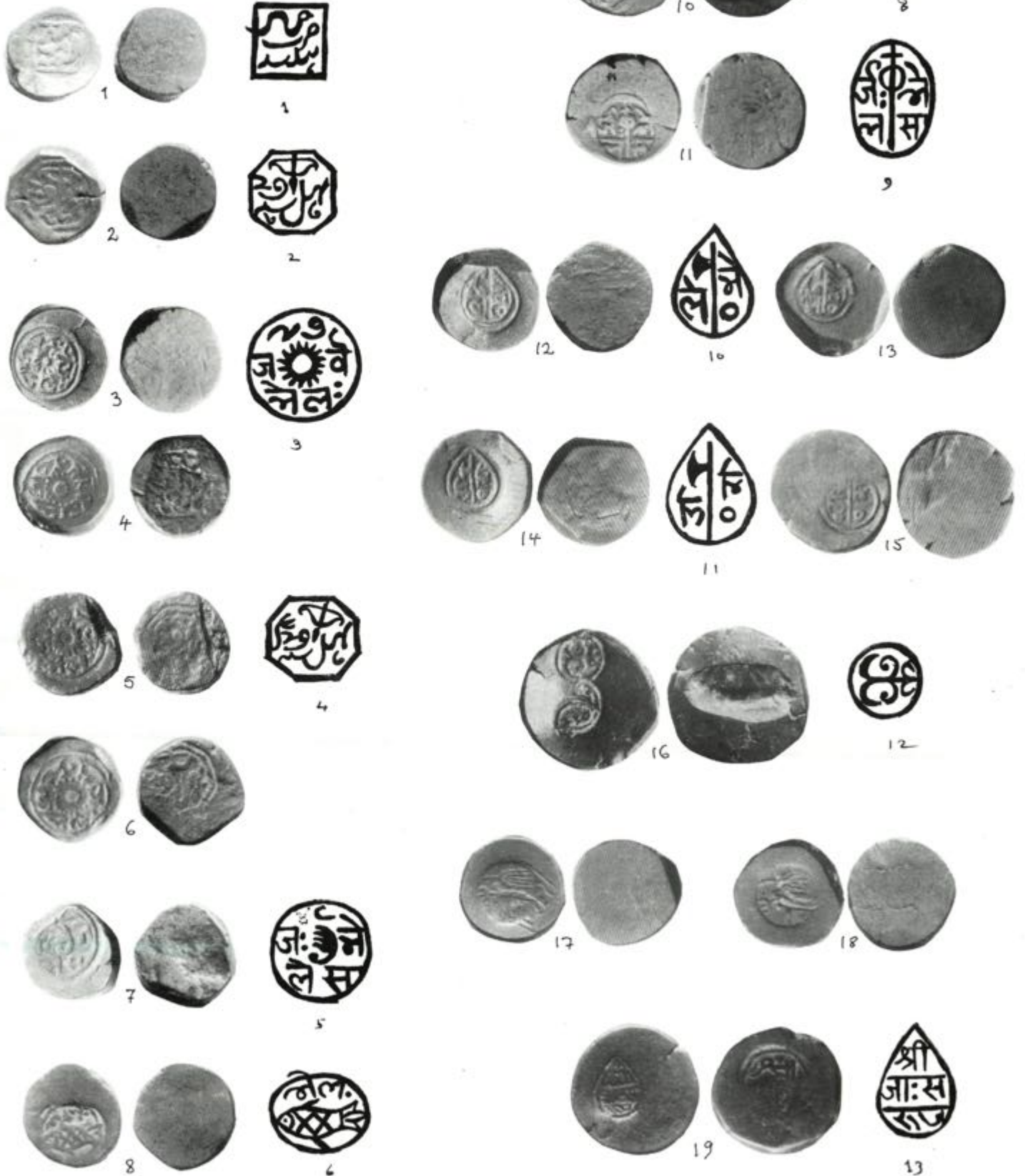
This confirms that the Bhopal and Bhilsa coins were issued contemporaneously. Some of these Bhopal issues are dated. The latest date observed on the Bhopal coins is AH 1255, which corresponds to c. 1839-1840. This provides a *tpq* for the Bhopal coins of 'counterstruck' fabric. The interpretation of '49' on Bhilsa coins as the posthumous regnal year of Shah Alam II points to AD 1809 as the *taq* for the Bhilsa issues. Based on this investigation it can be argued that the Bhilsa coins must have been struck in the period c.1809-1840. This time bracket is consistent with the occurrence of similar symbols on coins of other mints such as Bhopal, Basoda and Rahatgarh, as their issue also roughly corresponds to the same period.

Postscript: There exists one coin of a similar fabric in the collection at the Fitzwilliam Museum, which deserves mention at this stage. It is evident from various issues that counterstruck coins were current in certain areas in Malwa. There are references that coins were countermarked with a *linga* symbol at Dewas. The 'Raij' series of Ratlam coins seems to have emanated out of coins that were originally counterstruck with a similar motif. All these coins are dated to the early decades of the 19th century. The reasons for this practice to have been widespread are not difficult to ascertain. Malwa in the first two decades of 19th century witnessed a lot of political turbulence. First there were the Holkar-Sindhia and Anglo-Maratha wars which lasted through most of the first, and nearly a half of the second decade. Then there were regional conflicts such as that between the Nawabs Hayat Muhammad and Vazir Muhammad of Bhopal. After the English conclusively defeated the Holkars and Sindhias, the Afghan freebooters (commonly referred to as the 'Pindaries') who formed a large chunk of their armies wreaked havoc in Malwa by engaging in widespread raiding, loot and plunder. Conceivably this put the operations of most of the mints in the region in jeopardy. The resultant vacuum for small change seems to have resulted in counterstruck coins being put back into circulation. It is almost idiosyncratic in the case of most such regional coinages that such a practice soon becomes the norm. As in this case, the coins bearing an outwardly 'counterstruck' appearance continued to be minted even after the political uncertainty was somewhat alleviated. The coins of Bhilsa and Bhopal, along with those of Ratlam, Indore, Dhar and Dewas, therefore retain this 'counterstruck' appearance.

Coming back to the coin (no.19, wt. 14.87; neg S282/4,4), it bears a pearl-shaped cartouche in which is located a truncated Nagari inscription. It begins with *shri*, and continues in the next line with *ja* followed by two dots placed vertically. The character following this is *sa*. In the third line two more characters are placed. Since there is hardly any room left in the cartouche for their placement, the execution of these is rather deformed. It is still possible to read vaguely what they stand for. The first is *ru*, while the third seems to be a rather crude *ja*. I would attempt to reconstruct the total legend as *shri ja* (two dots) *saruja* (see drawing 13). As we have seen, it can be safely surmised that *ja* followed by two dots stands for an abbreviation for *jarba*, the Nagari equivalent of Persian Zarb. I am inclined to believe that what follows this abbreviation indicative of the mintname is a rather crude rendering of *sirunja*. It would mean that the coin was struck at Sironj. The geographic location of Sironj is well within the range in which such countermarked coins were circulating. As such it would support the attribution. However, the coin bears a completely Maratha design, and in fact is counterstruck upon

another coin bearing the character *shri* as a countermark, as revealed from vestiges seen on the reverse. Whether Sironj remained under Sindhia/Holkar control during this period is a good question. In the succeeding years it was passed by the British to Amir Khan, the Pindari leader and founder of Tonk State in Rajasthan. More historical evidence is needed to substantiate the attribution of this coin to Sironj.

Mention should also be made of two countermarked coins included by Ken Wiggins in his article *Counterstamps on Indian copper coins*, published in ONS Newsletter 151. These are numbers 33 and 34, both of which appear to have the mint-name *bhilsa* in Persian.



Ananthasayanam Coins - A Study

By K. Lekshmanan

Popularly known as Ananthasayanam coins among the numismatists in Trivandrum, I have been greatly attracted to these coins for a long time. My study was based on coins in my own collection and in the collection of Mr. Subramonium Chettiyar of Chenthattai in Kerala. These coins specially attracted my attention as they depict the presiding deities of the Lord Sree Padmanabha Swamy Temple at Thiruvananthapuram (Trivandrum). This temple and Lord Ananthapadmanabha were closely associated with the rulers of Venad from ancient times.

The coins are of copper and bronze, are circular in shape and come in 4 different denominations as measured by weight. These types of coins are found mostly in the surroundings of Kuzhithurai, Nagercoil and Tirunelveli. The obverse depicts the reclining form of Vishnu on the coiled bed of Anantha (Serpent God). Vishnu's right hand lies below and his left hand holds a mudra. This depiction closely resembles the deity of Lord Padmanabha in the Sree Padmanabha Swamy Temple. On the reverse of the coins the depiction varies from the Sanku, Sankuchakra, elephant and Garuda (the winged vehicle of Vishnu), to a seated figure with parasu (axe) and chakra. R. Nagaswamy listed one coin depicting a standing figure on the obverse and a seated figure on the reverse with the Tamil legend "KULA" beneath the arm¹, which he attributed to Ravi Varma Kulusekharan. Michael Mitchiner reports 6 types of coins as "Anonymous Issues of Travancore in the 16th Century"². In Sasrvavijnanakosam, a reference was made to a gold coin called Ananthavarahan, which may be the gold type of these copper coins, but has not been illustrated or reported yet³. When the types of metal and symbols of the coins are taken into consideration it is possible to attribute them to the Venad rulers from the 14th century.

The beginning of the 14th century was a golden era in Venad history. The Sangramadheera Ravi Varma Kulakekharan's reign from 474 to 489 ME (1299-1314 AD)⁴ was like a lasting sun-burst of glory. He was a Vaishnavite (follower of Vishnu), a mighty warrior and a conqueror. Immediately after the death of Pandya Maravarman he quickly overran the southern part of the country and bought the entire portion from Kanyakumari (Cape Comorin) to Madras under his control.

His inscriptions are found in Puntamalli (a suburb of Madras)⁵ the Arulaperumal Temple at Kanchipuram, the Ranganatha Swamy Temple at Srirangam, the Virateneswaran Temple at Tiruvathy and the Siva Temple at Chalai Graman in Trivandrum⁶. In the last 4 inscriptions he uses his Birudam: "Sree Padmanabha Padakamala Paramaradhakan", which means "the supreme devotee of the lotus feet of Sree Padmanabha". He was twice crowned as emperor: first at Kanchi, and then at Madurai. He was very much devoted to his titular deity of Lord Sree Padmanabha. His special gift of a large pure gold vessel (Kopparai), weighing 2,000 tholas to this deity bears out this fact⁷.

From the 11th century onwards the rulers of Venad had worshipped and performed ceremonies in the Trivandrum temple. Ravi Varman Kulasekharan (1090-1102) is known as Rama Varma Koviladikarikal (*kovil* is the Tamil word for temple). He was the first to assume the title of Kulasekhara Perumal after the performance of Hiranya Garbham and Thula Purusha Dhanam⁸, which were two complex and important royal ceremonies, at the Sree Padmanabha Swamy temple. The Venad king was also a member of the Ettarayogam council, which administered the temple⁹.

From this evidence we can see the extent to which the Venad kings were associated with Lord Padmanabha. Hence, taking into consideration the utmost devotion of the Venad kings to Lord Padmanabha, we can assume that the coins of the Ananthasayanam series were issued by them from the 14th century onwards. In the Vaishnava symbols we can also see the influence of Vijayanagar coins issued by contemporary rulers. Although we cannot attribute the Ananthasayanam coins to any particular king we can certainly attribute them to the Venad rulers after the 14th century. I am very much grateful to Mr Sekhar of Mettukada, Trivandrum, for his line drawings of coins for this paper.

Notes

1. R. Nagaswamy: *Tamil coins*, p. 21

2. Michael Mitchiner: *Coin circulation in Southernmost India*, p. 209

3. Sarvavijnanakosam - The State Institute of Encyclopaedic Publications, Vol. 8, p. 233,

4. A. Sreedhara Menon: *Kerala Charithram*, p. 141

5. M. Rajasekhara Thangamani: *Pandyar Varalaru*, Part I, p. 561

6. Travancore Archaeological Series Volume II, p. 53

7. Sree Padmanabha Swamy Temple - Princess Aswathy Thirunal Gouri Lekshmy Bai, p. 65

8. A. Sreedhara Menon: *A Survey of Kerala History*

9. V. Nagamayya: *Travancore State Manua*



1. Shape - round; weight 2.80 g; diameter 15 mm
Obverse: Ananthasayanam-Vishnu reclines on coiled bed of Anantha (Serpent God)
Reverse - Elephant in a circle of dots



2. Shape - round; weight 2.08 g; diameter 13 mm
Obverse: Ananthasayanam
Reverse: Seated figure, Parasu and chakra beneath the arm



3. Shape - round; weight 2.04 g; diameter 14 mm
Obverse: Ananthasayanam
Reverse: Sankhu and chakra; above, sun and moon; ankusham below



4. Shape - round; weight 1.80 g; diameter 14 mm
Obverse: Ananthasayanam above moon
Reverse: Sankhu in circle of dots



5. Shape - round; weight 1.00 g; diameter 12 mm
Obverse: Ananthasayanam; small leaves below
Reverse: Elephant; sun and moon above



6. Shape - round; weight 1.16 g; diameter 12 mm
Obverse: Ananthasayanam; sun and moon above
Reverse: Namam (Vaishnava symbol); below, 5 dots; sun and moon above



7. Shape - round; weight 0.43 g; diameter 8 mm
Obverse: Ananthasayanam
Reverse: Parasu in circle of dots



8. Shape - round; weight 0.43 g; diameter 8 mm
Obverse: Ananthasayanam; leaves below
Reverse: Flower symbol

An Interesting Gold Jewellery Token in the Style of an EIC Mohur

By Sanjay Godbole



Recently, while examining some gold coins in the collection of Suresh Marlecha, a jeweller of Khadki, Pune, I came across an interesting private gold token, probably of the late 18th or early 19th century. The details are as follows:

Obverse:

عوائق مرشدآباد
سنگ
رجسٹری کشوریلال جانی
سازہ
فروخت

*sikka muwāfiq murshidābād
registry kishorilāl jānī (?)
zēwar farokht shudh
(issued at the registry of Kishorilāl Janī (?),
seller of jewellery ornaments, like a coin of Murshidabad)*

Reverse:

سیمت مائوس
سنہ ۱۹ جرجوس
ضرب
کلکتہ سوناپتی

*sanah 19 .. jalūs maimanat manūs
zarb kalkatta sonāpatti*

This token was issued by Kishorilāl, who was a "zēwar farokhta" jeweller by profession. It was struck at the registry of the jewellers in Calcutta Sonapatti. The token is based on the Murshidabad mohur of the East India Company and, indeed, the emperor's name is replaced on the obverse by the expression *muwāfiq murshidābād* which means *like or equal to (the coin) of Murshidabad*, and presumably was meant to indicate that the gold content was the same as that of the Company's mohurs. A considerable variety of these jewellers' tokens were struck in the late 18th century - early 19th century and they were usually based on the Murshidabad mohurs. They were sold at bullion value and their issue ceased after 1835 when uniform coinage was introduced in the territories of the EIC.

Catalogue of British India Passes, Tickets, Checks and Tokens

By Bob Puddester

Part VI - Bank Passes, Tickets, Checks and Tokens

The illustrative drawings in this article are derived from crude sketches made in the Calcutta and Bombay Mints during research visits in the 1980s. The diameter is correct, unless otherwise noted, but other details are not to scale and are approximate. These drawings emphasise those points necessary to ensure recognition but are not so complete as to depict every detail. If edge type is known it will be noted. The numbering system follows the book *Catalogue of British India Historical Medals*; these checks, passes, tickets and tokens will eventually be incorporated in a new edition.

992 BANK PASSES, TICKETS, CHECKS and TOKENS

992.1 RESERVE BANK OF INDIA
992.1.1 Circular



fig 1



fig. 2

Obverse: Lioness facing left pausing in front of tree. Around the border at the top: RESERVE BANK OF INDIA

Reverse: around top border, same legend as on obverse but in Nagari.

Above centre hole: impressed B O; below centre hole: impressed:

809; to either side: + +

Diameter (D): 30.6 mm

Metal (M): Nickel

Edge (E): Security

Weight (W): 9.93 g

Round. Hole in centre. Mint unknown. Security edge suggests that it was struck in the 1940s.

The Reserve Bank of India began to function on 1 April 1935, springing from the Reserve Bank of India Act, which received assent the previous year. Prior to that time, the reserve bank functions were performed by the Imperial Bank of India, itself an amalgamation, in January 1921, of the three Presidency Banks: Bank of Bengal, Bank of Bombay and Bank of Madras. Thus the Reserve Bank took over the management of the Currency Department of the Government of India. The assets of the Gold Standard Reserve were transferred and, as of 1 July 1935, the Banking Department was opened and the scheduled banks deposited the required percentage of their demand and time liabilities. The Clearing House was transferred on the same date.

992.2 IMPERIAL BANK OF INDIA

992.2.1 Circular - Ahmednagar branch



fig. 3

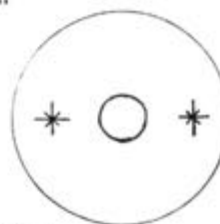


fig. 4

Obverse: In centre around centre hole a stylised I and B. Around border: IMPERIAL BANK OF INDIA + AHMEDNAGAR +

Reverse: star-like ornamentation either side of centre hole

D: 29 mm M: nickel-brass

Round. Centre hole. Struck at Bombay Mint. No indication when issued but nickel-brass was first used at Bombay Mint in 1940, then discontinued after the war.

This check will also be found with the following branch names replacing "Ahmednagar"

992.2.2 Thana

992.2.3 Jaipur

992.2.4 Jambalpur

992.2.5 Bhopal

992.2.6 Bombay L.H.O.

992.2.7 Jubbulpore City

All struck at Bombay Mint

Another check was made for Bombay L.H.O. with identical text to 992.2.6 but with a square shape:

992.2.8 Bombay L.H.O. - square

Obverse: same as 992.2.6

Reverse: same as 992.2.6

D: 24 mm

M: nickel-brass

Square with rounded corners. Centre hole. Bombay Mint.

992.2.9 Octagonal - Sandhurst Road Bombay branch

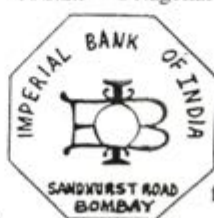


fig. 5

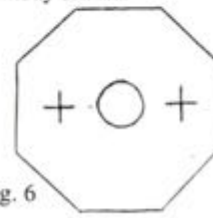


fig. 6

Obverse: same as 992.2.1 except at bottom: SANDHURST ROAD / BOMBAY

Reverse: plus signs either side of centre hole: + +

D: 30 mm M: unknown

Octagonal. Centre hole. The dies for this check were returned to the Bank in 1946. Bombay Mint.

This check will also be found with the following branch names replacing "Sandhurst Road". All struck at Bombay Mint.

992.2.10 Bombay L.H.O.
992.2.11 Indore

The Imperial Bank remained the sole agent for the Reserve Bank where Imperial Bank branches existed and where the Reserve Bank was not represented by a branch of its Banking Department. This was indeed the situation throughout most of India - the Imperial Bank had more than 180 branches at the time. It might therefore be expected that checks similar to those described above were struck with other branch names.

992.3 CHARTERED BANK OF INDIA, AUSTRALIA & CHINA

992.3.1 Oblong - Calcutta branch

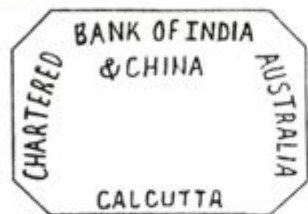


fig. 7

Obverse: around upper border: CHARTERED BANK OF INDIA AUSTRALIA / & CHINA. At bottom: CALCUTTA

Reverse: blank

D: 39 x 28 mm M: brass

Octagonal rectangle. No holes. First issued 1917. Dies returned to bank 4 April 1938. Struck at Calcutta Mint.

992.3.2 Octagonal - Rangoon branch



fig. 8

Obverse: around border: CHARTERED BANK OF INDIA AUSTRALIA & CHINA + RANGOON +

Reverse: blank

D: 30 mm M: brass

Octagonal. Central hole. First issued 1917. Dies returned 22 July 1938. Struck at Calcutta Mint.

Also issued for Singapore, Kuala Lumpur, Sitiawan, Ipoh and Bangkok branches.

992.3.3 Twelve-sided - Bombay branch

Obverse: this twelve-sided check has above centre hole in two lines: CHARTERED / BANK. Below centre hole in three lines: OF / INDIA AUSTRALIA / & CHINA

Reverse: several mm in from the rim circling the check is what appears to be a twisted rope knotted at the bottom. Above the centre hole: BOMBAY

D: 37 mm M: unknown

Twelve-sided. Hole in centre. Bombay Mint

992.3.4 Amritsar branch

Obverse: same as 992.3.3

Reverse: same as 992.3.3 except AMRITSAR replaces BOMBAY

D: 37 mm M: unknown

Twelve-sided. Central hole. Bombay Mint

The following three types were issued for non-Indian branches. While falling outside the scope of this catalogue, they are recorded

here as it is possible they may appear with Indian branch names.

992.3.5 Triangle - Klang branch

Obverse: around top two sides of triangle: THE CHARTERED BANK OF INDIA AUSTRALIA & CHINA

Reverse: blank

D: 37 mm M: brass

Triangular shape. Hole in centre. Calcutta Mint.

992.3.6 Triangle - Alor Star branch

Obverse: same as 992.3.5 except ALOR STAR replaces KLANG

Reverse: blank

D: 37 mm M: brass

Triangular shape. Hole in centre. Calcutta Mint.

992.3.7 Square - Seremban branch

Obverse: Along left border: THE CHARTERED At top: BANK OF INDIA. Along right border: AUSTRALIA & CHINA. At bottom border: • SEREMBAN •

Reverse: blank

D: 32 mm M: brass

Square with rounded corners. Hole in centre. Calcutta Mint.

992.3.8 Square - Penang branch

Obverse: same as 992.3.7 except PENANG in place of SEREMBAN

Reverse: blank

D: 32 mm M: brass

Square with rounded corners. Hole in centre. Calcutta Mint.

992.3.9 Circular - Taiping branch

Obverse: around border: THE CHARTERED BANK OF INDIA AUSTRALIA & CHINA • TAIPING •

Reverse: blank

D: 32 mm M: brass

Round. Hole in centre. Calcutta Mint.

992.3.10 Circular - Tongkah branch

Obverse: same as 992.3.9 except TONGKAH replaces TAIPING

Reverse: blank

D: 32 mm M: brass

Round. Hole in centre. Calcutta Mint.

Indian branches of this bank not mentioned above, for which any of the above checks could have been struck were: Cawnpore, Delhi, Karachi and Madras.

The Chartered Bank, as it was familiarly called in India, was incorporated by royal charter in 1858 with its headquarters in London. Within months of incorporation, branches were opened in Calcutta, Bombay and Madras; thereafter throughout Asia. It survived the banking crisis of 1872 and, by the turn of the century, no bank was held in higher esteem in India. It was the oldest of the "exchange banks" (banks with their headquarters outside India).

992.4 NATIONAL BANK OF INDIA

992.4.1 Square - Calcutta branch

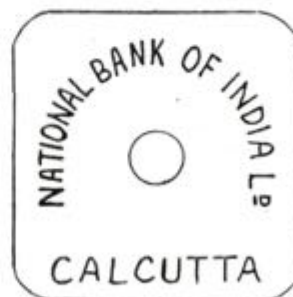


fig. 9

Obverse: around upper border: NATIONAL BANK OF INDIA On bottom border: CALCUTTA

Reverse: blank

D: 38 mm M: brass

Square with rounded corners. Central hole. Calcutta Mint. Issued 1917. Dies destroyed 1938.

The same check was struck at Calcutta Mint with the following branch names:

- 992.4.2 Delhi (First issue 29 August 1923)
- 992.4.3 Rangoon (First issue 21 December 1925)
- 992.4.4 Chittagong (First issue 22 June 1929)
- 992.4.5 New Delhi
- 992.4.6 Narayanganj (Port of Dacca)
- 992.4.7 Khulna (a day trip from Calcutta)
- 992.4.8 Cochin
- 992.4.9 Chowringhee
- 992.4.10 Amritsar
- 992.4.11 Mount Road Madras
- 992.4.12 Bangalore

The Delhi issue in 1923 had a dot under the D in L^D rather than a stroke. Other branches for which this check could have been struck are: Bombay, Madras, Karachi, Cawnpore, Lahore, Tuticorin and Mandalay.

The National Bank had its headquarters in London. Its Calcutta office opened in 1863 with numerous branches throughout India and Asia opening subsequently. A medium-sized "exchange bank", it was established under the name of Calcutta Banking Corporation in 1863 in Calcutta, changing its name and shifting its headquarters to London in 1866.

992.5 P. & O. BANKING CORPORATION LTD

992.5.1 Circular - Calcutta branch



fig. 10

Obverse: around border: THE P. & O. BANKING CORPORATION LTD + CALCUTTA +

Reverse: blank

D: 38 mm M: brass

Round. Hole in centre. First issued 4 December 1924. Die sent to P. & O. Bank 28 February 1925. Calcutta Mint.

992.5.2 Circular - Madras branch

Same as 992.5.1 except MADRAS struck in place of CALCUTTA. First issued on 6 July 1929. Dies returned to the bank on 16 July 1929.

Other Indian branches of this bank which could have issued checks: Bombay and Karachi; and Rangoon in Burma.

The P. & O. was a small "exchange bank" with a relatively short life-span. Founded in 1920, control quickly passed into the hands of the Chartered Bank in 1927 and its poor performance caused its assets to be sold to the Chartered Bank in 1939 after which it was wound up.

992.6 CENTRAL BANK OF INDIA

992.6.1 Circular



fig. 11

fig. 12

Obverse: in centre, a stylised: C B I L Around border: the name of the bank in Gujarati.

Reverse: around border: THE CENTRAL BANK + OF INDIA

LIMITED +

D: 40 mm M: brass E: P W: 15.38 g
Round. No hole. Mint of issue unknown.

992.6.2 Octagonal



fig. 13

fig. 14

Obverse: in centre, a stylised: C B I L Around border: the name of the bank in Gujarati.

Reverse: around border: THE CENTRAL BANK + OF INDIA LIMITED +

In centre, professionally impressed: 2989

Above centre number, impressed in amateur fashion: A.M.D.

D: 35 mm M: brass E: P W: 12.70 g

Octagonal. No hole. Mint of issue unknown.

992.6.3 Circular - Head Office

Obverse: a representation of the Central Bank of India's head-office building in Bombay.

Reverse: around border: THE CENTRAL BANK OF INDIA LTD + BOMBAY + In centre, in two lines: SILVER JUBILEE / 1911 1936

D: 31 mm M: unknown

Round. No hole. Bombay Mint. Use unknown. Most likely a medallion.

The Central Bank of India was the largest of the wave of "joint stock" banks floated from 1906 onwards (the Bank of India and the Indian Specie Bank were the forerunners), which were simply banks whose shares were sold locally (Bombay was initially the origin for these issues), their capital and reserves were in rupees. A steady stream of these issues came to market and many were suspect in the eyes of the informed, engaging in speculative and/or unsafe activities. The first failure was the People's Bank of India followed by the Indian Specie Bank along with many smaller companies. Confidence had not been completely restored when in April 1923 the Alliance Bank of Simla failed, whose depositors were only partly saved by the Imperial Bank agreeing to absorb Alliance and pay 50% of amounts due. During this same precarious period the Tata Industrial Bank (established in 1918) was merged with the Central Bank

992.7 THE C.K.P. CO-OP CREDIT BANK LTC

992.7.1 Circular - Dadar branch



fig. 15

Obverse: around centre hole a stylised: C K P B Around border: THE C.K.P. CO-OP. CREDIT BANK LTD + DADAR +

Reverse: blank

D: 30 mm M: unknown

Round. Hole in centre. Bombay Mint.

992.8 HIND BANK

992.8.1 Circular - Bombay branch

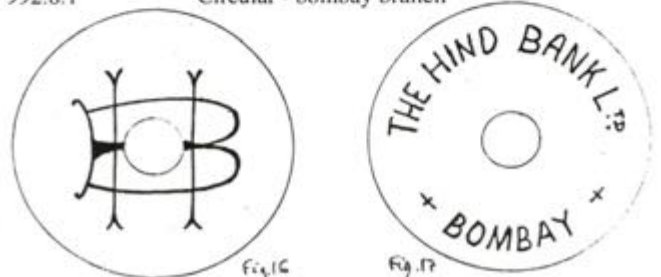


fig. 16

fig. 17

Obverse: around centre hole the stylised letters: **H B**
Reverse: around border: THE HIND BANK L^{TD} + BOMBAY +
 D: 37 mm M: unknown
 Round. Central hole. Weight was to equal 2¼ tolas or 29.15 g.
 Bombay Mint.

992.8.2 Jamnagar branch

Same check as 992.8.1 was produced with JAMNAGAR replacing BOMBAY.

992.9 BANK OF BAHAWALPUR

992.9.1 Circular

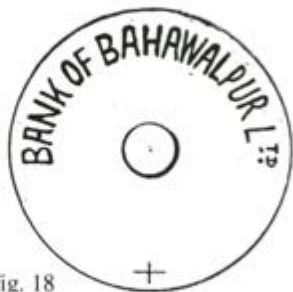


fig. 18

Obverse: around upper three-quarters of border: BANK OF BAHAWALPUR L^{TD} At bottom: +

Reverse: blank

D: 37 mm M: unknown

Round. Central hole. Bombay Mint.

992.9.2 Circular with crest - Chittagong branch

Obverse: similar to 992.9.1 except crest in centre and legend slightly different. In centre, crest of Bahawalpur. Legend around border: THE BANK OF BAHAWALPUR LTD. At bottom: CHITTAGONG

Reverse: blank (large 94 impressed on reference example).

D: 38 mm M: brass E: P W: 26.24 g Ref: Mitch 567

Round. Holed at 4 o'clock on rim after striking. Mint unknown.

992.10 BANK OF BARODA

992.10.1 Circular - Reclamation branch



fig. 19



fig. 20

Obverse: within border formed by inner circle and rim: BANK OF BARODA LIMITED +. Stamped within inner circle: 78

Reverse: around upper border: RECLAMATION Below: BRANCH

D: 31 mm M: brass E: P W: 13.25 g

Round. Central hole. No record where struck but probably Bombay Mint.

The Bank of Baroda was a joint stock company under the patronage of and largely supported by the government of H.H. The Maharaja Gaekwar. Its head office was in Mandvi, Baroda, with its principal branch at Hornby Road in Bombay as well as the Reclamation branch. It was the third largest of the joint stock banks.

992.11 STATE BANK OF BIKANER & JAIPUR

992.11.1 Circular



Fig 21



Fig 22

Obverse: in centre, a symbolic lock with key-hole. Around border on a patterned background: STATE BANK OF BIKANER AND JAIPUR •

Reverse: same as obverse except Nagari legend replaces English
 D: 38 mm M: unknown. Appears as a bluish-grey, lead-based compound.

E: P W: 19.48 g

Round. No hole. Mint unknown. Appears to be cast rather than struck. May have been a token or check related to safe-deposit facilities.

992.12 SARASWAT CO-OPERATIVE BANK OF BOMBAY

992.12.1 Circular - Fort branch



fig. 23



fig. 24

Obverse: around border created by inner circle: SARASWAT CO-OPERATIVE BANK L^{TD} At bottom: BOMBAY with a small star either side. Within centre circle, there is space for a number to be stamped (69)

Reverse: near top: FORT near bottom: BRANCH

D: 33.7 mm M: brass E: P W: 13.22 g

Round. Hole in centre. Mint unknown, most likely Bombay.

992.13 BOMBAY MERCANTILE CO-OPERATIVE BANK

992.13.1 Circular - Safe Deposit

Obverse: within a circle at centre top, the bank's emblem depicting industry, agriculture and commerce. Around emblem: • THE BOMBAY MERCANTILE CO-OPERATIVE BANK LIMITED • The emblem in centre circle supported by a ribbon. Below ribbon: SAFE DEPOSIT.

Reverse: a curved line separates the bottom third. Within a circular upper portion: FINDER / WILL BE / REWARDED in three lines. Around a broad border, the same inscription in Urdu.

D: 30 mm M: brass W: 8.15 g Ref: Mitch. 569

Round. Holed after striking. Mint unknown.

992.14 BANK OF INDIA

992.14.1 Circular



fig. 25



fig. 26

Obverse: within a wreath, the stylised letter: **B I L**

Reverse: around border: THE BANK OF INDIA L^{TD} + BOMBAY + Number impressed in centre (1931)

D: 44 mm M: brass E: P W: 29.74 g

Round. No hole. Mint unknown.

The Bank of India was a Bombay-based bank set up in 1882 with branches in Calcutta and Ahmedabad (the joint-stock type of bank first came into existence around the middle of the century). Many prominent Bombay personages were involved in its establishment and board including Sir Cowasjee Jehangir and Sir Dinshaw Petit. It was managed conservatively and, although having a 25 year start on the Central Bank of India, it always remained in second place among the Indian-owned banks.



fig. 27



fig. 28

Obverse: in centre, a scale with rising sun above. Below, on a ribbon: ORA ET LABORA (pray and work). Around border: THE MASALAWALLA CO-OP BANK L. At bottom: BOMBAY with a small star to either side.

Reverse: usually with impressed number (78)

D: 32 mm M: brass E: P W: 12.78 g

Round. Central hole. Mint unknown, probably Bombay.

It is believed the majority of these pieces were used as checks. The normal procedure in Indian banks then and now was to use a numbered check to identify a banking client and the papers pertaining to that client. It was normal to have to deal with two persons: the first filled out the required forms placing the check number on the forms, then giving the check to the customer, who went to the second employee, who matched up the numbered papers with the check and completed the transaction.

Safety deposit checks may have been used as partial identification for items left in the bank's general vault.

The 59 bank checks listed here are probably a small percentage of the number issued. It would be very useful to hear from members with additional items or information to add to this trial listing. Full acknowledgement will be given in the final version.

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A New Nepalese Copper Coin of Kumaon

By Nicholas Rhodes

During a recent visit to Nepal, I found the copper coin, illustrated below, in a pile of unidentified junk. Stylistically, it had the appearance of a coin of Almora, although rather heavier than anything that I had seen before, and with the mint name "Kumaon", only otherwise found on the rare silver *timashas* dated 1868 VS¹.



Obv: (Sr)ji (Maha)raja Rana (Bah)adur Shah

Rev: (Zar)b Khumaon, 1851. Uncertain symbol, possibly like the 'fish' on coins of Najibabad

Diam 24mm Wt.14.39 g

The legend on the obverse of the coin is very crudely written, and rather uncertain. However the date and mint on the reverse make the attribution not in doubt. Two points make this piece exceptional: first the weight, and secondly the mint name. There is no doubt that the mint name is the same as that found on the *timashas* that I published on ONS Newsletter No.151, where I postulated either Kumaon or Champawati, the only other

possibility in the area. This copper coin, however, clearly has *nun* as the last letter of the mint, confirming the reading as Khumaon.

During the late 1780's, Kumaon suffered from a series of political intrigues, which gave the Nepalese an opportunity to expand their territory westwards, and in 1790 a Gurkha army marched into Almora. Soon after that, the Nepalese had to withdraw the majority of their troops to counter an invasion from a Chinese army in 1791, but did not relinquish their hold over Kumaon. In 1791-2, the head of the Nepalese administration, Jog Malla Subah, made a settlement of land revenue and imposed a tax of one rupee per *bisi* on cultivated land, a poll tax of a rupee per adult, and for the expenses of his office, an additional tax of a rupee and two and a half annas on every village. He was replaced in 1793 by Kazi Nar Sahi, a cruel governor, and then in the following year Ajab Singh Khawas Thapa, and the Governorship seems to have changed hands annually thereafter². The present coin has the date 1851 VS (=1794), so was presumably struck during the governorship of Ajab Singh Khawas Thapa, rather than as part of the initial tax raising exercise of the Gurkhas in 1791-2, but it does appear to be the earliest surviving Gurkha coin of Kumaon.

The weight, at over 14g, is significantly heavier than that of the other known coins of Almora struck in the name of Rana Bahadur³, which only weigh about 11 g, so it is tempting to assume that it is earlier than the other types. The change of mint name, from Kumaon, to Almora, would support that suggestion, since the earliest copper coins in the name of the next king, Girvan Yuddha, also weigh c 11 g and have the mint name Almora.

The appearance of this new coin has led me to examine more closely the copper coin illustrated above, and published as no.1360 in RGV. This coin, which is in the collection of Ken Wiggins, weighs 7.6 g, and hence could be a half denomination on the heavier weight standard. The obverse legend on this piece is very poorly written, and although we originally read it as Girvan Yuddha, I now believe that this could be a half denomination on the higher weight standard. The king's name is not clear but the legend seems generally to be set out in a similar way to that on the new coin, although there may be traces of *Vikram* at the upper left, which would only be appropriate for *Girvan Yuddha Vikram Shah*. The mint name is, however, clearly written as *Almora*, and the date appears to be 1858 VS, although it has been engraved over the tail of *zarb*, and might possibly be 1854 VS (=1797) or 1857 VS. The earlier date would be appropriate for Rana Bahadur, but both the latter dates fall within Girvan Yuddha's reign. The earlier date fits much better with the theory that the weight standard of copper coins in Kumaon / Almora was reduced from 14 g to 11 g at the end of the 1790's, late in the reign of Rana Bahadur, but it does require a certain amount of wishful thinking, and I look forward to finding more specimens that may clarify the reading. My thanks to Ken Wiggins for some useful ideas regarding the attribution of his specimen.

This new piece gives us a much clearer picture of the earliest Gurkha coinage of Kumaon. The copper coinage was started by 1794, with the *paisa* struck to a weight standard of 14-15 g, and a half *paisa* of half weight. Towards the end of the 1790's, the weight standard seems to have been reduced to about 11 g, and the denomination *fulus* written on the coin, but further evidence of the precise date is required, and we have no documentary evidence to indicate what the coins were actually called locally. In 1801, similar coins were struck by Girvan Yuddha to slightly reduced weight standard of about 10 g, and then about 1809, the weight of the standard copper coin was reduced to about 5 g, but whether this was a half denomination, or a reduction in weight standard is not known.

Notes

- 1 N.G.Rhodes, "A New Nepalese Coin from Kumaon", *ONS Newsletter*, No. 151 (Winter 1997), pp.14-15.
- 2 *Almora*, Uttar Pradesh Gazetteers, by Saiyid Ali Akhtar Rizvi., Lughnow 1981, p.60.
- 3 cf. Rhodes, Gabrisch and Valdetaro, *The Coinage of Nepal*, (RGV) nos. 1356/7.

BANKER'S MARKS ON WESTERN KSATRAPAS DRACHMS by Drs. P. Anne van 't Haaff

On a rare sunny afternoon last summer, in his home in a lovely village in Zeeland, The Netherlands, Paul Murphy drew my attention to the tiny banker's marks he found on some coins of a hoard of 333 Western Ksatrapas. I was thrilled when he suggested I analyse this hoard. And I am glad I accepted.

What I found was a surprise for me, although I presume that more experienced numismatists have been aware of the abundance of banker's marks on these silver drachms. I have however not found any reference to these banker's marks in the literature at my disposal.

Table 1 Murphy hoard

	Total	With Banker's mark
Rudrasimha	1	-
Yasodaman I	2	-
Vijayasena	17	4
Damajadasri III	3	-
Rudrasena II	31	5
Visvasimha Sat & Maha	7	1
Bhartrdaman Sat & Maha	81	15
Visvasena	118	8
Rudrasimha II	14	1
Yasodaman II	29	-
Visvasimha or Bhartrdaman	30	-
Total	333	34

There are banker's marks on more than 10% of the coins in the Murphy hoard, and three I found in my own collection. The obvious next step was to look in the standard books on the subject:

* Rapson *Catalogue of the Coins of the Andhra Dynasty, the Western Ksatrapas, Traikutaka Dynasty and the "Bodhi" Dynasty in the British Museum*, London 1908

* Mitchener *Ancient and Classical World*, London 1978

* Jha and Rajgor, *Studies in the Coinage of the Western Ksatrapas*, Nasik 1994

Here again, there were banker's marks on a large number of coins from nearly all rulers, from Rudradaman (Saka 52-72, AD 130-150) till Rudrasimha III (Saka 310-337, AD 388-415). In total I noted 203 coins with one or more banker's marks.

Table 2 Number of coins with banker's marks

Ruler	Saka date	J/R	Mitch	Raps	Murph	v'tHa	Ling	Total *)
Rudradaman	52-72	2						2
Damajadasri I	72-100	1						1
Damaghsada	id							-
Rudrasimha I	100-119	6		1		1		8
Jivadaman	119-120							-
Satyadaman	124	1						1
Rudrasena I	122-144	4						4
Prithvisena	144							-
Samgadaman	149 ?	1						1
Damasena	145-158	2	1				1	4
Damajadasri II	154-156							-
Viradaman	156-160	2	1					3
Yasodaman I	160-161		6					6
Vijayasena	160-172	8		1	4			13
Isvaradatta	164 ?	2		1				3
Damajadasri III	172-177	2	4	3				9
Rudrasena II	177-200	10	12	6	5	1	1	35
Visvasimha	199-202	4	5		1		1	11
Bhartrdaman	200-217	7	14	6	15	1		43
Visvasena	214-226	9	8	5	8			30
Rudrasimha II	226-238	4	1	1	1			7
Yasodaman II	237-254	6	1	5				12
Rudrasena III	270-300	9	1					10
Simhasena	300-306							-
Rudrasena IV	305-306	1						1
Rudrasimha III	307-337	2					1	3
Total with b.m..		83	54	29	34	3		207

Total coins in source	558**)	119	204	333	30	42	1286
% of coins with b.m.***).	15%	45%	14%	11%	10%	9%	16%

*) Sources:

* Jha-Rajgor, *Studies in the coinage of the Western Ksatrapas*

* Mitchener, *The Ancient and Classical World*

* Rapson, BMC, *Catalogue of the coins of the Andhra Dynasty, the Western Ksatrapas the Traikutaka and the "Bodhi" Dynasty*

* Murphy hoard

* Van't Haaff collection

* Lingen collection

**) Only those that are clear enough to read. This is a somewhat arbitrary judgement.

***) It will be clear that with the exception of the Murphy hoard the percentage given is no indication of the relative occurrence of banker's marks. Rapson illustrates less than a third of the BMC. The Mitchener illustrations show a very high number of banker marked coins

With very few exceptions all marks are on the head of the ruler. All are small or very small. The smallest are tiny dots, "dimples", not more than 0.7-1 mm, the largest banker's mark I found measures 3.5 x 2 mm. I found only very few coins with a possible very small banker's mark on the reverse. The number of marks on a coin varies from 1 to 8 with one coin with at least 12 small marks. Table 3 gives a breakdown of my harvest according to the number of banker's marks on a particular coin.

Table 3 Number of Banker's marks (all types) on one coin

	J/R	Mitch	Raps	Murphy	V't Haaf	Lingen	Total
1 - 2 marks	39	29	16	23	2	3	112 58%
3 - 4 marks	8	7	4	8		1	28 14%
5 and more	23	18	9	4	1*)	-	55 28%

*) one coin with at least 12 marks

So about 42% of the coins with banker's marks have 3 or more of them. They are mainly of the simple types mentioned below under Types 1 and 2.

Three types of banker's marks:

Type 1. (Very) small dots, pits or "dimples", squares, rectangles, crescents, triangles, heart-shaped or taurine impressions measuring from 0.7 x 0.7 mm to 1 x 2.5 mm. These marks are "solid" impressions. I identified 17 different sub-types (# 1.1 - 1.17).

Type 2. Circles or parts of circles, thin lines only, with diameters of 1.4 - 2.8 mm. There are 4 sub-types (#2.1 - 2.4).

Type 3. Geometric designs. I found 23 different shapes, measuring from 1x1 mm for the smallest to 3.5 x 2 mm for the largest. I registered 23 sub-types (# 3.1 - 3.23).

There are certain composite marks, which on closer inspection appear to be a combination of several punches by accident (?) placed close together. Examples are # 3.22 and 3.23.

The measurements are based on the actual coins of the Murphy hoard and the illustrations in *Rapson* and *Mitchener*, which are all clear and according to the actual coin size. The illustrations in *Jha and Raigor* are larger than the actual coin and not always clear enough for measuring, or even recognizing possible banker's marks.

Types 1 and 2 are much more common than Type 3. They occur frequently over the entire Western Ksatrapas period. I found them on coins from Rudradaman (S52.72), till Rudrasimha III (S307 - 337).

Especially frequent are the sub-types 1.1, 1.2 and 2.1 - 2.4. These occur often with 2 or many more imprints on one coin.

Table 4 gives information on the frequency of these marks on the coins from the six sources.

Table 4 Coins with Types 1.1; 1.2 and 2.1 - 2.4

	J/R	Mitch	Raps	Murph	V't H	Lingen	Total
Types 1.1 and 1.2	20	18	21	10	2	4	75 37%
Types 2.1 - 2.4	16	16	4	7	1	2	46 23%

I found sub-types 1.1 and 1.2 on 75 coins, that is on 38% of all banker marked coins. Sub-types 2.1 - 2.4 are found on 46 coins (24%). It should be noted that both types 1 and 2 can appear on one coin (as well as type 3 marks, for that matter). The figure for Rapson in Table 4 is surprising. Compared with the other sources, types 1 and 2, with 25 out of a total of 29 coins with banker's marks, are over-represented; few geometric designs (type 3) are seen in Rapson. No conclusions can be drawn from this observation as Rapson illustrates only less than a third of the coins in the BMC catalogue.

Type 3 coins with geometric banker's marks are much less abundant than the other two types. And whereas the latter types occur in practically identical form on coins of many rulers, the type 3 marks were found on coins of only one, sometimes two or three rulers. Geometric banker's marks seem to have been rather time bound, whereas types 1 and 2 are not bound by time. A simple reason for the latter fact can be the simplicity of the marks, easy to make, easy to copy. Another suggestion is that the geometric marks had another function.

In total I noted 27 coins with one and sometimes two geometric banker's marks (Jha - Rajgor 10; Murphy 9; Mitchener 7 and Rapson 1 (!)).

Table 5.

Number of geometric bankers marks per ruler.

Damasena	S145 - 158	1
Viradaman	S156 - 160	1
Vijayasena	S160 - 172	1
Damajadasri III	S172 - 177	2
Rudrasena II	S177 - 200	2
Visvasimha	S199 - 202	6
Bhartrdaman	S200 - 217	7
Visvasena	S214 - 226	1
Rudrasena III	S270 - 300	1
Rudrasimha III	S307 - 337	1
Total		23

So in the sample I researched type 3 bankers marks occur on coins that are about 100 years younger than the early coins with type 1 and 2 marks.

Coming back to the number of bankers marks per coin, the intriguing question is of course what the reasons are for, or the history is, of those large numbers of marks on a single coin. Were they punched at the same time or over a period of time?

"Duo marks", two of the same type on one coin, usually look as though they were punched at the same time. This often seems to be the case with the sub-types of the types 1 and 2, but also the type 3 marks come in duos, albeit less frequently. An example is MAW 2717 (Damajadasri III) with two marks of sub-type 3.6 which look very much of the same quality.

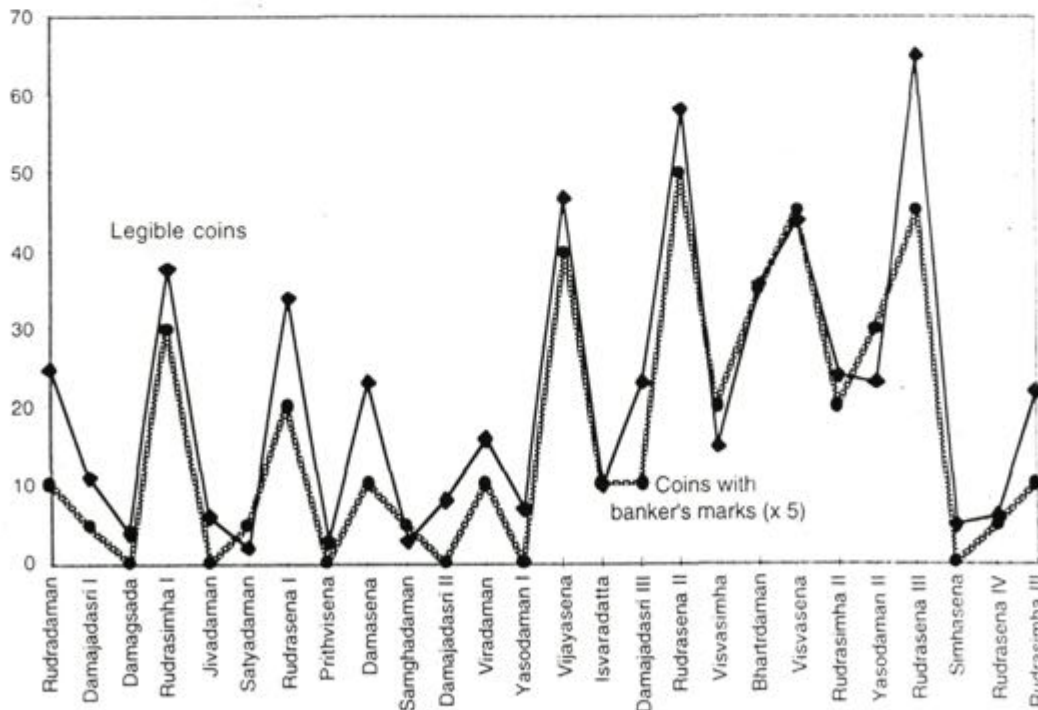
A closer look at the coins from the Murphy hoard and my own collection produces a varying picture. Some rather worn coins have many marks which all look as though they shared their life with the coin for a long period. An example is a rather worn Bhartrdaman coin in my collection with 12 or more punches (plus one on the reverse). Some worn coins have marks which look more recent than the coin. On again other coins the marks seem to be worn unequally, with some looking older than others.

The next question is in what period were the bankers marks punched on the coins.

The first ruler I found with banker's marks is Rudradaman (Saka 52 - 72), but that is by no means an indication of the start of punching banker's marks. When we look at the periods covered by 19 hoards with more than 23 coins mentioned in Jha & Rajgor, we find an average period of 152 years between the earliest date of the first ruler in the hoard and the latest date of the last ruler in the hoard. Three hoards cover more than 2 centuries. Murphy's hoard covers a period of 135 years. Western Ksatrapas drachms circulated many years after the demise of the issuing ruler.

Looking at Table 2 we see that reasonable numbers of coins with banker's marks appear around Saka 160. This may be an indication that the practice of punching banker's marks started around that period or somewhat later.

Figure 1: Relative number of coins with banker's marks



This suggestion is supported by Figure 1, based on the coins in Jha/Rajgor. It gives per ruler the number of legible coins and the number of coins with banker's marks x 5. First of all we see a remarkable correlation between the two sets of data. However for the rulers preceding Vijayasena (S160 - 172) the correlation is less strong (with the exception of Rudrasimha I). If we follow the

hypothesis that the practice of bankers marking started around S 160, the relatively lower number of bankers marks is due to the attrition of the coins over the years. So by the time the practice started, less coins of the previous rulers were in circulation and ran the risk of being marked. This argument is based on the assumption that at least part of the unmarked coins of those rulers had already disappeared from circulation, for all kinds of reasons, and surfaced in hoards deposited before the practice of banker's marking started.

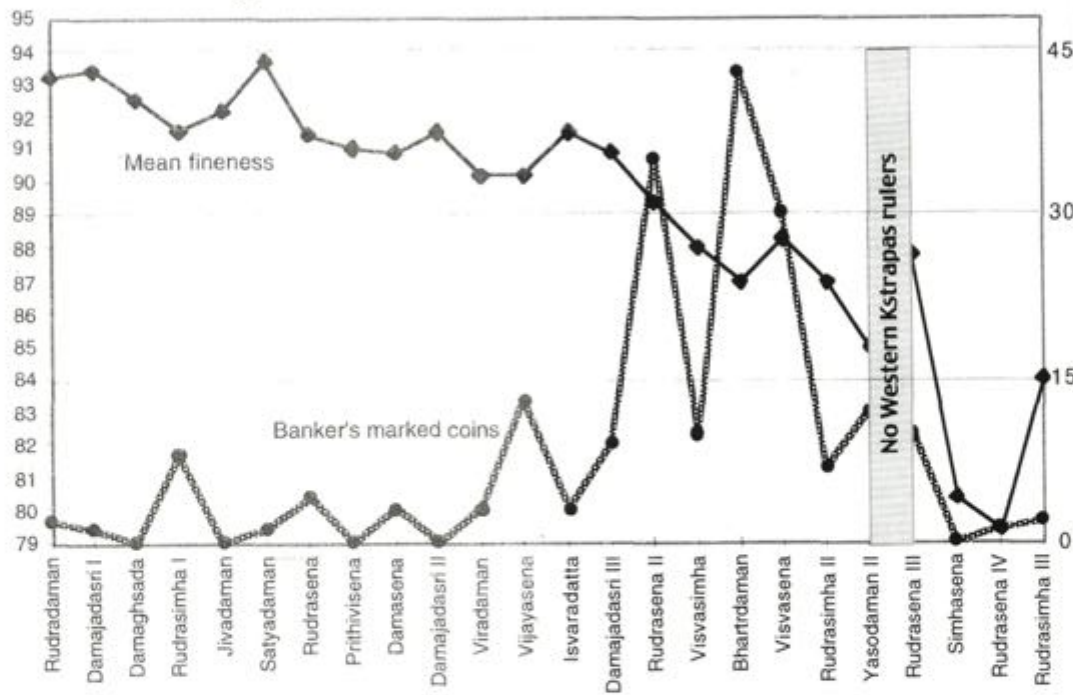
Further research on a larger number of coins from other sources must validate this tentative conclusion.

As regards the last date on which banker's marks were placed on Western Ksatrapas and related coins, the answer could be the dates on the coins of Rudrasimha III (Jha/Rajgor # 922 and # 926). Unfortunately the illustrations of these two coins are not clear enough to allow an absolute certain identification of banker's marks. Rudrasena coin Jha/Rajgor # 867, date 299, has an indisputable banker's mark, and so do # 870 and # 873, however without dates.

There is reason to believe that the practice ended with the last dynasty of the Western Ksatrapas. I have not seen any banker's marks on Traikutaka or Gupta coins. Another argument for that conclusion is that the number of marks found after Yasodaman II drops sharply. I have found no banker's marks on the coins of the successors of the Western Ksatrapas.

So the tentative conclusion is that the banker's marks on Western Ksatrapas coins were made in the period Saka 160 - 300, possibly as late as Saka 337.

Figure 2: Mean fineness and banker's marked coins



Left-hand scale gives mean fineness measured by Jha & Rajgor.

Right-hand scale gives number of coins with banker's marks in the six sources

Why were the coins marked?

A well known reason for marking coins is to test the precious metal content. This could be the reason for the banker's marks. Jha and Rajgor give on page 65 a graph showing the mean fineness of Western Ksatrapa coins. Figure 2 gives the graph of Jha/Rajgor with a plot of the banker's marked found in all six sources. The downward slope of the silver content, accelerates from Damajadasri III, at a time that is reasonably close to the years of Vijayasena, the period in which I think that the banker's marking started.

Is the practice of banker's marking linked with fineness?

Let us try and see if arguments can be constructed to link the practice of banker's marking to the development of the silver content of the coins.

Taking a closer look at the Jha/Rajgor graph of the mean fineness it is good to remember that the authors remark that the number of tested coins of some rulers is too small for definite conclusions. Damajadasri I, Damaghsada, Jivadaman, Satyadaman, Prithvisena, Damajadasri II, and Rudrasena IV are represented only by one or two coins. In particular, the data for Satyadaman (higher than the trend) and Rudrasena IV (lower than the trend) are not statistically relevant.

Be that as it may, we see an accelerated devaluation of the drachm at two points in time.

- From Rudrasena II till the period without Western Ksatrapa rulers (S254-270), the silver content dropped in 80 years by 5.7 percentage points, from $\pm 90.7\%$ to 85%, that is 0.07 percentage points per year. Compare this with the period of 200 years between Nahapana and Damajadasri III, during which the silver content dropped from 94% to 90.6%, or 0.02 points per year.

The Western Ksatrapa rulers after Rudrasena II did not use the title Mahaksatrapa, which may be an indication of loss of power due to external threats. The name of Samudragupta is mentioned in the literature in this respect. Particularly noticeable are the coins of Rudrasimha II and Yasodaman II the silver content of which dropped respectively 0.08 and 0.12 percentage point per year. This seems to be an indication of political or economical instability.

In S270 Rudrasena III made a new start as Mahaksatrapa and increased the fineness of his coins to an average of 87.5 %. He

had a rather chequered reign. Some authors claim that during S275-279 he was temporarily removed from the throne, probably due to the action of unfriendly neighbours, possibly the Traikutakas, the Abhiras or even Guptas. Eventually he returned to power as Mahaksatrapa until S300. Bob Senior remarks that we have no evidence that he was removed from office. In his collection there is a coin with the date S275, and he suspects that the other missing dates will eventually surface. The silver content of the Rudrasena III coins shows a much higher variance than that of his predecessors (see below). He was succeeded by Simhasena, who was his sister's son. Jain suggests that this may be an indication that the succession was not peaceful.

- Simhasena clearly was not in a comfortable situation, judged by the quality of his coins. The Jha/Rajgor measurements (4 coins) indicate a degradation of more than one percentage point per year over the six years of his reign. However when we look at the appreciation of the silver content of the coins of the last Western Ksatrapa ruler, Rudrasimha III (based on 9 coins), one tends to think that the figures for Simhasena and Rudrasena IV may be too low.

Variance in fineness per ruler

There is another interesting result of the research Jha & Rajgor did on the fineness. More or less parallel with the decrease in silver content (fineness), the variance in the fineness per ruler increases. We can distinguish three periods with respect to the variance in the silver content per ruler.

- In the period from Rudradaman until Damajadasri III the variance in the silver content of the coins per ruler lay between 1.13 percentage points for Viradaman and 3.71 percentage points for Damasena. For the other rulers in that period the figure lies in between.

- For the period Rudrasena II until Yasodaman II the variance per ruler lies between 5.15 percentage points for Rudrasena II and 8.23 percentage points for Visvasena. Other rulers of the period are in between.

- Of the 3 last rulers, Rudrasena III coins had a variance in fineness of 12.23 and Rudrasimha III even 13.04 percentage points.

The first conclusion is that, over time, the authorities became less strict in maintaining the fineness of the coins they issued. Secondly the tolerance of the minting authorities with regard to the fineness significantly increases with Rudrasena II. Thirdly, this tallies with the period in which in my opinion the practice of banker marking started.

Low silver drachms and forgeries.

Jha & Rajgor found some coins of most rulers with a low silver content of 69-38%. They argue that these coins may have had a (semi)-official character. Cheating mint masters or emergency situations could be the reason for these coins. Forgers would want to make more use of the opportunity and use much less, or even no silver. And that is what they did. From the Vidisa region several coins have emerged with hardly any silver. Some of those seem to have been plated or silver-washed. So a forger's mint could have been located in Vidisa. There is of course also another, legal, possibility: some of the coins were never plated or silver-washed and were low denominations, circulating along with the silver drachms.

None of the coins with low or no silver content mentioned by Jha & Rajgor have a visible banker's mark.

Finally the basic question: for what purpose were banker's marks put on the coins?

The above provides a valid argument for the opinion that fineness testing was the purpose. But still there are doubts in my mind. Why would the bankers use their punches to check the silver content? They would certainly have been aware of the fact that the older coins on average had a higher silver content. And if the silver content was so important, why did high content coins remain in circulation, and why mark the coins of the later rulers? Another question to ask is: if the silver content was of real concern to the recipients of the coins, why is only 1 in 7 coins in the sample marked? And why so many coins with a multitude of marks?

Was it a practice that was current in the periphery of the Western Ksatrapa's realm, or even outside, where bankers were not familiar enough with the coins to judge them on sight? Not very likely, but possible.

For what reason did the type 3, geometric marks, appear a hundred years after the simple type 2 and 3 marks?

Why were the Traikutaka coins not marked and why did the practice stop when the Guptas took over?

Thus one can still question validity of the case for fineness testing as the purpose for the banker's marks. Be that as it may, at least one of the banker's marks (# 1.3), a rather deep hole with a rim, could be the type of mark to test the silver of the coin with. Many others do not look really suitable for testing purposes.

Conclusion

It is not surprising that few definite answers are available to most of the questions about the banker's marks on the Western Ksatrapa drachms. Bob Senior has suggested that an analysis of some larger hoards of known provenance may lead to the identification of particular centres where certain marks are prevalent. I quote Bob: "There are certainly regional variances in style of Satrapal coins and these marks may eventually help in identifying officinae and their whereabouts". I hope that someone who has access to such data may followup my research.

The Annex gives illustrations of the banker's marks found. They are not to scale.

Literature.

Information in this article is based on :

* Jha and Rajgor; *Studies in the coinage of the Western Ksatrapas*, Nasik, 1994

* Rapson; *Catalogue of the coins of the Andhra Dynasty, the Western Ksatrapas, Traikutaka Dynasty and the "Bodhi" Dynasty in the British Museum*, London 1908

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* Kailash Chand Jain, *Malwa through the Ages*, Delhi 1972

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P. A. van't Haaff
21 December 1998

Annex

Banker's marks found on illustrations in Jha & Rajgor, Mitchener ACW, Rapson BMC and on the coins in the Murphy hoard and the Van't Haaff collection

Type 1

•	1.1	0.7 - 1.4 mm	Small "dimples"; 13 Rulers, from Damajadasri I till Yasodaman II
•	1.2	1.5 - 2.5 mm	Larger "dimples"; Rudrasimha, Viradaman, Rudrasena II, Bhartrdaman Mahaksatrap
⊙	1.3	2 mm	Rudrasimha I, Rudrasena II, Bhartrdaman
■	1.4	1 mm	Small square; 8 Rulers, from Satyadaman till Yasodaman II
▲	1.5	1 mm	Vijayasena, Yasodaman II
▲	1.6	1.5 mm	Triangle; Rudrasimha I, Damajadasri III, Rudrasena II Bhartrdaman Maha, Visvasena
∨	1.7	1.2 mm	Bhartrdaman. Rudrasena
⤴	1.8	1.2 - 2.5	Wedge; Rudrasimha I, Yasodaman I, Vijayasena, Damajadasri III, Visvasena
—	1.9	2 mm	Visvasimha, Rudrasimha III
■	1.10	1 mm	Damajadasri III, Yasodaman I, Bhartrdaman, Rudrasimha II
∪	1.11	1.2 - 2.5 mm	Crescent; 7 Rulers, Yasodaman I till Rudrasimha II
∪	1.12	1.5 mm	Narrow crescent; Visvasena
▶	1.13	1 mm	Heart; Bhartrdaman
♂	1.14	1 mm	Taurine; Vijayasena, Rudrasena II
†	1.15	1.5 x 2.8 mm	Bhartrdaman Satrap
∧	1.16	1.5 mm	Rudrasimha II
↙	1.17	2 mm	Vijayasena

Type 2

○	2.1	1.4 - 2.8 mm	Circle in many sizes; Vijayasena, Damajadasri III, Rudrasena II, Visvasimha, Bhartrdaman, Visvasena, Yasodaman II
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○	2.2	1.5 - 2.5 mm	Open circle; Rudrasena II, Bhartrdaman Sat, Visvasena, Yasodaman II
∪	2.3	3 mm	Wide half circle; Bhartrdaman Sat
∪	2.4	2 mm	Small half circle; Damajadasri III, Rudrasena II; Visvasena

Type 3

✦	3.1	1 - 2.3 mm	Visvasimha, Bhartrdaman
∞	3.2	3 x 2 mm	Bhartrdaman Sat
♣	3.3	1.8 x 2.5 mm	Visvasena
✕	3.4	2 mm	Visvasena
⊕	3.5	1.5 x 2 mm	Bhartrdaman
⊙	3.6	1.7 mm	Damajadasri III, Rudrasena II, Bhartrdaman Maha
⊞	3.7	2 mm	Bhartrdaman Maha
⊙	3.8	2 mm	Damajadasri III, Rudrasena II
∪	3.9	2.2 mm	Damajadasri III
♣	3.10	3.5 x 2 mm	Vijayasena
∪	3.11	3 x 2.5 mm	Visvasena
♣	3.12	?	Vijayasena
∪	3.13	?	Vijayasena
⊙	3.14	?	Rudrasena II
♣	3.15	?	Visvasimha
⊕	3.16	?	Visvasimha
✕	3.17	?	Vijayasena, Rudrasena III
∪	3.18	?	Rudrasimha III
⊙	3.19	3 x 3 mm	Viradaman, Rudrasena II
⊕	3.20	1.5 mm	Visvasena
∪	3.21	2 mm	Bhartrdaman
∞	3.22	3 x 2 mm	Vijayasena Maha
⊕	3.23	6 x 2.5 mm	Looks like a complicated mark, but is a combination of 3 (part) circles