

ORIENTAL NUMISMATIC SOCIETY



NEWSLETTER

No. 163

Spring 2000

ONS News

ONS Website

A reminder that the ONS Website can be found at <http://www.onsnumis.org>. The site contains a full index of newsletter contents which members may find useful.

From the Editor

Please note the editor's new e-mail address of . The previous msn address is no longer functioning.

Annual General Meeting

The Annual general meeting will take place on 3 June 2000 at the Cumberland Coin Fair at the Cumberland Hotel Marble Arch London. Our thanks are due to Frances and Howard Simmons for making this facility available to the Society. There will be a number of talks at 2.30 p.m. following the formal meeting.

London

Twenty ONS members met at the British Museum on 25 March 2000.

Joe Cribb gave a talk on the banknotes of the central Asian republics following the collapse of the Soviet Union in the early 1990s. Whilst part of the Soviet Union their banknotes were similar in style to Russian notes. Initially there was pressure to stay in the rouble zone and it was only with the fall of the rouble that governments realised that they had to do something to stabilise their currencies.

Uzbekistan printed coupons to be used alongside existing banknotes to control the rouble but soon the rouble notes were not used. From the end of 1992 Uzbekistan printed its own basic notes by lithographic printing. Uzbekistan lacked modern security printing facilities and turned to foreign firms including Harrisons and De La Rue. Other states faced similar developments including the need to produce new larger denominations reflecting inflation. Modern notes, with numerous security features, take a considerable time to produce in particular engraving the design. Joe illustrated numerous attractive notes from Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan, Kyrgyzstan, and Tajikistan. Each state has distinctive designs for its notes often illustrating their distinctive cultural identity and more modern achievements.

Les Riches gave a talk on the Kota coins of the third and fourth centuries from N.W. India and his study of them which has included trips to Pakistan and visits to archaeological sites

where evidence of coin making has been found. There is evidence of copper being hammered into the face of coins. Some Kota coins have been re-struck on earlier coins usually Kushan coins but in at least one case a Vasu Deva coin. There is evidence of earlier coins having been cut in half and then folded over before being re-struck.

Christine Frohlich-Willey, a PhD student from Paris gave a talk on her work for her thesis on Indo-Scythian and Indo Parthian coins and history. These dynasties were the link between the last Indo Greeks and the Kushans and their coins are the main source for their history. Her work is not finished and she gave a glimpse of her work in progress. Christine explained her methodology which includes the study of hoards in Europe, the U.S.A., India and Pakistan. The importance of die studies which are in progress to the controversial classification of coins to the two rulers according to type with horseman with spear or whip. She has also studied 15 or so overstrikes and hopes to find more in collections in India and Pakistan. Her study includes Latin, Greek, Indian and Chinese literature and some results of excavations.

Susan Tyler-Smith gave a talk on a group of anomalous drachms of Khusraw II. These coins are not uncommon and Susan argued that they were a regular but exceptional issue. The coins have distinctive stylistic characteristics which distinguish them from many other coins of this prolific period towards the end of Khusraw's reign. She distinguished them from irregular coins in part because the legends are correct. The coins are all dated year 35 (AD 624-625), with the "AFZUT" legend in the margin and the *ao* mint signature attributed to Ahwaz. Susan suggested that these AFZUT coins may be associated with the war with the Byzantine empire and that these anomalous coins may have been the product of a military mint.

Peter Smith

Seventh Century Syrian Numismatic Round Table Study Day

A Study Day was held at the British Museum on 4th March 2000 organised by the Seventh Century Syrian Numismatic Round Table. This group aims to bring together numismatists, historians and archaeologists, and the day was successful in generating plenty of useful interdisciplinary debate.

The following informal papers were delivered, generally dealing with work in progress rather than completed research:-

The Earliest Arab Gold Coinage Revisited - Andrew Oddy reviewed the known specimens of the rare Arab-Byzantine gold coinage, and then went on to consider a number of irregular Byzantine style solidi of Phocas and Heraclius, which have sometimes been ascribed to the Arabs. Although details of find

spots for most of these coins are rather vague, he suggested that the evidence pointed to a non-Arab origin for the group, with the Avars perhaps the best candidates.

Tabariya and pseudo-Tabariya - Marcus Phillips described the Arab-Byzantine coinage of Tabariya, including one apparently new type with a standard 3 figure obverse, but with TABARIYA in Arabic in the exergue of the reverse. He then went on to consider the smaller module coins, most of which were mintless with religious legends. In some cases these coins seem to represent the first use of these legends on Islamic coins. His tentative conclusion was that this series may have been produced at the same time that mints in the other Syrian junds were issuing standing caliph coins.

Coinage and Military Salaries in the Umayyad Period - Hugh Kennedy described his research into the payment of Arab armies in the Umayyad and early Abbasid period. All the evidence pointed to payment being made in actual coined money, and the total amounts involved were very large indeed. Although most sources related to Iraq rather than Syria, a number of questions needed to be answered relating to how these payments were made in the West before 'Abd al-Malik's currency reforms of 77 AH.

Early Islamic Seals in the British Museum - Venetia Porter is in the process of cataloguing the Museum's Islamic seals, and she showed a number of early lead seals, which are providing useful evidence for Umayyad administrative structure. The purpose of the seals was not entirely clear, although some showed signs of having been attached to sacking. She also discussed an enigmatic group of early clay tokens which had recently been loaned to the Museum.

Umayyad Coins and Glass Pilgrim Vessels from Jerusalem - After reviewing the complex changes in authority affecting Jerusalem in the 7th century, Julian Raby described a group of glass pilgrim vessels decorated with Christian and Jewish motifs, first published in the early 1970's. He was able to demonstrate that some of these motifs were almost certainly Islamic, including a probable representation of the standing caliph, and he suggested a revised date for the whole group of the second half of the 7th century.

Focus on the mint of Baalbek - Tony Goodwin has almost completed a die study of the Arab-Byzantine coins of Baalbek. After outlining the different types and main stylistic variations, he said that his main conclusion was that there had been two phases of minting. The first, which accounted for over 80% of the coinage, was relatively straightforward, but the second had stylistic similarities with Damascus and included 2 die-links with Damascus. The mint may therefore have been moved from Baalbek to Damascus.

The meeting concluded with an update from Henri Pottier on his research on the "Oriens" series of Heraclius. At a previous study day he had demonstrated that these coins form a coherent dated series of large module Byzantine folles, issued in Syria during the wars with the Persians. He is now able to show that coins using frozen obverse types of Justin and Sophia fit in to the series, and may well have been minted at Emesa.

TONY GOODWIN

Other London dates for your diary are:

- **Saturday 7 October** a general member's meeting, same venue, commencing 11.00
- **Saturday 2 December**, commencing 11.00, an Indian Coin Study Day at the Coin and Medal Department, British Museum, topic yet to be fixed. Additional details will be posted to the ONS website in due course.

Cambridge, UK

There will be an Indian Coinage Study Day on Saturday 24 June 2000 at the Fitzwilliam Museum, commencing 10.30 and ending around 16.30. The subject will be: The Sultanate Coinages. For additional information please contact Elina Screen at the Museum (Trumpington Street, Cambridge CB2 1RB, UK); tel ++44 1223 332900; fax ++44 1223 332923; e-mail ems17@cam.ac.uk

of the coins and banknotes lots were sold. Bidding was keen with bidding from the floor, by telephone and mail. While some of the commoner material did not find buyers, interest in the rarer items was considerable, reflecting the continuing growth of interest in the region's Islamic heritage. Modern coins and paper money also proved very popular. Some examples of prices reached are AED 75,000 for an Umayyad partisan dirham of Al-Manşūr b. Muḥammad, Ifriqiya, AH 141; AED 65,000 for an Umayyad dirham of Al-Qandal, AH 96; AED 50,000 for a gold dinar of the 'Alid ruler of Ṭabaristān, Al-Ḥasan b. Zayd, Naysabur, AH 262; AED 42,000 for an Umayyad dirham of Ḥulwan, AH 81; AED 36,000 for an Umayyad dirham of Al-Rayy, AH 79 and AED 34,000 for an Umayyad dirham of Māh al-Başra, AH 83.

Auction No.3 will take place in Dubai in 2001.

New and Recent Publications

- S.K. Bose: *Coins and Tokens of Assam (1715-1937)*, 1999, Shillong. Hard-bound. 129 pages with illustrations. Price: around \$15
- Nicholas Rhodes & Shankar K. Bose: *The Coinage of Cooch Bihar*, 1999, Dhubri, India. Hard-bound. 123 pages. 7 plates. Price: around \$12
- A new volume in the *History of al-Ṭabarī* has appeared in the series published by the State University of New York Press (PO Box 6525, Ithaca, NY 14851, USA tel ++1 607 277 2211; fax ++1 800 688 2877 E-mail: orderbook@cupserv.org)

The new volume, Volume 5 "The Sāsānids, the Byzantines, the Lakhmids, and Yemen" has been translated by C.E. Bosworth. 458 pages. \$21.95 paperback ISBN 0-7914-4356-6; \$64.50 hardcover ISBN 0-7914-4355-8 plus postage. For information about the other volumes available in this series, please contact the publishers. The complete set is available at a 40% discount at \$535 for the paperback edition and \$1355 for the hardcover edition.

- Abdelhamid Fenina: *Les monnaies de la régence de Tunis sous les Husaynides: Etudes de numismatique et d'histoire monétaire*, France, 1993. 746 pages, softcover, in French. This book is in fact a thesis and is available from Atelier national de reproduction des thèses, Université de Lille III, 9, Rue A. Angellier 59046 Lille Cedex, France. Tel: ++33 3 20308673; fax ++33 3 20542195; E-mail: Vervacke@univ-lille3.fr Price: about FF 1000

The contents are in three parts:
 - sources and historic framework
 - corpus of Husaynid money

- mintage and monetary policy of the Husaynid beys
 The author had access to the uncatalogued collections of the BARDO Museum in Tunis, the collection of the Central Bank of Tunisia and various other well known collections in Europe and the USA.

- Volume II of *Akches* by Slobodan Srećković will soon be published. This volume covers akches from Mehmed II, AH 848 through to Sulaiman I, AH 926 and will have around 160 pages, 16 plates of 310 photos and many hundreds of line drawings of coins, inscriptions and design elements.

Volume III will cover akches from AH 926 to AH 974 and should be finished by the end of 2000. Volume IV will now cover akches from AH 974 to AH 1003 and will be completed some time in 2001. Volume V, the final volume, will continue the story up to the introduction of coining machinery in AD 1691. Further information can be obtained from Tom Clarke, Box 290145, Davie, FL 33329-0145. E-mail: ocl-tom@ix.netcom.com

Other News

- Spink of London have moved their numismatic and philatelic department to new premises in Bloomsbury, a few minutes' walk from the British Museum. The new address is 69 Southampton Row, London WC1B 4ET. Tel: ++44 20 7563 4000; fax ++44 20 7563 4066 E-mail: info@spinkandson.com There is also a new website at www.spink-online.com

- The Indian Institute of Research in Numismatic Studies (PO Anjaneri 422213, Dist. Nashik, Maharashtra, India; tel: ++91 2594 33405/33406) is organising its 5th International Colloquium on the theme *Mediaeval Indian Coinages: A Historical and Economic Perspective*. This will take place 17-19 February 2001. Papers and participants are cordially invited. For more information please contact Amiteshwar Jha at the above address.

Auction News

- Dmitry Markov's mail-bid sale #8 (April 2000) includes a gold dinar of the Bahri Mamluk Al-Mu'izz 'Izz al-Dīn Aibak (AH 648-655) of al-Iskandariyyah dated 652. This appears to be an earlier date than previously published for dinars of this ruler from this mint. The coin (#217) cites the deceased Ayyūbid al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb. Also included in the auction are some rare pre-Islamic coins of the Ifrighids of Khwarizmia; Sogd and Bukhārā, and some rare Qarakhānid coins.

- Emirates Coin Auction No. 2, organised by Arabian Coins & Medals and Baldwin's Auctions Ltd on 28 and 29 March 2000 in Dubai, realised a grand total of almost AED 2½ million, an increased of 13% on the first auction. Eighty percent

- Ralf Althoff & Tobias Mayer: *Oriental coins, Coins of the Crusaders and Crusader States as well as the States of the European Neighbours* (Bd. V/3: Byzantinische Münzen und ihr Umfeld - Orientalische Münzen, Münzen der Kreuzfahrer und -staaten sowie der europäischen Nachbarn) will be the title of a joint volume by Ralf Althoff, Kultur- und Stadthistorisches Museum Duisburg and Tobias Mayer, Oriental Coin Cabinet of the Friedrich-Schiller-Universität in Jena.

This will be a joint publication project of the Köhler-Osbahr Collection Duisburg and Oriental Coin Cabinet Jena

The Köhler-Osbahr Collection in the Kultur- und Stadthistorisches Museum Duisburg comprises over 70,000 coins from all regions of the world (see ONS-Newsletter 155). In a joint volume, the third part of this series (see below), the authors want to present the coins of the political and cultural environment of Byzantium, which is understood in its most extensive meaning: the coins of the Near East up to the 15th century and of the neighbouring West.

Tobias Mayer is working on the Oriental series, the Arab coins of Sasanian and Byzantine type, the Umayyad, Abbasid, Ayyubid coins and others. Ralf Althoff is describing the European and European influenced coinages of Armenia, the Crusader principalities and Venice, Serbia, Bulgaria and others.

Two volumes of the Byzantium series are already published:

Ralf Althoff, Sammlung Köhler-Osbahr. Bd. V/1, Byzantinische Münzen und ihr Umfeld. Anastasius I. (491 - 518) bis Phocas (602 - 610). Hrsg. Stadt Duisburg, Kultur- und Stadthistorisches Museum Duisburg, Duisburg 1998. ISBN 3-89279-541-X
price ca. Euro 23,- and

Ralf Althoff, Sammlung Köhler-Osbahr. Bd. V/2, Byzantinische Münzen und ihr Umfeld. Interregnum (Sommer 608 - Ende 610) und Heraclius (610 - 641) bis Alexios IV. (1417 - 1447). Hrsg. Stadt Duisburg, Kultur- und Stadthistorisches Museum Duisburg, Duisburg 1999. ISBN 3-89279-556-8
price ca. Euro 26,-

- New publications by Spink (see new address elsewhere in this issue) are the following:

Plant, R: *Arabic coins and how to read them*, second edition, revised, 1980, reprint 2000; 152 pages, card covers; price £15

Pamuk, S: *Cambridge Studies in Islamic Civilisation - A Monetary History of the Ottoman Empire*, 2000; 276 pages, 45 plates. Casebound. Price: £40

and distributed by Spink:

Mitchiner, M: *The Land of Water - Coinage and History of Bangladesh and Later Arakan, circa 300 BC to the present day*, 2000; 160 pages, 420 coins catalogued and illustrated. Price: £60.

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) lists numbers 158 (February 2000) 159 (March 2000).
2. 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 49 (March 2000) of Islamic, Central Asian and Indian coinage.

3. Scott Cordry (PO Box 9828, San Diego, CA 92169, USA; tel ++1 619 272 9440; fax ++1 619 272 9441) list 116 (Spring 2000) featuring modern Islamic coins and rare Islamic banknotes.
4. Robert Tye (Loch Eynort, Isle of South Uist, UK, HS8 5SJ; tel ++44 1878 710300; fax ++44 1878 710216; e-mail robert.tye@ndirect.co.uk) list 35 of oriental coins including Chinese coins from the Narbeth collection.

Reviews

Bridging the Gaps: Jen's Chinese Cash

The eighties and nineties have seen an explosion of numismatic research and publishing in China, but largely without benefit to western collectors. Very little has been translated, and most of the collector oriented catalogues are for the Chinese market, with no western-language text, and often without a numbering system. Although several concordances and attempts at a comprehensive catalogue have been started in the past 50 years by westerners, some of them reaching published form, the standard has remained Schjoth's 1912 catalogue of his collection. Recently George Fisher published a very usefully enhanced photocopy version of Ding Fubao's 1940 catalogue, the long-time standard among Chinese collectors, and a better work than Schjoth in every way though lacking in background information and "sidelights" such as calligraphy and weight varieties, mother coins, and charms.

When I learned that a new work, drawing on Chinese sources and authored by New York dealer and tireless ANS volunteer David Jen was already in press from Krause, I hoped that Chinese Cash: Identification and Price Guide would replace these works. Having examined it, I believe that it is more of a gap-filler and will help bring the western collector up to speed with his Oriental counterpart. It is not the ultimate Chinese cash catalogue for the western collector. It will not replace Fisher's Ding, though the two books complement each other nicely and together more than replace Schjoth. It may be a good choice for someone who is not collecting the series and wants just one reference, but someone acquiring coins should have Ding or Schjoth as well. Jen's Chinese Cash (ISBN 0-87341-859-X) lists at \$42.95 and will be well distributed, while Fisher's Ding and Schjoth, both as photocopies, can be had from a few dealers in the field at \$30-35 each.

In a nutshell, this is a non-comprehensive type catalogue with good-quality rubbing illustrations, a number system, transliterated legends and attributions by emperor, cross-reference to S and FD numbers, market prices in two grades and, incorporated into the catalogue portion, the sort of historical information contained in Schjoth, but of greater depth and recency. There is an extensive listing of pre-production and pattern coins, special sections on calligraphy varieties and counterfeits, and a dynastic list. Some Central Asian series are represented. Pinyin is used throughout. Uniquely, this work explains the importance many types have to the Oriental collector, a perspective richer than that gained from any western work.

My biggest problem with Jen is its lack of comprehensiveness. The author has tried "... not to encumber this book with material that can be found in other catalogues prepared carefully by western writers ..." but the result has been to omit many commonly-found types that appear in both Schjoth and the amazingly comprehensive Ding. The catalogue numbers tell the story. Fisher's Ding covers the field in 2708 entries; Jen in 1491, including numerous charms, and some exotic types Ding missed. For knives and spades, Ding has 341 entries, Jen only 57, but including 5 missed by Ding. This means that many of the city-named late spades are simply missing, and the highly varied Ming knife is essentially served by a single entry. The complex coinage of Shun Zhih, enlivened by the transition from Ming to Manchu rule, has been deeply studied by Werner Burger. Leaving aside

calligraphy differences. 76 types emerge from his plates, of which Ding lists 71 and Schjoth 57; Jen only 42. Certainly it is hard to fault any work in this complex and under-researched field for omissions, but here the omissions seem completely arbitrary. Missing are many types commonly available for under \$50, while extreme rarities, priced in the thousands of dollars, are found on nearly every page. The generous margins and loose layout of the plates give the work a comfortable look, but I cannot help feeling that 341 full-sized pages could have been used to cover the field more thoroughly.

In an attempt "to avoid a cluttering of material" Jen has divided his main catalogue into two parts, what he calls mainstream issues, and "variants". Apparently the idea was to provide one or more pieces of each reign title in Section I to ease the task of the page-through attributer. I have been unable to discern any criteria, however, for what was put in each section, nor indeed to what was left out of both. An attribution guide such as R.B. White's, requiring perhaps 10 pages, would eliminate the need for page-throughs and be helpful to the casual user as well.

Aside from the inconvenience of flipping back and forth between two sections is the numbering problem. The number sequence runs historically from #1 through #868, with Taiping and other Rebel coins, Xinjiang (Turkestan) and other outlying series adding up to #928, which is sensible enough. Then Section II begins all over again with knife and spade "variants" from #929 to #1491, forcing the user to interpose the two number runs to keep his listing or collection in historical order. This alone will dissuade many collectors from using Jen's numbers as their organizing thread, and most dealers and auctioneers from referencing the work in their listings.

There is a fascinating section on calligraphy varieties. Jen attempts a breakdown of the Wu Zhu (Han) and Kai Yuan (Tang) types, which, along with the earlier Ban Liang, are conservative series just now yielding their secrets to a few dedicated researchers using published hoard finds. Most western collectors, however, will find these pages more tantalizing than useful. In simplified form, Jen recounts the fascinating evolution of these types with rubbings and calligraphy descriptions as aids. Roger Doo is gradually publishing much more detailed studies, some in English, but I believe that only the most intrepid and patient of western collectors will be able to sit down with them and a handful of Wu Zhu or Kai Yuan and come up with accurate attributions. Jen's pages on Sung varieties, though treating only a few types, cover sources of variation that occur throughout the dynastic run and provide a good basic grounding in this important level of cash collecting.

The section on seeds, patterns, and trial pieces explains the casting process and the lovely pre-production coins used in making circulation issues. A few photos would have gone a long way to help readers distinguish the various stages. Mother, pattern, and production versions of a coin may be indistinguishable to a collector who has seen only the latter; most collections have well-made Qing or Song circulation cash hopefully labelled as seeds. The catalogue of 223 pieces leads me to wonder again why these particular types were chosen, when presumably every regular issue coin had the same precursors during any given historical period. Jen's claim that each class (master, mother, pattern) has the same market value regardless of dynasty or issuer simply is not credible, nor are the low values he gives for these rare items. These "super coins" are easier to fake than circulation pieces, which must exhibit imperfections and patina, and in fact they have been extensively faked lately. Low and uniform prices across such a broad series suggest a market best entered with caution.

And indeed, the section on assessing fake cash coins is quite inadequate. Jen provides an interesting catalogue of traditional forging methods with tips on how to detect them. This may help

more experienced collectors with clumsy pieces, but it is no substitute for reviewing multiple examples with experts. Jen refers to the quality of Shen which adheres to genuine coins; to me this means the unconscious skill that comes of many such consultations, resulting in an ability to sense a bad piece without knowing how you do it. What information Jen provides is good, but a little knowledge can be a dangerous thing.

More importantly, this section ignores entirely two categories most often found today, the amuletic copies, and the sophisticated new forgeries of the 1990s. Amuletic copies are made not to fool collectors or to circulate, but as charms bearing reign titles thought to be lucky. Certain reign titles and types of knife and spade coins are copied regularly, and some of the copies are nearly as old as their prototypes. Those with added pictorial elements are obvious as amulets, but others can fool less experienced collectors. Curiously, Jen has included a number of these pieces in with the coin listings, not always identified as such.

The most dangerous forgeries, however, are those produced since about 1985 in China. Knowledgeable Hong Kong and Macau dealers will take a genuine rarity to mainland shops that specialize in forging old bronze items. They not only know what color soil encrustation and patina is appropriate for that issue, they are now able to duplicate it flawlessly. The problem has worsened to the point that collectors visiting China report genuine coins driven off the market by forgeries, and even the most reliable dealers unable to tell bad from good. There are no western dealers capable of distinguishing the recent crop of fakes, and they have been offered in major auctions. Excepting cheap, unpatinated, worn, or damaged coins, I now presume any cast coin coming out of China to be most likely a forgery. As a dealer who has derived upwards of 25% of his income some years from this field, it pains me to say it, but this is not a good time to be collecting Chinese cast coinage. A book which will probably popularize the field could not have come at a worse time.

The question I get most often about priced catalogues published in the Orient is, how accurate are their market values? Usually I do not even take the time to assess this feature, since I price by past experience. Indeed, I would still recommend that collectors look at my own past offerings, those of Frank Robinson and Sea Eagle, Taisei auctions, and the like. I did a survey of 16 pieces from my last price list that I could reliably find in Jen: his prices were lower for 8, just about equal for four, and higher for four. In general, I found enough congruence that I would look up a type I had not handled before, and would take counsel from his figure. But what do I make of the type I could have sold three of at \$110 priced at \$40 in Jen, or the one I could not sell for \$65 valued at \$120? Word to the wise: never rely on a single source for your market information! Pricing becomes especially arbitrary in a market flooded with fakes; if a buyer insists on buying below catalogue price, he will have no trouble doing so these days.

Dealing in series exotic to the western collector I have always felt it important to stock references, and to assess them realistically. After many conversations with reference buyers I have come up with a formula for what every collector wants: it will provide historical and numismatic background information, a reasonably comprehensive catalogue of types, all illustrated, preferably by clear photos incorporated in the catalogue, a simple numbering system, an attribution guide if needed, collecting tips and sidelights, market values, and perhaps a couple of colour plates to impart the flavor of the series - all for under \$30, if you please! Few if any actual books score 100%, of course. By these criteria I would give Jen's work more than a passing mark. It should be considered a useful supplement to what we already have, perhaps the first book that a novice would buy, definitely the second or third, depending upon the direction of one's interest. I am disappointed that Krause's distribution might be behind a work in our little field that is not the be-all, end-all of cash

catalogues. Apparently this work came to them nearly in finished form, making it an economical publishing choice, especially without photos. With just a little bit of editorial input, and some consultation with collectors and dealers in the field, it could have been much more than it is, however.

Scott Semans

Addendum

In their article on a very large hoards of countermarked coins published in Newsletter 162, the authors omitted to mention one other hoard in the list of hoards provided. The details are:

A collection of 40 para coins in the museum of the church of the Assumption of the virgin in Panaghia, Thasos, published 1996 by M.J.A. Tzamali: 100 coins, for the most part countermarked with G 16-12 ΠΑΝΑΓΙΑ ΘΑΣΩ

Corrigendum

A couple of errors unfortunately crept into Mechael Fedorov's articles in Newsletter 162 as follows:

P. 9: type 1 should refer to figure 1.1 not 1.2

p. 12: in the Arabic legend, منصور should come after بن .

Articles

On the Circulation in Armenia of the Copper Coins of the Ildegizid ruler Muhammad Jahan Pahlavan 571-582 AH (1175-1186 AD).

By Aram R. Vardanian, Institute of Archaeology and Ethnography, Armenian National Academy of Sciences

A paper entitled "Monetary circulation of Armenia in IX-XIV Cs."¹ was published by Kh. A. Mousheghian in 1971, which was soon thereafter incorporated into his monograph "Monetary Circulation of Armenia in V BC-XIV AD"². The second half of the twelfth century was characterized by the author as a time of wide circulation of Ildegizid coins in the north-eastern part of Armenia. He states that coins of all the representatives of the Ildegizid dynasty were present. Certain aspects of monetary circulation in Armenia in the second half of the twelfth century, however, require revision and new interpretation.

It is the aim of this paper to consider the monetary circulation in the north-eastern part of Armenia of coins struck by the Ildegizid, Muhammad Jahan Pahlavan 571-582 AH (1175-1186 AD).

The Ildegizid State (1136-1225 AD) was a feudal state located in the second half of the twelfth century on what is now the territory of Azerbaijan. It played an important role in the political life of the Near East at that time. Muhammad Jahan Pahlavan was the second representative of the Ildegizid dynasty. During his period of government, the state was at its most powerful and prosperous. The power of the Azeri atabeks extended over vast areas. Jahan Pahlavan actually ruled the Iraqi Seljukid State, while the sultan's power had a nominal character. Muhammad Jahan Pahlavan struck coins bearing his name. Because of the gigantic "Silver Crisis" (in the eleventh to the first quarter of the thirteenth centuries)³ in the countries of the Near East and Asia Minor, his coins were made of copper. M.A. Seifeddini's classification divides Pahlavan's coins into five groups⁴. The earliest issues of the atabeks are considered to be the coins struck in 571 AH (1175-1176 AD) in Ardebil, bearing the names of the caliph al-Mustadi 566-575 AH (1170-1180 AD), Iraqi and West Iranian Seljukid Arslan ibn Tughril 556-572 AH (1161-1176 AD), as well as Pahlavan himself⁵.

As mentioned above, Mousheghian pointed out the wide circulation in Armenia of coins of all Ildegizid dynasty representatives: Shams al-Din Ildegiz 531-571 AH (1136-1175 AD), Jahan Pahlavan 571-582 AH (1175-1186 AD), Qizil-Arslan 582-587 AH (1187-1191 AD) and Abu Bakr 587-607 AH (1191-1210 AD)⁶. The name of the last atabek Muzaffar al-Din Uzbek ibn Muhammad 607-622 AH (1210-1225 AD) was not included

in the list for some reasons discussed below. This statement is generally true. Coins of some atabeks were indeed found in Armenia in large quantities. They occurred individually and as hoards, and also as significant components of the latter. It was concluded therefore that monetary circulation of north-eastern Armenia in the second half of the twelfth century took place mainly using Ildegizid coins. However today the participation of Jahan Pahlavan coins in the monetary circulation of the region is questioned. Mousheghian published a monograph in 1962, entitled "Monetary Circulation in Dvin According to Numismatic Data"⁷ where special attention was given to the coin material obtained in the 1937-1955 excavations of the central part and districts of Dvin, the mediaeval capital of Armenia (fourth to thirteenth century AD)⁸. Priority was given to the coins that circulated during the "Silver Crisis", with Ildegizid coins in particular dominating over others (360 out of 1126). Their list included 205 coins attributed to the dynasty's founder Shams al-Din Ildegiz, 49 to his son Qizil-Arslan, and the rest to Abu Bakr. Only one Pahlavan coin (# 146) was described⁹.

The coin in the name of Jahan Pahlavan and sultan Arslan ibn Tughril 556-572 AH (1161-1176 AD) had the following legends:

Obverse: *al-malik / al-a'zam / atābek al-a'zam / muhammad*

There is a sword in the right part of the inscription.

Reverse: *allāh / al-nāṣir li-dīn / al-sultān / al-a'zam / tughril*

Although the date and place of issue were erased on the Dvin coin, the names borne by the coin enabled the time of its issue to be determined between 1180 and 1186 AD. Then Mousheghian states: "Other coins of Muhammad Jahan Pahlavan have not been found so far in the area of Armenia. Therefore this sample is rare"¹⁰.

Thus, the coins of Pahlavan were not known in Armenia before 1962. The latter fact is confirmed by a nine-volume work of E.A. Pakhomov "Coin Hoards of Azerbaijan and Other Republics and Regions of Caucasus", 1926-1966¹¹. Pakhomov described 2160 find. hoards and coins unearthed in excavations of towns and settlements spanning all periods. Strangely enough, Pahlavan's coins penetrated the monetary system of neighboring states only occasionally. A big hoard (114 items) of Ildegizid coins found in Armenia was examined by Pakhomov in 1943 (# 1109, p.39). The location of the find is unknown. The hoard included 52 coins of Qizil-Arslan, 22 of Shams al-Din Ildegiz and 30 attributed to Abu Bakr. Forty-six Ildegizid coins were found in v. Pteghni in 1931, attributed to Ildegiz, Qizil-Arslan and Abu Bakr (# 838, p.44)¹². In both cases the hoards did not contain any coins struck by Jahan Pahlavan. A big hoard of Ildegizid coins was found in excavations of the medieval fortress in Garni¹³. Again, however, Pahlavan coins were not found among the numerous Ildegizid coins. A number of interesting facts is given in I.L. Dzalagania's monograph "Foreign Coins in the Monetary Circulation of Georgia in V-XIII Cs."¹⁴. In the chapter where the role of foreign coins in the monetary system of Georgia in the eleventh to thirteenth centuries is discussed, a number of Ildegizid coins are mentioned. Pahlavan coins are usually mentioned as one or two examples (the find from Ganjiskari and Dmanisi's excavations) and only once as 12 coins (in a hoard from Eastern Georgia)¹⁵. Zengids, Urtuqids, Mangujakids, Danishmenids and other coins are known to be found in north-eastern Armenia. However, it is a fact that coins of the dynasts mentioned did not permanently circulate in that region. They appear only as admixtures to the hoards, or even as an adornment.

Summarizing the facts, one may state that Jahan Pahlavan's coins did not permanently circulate in Armenia either, nor probably in Georgia. They probably had a highly local

character and rarely left their own state, and then only as an addition to the main coin mass. But why was the dissemination of Pahlavan coins so limited? The answer may be found in the external political situation that existed at the time of the atabek state. It is known that in 570 AH (1174 AD) the joint Armenian-Georgian troops successfully attacked Ani, as a result of which the city was won back from Ani Shaddadid power¹⁶. The further development of external political life in north-eastern Armenia relates to campaigns of Armenian-Georgian troops in 580 AH (1184 AD) and 583 AH (1187 AD)¹⁷. Seifeddini mentions that from the first days of Jahan Pahlavan's power the Ildegizid State was in great danger. In 571 AH (1175-1176 AD) the brother of sultan Arslan Muhammad rebelled in Khuzistan, and together with the ruler of its province, Sharaph al-Din Amiran ibn Shumlan, they expelled Pahlavan from Hamadan. In addition, the king of Georgian attacked the northern part of Azerbaijan. The struggle lasted a few months, but in the end, Jahan Pahlavan was victorious. Victory was also achieved in a struggle against the Georgians¹⁸. The effect of these campaigns on the monetary system of Armenia is still not clear.

Analysis of the numismatic material found in Dvin has shown the absence of coins of the atabek Muzaffar al-Din Uzbek 607-622 AH (1210-1225 AD). Topographic data of hoards and finds from Transcaucasia, on the other hand, proves the circulation of such coins in that region in large amounts. Basing himself on historic sources, Mousheghian explained this phenomenon as being due to administrative-political changes that took place in that region. The absence of Uzbek's coins in Dvin was attributed by the author to the capture of the city from the Ildegizids by Georgian troops in 599 AH (1203 AD)¹⁹. In view of this statement, one may suppose that there should exist an analogy between the events of the thirteenth century and the period of Jahan Pahlavan's rule. Possibly, the political changes weakened the atabeks' influence upon north-eastern Armenia, with the result that Ildegizid coins stopped penetrating these regions up to Qizil-Arslan's rule in 582-587 AH (1187-1191 AD). It may also be that Pahlavan's coin issue was scanty and insufficient to circulate widely outside the issuing state. Anyway, our conclusion is that his coins did not circulate regularly as part of the monetary system of Armenia in the second half of the twelfth century.

Conclusions

Administrative and political changes that took place in Transcaucasia in the second half of the twelfth century, as well as the possible limited issue of coins by the second Ildegizid, Muhammad Jahan Pahlavan, prevented their wide circulation outside the Ildegizid State. It is suggested that their area of use had a highly local character. Thus, the monetary circulation of north-eastern Armenia, up to the end of Pahlavan's rule, was provided by copper coins of Seljuk and probably Georgian origin, as well as by Ildegizid coins struck by the dynasty's founder Shams ad-din Ildegiz 531-571 AH (1136-1175 AD).

This paper represents a preliminary claim for the further complete study of the role played by coins of various dynasts, such as Muhammad Jahan Pahlavan, in the monetary system of the region.

Notes

¹ Mousheghian Kh.A. Monetary circulation in Armenia in IX-XIV centuries, Historical-Philological Journal, 1971, Vol.IV, pp.41-60.

² Mousheghian Kh.A. 1983. Monetary Circulation in Armenia in (V BC-XIV AD). Erevan.

³ Blake R.P. The circulation of Silver of the Moslem East down to the Mongol epoch, Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies, 1937, Vol.II, pp.291-310; Lang D.M. Studies in the Numismatic History of Georgia and Transcaucasia. London, 1955, p.21; Ehrenkreutz A.S. Studies in the monetary history of the Near East in the Middle Ages, Journal of the economic and social history of the Orient, 1963, Vol.VI, p.263.

⁴ Seifeddini M.A. 1978. Coinage and Monetary Circulation in Azerbaijan in XII-XIIIth Cs. Baku, Vol.I, pp.62-65.

⁵ Ibid., p.63.

⁶ Mousheghian Kh.A. 1962. Monetary Circulation of Dvin According to Numismatic Data. Erevan, p.29; Monetary circulation in Armenia, p.49; The Monetary Circulation of Armenia, p.218.

⁷ Mousheghian Kh.A. Monetary Circulation of Dvin, Erevan.

⁸ Kalantarian A.A. 1996. Dvin: Histoire et Archeologie de la Ville Medievale. Paris.

⁹ Mousheghian Kh.A. Monetary Circulation in Dvin, p.89.

¹⁰ Ibid., p.90.

¹¹ Pakhomov E.A. 1926-1966. Coin Hoards of Azerbaijan and Other Republics and Regions of Caucasus. Vol.I-IX, Baku.

¹² Pakhomov E.A. 1949, 1940. Coin Hoards of Azerbaijan, Vol.IV, p.39; Vol.III, p.44.

¹³ Mousheghian Kh.A. On the characteristic data of numismatic material of Garmī. Abstracts of Papers, 1965, Baku, pp.164-165.

¹⁴ Dzalaganian I.L. 1979. Foreign Coin in the Monetary Circulation of Georgia in V-XIII Cs. Tbilisi.

¹⁵ Ibid., p.100.

¹⁶ Minorsky V. 1953. Studies in Caucasian History. London, pp.96-100.

¹⁷ Babayan L.O. 1969. Social, Economic and Political History of Armenia in XIII-XIV Cs. Moscow, pp.14-15.

¹⁸ Seifeddini M.A. Coinage and Monetary, pp.24-25.

¹⁹ Mousheghian Kh.A. Monetary Circulation in Dvin, p.29.

A rare dirham struck by the Qarakhānid appanage ruler Hārūn bin 'Alī at Marghīnān

By Michael Fedorov

In 1995 I had the opportunity to spend two months at the Forschungsstelle für islamische Numismatik, Tübingen. While there studying Qarakhānid coin in the Tübingen University collection, I came across a billon (silver-plated) dirham minted in AH 434 at Marghīnān, i.e. modern Margelan in the Ferghana valley (Uzbek Republic). The coin proved to be very rare and interesting: it was not known in other collections and was unpublished in the former Soviet Union. Even a recent and comprehensive corpus of inscriptions on Qarakhānid coins, published in 1997¹ does not mention this type.

Marghīnān. 434 / 1042-3. Weight 3.7 g. Diameter 24-25 mm. Inv. Nr. 94-35-53.

Obverse: in the field: هارون / لا اله الا الله وحده / لا شريك له / بن علي

The mint/date formula forms a square on the sides of the Kalima:

بسم الله صر / بهذا البرهم / بمرغيتان سنة اربع / وثلثين و اربعة

Reverse: within double circle:

له / محمد رسول الله / القائم بامر الله / ابو المظفر ارسلان / تكين

Circular legend: محمد رسول الله ارسله الخ (Qur'an IX, 33)

In 1998 this coin was published by my colleague Tobias Mayer², who read the date as 444. It is true that the date is rather worn and easy to misread. But there are some circumstances that preclude the date from being 444.

In 442/1050-1 a monetary reform was carried out in the Ferghana and Chu valleys, which were then an integral part of the Eastern Qarakhānid khaqanate. As a result of this reform, a totally new type of coin appeared. Despite their being made of a base alloy of copper (59.67-78.7%) and lead (36.95-15.43%), the coins were named *dirham* in the mint/date formula³, these first and earliest Qarakhānid fiduciary coins with a forced token value, declared by state decree, were minted in all Ferghana in AH 442-9 and in the Chu valley in AH 442-50 but coins of 450 are extremely rare. Such fiduciary coins were caused by the so-called "silver crisis", which appeared to take on a more acute form in the Eastern Qarakhānid state. It is worthy of note that in the Western Qarakhānid state and even in the dominions of the Eastern Qarakhānid ruler Bughra Khān Muḥammad b. Yūsuf (Īlāq - Shāsh - Ispījāb - Tarāz) billon (silver-plated) dirhams continued

to be minted. But Bughra Khān's vassal Tongha Tegin, who possessed Akhsīkat in the Ferghana valley, already had the mint dirhams made from the copper-lead alloy, because in all the other towns of Ferghana, which belonged to the nominal head of the Eastern Qarakhānids Arslān Khan Sulaimān b. Yūsuf (with his capital at Kāshghar) and his vassals, only such coins were minted.

Around AH 451, the head of the Western Qarakhānids, Ibrāhīm Tāfghaj Khān, made use of the internecine wars of the Eastern Qarakhānids to attack them. Firstly, he conquered the Ferghana valley, where his earliest coins were minted at Akhsīkat in AH 451⁴. The Chu valley was conquered somewhat later. Having annexed Ferghana, Ibrāhīm Tāfghaj Khān carried out a monetary reform and issued dirhams of the "al-Mu'ayyadi" type, which were minted earlier in the Western Qarakhānid state were introduced. These dirhams were made of billon (silver-plated) and according to analysis, contained 17.78-23.1% silver. Most probably the decreed silver content was a quarter (25%) but part of the silver covering will have been eroded in circulation.

Since the copper-lead dirhams continued to circulate in the Chu valley, the coins banned in Ferghana flooded into that region. The massive influx of fiduciary coins in amounts greatly exceeding the needs of the Chu valley money economy triggered inflation and a monetary crisis. The population refused to accept the valueless coins⁵. Those that had copper-lead coins sorted them pending better times. That is why almost all the hoards of copper-lead dirhams minted in Ferghana have been found in the Chu valley. I published⁶ four such hoards (comprising more than 10,000 coins and that was only what the archaeologists managed to retrieve), found at two comparatively small hill-forts: Shish-Tepe and Belovodskoe Gorodishche. The amount of Ferghana coins in these hoards, found in the Chu valley, surpasses the amount of coins minted in the Chu valley itself (at Quz Urdū). One more hoard was found at Shish-Tepe. This hoard comprised more than 1000 copper-lead dirhams, several hundred dirhams of silver-plated coins and 30 billon (silver-plated) dirhams⁷. Several hoards of copper-lead dirhams (silver-plated) in the Kazakh part of the Chu valley but I have no information as to the amount of coins involved.

Eventually, the Eastern Qarakhānid rulers of the Chu valley were forced to carry out a monetary reform and started to mint billon (silver-plated) dirhams of the "al-Mu'ayyadi" type there. The earliest such dirham that I know of was minted in Quz Urdū (Balāsāghūn) in AH 451 (1 or 2 or 4). Unfortunately only the initial letter *alif* in the digit of the date has survived so it could be

اربع or اثنين . احد

Thus during the period AH 442-9 in Marghīnān as in the rest of the Ferghana valley, only copper-lead alloy dirhams were struck. This means that the billon dirham of Marghīnān in the Tübingen collection could not have been struck in the year 444. Nor could the date be 454 because, from at least AH 453, dirhams in Marghīnān were minted in the name of Ibrāhīm Tāfghaj Khān. And in AH 424, the dirhams contained more silver. The coin in question could therefore have been struck only in AH 434.

Let us then see what place this coin occupies in Qarakhānid mintage and what information it provides for the history of the Qarakhānids in the second quarter of the eleventh century AD. In 415/1024-5 the head of the Western Qarakhānids, died. Arslān Khān Maṣūr b. 'Alī, brother of İlek Naṣr b. 'Alī, who having conquered Bukhārā in AD 999 (the capital of the Sāmānids imprisoned the last Sāmānid emir and created the Qarakhānid dominion in Mawarānahr. He made his capital Balāsāghūn (also called Quz Urdū). The khanate of Arslān Khān extended from Balāsāghūn to Bukhārā but his personal domain comprised the Chu valley with Balāsāghūn. Other dominions

were given as appanages to his vassals, who minted coins acknowledging Arslān Khān as their suzerain. The more competent section of those vassals were Arslān Khān's relatives: his brother, Muḥammad b. 'Alī; his sons Ḥusain, Aḥmad and Yūsuf; his nephews Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī and sons of İlek Naṣr b. 'Alī, Ibrāhīm and Muḥammad. After the death of Arslān Khān, the throne of the head of the Western Qarakhānids was usurped by representatives of another Qarakhānid family. The throne and capital (Balāsāghūn) were captured by Tongha (Toghan) Khān Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan, and Bukhārā and Samarqand became the appanage of 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan (more frequently mentioned in chronicles as 'Alī Tegin). Some of Arslān Khān's relatives had lost their appanages but disapproved of Tongha (Toghan) Khān as their suzerain, while yet others, such as Ibrāhīm b. Naṣr, were captured and kept as hostages⁸. The place of that family in the genealogy of the Qarakhānids is not clear. Since their father was Ḥasan, they are called Ḥasanids. A historian of the fourteenth century, Shabankarāi, wrote that 'Alī Tegin (i.e. 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan) was "son of the brother of the father" of Qādir Khān (i.e. Qādir Khān Yūsuf b. Harūn, the head of the Eastern Qarakhānids, with the capital at Kāshghar). If Shebankaria was correct, the Ḥasanids and Qādir Khān were cousins⁹.

In 416/1025-6 the head of the Eastern Qarakhānids, Qādir Khān and his mighty ally, Maḥmūd of Ghazna, attacked 'Alī Tegin. The armies of the allies met near Samarqand and 'Alī Tegin fled with his army to the steppes. Soon enough, however, Maḥmūd came to realise that to have Qādir Khān, whose dominions would spread from Kāshghar to Bukhārā, as his immediate neighbour was fraught with danger, and that it would be far better to have Qādir Khān locked in battle with the Ḥasanids. Maḥmūd therefore returned with his army to Ghazna on the pretext of wanting to wage war against the infidels in India. Left face to face with 'Alī Tegin, Qādir Khān also decided to withdraw from Samarqand. Despite this, he did profit from the campaign for he managed to capture Eastern Ferghana. In 417/1026-7, Qādir Khān conquered Balāsāghūn, the capital of Tongha (Toghan) Khān Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan, who went to West Ferghana, where the war between Qādir Khān and the Ḥasanids continued for about a year. Eventually, Qādir Khān managed to conquer the whole of Ferghana, Khujand, Ispījāb, Ilāq, Shāsh, Tārāz. The western frontier of Khujand province became the border between Qādir Khān and 'Alī Tegin. The Western Qarakhānids, 'Ain al-Daula Muḥammad, son of İlek Naṣr, and Mu'izz al-Daula 'Abbās, son of 'Ain al-Daula Muḥammad, managed to survive in Ferghana as appanage rulers and vassals of Qādir Khān. They minted coins citing Qādir Khān as suzerain in several towns of Ferghana but never very long in any particular town¹⁰.

In 426 / 1034-5, the ruler of Bukhārā and Samarqand, 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan ('Alī Tegin), died. His dominions came to his sons. The elder of them, Arslān İlek Yūsuf, started to mint coins as a ruler of Bukhārā and Samarqand. Yūsuf b. Alī proved to be a bad politician. Prompted by his commander in chief, a sworn enemy of the Turkmens, he attacked and drove the nomads out of his state. This could but weaken his military power as nomads usually made up the better part of the Qarakhānid armies. After several years of disasters and victories, the Turkmens, headed by chieftains from the family of Saljuq, dealt the Ghaznavids a final blow at the battle of Dandenak (Ramādān 431) / May 1040), conquered Khorasan from them and created a state of their own there.

Yūsuf b. 'Alī also let his prisoner, Buri Tegin Ibrāhīm, son of İlek Khān (the conqueror of Bukhārā in AD 999), slip from his hands. In 429 / 1037-8, Buri Tegin Ibrāhīm managed to escape and fled to his brother 'Ain al-Daula Muḥammad in Ferghana. But as the contemporary historian Baihaqi wrote: there happened to be

no place for Buri Tegin with his brother. 'Ain al-Daula, was probably afraid of the ruler of Bukhārā and Samarqand or feared that Buri Tegin would seize his appanage. So Buri Tegin fled south to the Kumiji nomads. He persuaded them to help him and raised an army of 3000 horsemen. He offered his services to Mas'ūd of Ghazni and received an invitation from him. But when he entered the Ghaznavid state, the Kumijis started to plunder the peaceful population. Enraged, Mas'ūd sent an army against him and Buri Tegin fled. Very conveniently for Buri Tegin, the ruler of Chaganiyan had just died without an heir. Buri Tegin took advantage of the power vacuum and captured that place. There he started to prepare for war against the ruler of Bukhārā and Samarqand. With the help of sworn enemies of the sons of 'Alī Tegin, the Turkmen, who, by that time had routed the Ghaznavids, Buri Tegin Ibrāhīm conquered Kesh and Samarqand in 431 / 1039-40. In 433 / 1041-2, he dealt the sons of 'Alī Tegin the final blow and captured Bukhārā. Then, having accepted the high title of Tāfghaj Khān, he became the ruler of Mawarannahr and the head of the Western Qarakhānids.

The nominal head of the Eastern Qarakhānids was Arslān Khān Sulaimān. He ascended the throne after his father, Qādir Khān, died in AH 424. At first he was acknowledged as suzerain throughout the state and his name was mentioned on the coins of other Eastern Qarakhānids. But soon the state of Qādir Khān disintegrated into three independent khanates. Kāshghar and Balāsāghūn belonged to Arslān Khān Sulaimān; Īlāq – Shāsh – Ispijāb – Tārāz belonged to his brother, Bughra Khān Muḥammad; Ferghana belonged to their uncle Tongha Khān. According to Ibn al-Athīr, in 435 / 1043-4, Arslān Khān was forced to confirm the status quo: he "granted" Tārāz and Ispijāb (also Shāsh and Īlāq) to his brother, Bughra Khān; he "granted" part of the Land of the Turks to his brother, Arslān Tegin; he "granted" all Ferghana to his uncle Tongha Khān, and what is interesting to us, he "granted" Bukhārā and Samarqand, which by that time were safely in the hands of Tāfghaj Khān Ibrāhīm, to Ibn 'Alī Tegin, i.e. to one of the sons of 'Alī Tegin¹². Of course the latter was purely symbolic. Arslān Khān could confirm only hereditary rights to Samarqand and Bukhārā on Ibn 'Alī Tegin.

And this is where the dirham of AH 434 from Marghīnān fits in. It was minted by Hārūn b. 'Alī. Neither coins nor written sources have mentioned any Eastern Qarakhānid ruler named 'Alī for this time. So Hārūn could not have been an Eastern Qarakhānid. But there was Ibn 'Alī Tegin, mentioned by Ibn al-Athīr for AH 435, who was by that time in the Eastern Qarakhānid khaqanate and was present at the *quriltai* when the former khanate of Qādir Khān was split between his sons and brother. Thus the dirham of AH 434 of Marghīnān shows that after Bukhārā was conquered by Ibrāhīm Tāfghaj Khān in AH 433, at least one of the sons of 'Alī Tegin survived and fled to the Eastern Qarakhānids. His name was Hārūn and he was accepted by the Eastern Qarakhānids and granted Marghīnān as an appanage.

The fate of Hārūn b. 'Alī after 434 / 1041-2 is not clear. Marghīnān may have been to him as an appanage or it may have been taken from him by Tongha Khān, to whom "all Ferghana" was given at the *quriltai* of 435 / 1043-4. In the collection of the Uzbek Academy of Sciences institute of Archaeology is a hoard of billon (silver-plated) dirhams found in Kuva (mediaeval Qubā). Among them are several dirhams minted in Marghīnān by Hārūn b. 'Alī (nr. 5068, 5069, 5071, 5073, 5075, 5079, 5082). Unfortunately, none of them show clear dates. Judging by their appearance they could be somewhat later than AH 434 (they contain less silver). But in the same hoard there are coins of Marghīnān (Nr. 5076-7) minted in AH 439-40 by Tongha Khān alone, with no mention of Hārūn b. 'Alī.

Though Arslān Khān Sulaimān was forced to acknowledge the disintegration of his father's khanate in AH 435, he was never able to reconcile himself to it. In 440 / 1048-9, he attacked Tongha Khān and conquered almost the whole of Ferghana from him. After AH 440, in many towns of Ferghana coins were minted in the name of Arslān Khān and his vassals or only in the name of Arslān Khān as immediate owner of the town. Thus in AH 440-5 coins were minted in Ūzkand in the name of Arslān Khān and his vassal, Fahr (sometimes 'Aḍud) al-Daula Bahrām¹³. In AH 440 in Marghīnān coins were minted in the name of Arslān Khān only¹⁴. In AH 442 in Marghīnān and Qubā coins were minted in the name of Arslān Khān and his vassal Buri Tegin¹⁵. After Buri Tegin Ibrāhīm b. Naṣr had accepted the title of Tāfghaj Khān, his title "Buri Tegin" was bestowed upon some other Qarakhānid. And what is interesting to us is that in AH 443, in Marghīnān and Qubā, there appears our old acquaintance Hārūn b. 'Alī, who struck coins there¹⁶. But in 444-5 / 1052-4, in Marghīnān and Qubā, there was already a new vassal of Arslān Khān in the form of Fahr al-Daula Bahrām¹⁷.

Alone in Akhsīkat in 440-440 / 1048-58, coins were minted by Tongha Tegin, vassal of Bughra Khān¹⁸. This could have been the former Tongha Khān, who, having lost almost the whole of Ferghana, was forced to accept the lower princely title of Tongha Tegin and acknowledged himself as vassal of Bughra Khān Muḥammad, this latter being strong enough to prevent Arslān Khān from conquering Akhsīkat. Around AD 1057 Arslān Khān attacked Bughra Khān but was defeated and captured by his adversary, who put him in prison. Fifteen months later, Bughra Khān was poisoned by his wife and Arslān Khān was strangled at her instigation. She then put on the throne her young son Ibrāhīm, who some time later, fell during an internecine war. Ibrāhīm Tāfghaj Khān took advantage of all these events and eventually reconquered all the dominions of the Western Qarakhānids, lost to Qādir Khān Yūsuf in AH 416-8.

Thus the billon (silver-plated) dirham struck at Marghīnān in AH 434, in the Tübingen University collection and copper-lead alloy dirhams of AH 443 struck in Marghīnān and Qubā and found in Kirghizstan, show us the career of one of 'Alī Tegin's sons, who, after Bukhārā was conquered by Ibrāhīm Tāfghaj Khān in AH 433, fled to the Eastern Qarakhānids and stayed there at least ten years. During that period he was appointed at least twice as appanage ruler of Marghīnān and once as appanage ruler of Qubā.

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2. Tobias Meyer: *Sylloge Numorum Arabicorum Tübingen Nord- und Ostzentrasien XI' b Mittelasien II*. Tübingen-Berlin, 1998, pp. 70-71, Nr. 595.
3. E.A. Davidovich: *Iz oblasti denezhnogo obrashcheniya v Srednei Azii XI-XII vv.* Numizmatika i epigrafika, tom II, 1960, p. 104.
4. M.N. Fedorov: *politicheskaya istoriya Karakhanidov vo vtoroi polovine XI v.* Numizmatika i epigrafika, tom XIII, 1980, pp. 43-4.
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Chokan Valikhanov: on monetary systems and money circulation in East Turkestan, Khoqand and Bukhara khanates.

By Michael Fedorov.

Chokan Valikhanov (1835-1865), a captain in the Russian army, Knight of the Order of St. Vladimir, and a well known Kazakh traveller and scholar, left interesting information on the monetary systems and money circulation in East Turkestan, Khoqand and Bukhara. Of particular importance is information from Kashgharia for it was a first-hand report of an eyewitness. From the beginning of the seventeenth century, until 1858 only three Europeans had visited Kashghar before Valikhanov. He travelled in the disguise of a muslim merchant, at the risk of his life, for shortly before his arrival a German naturalist and geographer, Adolf Schlagintweit (1829-1857) had been arrested and beheaded by the then ruler of Kashghar¹.

In his scientific report, Chokan Valikhanov wrote: "they have no money of their own in Kashghar except the so-called *pul*, a bunch of 50 such coins making a *tanga*. . . The Turkestan *pul* has the form of a Chinese *fen* but is made of pure yellow copper, without the addition of zinc, as is the case with Chinese coins, which they (i.e. the Kashgharians — M. F.) call *karapul*. The Turkestan coins, like the Chinese, have a hole in the middle and are threaded on a string. A bunch of 50 coins makes up a *sar* (— this is certainly a mistake, either by Valikhanov, or due to poor editing and proof-reading, because he himself wrote several lines above, that a bunch of 50 *pul* made a *tanga* — M. F.). Silver money — *yamb*s in Chinese — are silver ingots. Central Asian *tanga* (silver coins imported mainly from Khoqand and Bukhara khanates — M. F.) are also widely used"². So, as one can see, the Kashgharian *tanga* was a bunch of copper coins, while the Central Asian *tanga* was a real silver coin.

"There are two types of Turkestan coins", continued Valikhanov, "*dachan*, which is two *pul*, and *chauchan*, which is one *pul*. A bunch of 50 *chauchan* or 25 *dachan* makes up a *tanga*, which is in our (i.e. Russian — M. F.) money about 20 silver kopecks"³. Hence a *chauchan* is equal to 0.4 and a *dachan* to 0.8 silver kopecks.

Further, Valikhanov wrote that, in 1856, the Chinese authorities introduced big coins with the denomination "20" and "10" *pul*. They were introduced only in Kashghar and Yarkand. In other towns of East Turkestan small coins continued to circulate. The big coins were crudely made and "dikokamennye kirghizy" started to counterfeit and smuggle them to Kashghar. In the nineteenth century, Kazakhs were often called "Kirghizy", and modern Kirghiz were called "qara Kirghizy" ("black

Kirghiz") or "dikokamennye kirghizy" ("wild-stone — i.e. mountain — Kirghiz"). The false coins were of lower weight and had plenty of zinc in them. Soon the market became inundated with counterfeits and the exchange rate for big coins started to fall. In October 1858 it dropped from 1800 to 2400 *tanga* for a *yamb*, and, in November, to 2600. The *tanga* in this case was of course not a real silver coin but a bunch of copper coins.

Eventually, the Chinese authorities proclaimed the big coins as no longer valid. This took place on 7 November 1858 and led to the local population incurring losses. Having prohibited the big coins the authorities decreed that 1 *yamb* should be equal to 800 *tangas*, and 1 *tilla* (gold coin) should be equal to 20 *tangas*. The local authorities, though, did not bother to compensate the citizens for their losses, but later, as a kind of favour, agreed to buy in the banned big coins by weight as plain copper at a price of 3 *tangas* (i.e. 150 small coins) for a *gin* (or *chjin*, which was about 600 g).

Having prohibited the big coins, the authorities did not bother to mint new ones. The amount of old small coins was not enough for the needs of the market, so their exchange rate and value started to increase. Valikhanov wrote that the exchange rate of copper coins was not constant, its rise and fall depending on the bazar and chance. So in October 1858 it was 1800, then 2400 *tangas* for a *yamb*. In November it was 2600 (using big coins). On 11 November, after the banning of the big coins, despite the fact that the Chinese authorities decreed that a *yamb* should be equal to 800 *tangas* (i.e. bunches of small copper coins), the exchange rate of the *tanga* started to rise. It was at first 600 then 550 *tangas* and in December it was 460 *tangas* (i.e. bunches of 50 *chauchan* or 25 *dachan*) for a *yamb*.

Since the value of small copper coins had risen in Kashghar, they started to flow there from Yansar, Aqsu and Khotan. The influx of small copper coins to Kashghar led to a fall in their exchange rate. From 460 in December it fell to 525 (January 1859), then to 590 (February 1859) and kept at that level till the departure of Chokan Valikhanov from Kashghar (in the middle of March 1859). As for the remaining big coins, they went to Yarkand and other towns — the further from the mischievous "dikokamennye kirghizy" the better — and continued to circulate there⁴.

According to Valikhanov, the same kind of a monetary crisis took place in May 1855 in Kuldja⁵. The coins of Kuldja, like Chinese ones, were made of copper (60%) and zinc (40%) and were named "chokh". Seventy-five *chokh* made one *gin* (600 g). Shortage of silver made the authorities in Kuldja mint big copper coins with the denomination "100" and "50" *chokh*, and cast-iron coins of 10 *chokh*. Fraudsters counterfeited such coins melting small coins to make the big ones. Inundation of the market with counterfeits triggered inflation and led to the devaluation of the high denomination copper coins. By May 1855 there were two exchange rates: 155,000-156,000 small and 165,000-170,000 high denomination coins for a *yamb*. Then 175,000 (half in small, half in big coins) for a *yamb*. In the end, the authorities banned the 100 and 50 *chokh* coins.

Foreign merchants in Kuldja at the time were compensated: Chinese received 800 small coins for 1000 big coins, Russians received 1000 for 1000. The local population did not get anything, since the counterfeiting had started with them. This led to riots and unrest. The authorities were forced to change their position and offered 400 *chokh* in small coins for 1000 *chokh* in big coins. The local Dungans agreed, the local Chinese resisted and demanded 800 for 1000, but later agreed to 500 for 1000. Meanwhile, the authorities in Kuldja started to mint 5 *chokh* copper coins. Cast-iron 10 *chokh* coins were devalued to 4 *chokh*. And finally the remaining big coins were devalued from 100 and 50 to 25 and 8 *chokh*.

The exchange rate of copper coins to gold was also not constant. So, in October 1858, the exchange rate of a Khoqand *tilla* in big coins was 65, 75 and 85 "tangas" (i.e. bunches of copper coins with denominated value of 50 *chokh*). After the ban on big coins in Kashghar (7 November 1858), the decreed exchange rate was 20 *tanga* (i.e. bunches of small copper coins) for one *tilla*. But the shortage of small copper coins led to a rise in their exchange rate. It rose first to 19 and finally to 14 *tanga* for one *tilla*. After small copper coins were brought here from other towns their exchange rate dropped from 14 to 17 *tanga* for one *tilla*⁶.

In addition to the tangas imported mainly from the Khoqand and Bukhara khanates in East Turkestan, another form of silver money existed — the *yamb*. It was a high standard silver ingot equal to 31.5 or 32 *tilla* "depending on the weight of a yamb". According to Valikhanov, a *yamb* weighed 50 to 51 *lan* "or by our (Russian — M. F.) weight — 4 pounds 45 to 4 pounds 56 zolotniks and it is accepted in commerce as 120 silver roubles, hence the Khoqand *tilla* is equal to 3.75 silver roubles"⁷.

Some commentary and corrections should be made. Four pounds 45 zolotniks make 1,830 g. Four pounds 56 zolotniks make 1,876.9 g. But here there must be some mistake or misprint. According to the Chinese metrology the difference between the two weights of the *yamb* (51 - 50) is 1 *lan*. There were several kinds of *lan* (or *tael*). I — 37.795g of 100% silver (unit of account), II — 37.17g of 100% silver (for paying taxes), III — 35.32g of 98% silver (Shanghai), IV — 37.568g of 100% silver (Canton). And finally as decreed by the convention signed in China in 1858, the silver ounce (or *lan*) of 37.783g⁸.

According to Valikhanov the difference between the two weights for the *yamb* (56-45) is 11 zolotniks or $4.2657 \times 11 = 46.92$ g. There was no such *lan* in existence. One can find many mistakes, misprints and misreadings in "Sochineniia" ("The works") of Valikhanov, printed in Alma Ata in 1985, caused by careless editing and proof-reading. Anyway if one takes 4 pounds 47 zolotniks and 4 pounds 56 zolotniks, the difference will be $4.2657 \times 9 = 38.391$ g which is quite close to a *lan*. And if one takes 4 pounds 47 and 4 pounds 56 zolotniks, it will make 1,838.54 and 1,876.94 g for the *yamb*. Calculating a *lan* by 37.795×50 will make 1,878.4g. The difference is only 1.46 g (1,878.4-1,876.94 g).

In the time of Chokan Valikhanov, the Russian silver rouble⁹ weighed 20.73 g of 86.8% silver and contained 18 g of pure silver. So if we take the content of pure silver in a *yamb* and a rouble, it will make about 102-104 silver roubles for a *yamb*.

It is not clear why Valikhanov considered a *yamb* equal to 120 silver roubles. Probably he was influenced by the itinerary of N. I. Liubimov, who visited Kuldja and Chughuchak in 1845. Liubimov wrote that a *yamb* was equal to about 400 assignation roubles and it was possible to buy a *yamb* at Irbit fair (in Siberia) for 390, 380, 375 roubles, while 168 assignation roubles were equal to 48 silver roubles.¹⁰ Hence 1 assignation rouble (a banknote) was equal to 28.57 silver kopeks and 400, 390, 380, 375 assignation roubles were equal to: 114.29, 111.43, 108.57, 107.14 silver roubles. From 114.29 it is not a far cry to 120; perhaps Chokan Valikhanov made it a round number. Having divided 120 roubles by 32 (the exchange rate of the *yamb* to the Khoqand *tilla*) he got 3.75 silver roubles as the exchange rate of a *tilla* to a Russian silver rouble. According to Valikhanov, a Khoqand *tilla* weighed 1 zolotnik and 11 dolias¹¹ or 4.753 g (as a matter of fact it was 1 Bukharan *mithqal* - 4.8 g). A Russian gold rouble in 1764 -1885 contained 1.2 g of pure gold and weighed 1.31 g; it was of 91.6 standard¹². The central Asian *tilla* was of a higher standard - 95.8¹³. So its exchange rate should be somewhat higher, closer to 4 roubles.

As for Kashgharia, the exchange rate of the Khoqand *tilla* imported there was even higher: 5 silver roubles for a *tilla*¹⁴.

Valikhanov also wrote: "The Khoqand chervonets weighs 1 zolotnik 11 dolias (4.753g — M. F.) of high standard gold, it is equal to 20-21 Khoqand *tanga*. The *tanga* is a silver coin weighing 77 apothecary grains (!— M. F. $1/16 \text{ g} \times 77 = 4.812 \text{ g}$) and is equal to about 20 silver kopeks (hence, by the way, a *tilla* should be equal to 4 or 4.2 silver roubles [20×20 or 20×21] — M. F.). The Bukharan chervonets in Bukhara cost 30 (!— M. F.) *tanga*, the Khoqandian chervonets in Bukhara cost 17 *tanga*. The value of the Bukharan chervonets in Khoqand is equal to that of the native (Khoqandian chervonets — M. F.). The copper coin in Khoqand and Bukhara is called *pul*. It is made of red copper. 24 *pul* are equal to 1 *tanga*. A *tanga* is equal to 4 *mir*. Six *pul* are equal to 1 *mir*"¹⁵ (or rather "miri"— M. F.).

This passage also needs commentary and corrections. Having mixed obsolete and contemporary data, Valikhanov came to a wrong conclusion. A *tanga* weighing 4.8 g and a Bukharan *tilla* equal to 30 *tanga* never existed in the nineteenth century. This information relates to the eighteenth century, to the time before the monetary reform of 1785 in Bukhara. Prior to this reform the decreed weight of a *tanga* was 1 *mithqal* (4.8 g) and, according to Russian non-commissioned officer Philip Efremov (who was in Bukhara circa 1774-1781), there were *tanga* "half silver and half copper" which were at 30 to the *tilla*. After the reform of 1785 the weight of a *tanga* was decreed as 7/10 of a *mithqal*, i.e. 3.36g. The new *tanga* contained 95% of pure silver¹⁶.

These *tanga* usually went at 19, 20, or 21 for a *tilla*.

Valikhanov's information that in Bukhara a Khoqandian *tilla* cost 17 *tanga* while in Khoqand both Bukharan and native *tilla* cost 20-21 *tanga* is interesting. It illustrates the policy of the Bukhara khanate authorities, which, in this way, probably tried to prevent the circulation of Khoqandian *tilla* in Bukhara. That both types of *tilla* had the same standard and weight clearly shows the fact that both coins had the same exchange rate in the Khoqand khanate.

Though the weight of a *tanga* after 1785 was decreed as 3.36 g, in reality it seldom was more than 3.1 g, and long circulating coins even weighed about 2.6-2.7 g because of wear. The same applies to gold coins, which rarely weighed 4.8 g, their usual weight being about 4.6-4.4 g.¹⁷

The Khoqand "miri", equal to $\frac{1}{4}$ *tanga*, happened to be a copper, silverplated coin.¹⁸

It is strange that, when describing money circulation in Kashghar, Valikhanov did not say a word about the so-called "old" and "new" *tanga*. But in "The account of food expences on the way from Semipalatinsk to Kashgharia and while in Kashghar" compiled by Musabai Tokhtabaev, the *caravanbashi* of the caravan with which *poruchik* (lieutenant) Valikhanov travelled, prices were given in roubles, kopeks, "old tangas" and "new tangas".¹⁹

From this, 1,707 old *tanga* were equal to 115 silver roubles and 1,473 new *tanga* were equal to 424 silver roubles); 1026 old *tanga* = 70 silver roubles and 893 new *tanga* = 255 silver roubles; 823 old *tanga* = 55 silver roubles and 856.5 new *tanga* = 245 silver roubles.; 886.5 old *tanga* = 65 silver roubles and 787.5 new *tanga* = 225 silver roubles; 1196.25 old *tanga* = 85 silver roubles and 1146 new *tanga*. = 336 silver roubles²⁰ Hence the exchange rate of "new" and "old" *tanga* to silver kopeks is like this: 28.785 and 6.74; 28.56 and 6.82; 28.6 and 6.68; 28.57 and 7.33; 29.3 and 7.1 silver kopeks. "Old" *tanga* were at 6.68, 6.74, 6.82, 7.1, 7.33 silver kopeks (average 6.934). "New" *tanga* were at 28.56, 28.57, 28.6, 28.785, 29.30 silver kopeks (though the average is 28.763, the real exchange rate should be closer to 28.6 silver kopeks for we have three almost identical figures: 28.56, 28.57, 28.6). The ratio of the "new" and "old" *tanga* should be 1:

4 (as it was in the case of the Khoqandian *tanga* and *miri*).

From the same document the exchange rate of *tilla* to *tanga* and roubles in Kashghar in 1858-59 may be calculated. Thus 23,360 and 3/8 *tanga* were equal to 1,374 *tilla*; 2,810.25 *tilla* were equal to 14,051.75 silver roubles. In another case 1102 lengths of *daba* (cloth) at 1 *tanga* apiece were sold for 64 *tilla*²¹. Hence 1 *tilla* was equal to 17.0017 *tanga* and to 17.2187 tainga. Also 1 *tilla* was equal in Kashghar to 5 silver roubles.

The slight difference in exchange rates of the "new" and "old" *tanga* calculated by me from the total value of goods in various transactions is quite understandable. Each time, the total value of goods depended on subjective factors such as the skill at bargaining, the wish to sell (or buy) the merchandise as soon as possible, the time it took for one of the bargainers to yield a bit and so on.

The exchange rate 1 *tilla* = 5 silver roubles, which I have calculated for Kashghar in 1858-1859 is confirmed by another document²². In Kashghar, Valikhanov bought, for a numismatic collection, a brand-new Khoqandian *tilla* of Malla Khan, who had just ascended the throne of Khoqand, for 5 silver roubles. In the same document 20 *tilla* were mentioned, each equal to 5 silver roubles.

If "new" and "old" *tanga* were silver coins at about 7 and 28 - 29 silver kopeks, they should weigh 1.3 - 1.5 and 5.2 - 6 g respectively. But, according to Valikhanov, Kashghar did not then have silver coins of its own, nor were there any silver coins of such weight in the region.

So most certainly in this case we are not dealing with real silver coins, but units of account, i.e. bunches of copper coins. For instance, a bunch of old copper coins could be an "old *tanga*" and a bunch of new copper coins, four times heavier, could make up a "new *tanga*". Also there were in Kashghar in 1858-1859 some large copper coins: 360 such coins were equal to 21.5 silver roubles²³ so that one such coin was equal to 6 kopeks (5.97 to be exact).

In 1849-1867 one Russian copper kopek weighed 5.12 g²⁴ so 6 kopeks would make 30.72 g. There were in the "Shian-Fen" period (1851-1861) for instance Chinese coins which weighed about 28 g²⁵ and probably were made as usual of copper and zinc alloy. Moreover, the exchange rate of 17 or 17.2 *tanga* for 1 *tilla* was not in real silver coins but in units of account. For instance if one takes 17.2 *tanga* of account (the bunches of copper coins), at 29.3 silver kopeks it will make 17.2 x 29.3 = 5.04 silver roubles.

The works and archives of Chokan Valikhanov are an important source for studying the monetary systems and money circulation in East Turkestan and Central Asia in the middle of the nineteenth century.

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2. Ch. Valikhanov. O zapadnom krae Kitaiskoi Imperii. Sochineniia tom II Alma Ata 1985 p.276.
3. Ch. Valikhanov. O sostoianii... p. 216.
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5. Op. cit. p. 217; Ch. Valikhanov. Sochineniia tom IV Alma Ata 1985 pp.352-257.
6. Ch. Valikhanov. O sostoianii... p.218.
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16. E. A. Davidovich. Istoriia monetnogo dela Srednei Azii XVII-XVIII vv. Dushanbe 1964 pp. 164, 165, 167, 293, 294.
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20. Op. cit. pp.281, 282, 284, 285, 286.
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22. Op. cit. p. 295.
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24. V. V. Uzdennikov. Monety Rossii... p. 418.
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I would like to ask ONS members whether they know of any coins minted in Kashghar or China in the middle of the nineteenth century which could correspond to the definitions of "old tangas" and "new tangas" mentioned in this article.

Mas'ud al-Khwārizmī in Kashghar 660/1261-2

Stefan Heidemann, Jena

A new dating of the coins of al-Mas'ud al-Khwārizmī was recently proposed by Alexander Akin (ONS-Newsletter 160) with an illustration following in the next issue. Venetia Porter, who published the coins of the Aurel Stein collection, identified the Mas'ud al-Khwārizmī mentioned on the coins with Mas'ud ibn Maḥmūd Yalawach the Mongol governor of Transoxiana during the second half of the 7th/13th century, who died in 688/1289 (cp. Bosworth). The overwhelming bulk of Mas'ud's coins from the mint of Kashghar is characterised by rather blundered inscriptions. The marginal legends, in particular, are usually badly engraved and hard to decipher. Tobias Mayer's Tübingen Sylloge, entry no. 542-566, exhibits the whole range in the different stages of deterioration of the design.

Venetia Porter reads a part of the date as 68x h.. Mayer proposes the reading of the date on the obverse of one of the coins as (6)6x h., although with a question mark. Whereas the central legends are well read by Tobias Mayer, Akin rejects Mayer's reading for the reverse centre suggesting a new reading for the first line (*ṣāhib a'zam* or *amīr*) as well as for the reverse margin. The obverse margin remains undeciphered. Akin attempted to read the date of the coins on the basis of "over a dozen" coins of a large group as 650 h. (cp. Album, no. 1975). Probably the best readable specimen is illustrated in ONS Newsletter 161. The actual date of the coins, however, is still the subject of some dispute. Some years ago the present author had the chance to examine a large parcel of a hoard of Mas'ud al-Khwārizmī coins comprising about 2,000 items. This portion was possibly drawn from the same original source as the part Akin saw. Most of them were in the usual blundered style too, like the ones illustrated in the Sylloge. But a few of them had a very neat, distinct style of calligraphy (no. 1) which is not represented in the Sylloge: Kūfī in the centres, an elegant variant of Naskhī in the margins. These coins may have stood at the beginning of the series. They clearly confirm Mayer's proposed reading of the reverse centre:

Obverse: لا اله الا / الله محمد / رسول الله
Reverse: ضرب بامر / مسعود / الجوارزمي

struck on the order of Mas'ud al-Khwārizmī

On the coin of neat style illustrated (no.1) - the only example I saw of this particular style with recognisable margins - the mint/date formula is on the obverse and the Koranic inscription on the reverse margin. For most of the still clearly readable coins of better style (no. 2-6), however, the mint/date formula is on the reverse and the Koranic verse on the obverse. This seems to be the correct order of the inscriptions because the reverse marginal legend is nothing more than a continuation of the central inscription: On the obverse: religious texts; on the reverse: the issuer, mint and date. The distribution of the legends on coin no.1 may just be an exception. The reverse margin could be reconstructed on the specimens examined as follows:

في بلدة كاشغر في شهر سنة ستون و ستمائة

In the city of Kāshghar in the months of the year 660

On some specimens, where the legend is only partially visible, the *shuhūr* (months) looks, rather like a *sab'ūn* (seventy), because the character *hā'* is sometimes formed in a rather curious way. The whole phrase was composed by someone who was unfamiliar with Arab grammar and with the usual coin formulae. From a grammatical point of view the word *sixty* should be in the second case: *sittīn* and not *sittūn* as on the coins. The reconstructed legend on the obverse, except no.4, is a phrase from Koran LXI, verse 13:

نضر من الله وفتح قريب وبشر المؤمنين

Help from Allah and victory is near and bring good news to the believers

No.4 belongs, according to its obverse, to the group of specimens of deteriorating style, because in the obverse central legend the *lām* of *rasūl* is missing. The same holds true obviously for the margin. The margin repeats three times the phrase:

بحر (؟) رسو الله

According to the inscription, the type was issued in Kāshghar in Muḥarram 675/June-July 1275. It is again a frozen date probably used during an uncertain period after 675/1275. I would suggest that the side with the S-shaped Tamgha is the obverse because the marginal phrase starts here. I have not yet been able to read or interpret the central legend or symbols of the reverse.

Both dates 660/1261-2 and Muḥarram 675/June-July 1275 leave a period of about fifteen years for the production of the 660-series and its blundered derivatives. For two coins of the 675-type I recorded an overstrike on the 660-type. Moreover, the 675-type underwent a period of deterioration both in fabric as in engraving, for which examples were well represented in the hoard. That means that the hoard was buried probably several years after 675/1275.

The following coins are a selection of the most readable obverse/reverse margins of the 660-type from the parcel mentioned. They are now located in a private collection in Berlin. There were more coins with partially readable margins which all confirm the above proposed reading. In order to support the eye in recognising the inscriptions a transcription of what is visible on the coins illustrated is given. The illustrations are double size.

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What the first grapheme means is not clear. It could be a blundered Muḥammad, some unreadable name or a Tamgha, similar to the one frequently found on Chaghatay coins (see below the coin of 675 h.). Most likely it is a misunderstood amalgam of *naṣr min allāh* and *rasū(1) allāh*.

The photo in ONS-Newsletter 161 shows what Akin obviously misinterpreted as *khamṣīn* in order to date the type into the year 650 h.. It can be proved that what he read as fifty is in fact a part of the word *shuhūr*. The reading starts on the right side: (... *kāshghar* (fī shu) *hūr*(r...)). The misinterpretation is due to the curiously formed *hā'* and its connection to the following *waw*. Compare the drawing:

(...كا) سرعس (مع سحرور...)

And what Tobias Meyer interpreted on the obverse of Sylloge, no. 542, as (6)6x (?) can be read with the knowledge of the whole phrase as: (...*qar*) *īb wa-bashshir* (...).

The next type represented in the hoard is also the next in the sequence of Kāshghar. It is the terminal type of the parcel examined and comprised about a fifth of the whole. It is represented in the Sylloge only with one specimen (no. 567). Because the marginal inscriptions are not fully documented in the literature, they are provided here. It can be reconstructed as follows:

obverse:

ضرب هذا الدرهم ببلدة كاشغر

reverse:

في محرم سنة خمس سبعين و ستمائة



1.



No. 1, (3.66 g; 29 mm; 4h):

Obverse: (...*k*) *āshghar* (fī) *shuhūr*(r...). Reverse: *naṣr* (...) *fath qar*(īb...)



2



3



4



5



6



No. 2, (6.18 g; 29 mm; 1h);

Obverse: *naṣr (...) bashshir al-mu'minīn*. Reverse: *fī baldat kāsh(ghar...)*

No. 3, (5.46 g; 30 mm; 12h):

Obverse: *naṣr min allāh wa'l fath qar(īb...)*. Reverse: beginning at 8h:

fī bald(at) k(āshghar) fī shuhūr sana(t sittūn) wa-sittumi'a

No. 4, (6.84 g; 32 mm; 10h):

Obverse legend see above. Reverse: (...ba)ldat kāsh(ghar fī shuhūr) sanat sittūn (...)

No. 5, (6.26 g; 20 mm; 1h):

Obverse: (...). Reverse: *fī (...shu)hūr (...)* sittūn wa-sittumi'a

No. 6, (4.66 g; 30 mm; 1h):

Obverse: *naṣr min allāh wa'l fath qar(īb ...)*. Reverse: *fī baldat kāshgh(ar...) sittūn wa-sittumi'a*

Fifteenth century copper coins (dangi) from Kāshghar

Dr. T.D. Yih, The Netherlands

Recently, Alexander Akin published a translation of a paper by Tao Zhifang, entitled "An examination of Yarkand Khanate coinage", dealing with some coins issued in southern Xinjiang after the collapse of the eastern Chaghatayid realm and the formation of a Yarkand khanate¹. The translation was published in the first newsletter *as-Sikka* of the Islamic coins website together with a request for information on the coins presented. I am happy to provide some additional information on the so-called type I of the Yarkand khanate coinage.

This type of coin was first described and illustrated by Hoernle at the end of the 19th century². He mentioned 7 copper coins from Kāshghar found by MacCartney in the Taklamakan desert in 1897. Their weight and size ranged from 8.5 to 12.3 g and 23.9 to 30.5 mm. According to Hoernle the reverse bears the mint name *kāshghar* in a square surrounded by semi-circles. These, he thought, might contain the words: *darb* 'adl followed by an unidentified word, possibly *fal(ū)s* with the bottom semi-circle containing the word *darb*; the right one 'adl; the top and left one *falū/s*, respectively.

The obverse contained the date in words that was read as AH 950 /AD 1543.

The second reference to this type of coin was made by Masson³ in a paper describing a hoard of 15th century coins from the city of Osch. The hoard contained 46 Kashgharian coins. They were dated a century earlier than Hoernle i.e. AH 850 /AD1446.

While engaged in my studies on coins from the Silk-Road, I was generously supplied with photographs by the British Museum Department of Coins and Medals about a decade ago. Amongst them were photographs of 4 coins as described by Hoernle. They were on my waiting-list of items to be published. Looking carefully at the four BM coins, the following legends can be reconstructed:

Obverse

The obverse contains a legend consisting of 4 lines and surrounded by a solid inner ring. On no.1 a part of a dotted outer ring is also visible. The upper line is semi-circular and contains the words *fī al-tārīkh* (في التاريخ). Below that is a second line that consists of the word *sana* (سنة). The third line contains the word *khamṣīn* (خمسين) as can be distinguished most clearly on no. 2. Most importantly, on this piece and also on no. 4, in the fourth line, the hundreds part of the date is visible with the words *wa thamānmi'a* (و ثمانمائه) showing clearly the three dots of the *thā* above the *mīm*.

Reverse

Three of the four obverse sides are struck irregularly or double-struck. In the center-square of no. 2, the letter *kāf* of *kāshghar* is clearly visible and above it the rest of the mint-name.

The centre squares of Nos 1, 3 and 4 contain, above the name of Kāshghar, another word, as a result of which Kāshghar is written differently from No. 2; "*shghar*" is not on top of the letter *kāf*, but to the left to it. The word above *kāshghar* looks like the word *dāngī*. "*dā*" and the final "*ī*" are clearly visible on no. 3, whereas the hook of the "*g*" is best visible on no. 4. The complete centre legend should be read then as "*dāngī of Kāshghar*" (دانگی (کا شغر). *Dāngī* is the name of the anonymous central Asian copper coins struck by the Timūrid and Shaybānid authorities. This was also adopted apparently by the rulers of Kāshghar. The semi-circle below the centre square contains the word *darb* (ضرب). The legends in the

remaining semi-circles had to be reconstructed by comparing all the coins. The right segment of no. 2 contains the word 'adl (عدل); the top and left semi-circles of nos 2 and 3 contain the word *falūs* (فلوس); the letter *sīn* is clearly visible in the left semi-circle of no. 3.

No. 1 was double-struck; at the upper left, there is a second centre square with a clearly visible legend. However, there is a different positioning of the legend. At the top *dāngī* is visible; right below that the letter *kāf* and, at the bottom of this second square, "*shghar*" can be distinguished.

Numismatic context

Numismatically, the eastern part of the Chaghatayid realm is inferior to the western part with respect to the number of mints and their production as is evidenced by our present knowledge on Chaghatayid coins, especially from the later period⁴.

Almāligh, the eastern capital, had its zenith of coin production during the period AH 650-680 / AD 1251-1281. From the 14th century, only silver dirhams from Yesūn Timur (dated AH 740 / AD1340) and Muḥammad (in the east) AH 744 are known.

As compared with the Qarakhānid period, during the Chaghatayid period, Kāshghar played only a very modest role as a mint. Known are only a few silver pieces with the S-tamgha from the late 14th century (AH681-91 / AD1291) and a number of copper pieces issued by Mas'ūd Khwārezmī, dated AH 660 and 675 (see item by Stefan Heidemann above). Recently, copper coins with the S-tamgha [AH 675 / AD 1276], some of them overstruck on the Mas'ūd pieces, have appeared on the market. Kāshghar, as a mint place, seems to have made a further appearance only centuries later with the issue of the pieces of Ya'qūb (AH 1290 / AD 1873).

Historical context

The history of the later Chaghatayid period in the East is preserved only fragmentarily and is mainly based on the work of the historian Muḥammad Ḥaidar Dughlat. His work has been referred to by several western historians on central Asia such as Grousset⁵ and Spuler⁶.

Whereas, around 1363 AD, the Chaghatayids in the western part of Transoxania were succeeded by the Timūrids, Timūr did not succeed in subjugating the eastern part, Moghulistān. In Moghulistān, from about 1366 AD, the Dughlat emir Qamar al-Dīn and Chudaīdad, his nephew, possessed the real power.

Around 1446 AD, the power of the former Chaghatayid realm in Moghulistān was contested by several factions. There was a civil war between Esen Buqa II (1429-62) and his brother Yunus and, later, from 1487 between Yunus's two sons Aḥmad and Maḥmūd. Although Esen Buqa II died in 1462, it took until about 1472 for Yunus to become master in his appanage. In his later years Yunus even reconquered some areas from the Timūrids and he died around 1486 in Tashkent. Thereafter, Moghulistān was divided between his 2 sons. Maḥmūd received the western part with Tashkent as its capital and Aḥmad received the eastern part.

In the south-western Tarim region, however, including Kāshghar, Yarkand and Khotan, the real power remained in the hands of the Dughlat clan. Chudaīdad's grandson Sayyid 'Alī was the local ruler of Kāshghar for more than 20 years (1433-57). The struggle between Yunus's son Aḥmad and the Dughlat clan for Kāshghar and Jengī Ḥiṣār lasted until 1499 and ended undecided. After Aḥmad's execution by the Uzbegs in 1508, regional rulers such as Abū Bekir Dughlat and the governor of Hamī, Muzaḥfar Khān, were practically independent until 1516 when the central authority was restored by Saīd Khān. According

to some sources Said was the son of Aḥmad, whereas, according to other,s he belonged to the Alacha family⁷.

Although around 1531 the power of the Dughlat clan was much reduced by Said Khān and his brother Maṣṣūr, some Dughlats still possessed high positions as evidenced by the historian Muḥammad Ḥaidar Dughlat who served under Said as commander in Ladakh. Only in 1541 did he leave the service of ‘Abd al-Raṣhīd who succeeded his father Said in Kāshghar. And only at the end of the sixteenth century when the Chaghatayids had been restricted to Kashgharia, is Yarkand mentioned as the capital.

Conclusion

If the reading of the date as AH 850 / AD 1446 is correct, these Kashgharian *dāngī* were minted during the reign of Esen Buqa II (AH 837-67 / AD 1433-62) by the Dughlat ruler Sayyid ‘Alī, well before the establishment of the afore-mentioned Yarkand khanate supposedly established in 1514. They bridge part of the large gap in Kāshghar’s numismatic history. Parts of the legends, especially on the reverse, still need to be read with certainty and this will only be feasible with the discovery of more, appropriate specimens.

Acknowledgements

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This article has also been published on the Islamic Coins Website newsletter *as-Sikka*.

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**Coinage of Muhammad (Mehmed) II akches minted in 855 AH
(in the light of a newly found hoard)**

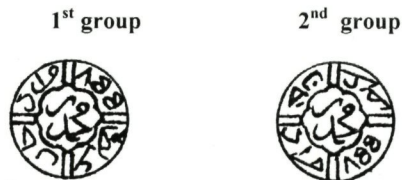
by Kenneth, LMacKenzie and Slobodan Srećković

In recent years a lot of Ottoman coins have been found in hoards or in isolated finds on Balkan soil. Most of them were spread out upon excavations, without further evidence. Even though we have been trying for more than 20 years to educate collectors and dealers to notice every find or hoards we have not succeeded in our efforts. The political and economic situation has meant that museums have had insufficient money to purchase new material and Ottoman coins are not attractive because there are no specialists in museums for such coinage. Although from time to time we have received information or notices about finds, it is not sufficient in comparison to the number of coin finds. Each new find and hoard gives us an opportunity to learn more and to find some missing links.

Our good relationships with many Ottoman coin collectors and dealers brought fruit on several occasions. One such occasion was in 1998 when we got permission to analyse the hoard and later publish it. The hoard was probably found in Bulgaria and the bulk of it turned up in Belgrade. Even so, in the hoard there were no akches from rare, or scarce mintplaces (probably akches were selected, before selling) it was most instructive: in the hoard of 331 akches there were several different types of obverse. Among them were types which had been published previously but there is a new one too (table # 3 - # 17; Sofia no. 27). See tables 1 and 2 below and the accompanying photographs.

In that part of the hoard that we were able to examine, there were akches from four different mintplaces: Ayasluk, Bursa, Edirne and Serez. Our opinion that some akches had been selected before selling was proved with several akches minted in 855 AH in Amasya in different collections, which one of the co-authors has not seen before. In the hoard of akches there are 9 different types of obverses. The design of the obverse at first sight seems to be the same but with careful inspection it could be seen that the text was placed in different positions (in different segments). Eight of those obverse variants were listed before in different sources¹ but the ninth one was unlisted. That variant gives us the possibility of rounding off the system of coinage of the time and of foreseeing a variant which was probably minted then, but which has not yet been listed.

If we mark akche obverses where the marginal text can be read outwards with capital letter **B** (letter **A** has been reserved for the coinage of 848 AH) and those where the text can be read inwards with capital letter **C**, then we can divide the coins into two groups. Each of those groups we can divide into several sub-groups according to the positioning of the text *Murad / Han / Azze nasruhu / 855*. Those sub-groups we can mark with letters **a, b, c, d** ... In group **B** there are different variations of such obverses, so we can make sub-groups. In group **C** there are similar variations and we can make subgroups there too. Furthermore, in group **C** in two sub-groups there are variations in the way in which the word *HAN* is written. Such variation we will mark with the letter **y**.



If we accept that akches were minted in EDIRNE or BURSA in the beginning of the second reign of Sultan Muhammad (Mehmed) II (as was the case with the previous coinage dated

848 AH), then the mint in the capital EDIRNE belongs to group **B** and BURSA to group **C**. The similarity in obverse type we can see by comparing coin # 27, BURSA (**C*a**) and coins # 1 - 6, AYASLUK, EDIRNE, SEREZ (**B*a**). The difference is only in the position from where the inscription can be read — inwards or outwards.

In the hoard the most representative are the akches of the first group, first sub-group of our obverse type **B*a**. There are 294 akches of that type from 3 different mints: Edirne, Serez and Ayasluk. Two of them, Edirne and Serez, are represented with two "kinds" of the same obverse type, basic **B*a** and sub-variant **B*ay**. Other sub-groups in groups **B** and **C** are represented by only one mint, mostly with one or two akches.

In the segments beside the inscription there are some mint marks, like dot(s), a dash or "grass". Those marks are usually placed near the word HAN or near the year 855. Akches from Rumelian mints (usually) have dots (or "grass") or placed in segments on the obverse, but the Anatolian one has a dash.

Only one akche (no.3) was separated from the others, because of the "error", where the year had been written as 558. The same error, on the same obverse type (**B*a**), was noticed on the unique akche minted in Bursa². We have to mention that one counterfeit akche (no.4) found in the hoard, with the mint name Edirne belongs to the same type of obverse.

The second group **C** included akches of various sub-groups, all of them minted in Bursa. One of them, akche no.27 with obverse type **C*a** was hitherto unlisted. Even though, we were trying to find any links (with the help of the reverse type) among the obverse types so far listed, we could not arrive at any conclusion which could be confirmed with strong evidence. We could only presume that after the "initial" coinage using obverse type **B*a**, the minting of akches, similar to those, continued in Anatolia with obverse type **C*a**. These akches differ only in the position from which the legend can be read, which, in this case, was placed outwards. So at the beginning of 855 AH, the coinage in all operational mints worked with one type of obverse, **B*a**, and some time after that, the obverse type with the inscription which reads INWARDS was used in Rumelia and, which read OUTWARDS, was used in Anatolia. Only in this way can we explain the previously listed akches minted in Bursa with **B*a** obverse type, and the akche obverse type **CI *a** and **CI *b** from the mint of Amasya.

The absence in the hoard of akches minted in NOVAR could be explained by the hoard being deposited before the reopening of the mint in the town of Novo Brdo, which was recaptured from the Ottomans on 1 June 1455 (860 AH). All akches minted in NOVAR listed so far are with obverse type **B*ay**.

Conclusion:

According to the facts presented so far we can point out some important conclusions which could lead us to the correct way to understand the coinage of 855 AH:

1. With the initial minting of akches with year 855 AH, all operational mints worked with the same type of obverse.
2. After this initial system of obverse for the akches, coinage in Rumelia and Anatolia were separated and a system was developed to prevent counterfeiting.
3. In Rumelia, the type of obverse was determined by the mint in Edirne, and in Anatolia, by the mint in Bursa.
4. In the beginning, besides the mints in Edirne and Bursa, mints in Ayasluk and Serez were in operation.
5. We were able to foresee at least one obverse type

- which was used then, but which has not yet been listed.
- Judging by the obverse types and interval of their changing, permission for coinage was sent by Edirne or Bursa for each new quantity of silver which was prescribed by law.
 - As the system for the prevention of counterfeiting was too complicated and ineffective it was abandoned in 865 AH³.

- K. MacKenzie, "Akches of Muhammad II (second reign)", *Numismatic Circular*, London, June 1976, p. 232 coin no. 128.
- Slobodan Srećković: *Akches*, volume two (in preparation)

Table 1.
Mints represented in the hoard

| # | Mintplace | Pieces |
|---|---------------|------------|
| 1 | Ayasluk | 2 |
| 2 | Bursa | 29 |
| 3 | Edirne | 236 |
| 4 | Serez | 60 |
| 5 | illegible | 4 |
| | Total: | 331 |

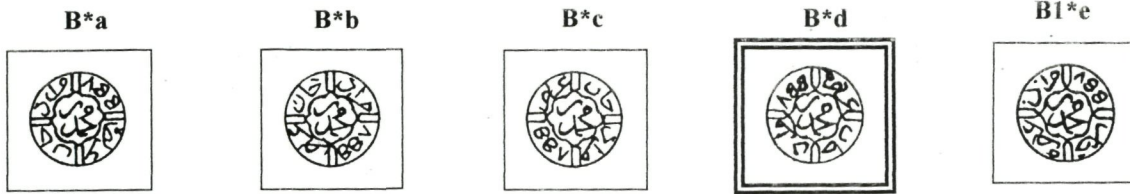
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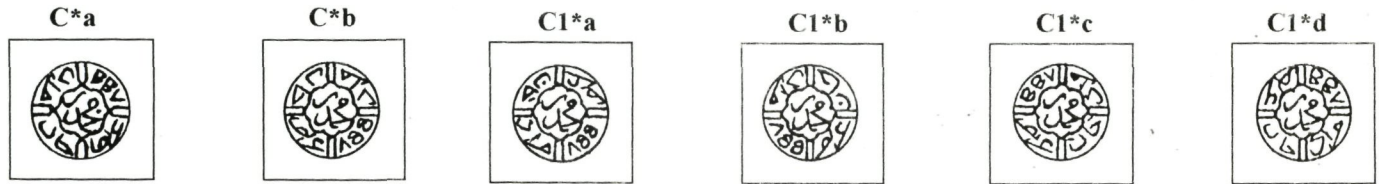
Table 2.
Obverse and reverse types of the 331 akches examined.

| # | mintplace | obv. | Han | year | rev. | ornam | pieces |
|-----|---------------|----------|-----|------|------|-------|------------|
| 1. | Ayasluk | B*a | ۷۶ | ۸۹۹ | II | | 2 |
| 2. | Edirne | B*a | ۷۶ | ۸۹۹ | II | | 2 |
| 3. | Edirne | B*a | ۷۶ | ۸۹۹ | II | ☉ | err. 1 |
| 4. | Edirne | B*a | ۷۶ | ۸۹۹ | II | | false 1 |
| 5. | Edirne | B*ay | ۷۶ | ۸۹۹ | II | | 18 |
| 6. | Edirne | B*ay - o | ۷۶ | ۸۹۹ | II | | 28 |
| 7. | Edirne | B*ay | ۷۶ | ۸۹۹ | II | | 22 |
| 8. | Edirne | B*ay | ۷۶ | ۸۹۹ | II | ☉ | 1 |
| 9. | Edirne | B*ay | ۷۶ | ۸۹۹ | II | | 1 |
| 10. | Edirne | B*ay - o | ۷۶ | ۸۹۹ | II | ☉ | 1 |
| 11. | Edirne | B*ay | ۷۶ | ۸۹۹ | II | | 106 |
| 12. | Edirne | B*ay | ۷۶ | ۸۹۹ | II | | 36 |
| 13. | Edirne | B1*ey | ۷۶ | ۸۹۹ | II | | 19 |
| 14. | Serez | B*a - o | ۷۶ | ۸۹۹ | II | | 1 |
| 15. | Serez | B*a - o | ۷۶ | ۸۹۹ | II | | 2 |
| 16. | Serez | B*ay - o | ۷۶ | ۸۹۹ | II | | 1 |
| 17. | Serez | B*ay | ۷۶ | ۸۹۹ | II | | 1 |
| 18. | Serez | B*ay | ۷۶ | ۸۹۹ | II | | 3 |
| 19. | Serez | B*ay | ۷۶ | ۸۹۹ | II | ☉ | 1 |
| 20. | Serez | B*ay | ۷۶ | ۸۹۹ | II | | 16 |
| 21. | Serez | B*ay | ۷۶ | ۸۹۹ | II | | 1 |
| 22. | Serez | B*ay | ۷۶ | ۸۹۹ | II | | 1 |
| 23. | Serez | B*ay | ۷۶ | ۸۹۹ | II | | 30 |
| 24. | Serez | B*b | ۷۶ | ۸۹۹ | II | | 1 |
| 25. | Serez | B*c | ۷۶ | ۸۹۹ | II | | 1 |
| 26. | Serez | B*cy - o | ۷۶ | ۸۹۹ | II | ☉ | 1 |
| 27. | Bursa (?) | C*a | ۷۶ | ۸۹۹ | II*1 | ☉ | 1 |
| 28. | Bursa 2. | C1*a | ۷۶ | ۸۹۹ | II | ☉ | 4 |
| 29. | Bursa 1. | C1*b | ۷۶ | ۸۹۹ | II | | 8 |
| 30. | Bursa 2. | C1*b | ۷۶ | ۸۹۹ | II*1 | ☉ | 4 |
| 31. | Bursa 1. | C1*b | ۷۶ | ۸۹۹ | II | | 2 |
| 32. | Bursa 1. | C1*b | ۷۶ | ۸۹۹ | II | ☉ | 1 |
| 33. | Bursa 1. | C1*b | ۷۶ | ۸۹۹ | II*1 | ☉ | 1 |
| 34. | Bursa 1. | C1*c | ۷۶ | ۸۹۹ | II*1 | | 4 |
| 35. | Bursa 1. | C1*d | ۷۶ | ۸۹۹ | II | ☉ | 4 |
| 36. | Bursa (?) | C1*b | ? | ? | II | | 4 |
| | Total: | | | | | | 331 |

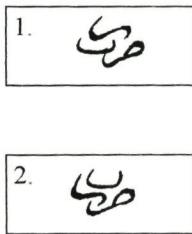
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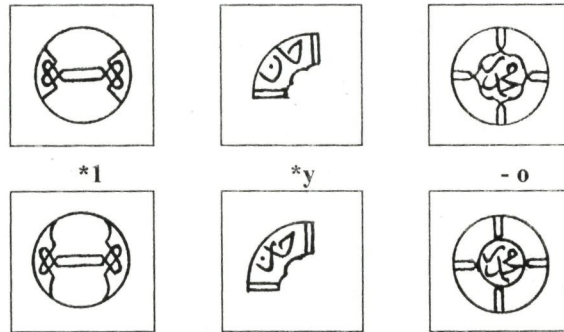
2nd Group



BURSA



B A S I C





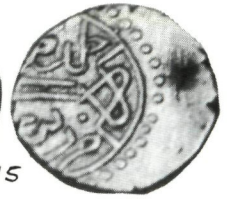
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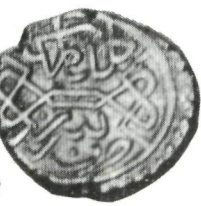
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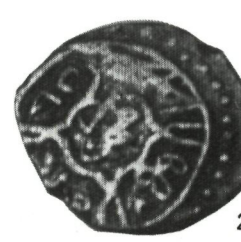
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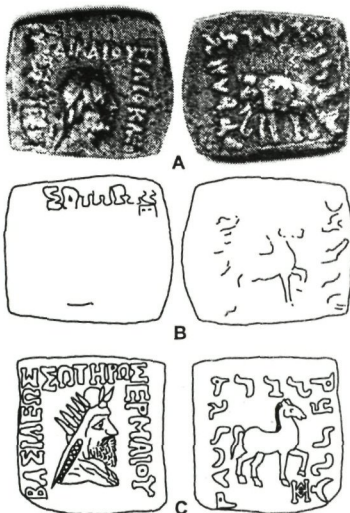
The First and Second Heliocles II/Hermaios Overstrikes

By David MacDonald

Recently I published a bronze of Heliocles II struck over a coin of Hermaios as a contribution to R.C. Senior's general reassessment of late Indo-Greek chronology and history¹. *Communis opinio* had long placed Heliocles II significantly earlier than Hermaios. This overstrike disrupts the previously accepted sequence of rulers and negates much that has been written about them. The visible traces of the host coin are relatively slight, best observable under high magnification, and not readily visible in a photograph, but the identification is certain. Only Hermaios' rectangular bronze features the title ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ on the obverse and a horse on the reverse.

Now a second example of the same overstrike has appeared on which the traces of the host coin are somewhat more easily legible and should assuage any remaining doubts that Heliocles II overstruck coins of Hermaios. On the obverse, a significant portion of Hermaios' name and the radiate cap of Zeus-Mithraios are visible, and on the reverse, a portion of the horse and the mint monogram are distinct.

The First Overstrike:



A. Photo. B. Visible elements of host coin. C. General type and orientation of host coin.

Overtyping: Heliocles II Weight: 7.89 g Axis: 3600 Denomination: AE rectangular 24 mm X 19 mm; hemiobol

Obverse: Diademed, dr. bust of Heliocles II r. [ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ] ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ ΗΛΙΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ

Reverse: Elephant walking l. Kharoshthi legend: Maharajasa dhramikasa Heliyakreyasa. Monogram in field above elephant as O. Bopearachchi, *Monnaies Gréco-Bactriennes et Indo-Grecques* (Bibliothèque Nationale; Paris, 1991), p. 284 Série 7,10. This coin published by Senior and MacDonald, *Decline*, pp. 9-11.

Host Coin: Hermaios Axis: 3600

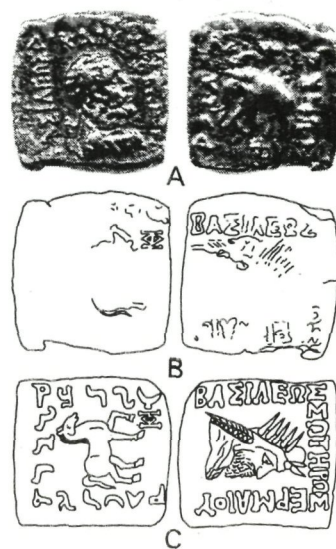
Obverse: Bust of Zeus-Mithraios r., wearing long cap, radiate. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΕΡΜΑΙΟΥ

Visible: Trace of bottom of bust and [] ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ Ε []

Reverse: Horse r., foreleg raised. Kharoshthi legend: Maharajasa tratarasa Heramayasa. Monogram illegible. Type as Bopearachchi, *Monnaies*, p. 263 Série 9.

Visible: Substantial traces of horse and slight traces of legend.

The Second Overstrike:



A. Photo. B. Visible elements of host coin. C. General type and orientation of host coin.

Overtyping as first overstrike but weight 8.12 g., rev. Kharoshthi legend Maharajasa dhramikasa Heliyakreyasa, and monogram in field below elephant as Bopearachchi, *Monnaies Gréco-Bactriennes et Indo-Grecques*, p. 284 Série 7C.

Host coin as first overstrike but monogram in lower r. field as Bopearachchi, *Monnaies Gréco-Bactriennes et Indo-Grecques*, p. 263 Série 9D. Visible remains of obverse: Large portion of long cap and rays, portion of bust termination, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ [] Σ ΕΠ [] ΑΙ []

Visible remains of reverse: Foreleg, chest, rump, tail, and back leg of horse, monogram.

The Overstriking Phenomenon

Despite longstanding interest in them, only about thirty Indo-Greek overstrikes have been published, and many are unique specimens². Only overstruck rectangular bronzes are encountered with some regularity, and Heliocles II's overstrikes are relatively much more common than all others: six published over Strato I and Agathokleia, two published over Strato I alone (and two more known to me), one published over Antialcidas; and now two specimens over Hermaios, one previously published and one new here.

Political motives are often imputed to overstriking, sometimes with good reason, for example the overstrikes of the Seleucid Demetrius I over his rival Timarchus.³ Indo-Greek rulers engaged in equally bitter conflicts, but it is implausible that Heliocles II ordered petty bronzes overstruck out of political rivalry but ignored the larger, more valuable, and impressive silver coins of the same rulers, which circulated without interference alongside Heliocles II's own abundant silver issues. It also seems unlikely that Heliocles II overstruck bronzes because of increased demand for bronze coinage or because Scythian advances cut off the supply of metal necessary for new coins. Overstriking does not increase the number of coins, but rather just alters the identity of the issuing authority.

More likely, Heliocles II demonetised earlier rectangular bronzes and remonetised them by overstriking as a revenue raising strategy. Ancient bronze coins were usually highly overvalued in relation to the worth of their actual metal content. The issuing authority established the artificially high value by guaranteeing the acceptability of coin for payment of debts and

taxes. Governments also could and did demonetise over-valued bronze coins by decree and remonetised them for a fee by recoining, countermarking, or overstriking. In effect, the government collected a tax on bronze coinage in circulation⁴. Parallels can be found elsewhere in the ancient Greek world as early as the first half of the fourth century B.C., in Europe during the Middle Ages, and in the Middle East until quite recently⁵.

In contrast, the metal worth of most ancient silver coins equalled their official value, so they could not be readily demonetised and subject to this sort of mass overstriking for profit.

Notes:

1. R.C. Senior and D. MacDonald, *The Decline of the Indo-Greeks* (Monographs of the Hellenic Numismatic Society No. 2, Athens, 1998).
2. The basic work on Indo-Greek overstrikes: O. Boppearachchi, "Monnaies indo-grecques surfrappées," *Revue Numismatique* (1989), 49-79, supplemented by the works listed in Senior and MacDonald, *Decline* 11 n.6, to which may be now added R.C. Senior, "Menander versus Zoilos - Another Overstrike," *ONS Newsletter No. 150* (Autumn 1996) 12; R.C. Senior, "Vonones, Maues and the Early Indo-Scythic Succession," *Oriental Numismatic Studies*, Vol. I, ed. D. Handa (Delphi, 1996) 11-44; R.C. Senior, "An Indo-Greek Overstrike," *ONS Newsletter No. 151* (Winter 1997) 10.
3. A. Houghton, "Timarchus as King in Babylonia," *RN* (1979) 213-217.
4. The best explanation of this sort of overstriking, M. Widawski, "The Exchange of Coins in the Bosphoran State in the 3rd Century B.C.," *Wiasomości Numizmatyczne* 34 (1991) 101-112, developing on the earlier works of H. Seyrig, "Antiquités Syriennes. 67. Monnaies contermarquées en Syrie," *Syria* 35 (1958) 187-190, and G. LeRider, "Contremarques et surfrappées dans l'Antiquité grecque," *Numismatique antique. Problèmes et méthodes* (Nancy-Louvain, 1975) 27-56.
5. For a marvelous nineteenth century parallel, Major H.B. Lumsden, *The Mission to Qandahar* (Calcutta, 1860) 105, as quoted by S. Album, "The Anonymous Coinage of the Barakzays and Their Rivals in Afghanistan: A Reappraisal," *Supplement to ONS Newsletter 159* (Spring 1999) 18.

Copper Issues of the Bhilsa Mint - II

In issue no. 160 of the ONS newsletter, I published some copper coins of the Bhilsa mint, issued under the control of the Sindhis of Gwalior between c.1809-1840. While describing the coins I had remarked that the copper coinage of Bhilsa may be divided into two distinct series, and those comprising the second series will be the subject of a subsequent article. They are being described in this article.

But before I proceed to describe the coins of the second series, it will be worthwhile to report some new varieties of the coins of the first series that have been noted since the publication of my previous article. It may be remembered that all the coins published in that article came from the collection of the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. While going through the photographs I had taken at the American Numismatic Society a couple of years back, I noticed a new variety of the Bhilsa copper coins. The coin may be described as follows -

1.1. Wt. 13.54 g; the coin has no accession number.

obv: A *Bael* leaf pointing to left. Below it, *Bhilsa* written in Persian script. Above the leaf, the date 1236 in Persian numerals. (see drawing 1.1)

rev: Blank.

Some other new varieties were noticed in private collections in Bombay and will be described in a future newsletter.

By far the most significant concentration of these coins outside the Fitzwilliam Museum was noted in the collection of veteran numismatist Ken Wiggins. I am grateful to Ken for allowing me to study these coins and to Stan Goron for photographing them. The coins may be described as follows -

1.2. Wt. 13.2 g

obv: A hexafoil surrounded by a circle of dots. Below it, traces of *Bhilsa* written in Persian. The entire motif is enclosed in a circular border. (see drawing and photo 1.2)

rev: A rectangular punch, enclosing a symbol similar to that seen on coin 1 above, but with the leaf executed somewhat differently. A date (1236) in Persian numerals can be clearly seen above the leaf. Keeping in congruence with one of the characteristics of these issues, the coin is counterstruck upon another issue of the same mint.

1.3. Wt. 13.5 gm

obv: A *Chauri* (fly whisk) pointing to right. *Bhilsa* in Persian below it. Traces of numerals seen above the whisk, that may stand for '49' (See drawing and photo 1.3. For an explanation of the number see my previous paper)

rev: Blank.

1.4. Wt. 15.75 gm

obv: Within a rectangular enclosure, a sword with its tip pointing left. *Bhilsa* in Persian below it. The numerals '49' can be seen above the sword, executed in a rather crude form. (see drawing and photo 1.4)

rev: Blank.

1.5. Wt. 15.7 gm

obv: Within a hexagonal enclosure '*Alamgirpur*' written in Persian. It may be noted that this name was given to Bhilsa by Aurangzeb, and was still in vogue in the early 19th century. (see drawing and photo 1.5)

rev: Blank.

1.6. Wt. 16.4 gm

obv: A triangular 'mountain' symbol within a double circular border. The mintname '*Alamgirpur*' arranged around it in three sections, each along a side of the triangle as '*Alam/gir/pur*'. (see drawing 1.6)

rev: Blank.

In my last paper I had discussed the chronological placement of these coins as evident from some of them that were counterstruck on coins of Bhopal. One more such coin has come to light, from Ken's cabinet, and I describe it as follows -

1.7. Wt. 15.3 gm

obv: '*Alamgirpur*' within a hexagon as on coin 7.

rev: Traces of *Fateh* in Persian with a scimitar placed in the loop of *He*. This type has been attributed to Bhopal (KM 21c) (see photo 1.7)

None of the coins in the Fitzwilliam collection had a chronological detail apart from '49' on them. My inference that they may have been issued between c.1809-1840 was based entirely upon the internal chronology offered by some of the coins and the fact that two of them were counterstruck on coins of Bhopal, as in the case of coin 9 above. Some of the new varieties being reported here have the date 1236, conceivably in the Hegira era, that corresponds to 1821-22 AD, thus confirming the inference drawn in my first article.

Coming to the main subject of this paper, the second series of Bhilsa copper coins, we see that it is of an entirely different fabric to the first. As noted earlier, Ken Wiggins tried to draw attention towards these coins in ONS newsletter no. 43, June 1976, but his query failed to elicit any response from the readers. Coins of the second series are bifacial and display symbols that are ornately executed as against the simplistic and primitive forms seen on coins of the first series. They are enclosed within ornate borders. However, both series are linked with each other insofar as the nature of the symbols is concerned - because even though they differ in execution, essentially they are same as will be evident when they are described below. It may be seen that the *Katar*, the *Chauri*, the Fish, the Axe and the Pennant occur on coins of both the series, albeit executed differently. The reason for this artistic and innovative change in the coin design can not be ascertained satisfactorily. It is an interesting instance wherein a deliberate attempt has been made not to affect the symbolic identity of these coins even though their form and appearance have been drastically altered. In this manner, the role of these coins as a communicative medium is not affected. It would be worthwhile to research what socio-political connotations these symbols had at Bhilsa. However, being a subject of a more generalised study, no such attempt has been undertaken here. Most of the known coins of the second series bear clear dates and from these it is evident that the time lapse between the cessation of the first series and the issuing of the second, is indeed very small. In the light of this fact, the change in design becomes even more intriguing.

The coins of the second series bear a hybrid Persian-Devanagari legend. That means that, even though the language of the inscription is Persian, it is inscribed in the Devanagari script, in a somewhat corrupt rendering. The legend on these coins reads *Jarabi Bhilsa* which is a crude Devanagari version of the Persian *Zarb-i-Bhilsa* or 'the strike (stamp) of Bhilsa'. This feature is in concordance with the short and crude legends seen on some of the coins of first series, where this phenomenon of Persian being transcribed in Devanagari had been observed. However, coins of the second series do not show shortening of any part of the legend, as is the case with issues of the first series. Another prominent feature of the coins of the second series is the symbol of a spear, that occurs on the obverses of all the known coins. The spear has been known as a symbol with a distinct Sindhia affinity and occurs as such on several copper issues from Ujjain, Jawad, Gwalior Fort and Lashkar mints. It is also seen on the rupees of Sindhia mints such as Gwalior Fort, Lashkar, Isagarh, Shadhurah and Seorha.

The coins of the second series rest chiefly in the collections of Ken Wiggins and the American Numismatic Society, New York. The provenance of a coin is noted specifically in each case.

2.1. Wt. 16.42 gm; American Numismatic Society (no accession number given) – see photo 2.1
 obv: A vertical spear in the centre, dividing the field into two compartments. In the left compartment a floral bud on a stalk and other foliate designs are seen. Legend in two lines above, reading *Jaraba(sic)/Bhelasa*, executed crudely. The tip of the spear divides the legend, between *Jara* and *Ba*, and between *Bhela* and *Sa*. This remains the standard feature for legend arrangement for most of the coins listed below. The date 1242 is placed at 4 o'clock in the right compartment.

rev: A Chauri in the center, surrounded by tiny leaves, a trifoliate symbol amongst them to the left and other decorative marks.

2.2. Wt. 16.45; American Numismatic Society (no accession number) – see photo 2.2
 obv: Same as above, but only parts of the legend visible, the Devanagari letters executed somewhat differently. Only the first

three digits of the date are seen, and there is an elaborate floral design below the spear and the bud.

rev: Same as coin no. 1.

2.3. Wt. 17.45 gm; Ken Wiggins Collection – see photo 2.3
 obv: Same as no. 1, but only part of the legend and two digits of the date visible.

rev: A decorative battle axe in the centre, flanked by floral motifs on both sides. Other foliate decorations seen towards the blade of the axe.

2.4. Wt. 18.7 gm; Ken Wiggins Collection – see photo 2.4
 obv: Same as no. 1, but borders and the date invisible. The legend shows differences in the execution of the characters.

rev: A double Pennant or *Jaripataka*, the Maratha flag. A branch with a drooping trifoliate bud to its left.

2.5. Wt. 18.05 gm; American Numismatic Society (no accession number) – see photo 2.5

obv: Same as no. 1, but the phonetic sign of 'i' on top of 'Jarabi' is clearly seen. Date not clear but may be 1242.

rev: A fish curved to left with foliate decoration around.

2.6. Wt. 17.04 gm; American Numismatic Society (no accession number) – see photo 2.6

obv: Virtually the same as no. 1, but the legend is placed and arranged in a slightly different manner. In this case the mintname is split between the lines and it reads *Jaraba Bhe/lasa*. The spear divides the upper line after *Jara* and the lower line after *La*. The date is placed below the character *Sa* and reads 1244 in this case. This indicates that the coin is a later issue as compared with other varieties described above.

rev: A stalk with six leaves, two of which are solidly executed. Other tiny leaves emanating from the border form the ancillary foliate decoration.

2.7. Wt. 18.2 gm; Ken Wiggins Collection – see photo 2.7

obv: Obliterated by wear but it can be safely surmised that it has yet another legend arrangement. Here the characters '*lasa*' are seen immediately to the left of the spear's blade, which indicates that the spear divides the lower line at a different place than that seen on coin 6. In all probability therefore this coin also is a later issue.

rev: A *Katar* placed vertically between two stalks with drooping trifoliate buds.



1.1



1.2



1.3



1.4



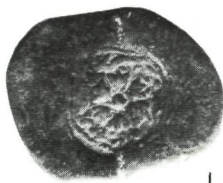
1.5



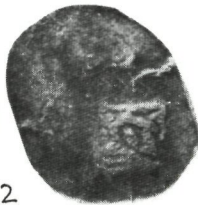
1.6



1.1



1.2



1.3



1.4



1.5



1.6



1.7



2.1



2.2



2.3



2.4



2.5



2.6



2.7



Catalogue of British India Passes, Tickets, Checks and Tokens
Part IX – Finance, Control & Collection Tokens

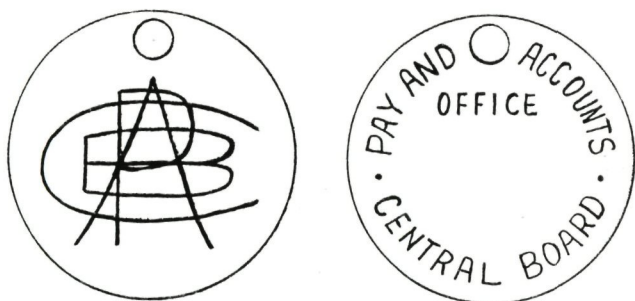
By Bob Puddester

The drawings in this article are derived from crude sketches made in the Calcutta and Bombay Mints during research visits in the 1980s. Therefore, while many details illustrated are not to scale and are approximate, every effort has been made to include those points necessary to ensure recognition. If edge type or weight is known it is noted. The numbering system follows the book *Catalogue of British India Historical Medals*: these checks, passes, tickets and tokens will eventually be incorporated into a new three volume edition.

993.3 FINANCE, CONTROL & COLLECTION TOKENS

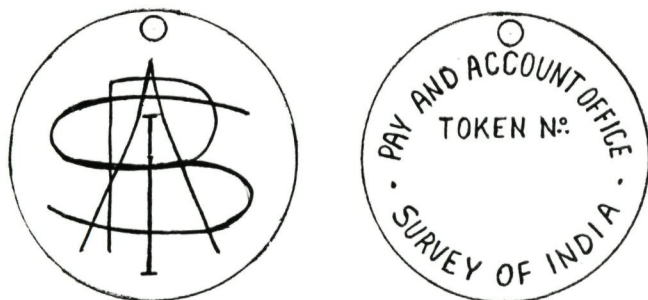
PAY & ACCOUNTS OFFICE TOKENS

993.3.1 PAY & ACCOUNTS OFFICE CENTRAL BOARD



Obverse: In centre very stylised: **P A C B**
Reverse: Around border: • PAY AND ACCOUNTS •
 CENTRAL BOARD
 Below top centre hole: OFFICE
 Diameter: 38 mm Metal: Brass
 Round. Hole at top centre. First issue January 1925.
 Destroyed 27 July 1938. Calcutta Mint.

993.3.2 PAY & ACCOUNTS OFFICE SURVEY OF INDIA

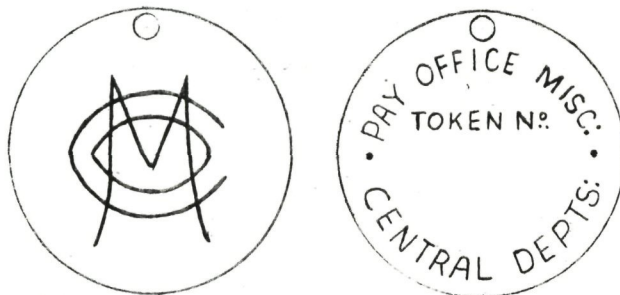


Obverse: Very stylised: **P A S I**
Reverse: Around border: • PAY AND ACCOUNT OFFICE • SURVEY OF INDIA
 In top part of centre section: TOKEN N^o
 Diameter: 38 mm Metal: Brass
 Round. Hole at centre top. First issue February 1925.
 Defaced 27 July 1938. Calcutta Mint.

993.3.3 PAY & ACCOUNTS OFFICE BANGALORE

Obverse: same as reverse of 993.3.1 with BANGALORE substituted for CENTRAL BOARD
Reverse: blank
 Diameter: 38 mm Metal: Brass
 Round. Hole at top centre. First issue 1 January 1925.
 Defaced 27 July 1938. Calcutta Mint.

993.3.4 PAY & ACCOUNTS OFFICE – MISCELLANEOUS CENTRAL DEPARTMENTS – CALCUTTA



Obverse: stylised: **M C O** (Miscellaneous Central Office)
Reverse: Around border: • PAY OFFICE MISC: •
 CENTRAL DEPTS:
 Diameter: 38 mm Metal: Brass
 Round. Hole at top centre. First issue 24 February 1926. Defaced 27 July 1938. Calcutta Mint.

993.3.5 PAY & ACCOUNTS OFFICE – NORTH WEST FRONTIER PROVINCES – PESHAWAR



Obverse: Around a wide border at top: P. & A. O. N. W. F. P. A number impressed within a scroll in top third: 837
Reverse: Around a wide border at bottom: P. & A. O. N. W. F. P. A number impressed within a scroll in top third: 837
 Diameter: 40 mm Metal: Brass E: P W: 17.17 g
 Round. Large central hole 14 mm. First issue 8 May 1929. Defaced 27 July 1938. Calcutta Mint. (Sent to Pay and Accounts Office through officer on special duty Finance Department at Camp Lahore).

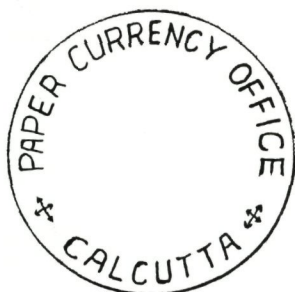
993.3.6 DISTRICTS ACCOUNTS OFFICE – PAY
DEPARTMENT – RAWALPINDI

(This token is outside the parameters of this catalogue but is included here to indicate that similar tokens continued after independence).



Obverse: Star and crescent emblem of Pakistan
Impressed: 463
Reverse: Around border at top in tow lines: DISTRICT
ACCOUNTS OFFICE / PAY
DEPARTMENT
Below central hole: RAWALPINDI
Diameter: 38 mm Metal: Brass E: P
Round. Central hole. Mint unknown, probably Lahore.

993.3.7 PAPER CURRENCY OFFICE – CALCUTTA

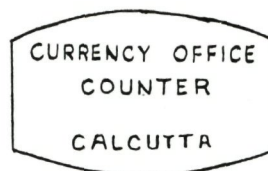


Obverse: Around border: † PAPER CURRENCY
OFFICE † CALCUTTA
Reverse: Blank
Diameter: 38 mm Metal: Brass
Round. No hole. Issue date not known but based on
placement in mint die-impression register probably made
prior to 993.3.8 and thus pre-1911. Destroyed 28 April
1938. Calcutta Mint.

993.3.8 PAPER CURRENCY OFFICE – RANGOON

Obverse: Same as 993.3.7 with RANGOON in place of
CALCUTTA
Reverse: Blank
Diameter: 38 mm Metal: Brass
Round. Hole top centre under CURRENCY. First issue
February 1911. Destroyed 10 November 1938. Calcutta
Mint.

993.3.9 CURRENCY OFFICE COUNTER – CALCUTTA



Obverse: In top half on tow lines:
CURRENCY OFFICE / COUNTER
At bottom: CALCUTTA
Reverse: Blank
Diameter: 35 x 22 mm (14 mm at ends) Metal: Brass
Oblong with straight ends. No hole. First issue March
1923. Dies destroyed 28 April 1938. Calcutta Mint.

993.3.10 CURRENCY OFFICE – LAHORE

Obverse: Same as 993.3.5 except inscription:
CURRENCY OFFICE LAHORE
Reverse: Same as 993.3.5 except inscription:
CURRENCY OFFICE LAHORE
Diameter: 38 mm Metal: Brass
Round. Centre hole 14 mm. First issue 1923. Defaced 8
April 1938. Calcutta Mint.

993.3.11 SECURITY PRINTING INDIA



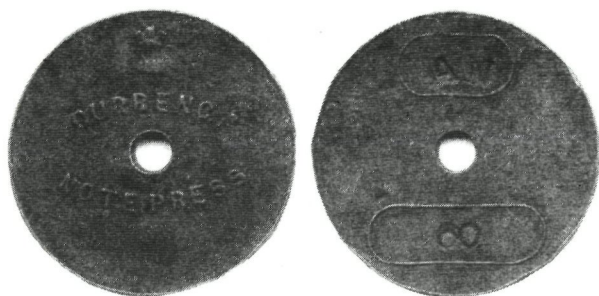
Obverse: At top centre a royal crown. Curved above
centre hole: SECURITY
Below centre hold curved: PRINTING
At bottom: INDIA
Reverse: Within a circle above centre hole impressed: F
Within oval at bottom impressed: 023
Diameter: 38 mm Metal: Nickel E: P W: 22.39 g
Round. Hole in centre. Bombay Mint.

Security Printing India was a commercial department of
government under the Finance Department.

993.3.11 CURRENCY NOTE PRESS – BRITISH INDIA

This token is similar to the next except it is square and
the royal crown replaces the independent India symbol.
Obverse: At top centre a royal crown. Below crown
curved: CURRENCY
Below centre hole curved: NOTE PRESS
Reverse: Blank Diameter: 38 mm Metal: Not known
Square with round corners. Centre hole. Bombay Mint.

993.3.12 CURRENCY NOTE PRESS – INDEPENDENT INDIA



Obverse: At top centre the Asoka lion pedestal, symbol of independent India. Below symbol curved: CURRENCY

Below centre hole curved: NOTE PRESS

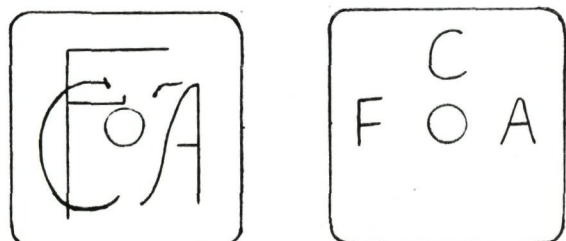
Reverse: Two oval spaces; One near top has impressed: AN Lower near bottom border impressed: 60

Diameter: 38 mm Metal: Bronze E: P W: 22.34 g Round. Hole in centre. Mint not known but almost certainly Bombay

This piece is outside the scope of this catalogue but is listed to illustrate the continuity of tokens after independence.

CONTROLLER & AUDIT OFFICE(R) TOKENS

993.3.13 CONTROLLER OF FOOD ACCOUNTS



Obverse: Stylised: C F A

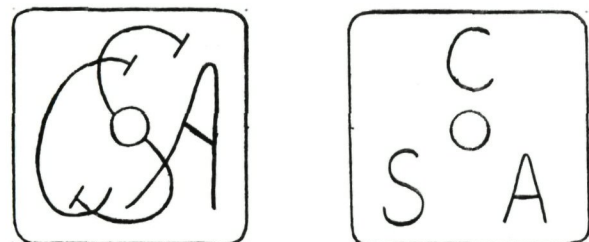
Reverse: At top centre: C

At left: F At right: A

Diameter: 31 mm Metal: Brass

Square with rounded corners. Hole in centre. First issue 25 May 1943. Calcutta Mint.

993.3.14 CONTROLLER OF SUPPLY ACCOUNTS – NEW DELHI



Obverse: Stylised: C S A

Reverse: At top centre: C

At bottom left: S At bottom right: A

Diameter: 31 mm Metal: Brass

Square with rounded corners. Hole in centre. First issue 7 February 1941. Calcutta Mint.

993.3.15 CONTROLLER OF SUPPLY ACCOUNTS - CALCUTTA

Obverse: Same as 993.3.15

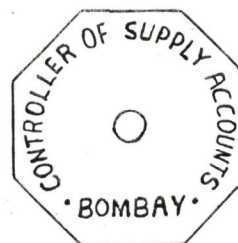
Reverse: Same as 993.3.15

Diameter: 31 mm Metal: Brass

Square with rounded corners. Hole in centre. First issue 7 February 1941. Calcutta Mint.

993.3.15 and 993.3.16 are identical but a supply was made for both the Controller of Supply Accounts in New Delhi and his counterpart in Calcutta. They are listed separately as the number or letters impressed on the reverse may identify the issuing office.

993.3.17 CONTROLLER OF SUPPLY ACCOUNTS - BOMBAY



Obverse: Around border: • CONTROLLER OF SUPPLY ACCOUNTS • BOMBAY

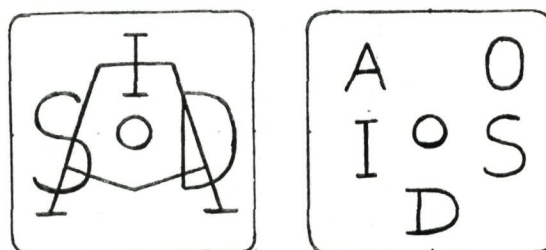
Reverse: Blank

Diameter: 31 mm Metal: Unknown

Octagonal. Hole in centre. Bombay Mint.

While outside the scope of this catalogue, it may be noted here that the Calcutta Mint made a token for the Comptroller General Siam. The token was similar in appearance to 993.3.7 without a hole, same size 38 mm, copper, blank reverse, with the obverse legend: + COMPTROLLER GENERAL + SIAM Date of issue not know but defaced on 7 January 1939.

993.3.18 AUDIT OFFICE, INDIAN STORES DEPARTMENT – NEW DELHI



Obverse: Very stylised: A I S D (The centre hole provides the "O" for "Officer").

Reverse: At top left: A To right: O

Left of centre: I Right of centre: S

At bottom centre: D

Diameter: 32 mm Metal: Brass

Square with rounded corners. Hole in centre. First issue 10 November 1937. Calcutta Mint.



Obverse: Around border: + CALCUTTA
COLLECTORATE + STAMP DEPT.:

Reverse: Blank

Diameter: 32 mm Metal: Brass

Round. No hole. First issue 1902. Destroyed 16
November 1938.

It is assumed that these tokens were used either as replacements for money or as payment for a period of work. Information from members who know more about their use would be very welcome.

Sources

1. Calcutta and Bombay Mint records
2. Personal collection

Rarities of the Reign Title TAI HE

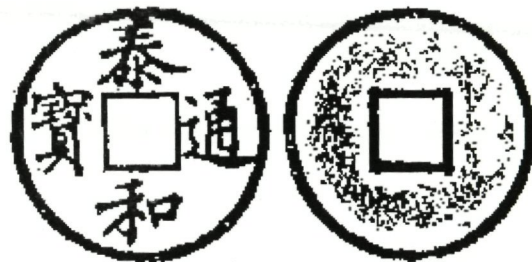
A record of the **Tai He Tong Bao** 10-cash in Normal Script
and **Tai He Zhong Bao** 3-cash in Seal Script

Gilbert Tan, Wu Xiankang
Singapore, 09-May-98

In recent years, even with the proliferation of ancient Chinese cash in the marketplace; nevertheless, the coins of **Liao, Western Hsia, Jin and Yuan** Dynasties are still sought after. Amongst these, the most beautiful is the **Tai He** large cash. The reign title **Tai He** was used by the **Jin** monarch **Zhang Tsung** as his third reign title. The records indicate him as having cast the **Tai He Zhong Bao** 10-cash in *Seal Script* during the fourth year and eighth month of **Tai He** (1204 A.D.). The other varieties of **Tai He** coins must have also been cast around this time up until the eighth year of **Tai He** (1208 A.D.) when the new reign title **Da An** was adopted. Apart from the relatively common **Tai He Zhong Bao** 10-cash in *Seal Script*, all other varieties of the reign title **Tai He** are either very scarce or very rare. The small cash, 2-cash and 3-cash **Tai He Tong Bao** in *Normal Script* are very scarce, with the small cash being the rarest among these three. The ultra-large 10-cash **Tai He Zhong Bao** in *Seal Script* is also very hard to find. But the rarest are the 10-cash **Tai He Tong Bao** in *Normal Script* and the 3-cash **Tai He Zhong Bao** in *Seal Script*. What follows is a discussion on the discoveries, pieces known and authentication methods for these two rarest types.

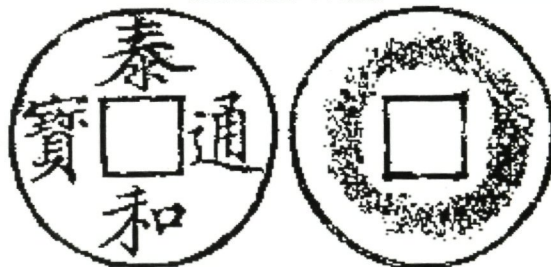
(1) "**Tai He Tong Bao**" 10-cash in Normal Script

This variety of coins bearing the reign title of **Tai He** is very rare. The earliest known two pieces were uncovered during the *Republican* period in the *Peiping District*. One had a wide outer rim and thick writing strokes (Rubbing A) while the other had a narrow outer rim and fine writing strokes (Rubbing B), the latter piece being the largest known to exist. Both pieces were initially bought by dealer **Fong Song Quan**. The Rubbing A piece passed through renowned collector **Tao Xing Lu**'s hands before ending up with **Shanghai's Sen Zhi Chuo**. The Rubbing B piece was sold to **Zhao Guan Zi**. Both these pieces now rest in the *Chinese Historical Museum* which is located next to the *Tian An Men Square* in **Beijing** due to the generous donations of these collectors. Before letting these pieces go, Mr. Fong had used these two coins as mother coins to cast multiple fakes which appear very real as such.



A

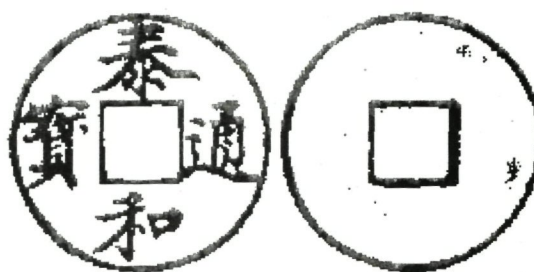
actual size 44 mm



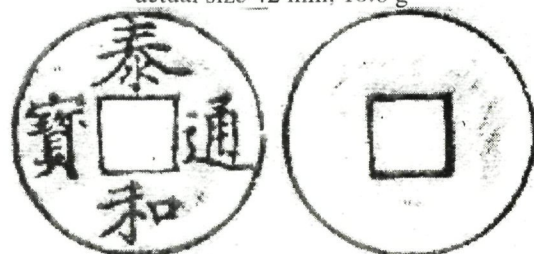
B

actual size 46 mm

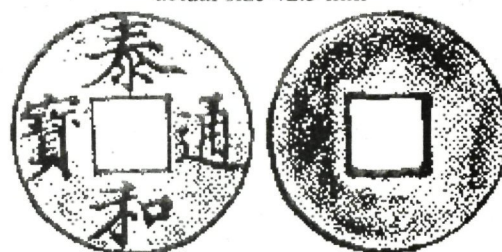
Only in the 1980s were more pieces discovered, however these were different varieties being smaller and each with a narrow rim. The calligraphic style resembled that of the Rubbing B piece but the thickness of the strokes were between the first two. One piece (Rubbing C) was acquired by the *Shanghai Currency Museum* which is located in the city centre after being certified genuine by renowned ancient Chinese coin expert, **Sun Zhong Hui**, who was also the chief curator of the ancient coins section at that time. In his book entitled *Ancient Coins* (April 1990), this piece is described as "a smaller size and fine strokes variety". One of the authors of this article was also fortunate to have acquired a piece (Rubbing D) in recent years from a dealer in **Beijing**. There is also one piece (Rubbing E) depicted in the book *The Preservation and Authentication of Ancient Coins* (November 1985) which Mr. Sun commented as being "a fake cast from a real piece". In Arthur Braddan Coole's *Coins in China's History* (1965), there is a photograph of a coin similar in calligraphic variety to the Rubbing D piece (Illustration F).



C
actual size 42 mm, 18.6 g



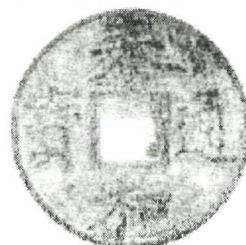
D
actual size 42.5 mm



E
actual size 41.5 mm

From inspecting Rubbing A, one can discern that it was written with the kind of style normally associated with monarchs. It also has the feel of having been penned by someone who was a **Nuchen** (the original tribe of the **Jin** Dynasty) but yet was conversant with **Song** calligraphy. It has an overall *northern* look and feel. This piece is also the only known of the variety. In the book *The Origin and Development of Chinese Money* (1939), Harry Glathe presents the **Yang Ming Hsiu** collection in photographic miniatures, including one (Illustration G) of a fake made from the Rubbing A piece. To date, no other fakes of this variety have been seen by the authors.

The Rubbing B variety was written in a completely different style from the Rubbing A one; hence it was named *unusual variety* by posthumous ancient coin expert and legend **Ma Ding Xiang**. The beauty of this coin stems not only from the overall calligraphy but also from the intricate end points of each brushed stroke, made undoubtedly by a **Song** hand. Not being able to inspect these original pieces, we are unable to comment on their appearance in reality; but from the spaciousness and fineness of the writing, we would not be surprised if they were true mother coins. The author has seen the Rubbing C piece during a visit to the *Shanghai Currency Museum* and speculates that it may be from the North, since it has some patination remaining which looks that way. The calligraphy matches the style of the Rubbing B piece and hence would have been written by the same person.



F



G

The Rubbing D and E pieces as well as the Arthur Coole piece look identical and probably came from the same casting mother coin. When compared with Rubbing C, they are also clearly by the same hand, but from a different casting mother coin as there are some obvious discrepancies in character definition. Whether the Rubbing D and E pieces are another legitimate variant of the "smaller size and fine strokes variety" or the "children" of the Rubbing C variety is worth investigating. The Rubbing D and E pieces are worn pieces with clear aging characteristics. A close inspection of the reverse of the Rubbing D piece reveals aged red patination that is naturally embedded in the field. Also, the style of the inner and outer rims is identical to that of the common 10-cash *Seal Script* coin. Mr. Sun had commented that the outer rim and the innermost section of the inner rim of the Rubbing E piece did not possess signs of natural aging, but the author's Rubbing D piece clearly has these. Moreover, a comparison of the sizes of the Rubbing C, D and E pieces would show that they are similar both in coin and character size. Hence it is unlikely that the Rubbing C piece could have given rise to the Rubbing D and E pieces. Even if that had been possible, the first (top horizontal) stroke of the

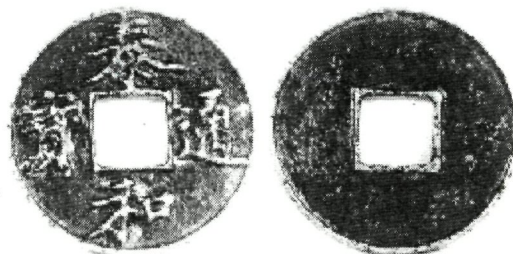
He (bottom) character on the Rubbing C piece being obviously shorter than the Rubbing D and E pieces in length and stroke would eliminate any remaining possibility. A further point is that the presence of patination in the **Bao** (left) character on the Rubbing C piece makes the line patterns appear shallower and thus would not be able to cause a replication of the fineness and depth of this character on the Rubbing D and E pieces. Also, the **Tong** (right) character on the Rubbing C piece is connected to the inner rim, probably caused by excess copper from the casting. This phenomenon is absent on the Rubbing D and E pieces. Finally, one should not discredit a coin on the basis of the absence of clearcut genuine patination, which is the case for the Rubbing D and E pieces, as the more common 10-cash *Seal Script* pieces more often than not come in that manner. I wonder if Mr. Sun has some other reason for suspecting the Rubbing E piece.

In the early 1990's, a *Shanghai* friend presented me with a photograph (Illustration H) of a piece whose calligraphic style was similar to the Rubbing C piece but it appeared a little larger and the characters were not connected to the inner nor outer rims. The gaps between the characters and the two rims were however, smaller than that of the Rubbing B piece and the characters were a little out of shape, giving a feeling of suspicion as to the coin's authenticity. Also, there were signs of excess copper from casting which is often a sign of recasting from a normal issue coin and not the mother coin. Hence we believe this may be a fake cast from the Rubbing B piece by Mr. Fong as explained earlier.

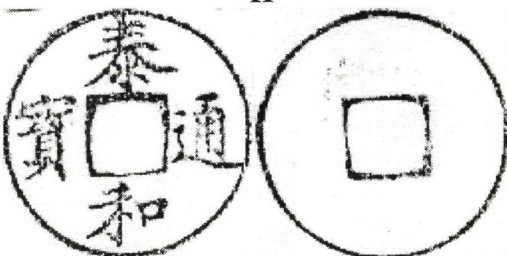
In an April 1997 coin auction in Japan, there appeared a coin with the calligraphic style of the Rubbing C piece (Rubbing I). However, it is notably smaller both in overall coin size as well as character size. This may well be the fake of the Rubbing C variety or piece as speculated upon by Mr Sun earlier as it has a malformed central square hole, which is one tell-tale sign of faking using a real coin as the mother, where the real coin does not have a very square hole to begin with.

A few months ago, someone sent me a piece (Illustration J) which is full of patination and hardened soil. But on examining the exposed characters, it can be ascertained that the characters are of thick strokes. The outer and inner rims are also smaller than the Rubbing D piece, hence giving rise to suspicion that it may be recast from a Rubbing C or D variety. Even more recently, I came across a small piece (thin character strokes variety) written in a new calligraphic style (Illustration K). This coin has an old outer coat to the metal and is similar in size and overall appearance to the Rubbing D piece. The characters are finely written and at a glance, there is a good overall feel to the coin. However, it does not match the overall look and feel of the other **Tai He** coins which causes one to suspect that it may be a late Ching Dynasty or Republican period fake. I hope one of you numismatists out there may be able to shed light in it.

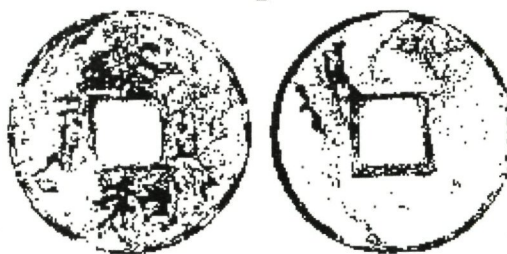
Recently, an article in Japan was boasting of a **Tai He Tong Bao** 10-cash coin in *Normal Script* (Rubbing L). The calligraphic style is not only very different from the known ones, but it is also very poorly written. As such, another one bites the dust.



H

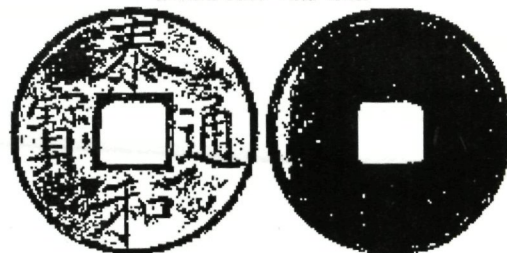


I



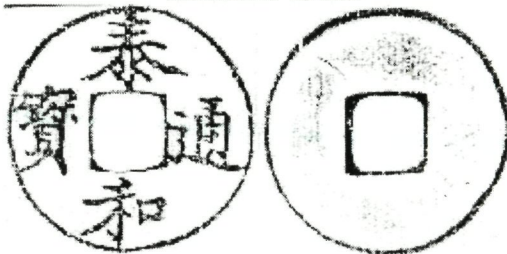
J

actual size 41.5 mm



K

actual size 42 mm



L

From the above, we can gather that the **Tai He Tong Bao** 10-cash coin in *Normal Script* is undoubtedly a sought after and rare coin and this may be because it was a trial issue which led to the normal issue **Tai He Zhong Bao** 10-cash coin in *Seal Script*. To date, the different varieties known are; the wide outer rim and

thick writing strokes one (Rubbing A), the large piece with narrow outer rim and fine writing strokes (Rubbing B) [both the above are unique], the smaller piece with the calligraphic style of Rubbing B (Rubbing C - is also the only known and may have been used to mother some fakes before entering the *Shanghai Currency Museum*), another variety similar to the Rubbing C one (Rubblings D & E) which is still being studied. Rubbing E has not been sighted and so we cannot be sure. But the Illustration D piece is clearly genuine based on the calligraphy and overall look and feel. The embedded red patination is another factor supporting its authenticity. Regardless of whether the 10-cash *Normal Script Tai He Tong Bao* is a trial issue or an early sample issue, both of which can explain the many varieties, we can say that there are three main varieties and two minor variations within one of them. All the sighted pieces are virtually unique. The legendary **Ma Ding Xiang** lost an iron piece of the 10-cash *Normal Script* during the *Cultural Revolution*. It is a pity that we are unable to view this supposedly different variety now.

(2) "*Tai He Zhong Bao*" 3-cash in Seal Script

This coin is very rare with only three pieces known to exist. The first piece was owned by **Liu Yen Ting** and subsequently ended up with the great Japanese collector, **Mr. Hirao** (Rubbing M). This coin has characters with thick strokes and little or no patination. The *Shanghai Currency Museum* in more recent times acquired a similar variety with thin strokes which was in almost uncirculated condition (Rubbing N). The author was very fortunate to have chanced across the Rubbing P piece on a visit to *Hangzhou* in 1993. This piece originally had been worn on the waist by a monk for many years who stayed in the most famous temple there.

Many people do not believe in this 3-cash *Seal Script* coin because the marketplace is full of fakes (See assortment of Rubblings Q1 to Q4). A careful inspection of the different pieces would reveal obvious calligraphic inconsistencies. The calligraphy on the real pieces all have a particular beauty about them which is also felt on the 10-cash *Seal Script* version. The author's piece (Rubbing P) has very soothing and natural-looking characters (even though it is quite worn), much better than the uncirculated fakes in the Rubbing Q selection. The known fakes have all been freshly concocted from the rubbings of the known pieces. Unlike the 10-cash *Normal Script* coin, the absence of genuine pieces makes faking this 3-cash Seal Script coin a much harder task. Also, being a smaller coin, even had there been genuine pieces to fake from, the characters would alter in shape more easily and so the fake "*children*" would not come out too well. To date, we have not seen any fakes made from a real coin used as the mother.

Further, electron spectroscopy reveals that the 10-cash (Rubbing D) and the 3-cash (Rubbing P) coins owned by the author have similar mineral compositions as follows:

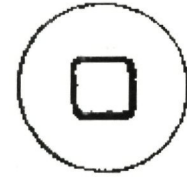
| | | | |
|-----------|--------------|----------|------------|
| Rubbing D | 70.9% copper | 4.4% tin | 12.9% lead |
| Rubbing P | 71.7% copper | 5.1% tin | 8.0% lead |

Based on the difficulty in obtaining raw metals of very similar compositions, it can be deduced that these two coins come from the same casting locality and time. There are obvious differences between the metallic compositions of these two coins and the other more common pieces. From here, we can further speculate that these two rare pieces were trials made in limited quantities and at a different point in time from the other more common varieties.

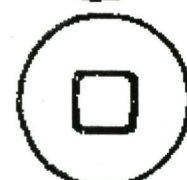
In conclusion, the **Tai He Zhong Bao** 3-cash in *Seal Script* and the **Tai He Tong Bao** 10-cash in *Normal Script* are the missing halves to the "*dream pairing*" of the 3-cash and 10-cash denominations. This is because the 3-cash **Tai He Tong Bao** in *Normal Script* is the most common amongst the *Normal Script* coins and the 10-cash **Tai He Zhong Bao** in *Seal Script* is the most common coin of this reign title but their respective counterparts or corresponding "*pairs*" being the 3-cash **Tai He Zhong Bao** in *Seal Script* and the 10-cash **Tai He Tong Bao** in *Normal Script* are the rarest two. (In Chinese cash collecting, pairing is often done by taking two different coins of the same reign title with glaringly different calligraphic styles and putting them together preferably of the same size or denomination).



M
actual size 29 mm



N
actual size 28.5 mm,
8.5 g



P
actual size 28.5 mm

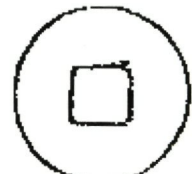




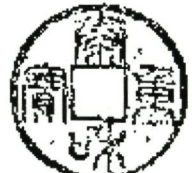
Q-1 Q-2
actual size 30 mm



Q-3
actual size 29.5 mm



Q-4
actual size 30 mm



Q-5